SABINA ANTONINI
ALESSIO AGOSTINI

A MINAEAN NECROPOLIS AT BARĀQISH (JAWF, REPUBLIC OF YEMEN)

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 2005-2006 ARCHAEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS

With an Appendix by
Paola Pagano

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FOREWORD

This volume by Sabina Antonini and Alessio Agostini is not only the first excavation report on Barāqish, the ancient Minaean city of Yathill, but also the first systematic account of an archaeological investigation undertaken in the valley of the Jawf. In fact the Italian Archaeological Mission, under the auspices of the IsIAO, which has been active in this ancient trading post since 1990, is still the only mission conducting excavations in this difficult region in the inner Yemen.

Although it can boast over a dozen splendid pre-Islamic cities, the Jawf remains impervious to ongoing and extensive archaeological researches. Its inaccessibility, on one hand, and the important, and frequently enigmatic, reports divulged by the travellers and epigraphists who reached the region, mean that archaeologists are itching to carry out systematic excavations there. Not surprisingly its fame as an archaeological *eldorado* has recently aroused an interest among local tribes in their ruins. Having learnt of the interest in their territory and the value of these remains, they have begun large scale clandestine digging which is gradually demolishing one of the largest and least known archaeological repositories in the Yemen. The products of their pillaging turn up on the antiques market. Sculptures, inscriptions, bronzes, vases, jewels all make a brief appearance in the *sūq*s, and only the vigilance and good luck of the chance scholar makes it possible to preserve some trace in a publication, albeit of course devoid of contextual data.

A start has been made in the Yemen on the arduous task of saving the Jawf and its treasures. Prior to more radical action on the part of the government, initiatives have been launched with the object of retrieving at least some of the objects by acquiring them directly from the tribes. Naturally this does not stop the clandestine digging, but at least it allows scholars to inspect the finds in the museums and salvage a few details of their provenance. Recently some French scholars offered to act as go-betweens for one such initiative. This enabled the National Museum of Ṣan'ā' to acquire some important collections, including a few monuments of outstanding scientific value, thereby making a significant contribution to the progress of Southern Arabian studies.

The most significant items in these recent acquisitions have already been published by the French scholars involved, but most of the material, featuring above all grave goods, is still not generally known. I have had the opportunity to inspect it, and can affirm that it consists above all in stone stelae bearing the name and face of the deceased, either incised or in relief, and vases of certain recognised types (particularly small jars), all very common objects which have been the subject of past publications. It is in fact quite common for the Bedouins to offer such items to people like ourselves working in the Jawf (see the Appendix by Paola Pagano). The frequency of such items alone indicates the presence of extensive necropolises, but of course the items come totally devoid of data concerning provenance.

There is now no question about the importance of the information concerning an ancient society to be acquired from tombs. At Barāqish, for example, such evidence, reflecting as it does a broader social cross-section, would be invaluable in complementing the information derived from the two temples that the Mission has excavated to date (Temple of Nakraḥ and Temple of 'Athtar dhū-Qabḍ), and also the information, in the form of exemplification and sampling, acquired from the two stratigraphic probes carried out both inside (B.A/S1) and outside (B.C/S1) the city.

The identification of a small hill, partially the object of clandestine digging in the past, about 200 metres to the west of the city gates of Barāqish, enabled us to locate a small necropolis during the 2005 campaign in which the funerary stelae were still *in situ* inside the tombs. These excavations, conducted by Sabina Antonini in two brief campaigns (2005, 2006), brought to light a necropolis in the Jawf for the first time, enabling us at last to see the famous stelae in their original archaeological context.

This volume presents the full results of these investigations, and shows just how little there is to be

gained from an object — even if of intrinsic beauty and value, like a stele — if its archaeological context is lacking. The architectonic and stratigraphic study of the tombs and the typological study of the grave goods presented here by Sabina Antonini, together with the epigraphic and onomastic research carried out by Alessio Agostini, provide us with essential, ground-breaking (and at times quite unexpected) information concerning the chronology (3rd cent. B.C.-1st cent. A.D.) and funerary practice (cenotaphs?), as well as, more tentatively, the ethnic identity (Minaeans) and social condition (caravaneers) of the people using the necropolis. The fact that these tombs were found in a site where work has been on-going for a considerable time, able to offer well grounded stratigraphies and archaeological repertories, has made it possible to present a report which is very advanced in terms of the elaboration of the data and, I would say, sufficiently trustworthy in terms of its chronological and historical conclusions.

The report shows that this necropolis dating from the Minaean (or Middle Southern Arabian) period must have catered only for a specific sector of the society of Yathill, a group of people who were certainly not wealthy, and who seem to have had more to do with the conduct than the management of commercial activity. A small necropolis, in fact, which does not tell us anything about the Minaean upper classes in the city. We can suppose that the rulers, leading merchants, ministers of the cult and other notables had their own tombs, quite different in quality to the modest affairs presented here (I am thinking, for example, of the very fine tombs brought to light by the DAI Mission at the Maḥram Bilqīs of Ma'rib).

Modest, certainly, but at the same time significant, above all because, as we have said, they are the first.

It is to be hoped that in pursuing our investigations, we shall one day come across not only the more sumptuous necropolises of the Minaean elite but also those — which should also be quite extensive, given the size of the settlement lying beneath the Minaean city — of the more ancient Sabaean period (also known as the Ancient Southern Arabian period).

Only time will tell.

Alessandro de Maigret
Director, Italian Archaeological Mission in the Yemen

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INTRODUCTION

Following a series of surveys carried out in the territory round the city of Barāqish during the 2005 Archaeological Campaign, it was decided in conjunction with Prof. Alessandro de Maigret, Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen, to investigate a small mound covered with stone debris about 200 m west of the city gate of *Yathill* (Pl. 1*a-b*). This area was designated 'sector D' to distinguish it from the other excavation sectors, namely A and B, the *intra moenia* temples, and C, the stratigraphic probe carried out by Prof. Francesco Fedele on the site of the north-western ramparts outside the walls (Fedele forthcoming).

The hill showed evident signs of recent manipulation (one sector had been levelled to create an area for prayer, another for heavy vehicles to park or manoeuvre) owing to the presence of the military garrison stationed here. Various types of object were lying about on the surface of the mound including fragments of funerary stelae and potshards from the Minaean period. Other ceramic ware picked up at the foot of the hill included fragments of vases varying considerably in form, clay and surface finish, but all definitely attributable to the Ancient South Arabian period. Preliminary analysis of the surface finds clearly showed that we were dealing with burials from the Minaean period, overlying a settlement dating back to Ancient South Arabian times. There was further confirmation for this sequence from our excavation, and it is the same found in sectors A, B and C. Another area of pre-Islamic tombs, that can also be attributed to the Ancient South Arabian period, with only 'Sabaean' potshards being found on the surface, is located to the east outside the city walls of Barāqish.

Scholars of Southern Arabia are familiar with most of the funerary customs of pre-Islamic Yemen: for the Qatabanians thanks to the necropolises of Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl (Cleveland 1965; Antonini 2005b) and Hajar bin Ḥumayd (Bowen & Albright 1958: 8-10); for the Hadramites the tombs of Ḥurayḍa (Caton Thompson 1944: 65-111), Shabwa (Roux 1992), Raybūn and Wādī Arf (Vogt 1994; Sedov 2000); for the Sabaeans

those of Ma'rib (Bessac & Breton 2002; Gerlach 2002; Röring 2002); for the Himyarites of Bab el-Shaub (Vogt & Gerlach 2002), Shibām al-Ghirās (Vogt, de Maigret & Roux 2000), Kharibat al-Ahjār (Antonini 2005c), Shuka (Vogt, de Maigret & Roux 2000) and Wādī Ḍura' (Breton & Bāfāqih 1993), and then again for the nomadic peoples from the turret or 'pill box' tombs found on the outskirts of the Ramlat as-Sab'atayn desert (de Maigret 2005). The one exception has been the funerary customs of the Minaeans, and our excavations at Barāqish go some way to making good this gap. We were able to study the layout and architecture of the tombs and also to establish the find context of the many Minaean stelae known to scholars but lacking a provenance having passed through the antiquarian market ([1]). Moreover this archaeological exploration has enabled us to compile the first typological description of Minaean pottery in stratigraphic sequence.

As expected, Barāqish did not escape the illegal excavations that has been the fate of all antiquities in the Jawf. While we were excavating we received some instructive visits from local persons of consequence, members of families to whom 'the territory of Barāqish belongs, with all the antiquities therein'. We learnt that in 1982, before the archaeological area of Barāqish had been enclosed by a stout fence and placed under the surveillance of a military garrison, members of the Jirfīl and Al-Saleḥ clans (who, as we have said, both lay claim to the site) ransacked the necropolis and drove away with three carloads of funerary stelae and other archaeological material which they took to Ma'rib and the *sūq al-Melḥ* at Ṣan'ā' to be sold on. In fact the tombs appear to have

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* The translation of the Foreword, Chapters 1 & 2 and Appendix is done by Dr Mark Weir, Lettore at 'L'Orientale' of Naples.

([1]) With regard to the so-called statuettes of the ancestors, whose provenance is unknown even though scholars consider them to be Minaean, no specimen has yet come to light in the tombs we have excavated at Barāqish.

been plundered on several occasions, although the south-western sector of the hill, as we shall see, was covered with a thick layer dating from pre-Islamic times and escaped looting. In the eastern area of the excavation we noticed trenches containing recent spoils; the burials located on the crest of the mound were more readily accessible, also to bulldozers, while those on the slopes, buried under the thick layer of late-Minaean period, escaped undisturbed. In any case it appears that the necropolis had already been abandoned in pre-Islamic times, as we shall explain in detail below. The tombs were also ransacked during the long period of Islamic occupation of the city of Barāqish, as is shown by the reuse of funerary stelae in the walls dating from the Islamic period (Antonini 2005a: 309, pl. 1*a-c*), built over the Minaean temples of Nakraḥ (de Maigret 1991, 2004; de Maigret & Robin 1993) and 'Athtar.

Chapter 1 gives a description of the excavations, starting from the thick stratum of the last Minaean occupation (Level 1) and going on to describe the stratum in which the site was briefly deserted (Level 2), the funerary structures (Level 3) and the lowest stratum representing the Ancient South Arabian occupation (Level 4). Chapter 2 gives a classification of all the archaeological finds accumulated during the excavations, according to category of material; in each category the finds are presented according to stratigraphic provenance. The final category of materials features ceramic production with a typology of vase forms, the first such analysis produced for the Minaean period.

1. THE EXCAVATION

Level 1, Late-Minaean Period

In the two excavation campaigns, carried out in December 2005 and December 2006 ([1]), an area measuring in total 11 × 8 m was uncovered on the south-eastern side of the hill where, as we mentioned, an area of pre-Islamic tombs had been identified. The surface was covered with scattered heaps of small to medium-sized stones of sandstone and limestone (Pl. 2a). Once removed, we found a fairly homogeneous stratum (Lev. 1) made up of loose soil with traces of ashes (Pl. 2b), containing fragments of ceramic ware and animal bones. This stratum, 20 cm deep, overlay another made up of darker brown earth intermixed with potshards, bones, dung and chalk fragments alternating with lighter coloured soil and patches of ashes and charcoal (Pl. 3a). In this thick stratum, comprising various levels that can be ascribed to a single, on-going anthropic event of limited duration which produced no constructions, some stelae (Pl. 3b) and other objects in stone were found, such as offering tables with bull's heads, plaster jar sealings, grindstones, etc., all dating from pre-Islamic times. A considerable amount of pottery came to light in this stratum. Among the organic materials, there was a large quantity of bones and antlers from both wild and raised animals (bulls, camels, gazelles), as well as date stones, fragments of cloth, leather, rope and wood. This stratum varies in thickness since the ground is sloping, and from the current ground level at its deepest point it measures 1.30 m. Although initially we thought we were dealing with a deposit dating from the Islamic period, coinciding with the occupation of the city of Barāqish, the total absence of potshards from that period ruled out this hypothesis. The identity of Level 1, completely devoid of constructions and comprising horizontal strata of waste material, seems to suggest that the burial area was reused as a rubbish tip once the necropolis had been abandoned and indeed obliterated.

Level 2, Sandy Aeolic Deposit

The thick stratum of debris from the late-Minaean period (Lev. 1) covers a deposit of sand (Lev. 2) which stretches uniformly over the whole of the excavation area and covers the funerary structures (Pl. 4a). The depth of the aeolic deposit increases as one proceeds south-west (30/40 cm), following the contour of the terrain and hence of the underlying constructions. It is completely sterile, i.e. devoid of any form of anthropisation, and is in fact a natural deposit of sand that accumulated once the burial area had been abandoned.

Level 3, Minaean Tombs

The layer of sand which had accumulated naturally on the terrain covered the tombs of the necropolis. This means that for a brief period the burial area had been abandoned or forgotten.

After removing the sand deposited by the wind, we began to come across scattered stones (Pl. 4b) in a stratum of compact earth made up of fragments of mud bricks and liquid clay (ṭin) used in laying ashlars (Pl. 5a). The stones found at this level were not positioned but lay scattered; as we removed some of them, occurring haphazardly and apparently due to episodes of collapse or disturbance following destruction of the tombs, we came across little walls

([1]) The excavation campaigns saw the participation, for the Italians, of the present writer as area responsible, together with two students from the Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Paola Pagano and Micol Cappelli. For the Yemenis the Director of Antiquities for Ma'rib (which includes the site of Barāqish), Aḥmed Shamsān, and three inspectors from the GOAM (General Organization for Antiquities and Museums) of Ṣanʿāʾ, ʿIsa ash-Shaʿibānī, Jamal ath-Thābit and ʿAbd al-Baṣit Nuʿmān.

varying in height and length, some of stone and others of mud brick. This stratum (Lev. 3), with constructions and funerary stelae dating from the Minaean period, occurs with its highest point lying -1.30/-1.50 m below ground level (the ground slopes away towards the SW edge of the excavation area, meaning that here the structures are lower down).

Level 3 contains the structures associated with the funerary stelae. The latter were found *in situ* although not in their original positions. Of the 37 stelae that have come down to us either complete or in fragments, 18 came from this stratum but only 3 were found round the southern wall of *locus* L2, either standing beside it or lying against it. The others were scattered, mainly on top of or next to walls M1 and M4, which enclose the necropolis to the south-west. Once the burial area had been abandoned, the tombs were desecrated and some were completely destroyed, probably so as to find out what lay below them. This hypothesis is borne out by the presence of ample spoliation trenches identified on the eastern side of the excavation area (Pl. 20a).

As regards the structures, at first sight they appeared to be simple pit tombs, bordered by a row of stones and each marked with a stela adorned with a human face fixed upright in the earth. However, as we uncovered the structures, removing the stones that had not been positioned, we came across quite small *loci*, mostly square with sides measuring circa 50/70 cm, but also round and oval, enclosed by little walls in mud brick and blocks of hewn stone, some quite large. In *locus* L8, there was a rather shapeless block with a rectangular hollow lined with stucco, a mortise, which must have had another block inserted into it (Pl. 5b). The short lines of stones bore traces of clayey mortar, used to level off the base for a course of ashlars and sometimes in the form of a mud brick in walls.

At the southern edge of the excavation area a wall was discovered, M1, oriented NW-SE (Pl. 6a). This is a wall, 60 cm in width, made out of medium-small roughly squared off stones laid as fairly regular ashlars using clay mortar. This wall had been razed, leaving only two courses standing. The external face of the courses is analogous to the structures in L1 (the only *locus* which is quite well preserved). Another wall, M2, on the east side of M1, had been demolished where it was intersected by the spoliation trench next to it. M2 is a wall, 54 cm in width, conserved for a length of 60 cm (Pl. 6b). The archaeological investigations in this sector of the site (SE) were complex because the constructions were less well preserved and there were three sizeable trenches made by looters.

South of M1 we came across a little wall in mud bricks (M3, Pl. 6c), -1.70 m below current ground level, oriented EW and thus not parallel to M1. This wall, 20 cm in width, also has only two courses still standing. It clearly belonged to other more ancient

constructions which the Minaean tombs had been placed on top of. The correlation between these two walls (M1, M3) will emerge with the excavations progress.

In the south-west corner of the site another wall was brought to light, rather discontinuous, designated M4 (Pl. 6d); this seems to be the continuation of M1 to the north-west, enclosing the burials on that side. M4 appears rather precarious and seems to have been put up above all to contain the structures immediately above it, located and aligned according to the contours of the terrain. On both M1 and M4 various funerary stelae were found (Pls. 7-8).

The wall M5 is located in the NW corner of the excavation area (Pl. 9a), alongside L16. Its base comprises two courses of small stones covered with a layer of clayey mortar. Once digging can be pursued in that direction its orientation and function will become clearer.

The *loci*

We shall now describe each *locus*, not in numerical order but starting from *locus* L1 and proceeding with the adjacent ones. A bird's eye view of the site gives the idea of numerous small pits dug one next to the other, without any apparent layout, simply put in making the most of the constructions already in place, whether in mud brick or stone. Many of the tombs have been raided and it is difficult to establish their original shapes.

Locus 1

L1 appears to be the largest and best preserved (70 × 70 cm). The blocks enclosing it have a regular rectangular shape (w *c.* 20 cm, l *c.* 40 cm, h. *c.* 15 cm), with three courses still standing, and rest in sand (Pl. 20a). Excavation inside *locus* L1 brought to light a floor made of beaten earth (Pl. 9b), and the ring-shaped base of a vase was found lying on this (Pl. 10a). Once the compacted earth had been removed we came to a layer of sterile sand, the base for the stones of the perimeter courses (Pls. 10b, 11a). The maximum depth of L1 is 40 cm. Thus it seems that these *loci* were not only very small but also quite shallow.

To the south of the *locus* there is a sort of small platform made out of flat slabs (74 × 50 cm), with to the west *locus* L7 lying against it.

Locus 7

L7 is quite small (40 × 40 cm), and shares its perimeter walls to north and east with L1, to south with L11 and to west with L3. The stones of the perimeter walls are irregular, with two courses conserved, and rest on a base of stones which further reduces the size of the *locus* (Pl. 11b).

Locus 3

L3 is not square, like the other *loci*, but round (diam. *c*. 60 cm) (Pl. 20*a*), made out of small irregular stones apart from one rectangular block (20 × 40 cm). Only one course is preserved, resting on sterile sandy soil; the floor of the *locus* is in beaten earth (Pl. 12*a*).

Locus 18

L18 is located N of L3 and W of L1. It is surrounded by misshapen stones except on the W side, where it is enclosed by the rectangular blocks of L1 (Pl. 20*a*).

Locus 12

The south wall of L3 constitutes the north edge of L12 (Pl. 20*a*). This *locus* measures 50 × 50 cm; the large blocks enclosing it to east and west are *c*. 20 cm in length; the base is in beaten earth (Pl. 12*b*). There is no southern extremity, but it may have joined up with M1, although the latter has a different alignment. Inside L12 three funerary stelae were found (Pl. 13*a*).

Locus 11

L11 lies alongside L12 to the east, sharing the same dividing wall (Pl. 13*b*). The stones enclosing this *locus* are not standard or regular blocks but small and round, resting on a layer of sandy soil. L11 also lacks its southern wall, and lies about 50 cm from M1.

Locus 2

To the east of L11 and close to the wall M1 is situated L2 (Pl. 14*a*); in view of its very poor state of preservation, its size cannot be properly gauged. A short wall separates this *locus* from the niche to the east, which seems to have been created to take a stela (25 × 20 cm). In L2 we found some funerary stelae, close to each other but partially covered by very compact earth (Pls. 14*b*, 15*a*). L2 also has two courses of rather irregular stones, fixed using a mortar of clayey soil and resting on sandy earth.

Locus 8

To the north of L1 a group of blocks was uncovered comprising a *locus* measuring 40 × 35 cm, designated L8 (Pl. 5*b*). The block to the north measures 18 × 40 cm, and the large block enclosing it to the south 40 × 45 cm, with a hollow of 3 × 5 cm lined with plaster. The floor consists of a thick slab resting on a stone base. We cannot account for this feature, but this whole sector was extensively disrupted by tomb raiding, as shown by the wide pillage trench immediately to the east.

Locus 4

To the north of L8 there is *locus* L4, which is quite well conserved (Pl. 15*b*). It measures 42 × 55 cm and the north wall is 25 cm wide. The perimeter walls are made out of medium-small irregular stones. On the beaten earth floor the ring-shaped base of a vase was found which had been used as an oil lamp, to judge from the burn marks and charcoal residues inside.

Locus 10

L10 lies on the western side of L4, sharing the latter's eastern wall (70 × 42 cm). This *locus* too has quite a well conserved perimeter. Inside we found a small stela fixed upright (B.06.D.O./31) against the south wall (Pl. 16*a*). Here too the ring-shaped base of a vase was found on the floor, used as an oil lamp (as in L1 and L4).

Locus 6

L6 measures 80 × 60 cm, and is enclosed to the west by a wall of mud bricks (20 cm in width), to the south by the continuous mud brick wall which encloses *loci* L14, L15, L16 to the north; while its north and east sides consist in a single course of stones. The floor of the *locus* is of beaten earth (Pl. 16*b*).

Locus 17

Lying alongside, on the western side there is another small *locus*, only partially excavated. It is enclosed to the east by a mud brick wall in common with L16 (Pl. 20*a*).

Loci 14, 15, 16

These three *loci* are presented together because they share a low mud brick wall (17 cm in width) lying east-west (Pl. 17*a*). This wall has perpendicular irregular offshoots (12 cm in width) to the south-west, comprising small chambers, only one of which is closed. This is L14, 60 × 80 cm and enclosed also on the eastern side by mud bricks. On the beaten earth floor we found a ring-shaped base of a terracotta vase used as an oil lamp with clear burn marks (Pl. 17*b*).

L15 lies to the west and measures 65 cm in width. Unfortunately its southern extremity has not been preserved, but it may have been the continuation of the wall of L14 (Pl. 18*a*).

L16 comprises a series of three small niches, each circa 20 cm in width, separated off by little walls in beaten earth or small mud bricks (Pl. 18*b*). These three structures too must have been enclosed to the south by the continuation of the southern wall of L14. We hope that future excavations can clarify their function.

The last niche is enclosed to the west by the wall M5, of which only the southern corner has been excavated to date (see Pl. 9*a*). The wall has two rows of ashlars intact, of irregular size and shape.

Locus 5

L5 is located at the north-eastern side of the site. It measures 1.15 m in length and 43 cm in width. The floor is made of stones rather than beaten earth

(Pl. 19a). This structure too, the only one to be rectangular in shape, will become clearer when excavations are pursued northwards.

Locus 13

L13 is enclosed to the north by L10 and to the south by L9 (Pl. 20a). In reality it has not yet been excavated since the position and orientation of the stones on its east and west sides are not apparent; there seems to have been a slight collapse.

Locus 9

To the south of L13 lies *locus* L9, measuring 46 × 75 cm. A single stone block to the north (in common with L13) is squared off and rectangular, while to the west it is enclosed by a little wall of mud bricks (in common with L14), as it is to the south (Pl. 19b).

Level 4, Ancient South Arabian Period [2]

The stratigraphic probe carried out in the south-western corner of the site (2 × 2 m), south of the mud brick wall M3 (see Pl. 6c), revealed a thick compact earth layer, free of sand, covering a layer made up of loose soil mixed with small splinters of stone, fragments of mud bricks and potshards. Lev. 4 is located -0.60 m below the level of the funerary structures (Lev. 3) but outside the burial area; in other words, the tombs are enclosed by the walls M1-M2 and M4 (pertinent to the funerary structures) and are not found where the probe was carried out. It was done following the discovery of the little mud brick wall M3, with a different orientation to that of walls M1-M2 and M4. Certainly pursuing excavations in this area will clarify how M3 relates to the funerary structures and any constructions from the Ancient South Arabian period that may be found.

The ceramic ware found in this probe was Ancient South Arabian or 'Sabaean' in terms of form, clay and surface finish, the latter consisting in a thick red and purplish-brown burnished slip. The results of C14 tests carried out on samples of charcoal taken from Level 4, -2.80 m below ground level, date the Ancient South Arabian occupation to the 11th-10th century B.C.[3].

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[2] Regarding the terms of the chronology, see de Maigret forthcoming.

[3] The carbon samples were analysed by INNOVA, directed by Prof. F. Terrasi. The finds have been treated according to the protocols used in the CIRCE (Center for Isotopic Research on Cultural and Environmental heritage) laboratory (Caserta, Italy).

2. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS

FUNERARY STELAE

The stelae found while excavating the tombs at Barāqish are of a type found exclusively in the Yemeni Jawf. While they have been known to scholars for several decades (Höfner 1964; Garbini 1977), the Minaean stelae have always been studied outside their archaeological context, since the only specimens came from illegal excavations or casual finds, or else had been reused in constructions from the Islamic era (Antonini 1998, 2005a; Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006). The excavations conducted by the Italian Mission mark the first time they have been discovered *in situ*. Their study in the archaeological context, together with other materials, albeit scant (pottery, offering tables, incense-burners, beads), and the results of C14 analysis, together provide important data in compiling a chronology for them. Moreover study of the inscriptions (see in this volume the chapter by Agostini) enables us to throw some light on the origins of this people.

The contemporary use of stelae with a face either engraved or sculpted in relief is borne out by the occurrence of both types in the same stratigraphic context. Contrary to a previous hypothesis (Antonini 2005a: 312), we cannot speak of a typological evolution but rather of different techniques and forms of expression used to express the same concept or fulfil the same function. In fact the different types of stela were widespread above all in the final centuries of the 1st millennium B.C., even though some specimens are attested as early as the 7th-6th century (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: 99-101). The chronological range is suggested above all by the style, the palaeography of some inscriptions incised on the stelae, and the onomastics, which features northern Arabic names (*ibid.*: 100).

General Features

The stelae are all rectangular, with small variants; some taper off towards the top (particularly those with

the face in relief; B.05.D.O./25; B.05.D.O./26) and others towards the bottom (B.05.D.O./16; B.06.D.O./23). In most cases the bottom edge is irregular and unfashioned, suggesting it was not intended to be seen since the stela was to be placed upright. In general only the face and edges of the side faces are properly fashioned, while the rear is left rough hewn. The stelae vary in height and width. The name of the deceased is always carved beneath the face, but at a distance that varies; the height and alignment of the letters are also mostly irregular, and only in a few rare cases can one detect horizontal guidelines within which the letters were carved (B.05.D.O./18; B.06.D.O./21). These factors undoubtedly make it difficult to arrive at a chronological evaluation of the inscriptions merely on the basis of palaeographical criteria.

Material and Technique

The choice of stone played a major role in the technique and formal appearance of this type of stela. Generally sandstone, limestone or calcarenite were used (it is rare to find stelae of this type made of alabaster). Some stelae are highly fragile and its sandy consistency means they can very easily crumble or fall apart (B.05.D.O./8; B.06.D.O./29). The surface of some is quite porous (e.g. B.05.D.O./19; B.06.D.O./16), while the stone of others has evident natural veins which cause difficulties in their fashioning, compromising the formal harmony (B.05.D.O./18; B.06.D.O./20); only one stela was carved from a single block of limestone with large grits (B.06.D.O./26).

In common with most South Arabian sculpture, these works were intended to be observed exclusively from the front, whether they were placed upright in the terrain or horizontally on top of a funeral pit. The most careful work went into the front surface, showing the 'portrait' and name of the deceased; the sides and rear were rough hewn and left untrimmed, and only a few particularly elaborate stelae were made flat. Given the

nature of the stone used, the front, in spite of being fashioned, is rarely smooth, and when it is this applies only to the face in relief. Very often, on the contrary, there are clear marks made by the tools used first to make the surface uniformly flat and then to sculpt the face of the deceased out of the very low relief background. In the first case we can note in some stelae short, parallel grooves cut close together in the surface, generally oblique but with different orientations (e.g. B.05.D.O./18; B.06.D.O./21; B.06.D.O./22). In the second case, the close packed grooves radiate out round the oval face (B.05.D.O./22; B.05.D.O./25; B.05.D.O./33; B.06.D.O./24).

One stela was made by reusing a block from an architectonic façade with a smooth cornice and pecked inner area, where the name of the deceased was engraved (B.06.D.O./30); this stela is fragmentary and lacks the representation of the face, but, on the basis of comparisons, it would have been engraved, with the upper smooth cornice as the forehead (cf. *ibid.*: al-Jawf 04.254-265).

The good chance of finding the stelae *in situ* enabled us to identify, for the first time, a method of finishing that had been used on some of them (B.06.D.O./15; B.06.D.O./18; B.06.D.O./23), and which in all probability was originally very widespread. We can refer to the best preserved specimen, B.06.D.O./15, which has kept the coating of plaster which entirely covered the front. In the upper half, corresponding with the face, the outline of the eyes and possibly also the face had been highlighted in red on the white background; in the lower half the layer of plaster is coarser and painted over in red; it also appears that the engraved inscription was covered with plaster, even though it is here that we find most evidence of red over-painting. The peculiar feature of this technique, which still causes some doubts, is the fact that the paint had been applied directly onto the stone as well as to the layer of plaster. We can advance the hypothesis that some stelae, merely rough hewn, had a sort of plaster mask applied, with the eyes merely painted on and a 3-dimensional nose added, as can be deduced from the discovery of five separate noses during excavations. It is not so easy to account for the presence of paint both above and below the layer of plaster, and there is no doubt that the engraved inscriptions were also plastered over (B.06.D.O./18).

This method may have been restricted to specimens which were particularly fragile and mediocre, even though it cannot have been difficult to obtain the raw material for producing new ones. This hypothesis is borne out by the fact that the stelae in question are of poor quality, not accurately squared off (B.06.D.O./15), with practically no relief features in the oval of the face (B.06.D.O./18; B.06.D.O./23) and bearing inscriptions with heavily scored, rather irregular strokes.

Typology

In the two excavation campaigns numerous funerary stelae came to light, of which 37 are included in our classification while 7 are fragments with inscriptions which probably belonged to seven other stelae. We here present the stelae according to the typological classification proposed by M. Arbach and J. Schiettecatte (*ibid.*: 98-117, pls. 43-67), although there are some differences.

Our classification is subdivided as follows:

1. Stelae with engraved face;
2. Stelae with low relief face;
3. Stelae with high relief face;
4. Stelae with plaster covering.

In the stelae from the necropolis of Barāqish there are no examples with eyes, which constitute the first class in the typology established by the French colleagues. Stelae with the mere representation of eyes and the name of the deceased engraved were not found while excavating either the tombs or the Minaean temples inside the city where the Italian Mission operates; this was the source for a number of stelae of the other most common types, reused in the walls dating from the Islamic era erected on top of the temples.

1. Stelae with Engraved Face

Our first category covers stelae with engraved facial features; it is the most numerous (16 specimens) and corresponds to the second class in the Arbach and Schiettecatte classification. They are very simple stelae, in which the oval face is mostly elongated, square and angular, lozenge-shaped eyes engraved, arching eyebrows, long rectangular nose and small rhomboidal mouth. The forehead corresponds to the slab's upper cornice. Some specimens stand out for certain features that do not appear in the others. In B.06.D.O./13 (Pl. 22*b*), for example, the eyes have iris and lids in relief and teeth indicated between the half-closed lips; B.06.D.O./20 (Pl. 23*c*) has a small round face, large almond-shaped eyes, nose in relief, large mouth and rectangular beard engraved beneath the chin. Finally the fragment of stela B.06.D.O./30 (Pl. 24*b*), as mentioned in the introduction, is made from a reused architectonic block, the face being engraved in the upper half; there are numerous comparisons in Arbach and Schiettecatte (*ibid.*: al-Jawf 04.254-265).

Catalogue
1.1 (Pl. 20*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./15.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 3.

Size: 35 × 14.5 × 6.5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: funerary stela carved from rectangular block, with face of the deceased engraved. Beneath the face there is an inscription containing three letters (see Agostini, p. 53). The surface is quite smooth.

1.2 (Pl. 20*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./18.
SU: B.05.D/15, from Lev. 1; -1 m from surface.
Size: 22.5 × 16 × 6 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact: the stela has the top right corner chipped.
Description: rectangular stela with oval face engraved. The eyes, large and tapering, are framed by slightly arched eyebrows. The nose is abraded; the mouth small. Beneath the 'portrait' the inscription is engraved in a space ruled by two parallel horizontal lines (see Agostini, p. 54).

1.3 (Pl. 21*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./20.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.85 m from surface.
Size: h max. conserved cm 18.5; w cm 16; 5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: oblique fracture corresponding with lower part of face.
Description: fragment of funerary stela with engraved face. The eyes vary slightly in size and shape, and are surmounted by slightly raised eyebrows. Sides and front show marks of the tool used for trimming, while the back is rough hewn and conserves traces of plaster.

1.4 (Pl. 21*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./23.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 1; -0.98 m from ground level.
Size: 27.5 × 15 × 5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: the stela, although intact, has very worn surfaces.
Description: funerary stela with facial features engraved, only the large tapering almond-shaped eyes being still evident; inscription engraved beneath (see Agostini, p. 56).

1.5 (Pl. 21*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./27.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 1; -0.98 m from ground level.
Size: 33 × 16 × 6 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: the stela is intact, but front surface quite worn.
Description: the face engraved on the stela has a pointed outline, with large almond-shaped eyes and small half-closed mouth. In the lower section the name of the deceased seems to have been cancelled (see Agostini, p. 57). The front, although damaged, was obviously trimmed, like the sides, while the back was only rough hewn.

1.6 (Pl. 22*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./30.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 1.
Size: 38 × 20 × 6 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: the stela is intact, but front surface quite worn.
Description: rectangular stela with oval face engraved; forehead and nose slightly in relief. Eyes and mouth are romboidal in shape and deeply indented. The eyes are surrounded by an irregular larger oval, lightly incised. The front is quite damaged and the inscription is illegible.

1.7 (Pl. 22*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./13.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; -1.25 m from ground level.
Size: 27.5 × 13 × 5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: bottom right corner broken off.
Description: rectangular stela with engraved face in upper part. The face is an elongated oval with square chin, rectangular nose, lozenge-shaped eyes with lids and brows in relief. Beneath the face a three letter name is engraved (see Agostini, p. 58).

1.8 (Pl. 22*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./14.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on M1.
Size: h 8 cm; w 7 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: funerary stela with engraved face. The upper part of face is conserved, with lozenge-shaped eyes, lids in relief and rectangular nose.

1.9 (Pl. 23*a*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./16.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; in west section.
Size: 22 × 12 × 4 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with engraved facial features. The eyes are lozenge-shaped eyes with upper lid in relief coinciding with raised brows. The nose is rectangular and mouth semi-oval. Beneath two names of five and three letters are engraved (see Agostini, p. 59). The back is rounded and rough hewn.

1.10 (Pl. 23*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./17.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; under M1.
Size: 25.5 × 16 × 3.5 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with triangular engraved face, square chin. The top of the head corresponds with flat top of slab. The nose is long and rectangular, the mouth and eyes rhomboidal. The brows are at an obtuse angle. Three letters engraved beneath the face indicate the name (see Agostini, p. 59). The back of the slab is quite flat.

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1.11 (Pl. 23*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./20.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; under M1.
Size: 33 × 12.5 × 5 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: chips on top of slab.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with round engraved face and flat top of head. The nose is in low relief, as is the brow. The engraved eyes are quite large and oval. The mouth is also oval. Beneath, in correspondence with the chin, an engraved rectangular beard. The name comprises four letters (see Agostini, p. 60).

1.12 (Pl. 23*d*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./26.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on top of M4.
Size: 40 × 18.7 × 7 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: large rectangular funerary stela with engraved face. The top of the head corresponds with top of stela. The outline of the face is square, with a broad flat chin. The nose is long and rectangular, the eyes a tapering lozenge-shape like the mouth, the brows angular. The engraving is shallow. The inscription is engraved in the lower half of the slab (see Agostini, p. 62).

1.13 (Pl. 24*a*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./27.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on top of M4, with B.06.D.O./26.
Size: 37 × 18 × 7.5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: funerary stela with human face engraved in the upper half of the slab. The lower half has an inscription (see Agostini, p. 62). The face is triangular with square chin. The eyes are irregular lozenge-shaped with engraved eyeball, brows slightly arching, rectangular nose and tapering oval mouth. Traces of dark red pigment conserved on the surface.

1.14 (Pl. 24*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./30.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3; from NE corner, near L5.
Size: 8.7 × 11 × 4.5 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: rectangular slab surrounded by a smooth 1 cm frame. The surface inside the cornice is pecked. The inscription comprises three well defined letters (see Agostini, p. 62). In the upper part, which is missing, a human face was engraved, with a tiny portion of the chin remaining.

1.15 (Pl. 24*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./10.
SU: B.05.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: 27 × 15 × 4.5 cm.
Material: limestone.

Conservation: chips along the bottom.
Description: rectangular funerary stela featuring the face of the deceased and inscription, both engraved. The face is square; the forehead corresponds to the upper cornice of the stela and forms a T with the perfectly central rectangular nose. The brows are engraved on the line indicating the forehead; beneath them rhomboidal eyes. Beneath the nose a tapering almond-shaped mouth. The inscription, on the lower portion of the stela, comprises one line (see Agostini, p. 52).

1.16 (Pl. 24*d*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./16.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 3; from surface of M1.
Size: 18 × 15 × 8 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: funerary stela of which only the inscription and engraved line indicating the chin and part of the face, both engraved, are conserved. The inscription, on one line, comprises six or seven letters (see Agostini, p. 54). On the front surface tool marks can be seen, while the back and sides were left rough hewn.

2. Stelae with Face in Low Relief

This category numbers 10 items, 6 stelae which are more or less intact and 4 fragments. It corresponds in part to the third class in the Arbach-Schiettecatte classification, entitled 'stèles introduisant le relief' (*ibid.*: al-Jawf 04.264-279). The formal features are very similar to those of the first category, although the facial surround is more oval; in addition, the forehead is generally more protruding and the brows are engraved above it (B.05.D.O./8, Pl. 27*a*; B.06.D.O./21, Pl. 25*b*; B.06.D.O./22, Pl. 25*c*). Finally we should note that the stela B.06.D.O./31 (Pl. 25*d*), badly damaged, is longer and narrower than the others, and seems to have a particularly elongated face.

In our remarks about technique we pointed out how the chisel grooves left on some of the stelae showed how the craftsman produced the outline in low relief (B.05.D.O./22, Pl. 25*a*; B.05.D.O./33, Pl. 27*c*). This technique is much more evident in some of the stelae presented by Arbach and Schiettecatte (*ibid.*: al-Jawf 04.264-265, pl. 61; al-Jawf 04.266, pl. 62; al-Jawf 04.280, 282, pl. 64).

Catalogue
2.1 (Pl. 25*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./22.
SU: B.05.D/10, from Lev. 1; -0.98 m from surface.
Size: h 23 cm; w 12 cm; 5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: funerary stela with a more or less triangular face in low relief. The forehead, measuring 5 cm, corresponds to the top edge of the slab and forms a T

with the nose. The eyes, rhomboidal, and brows are in relief; the mouth is engraved. In the lower portion the inscription is engraved comprising 3 letters (see Agostini, p. 55). On the back traces of plaster are preserved.

2.2 (Pl. 25*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./21.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3.
Size: 29 × 19 × 5.8 cm.
Conservation: top left corner broken off.
Material: calcarenite.
Description: rectangular stela with triangular face in low relief. The top of the head corresponds to the upper edge of slab. The facial features are engraved: tapering oval eyes, brows slightly arching, rectangular nose and oblong oval mouth. The surface conserves traces of red paint. The lower section with engraved inscription is covered with a layer of plaster. The inscription comprises 5 letters (see Agostini, p. 60).

2.3 (Pl. 25*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./22.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on top of M4.
Size: 27 × 19 × 8 cm.
Material: calcarenite.
Conservation: split vertically into two fragments.
Description: rectangular funerary stela, very thick, with rounded rough hewn back. Facial features engraved bearing traces of red paint. The oval face is in low relief. On the surface there are chisel marks appearing as oblique grooves close together. An engraved straight line marks off the forehead, with the arched brows superimposed. In correspondence with the right eye and forehead the surface is covered with a layer of plaster. Beneath the face the surface is abraded leaving no trace of the inscription.

2.4 (Pl. 25*d*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./31.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: 27 × 7.8 × 4 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: top left part is chipped; face worn.
Description: rectangular stela with raised oval human face. The facial features are not very evident, but one can detect the right eye with arched brow, rectangular nose and small oval mouth. The inscription comprises 3 letters (see Agostini, p. 63) representing the name of the deceased. Traces of red paint are preserved.

2.5 (Pl. 26*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./2.
SU: B.05.D/6, from Lev. 3; -1.20 m from present ground level.
Size: max. h conserved 15 cm; w 17 cm; 6 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: funerary stela with face in low relief; rhomboidal eyes and brows are engraved, the nose in low relief. Traces of red paint on the surface. The sides of the stela are only partially trimmed. The back shows evident tool marks.

2.6 (Pl. 26*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./5.
SU: B.05.D/6, from Lev. 3.
Size: max. h conserved 7 cm; max. w conserved 6 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary; only a portion of the right side of the face is conserved.
Description: only the right eye with the lids in relief is evident. Evident traces of red paint.

2.7 (Pl. 26*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./6.
SU: B.05.D/6; from Lev. 3.
Size: max. l 6 cm; max. w 8 cm; 2.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: only a portion of the right side of the face is conserved.
Description: part of the surround of the face and right eye is conserved, the latter almond-shape and slightly in relief.

2.8 (Pl. 27*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./8.
SU: B.05.D/6, from Lev. 3; -1.30 from present ground level.
Size: max. h 8 cm; max. w 12.5 cm; 7 cm thick.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: fragmentary: only a portion of the right side of the face is conserved.
Description: funerary stela with face in low relief. The right side of the face is conserved, with forehead and hair in relief, eyes and brows engraved.

2.9 (Pl. 27*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./12.
SU: B.05.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: 37 × 15 × 6 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: chips along left side and bottom left corner.
Description: this stela is long and narrow; the elongated oval face is in low relief with rhomboidal eyes and mouth engraved and nose in slight relief. The forehead, measuring 1 cm, corresponds to the upper limit of the slab. In the lower portion of the stela the engraved inscription comprises 4 letters (see Agostini, p. 53).

2.10 (Pl. 27*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./33.
SU: SU: B.05.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: 26.5 × 16 × 8 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: top edge of stela missing.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with oval face in low relief. The facial features are engraved. In the lower portion of the slab the engraved inscription occupies two lines (see Agostini, p. 57).

3. Stelae with Face in High Relief

This category numbers 10 stelae with the face carved in high relief on a rectangular slab. It does not entirely correspond with the fourth class of Arbach and Schiettecatte, subdivided into three sub-classes. In my opinion many of the stelae they attribute to this class could be included in their previous 'stèles introduisant le relief' (our 'stelae with face in low relief'). The 'portrait' of the deceased is carved in relief in the upper half of the slab, the edge corresponding to the top of the head; the face is generally a regular oval, with a protruding brow, the eyes hollowed out to take inlays (the plaster is partially conserved in B.05.D.O./24, Pl. 28b), the nose ridge-shaped and the mouth with protruding lips. The ears are not attached to the head but are sculpted in lower relief in the background. The forehead is framed by hair. The surface of the face is smoothed, unlike the base bearing the name of the deceased engraved. This type of stela often features men, recognisable by the chinstrap beard which may jut out to a lesser or greater degree from the outline of the jawbone.

Item B.05.D.O./1 (Pl. 29a) comes from the Late-Minaean stratum of debris and is evidently re-used. The protruding part of the forehead was fashioned so as to be grasped in one hand and the back is very smooth and flat, as if this was an object used for smoothing. Item B.05.D.O./9 (Pl. 29b) conserves traces of red paint on both the face and the inscription. Item B.05.D.O./19 (Pl. 28a) is unique in having the eyelids in relief.

Catalogue

3.1 (Pl. 28a)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./19.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.85 m from surface.
Size: max. h 12 cm; w 11.5 cm; 7 cm thick. Face: max. w 9 cm; min. w 4.3 cm; 2.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: only the head in relief is conserved.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief. Only the upper portion is conserved with the face of the deceased. This has an elongated oval profile; the top of the head corresponds to the edge of the slab. The eyes are rhomboidal in shape; the mouth composes a rectangular indentation bordered by slightly protruding lips. The lower portion of the slab shows red burn marks.

3.2 (Pl. 28b)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./24.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.76 m from surface.
Size: h 20 cm; w 13.5 cm; 6.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: oblique fracture in lower portion of stela.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief. The oval face has quite a square chin. The forehead, measuring

2.5 cm, has an engraved line along the top corresponding to the hairline. The brow forms a T with the nose. The eyes, almond-shaped, are quite close together; the right eye still has its inlay, of a reddish colour with the pupil clearly visible. In the mouth, comprising a small indentation, the lower lip is highlighted by the use of slight relief. The ears are represented by three concentric semicircles in relief. The lower portion of the slab is badly damaged but conserves part of the inscription (see Agostini, p. 56). The sides and front are quite well trimmed, whereas the back is left rough hewn.

3.3 (Pl. 28c)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./25.
SU: B.05.D/15, from Lev. 1; -1 m from surface.
Size: h 32 cm; max. w 17.5 cm; min. w 15 cm; 7.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: the slab is divided in two by a diagonal fracture beneath the head.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief. The slab, that tapers progressively from bottom to top, has the face in the upper part. This has an elongated oval profile, with square chin, surrounded by a thin chinstrap beard. On the top of the head the hair is represented by an engraved line terminating laterally in two rectangular elements. The eyes, almond-shaped and quite deep-set, are on either side of the nose, which is ridge-shaped and broadens progressively towards the bottom, where in spite of a fracture the nostrils can be seen. The mouth composes a simple horizontal hollow measuring 2.5 cm. The eyes, also depicted frontally, consist in concentric semicircles. In the lower part of the slab the name of the deceased is engraved in an inscription comprising a single line (see Agostini, pp. 56-57). The front of the slab is trimmed with signs of tool marks which the sides and back are rough hewn.

3.4 (Pl. 28d)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./26.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.58 m from surface.
Size: h 40 cm; max. w 20 cm; min. w 19 cm; 5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: the face has a square profile, with gradations in the relief that highlight cheekbones and chin. The forehead, raised with respect to the rest of the face and quite broad, is surmounted by a rectangular band measuring 0.6 cm across and terminating laterally in a rectangular profile — indicating the hairline — and at the bottom by the brow, comprising delicate arches in relief. The face is a small oval, extended horizontally, with lips in relief. The ears are in relief at the sides of the face, in correspondence with the temples, small and pointed at the tops. The lower portion of the slab bears an inscription in two lines (see Agostini, p. 57); care seems to have been taken over the characters, as indeed the whole stela. All the surfaces have been smoothed off, although the back retains more sign of the work done.

3.5 (Pl. 29*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./1.
SU: B.05.D/5, from Lev. 1; -0.90 m from present ground
    level.
Size: max. h 13 cm; max. w 13 cm; 6.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: face in relief broken off at
    the level of chin; surface very eroded.
Description: funerary stela with human face carved in
    relief in upper part of slab. Although face very worn,
    the features can be recognised: forehead very marked
    and protruding; eye sockets, nose and chin. The type
    of erosion is anomalous, suggesting it may not have
    been due to natural causes. The back is flat and
    shows tool marks.

3.6 (Pl. 29*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./9.
SU: B.05.D/9, from Lev. 3; -1.40 m from present ground
    level.
Size: h 28 cm; w 7 cm; 7.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: the stela has an oblique
    fracture along the lower edge.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief. In the
    upper part the face, tapering, almost triangular in
    shape, with a square chin and high forehead,
    surmounted by an engraved line which corresponds
    with the top edge of the stela. The nose, quite long
    and ridge-shaped, broadens out towards the base,
    with evident nostrils, and forms a T with the brow;
    the eyes are oval in shape. The mouth is small,
    rendered with an engraved horizontal line, with the
    lower lip highlighted in slight relief. The face is
    surrounded by a chinstrap beard that follows its
    square outline. In the lower portion of the stela a
    single inscription has been engraved (see Agostini,
    pp. 51-52). The whole of the front surface of the stela
    bears traces of red paint. The sides and back are
    rough hewn, and tool marks are particularly evident
    along the top.

3.7 (Pl. 29*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./11.
SU: B.05.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: h 26 cm; max. w 13.5 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with regular oval
    face in relief. The eyes are hollowed out ready for
    inlays; the nose is long and slender and the mouth
    narrow with protruding lower lip. The ears are
    rendered as concentric semicircles in relief on the
    slab. Traces of red paint remain on the surface of the
    face. Just below the chin two names are inscribed
    (see Agostini, pp. 52-53).

3.8 (Pl. 30*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./14.
SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3; -1.50 from present ground
    level.
Size: max. h 10 cm; w 8 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary: only part of the face in relief
    is conserved.
Description: fragment of face in relief from a funerary
    stela. The face, with a deep oblique fracture, is
    elongated, with a square chin fringed by a rather
    short chinstrap beard. The right eye, in spite of being
    only partially preserved, is almond-shaped and deep
    set. The nose, trapezoidal rather than triangular in
    cross-section, broadens progressively towards the
    bottom, where the nostrils can be seen. The mouth is
    a narrow slit with thin lips in relief.

3.9 (Pl. 30*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./24.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on M4.
Size: 32 × 6 × 4 cm.
Material: calcarenite.
Conservation: bottom right corner broken off; the nose is
    chipped; lacks the right ear.
Description: rectangular stela with male face carved in
    relief. The face is oval with square chin, fringed by
    chinstrap beard slightly lop-sided. The eyes are
    hollowed out to take inlays. The brow is protruding.
    The forehead is rounded and bordered by hair in
    slight relief. The lower lip is in relief. The name
    comprises 4 letters (see Agostini, p. 61).

3.10 (Pl. 30*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./29.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: 17 × 8 × 8 cm.
Material: calcarenite.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: badly damaged funerary stela, only the
    upper left portion conserved. The stela has a face in
    relief, generically male. The left portion of the
    forehead is conserved, surmounted by hair, with part
    of the left eye hollow.

4. Stelae with Plaster Covering

We talked about these stelae earlier, in connection
with technique. One stela in particular has conserved,
miraculously one might say, its painted plaster
covering (B.06.D.O./15). Proof that the facial
features were added when plaster was applied is
provided by stela B.06.D.O./23, where the plaster
covering is partially conserved above and round the
face in relief, but it is absolutely flat and unmodelled.
The same can be said for stela B.06.D.O./18,
although here there are two holes where the eyes
should be and an indication of a nose in relief;
nonetheless traces of plaster are evident round the
face and in the engraved inscription. In these stelae
the nose in relief was in plaster, modelled separately
and applied on top of the layer of plaster spread over
the surface of the stela. During excavation of the
tombs, which as we have already said had been
looted, a total of 5 separate noses were found
(B.06.D.O./38-42), which must have belonged to

stelae of this category. They are elliptical in shape with a triangular cross-section and traces of red paint on the front. In one specimen the nostrils were scooped out. We could not help wondering why so much trouble had been taken over a stela; in fact this was probably a cheaper and quicker system than the usual method of sculpting stelae in high relief; besides it cannot be ruled out that the same technique was also used for the stelae that we see as simply engraved. We can recall that plaster was a very common material among the Southern Arabians, who made use of it in various contexts, ranging from architecture to sculpture and ceramic ware. The stone blocks at the base of walls were embedded in a layer of plaster; the hair and inlays of statues were often modelled in plaster; and stone stoppers covered in plaster were used to seal jars for storage or transport.

What does still require an explanation is why paint was applied both to the stone of the slab and to the plaster. We can suppose that, after outlining the essential facial features and carving the inscription, paint was spread over the parts of stone in relief but not the hollows; a layer of fresh plaster was then applied to the whole surface, which allowed the colour underneath to show through surface, highlighting the essential features with the appropriate contrast; this seems to be what can be deduced from observing stela B.06.D.O./15, although it was undoubtedly a complicated procedure. Perhaps a more plausible hypothesis is that the stela had been reused, covering it completely with a layer of white plaster and giving it new features with red paint. We have one case of the erasure of an inscription in stela B.05.D.O./27, perhaps again for its re-use.

Catalogue
4.1 (Pl. 31*a*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./15.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; against M4.
Size: 26 × 17 × 7.5 cm.
Material: sandstone and plaster.
Conservation: intact.
Description: rectangular funerary stela covered with a layer of plaster with eyes painted on in red paint. The nose is of plaster, in relief. Beneath the face an engraved inscription comprising three letters (see Agostini, pp. 58-59), partially covered with plaster and red paint.

4.2 (Pl. 31*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./18.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on top of M4.
Size: 28.5 × 15.5 × 3 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact, but carved surface eroded.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with face in relief. The face is a regular oval and the top of the head is rounded. The eyes are hollowed out to take inlays. Four letters form the name of the deceased (see Agostini, p. 59).

4.3 (Pl. 31*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./23.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; on M4, near B.06.D.O./20.
Size: 27.5 × 16 × 8 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: intact, but badly damaged.
Description: almost rectangular stela, narrower at the base, with the oval face in low relief. The missing facial features were probably done in relief in plaster. Much of the surface is covered with thick remains of plaster. Three letters irregularly engraved give the name of the deceased (see Agostini, p. 61).

4.4 (Pl. 32*a-b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./38.
SU: B.05.D/12, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 8 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: intact.
Description: plaster nose which was applied to a funerary portrait. It is an elongated oval in shape, broader towards the bottom.

4.5 (Pl. 32*a-b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./39.
SU: B.05.D/6, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 8.3 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: intact.
Description: plaster nose with a triangular cross-section. Traces of red paint.

4.6 (Pl. 32*a-b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./40.
SU: B.06.D/6, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 6.6 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: intact.
Description: nose with a triangular cross-section, flat at the bottom.

4.7 (Pl. 32*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./41.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 4.2 cm; 2.5 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragmentary nose with a triangular cross-section, flat at the bottom. This is the only specimen which bears nostrils indicated with two irregular indentations made while the plaster was still fresh. The surface was painted red, as shown by the traces of paint.

4.8 (Pl. 32*d*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./42.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 8.8 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: intact.
Description: nose of a funerary stela with human face. The stelae in this category were covered with plaster, with the facial features painted on. The flat bottom of

the nose is painted red, showing that the nose was applied on the surface after the portrait had been finished.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINE

The figurine comes from the collapse of the eastern section of the excavation area, during the first archaeological campaign (Pl. 33*a-c*). It belonged to a layer of late-Minaean period. The human figurine, fashioned by hand, is represented down to the waist with the arms held against the body; this type of figure was usually carved in alabaster, to be placed in the niche of a pillar-type funerary stela, in the same way as the long-necked heads (Antonini 2001: 121-23, pls. 70-73). The traces of plaster dotting the surface suggest that the figurine was entirely covered with plaster and then painted to highlight its features. Very similar specimens, with a terracotta core covered in plaster, were found in the excavations conducted by the Italian Mission in a room adjacent to the temple of Nakraḥ in Barāqish (Ead. 1999; 2001: 132-34, pls. 119-122). However the latter had been made in moulds, and given the find context, would have had a votive function.

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 33a-c)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./8.
SU: from Lev. 1; from material removed following the collapse of the eastern section of the excavation area.
Size: h 10 cm; w at base 6 cm; 2 cm thick.
Material: clay.
Conservation: almost intact: left arm missing, nose chipped.
Description: the figurine represents a person conserved down to the chest. The face is large and round, with a jutting chin. The brows and nose are in relief. The eyeball, nostrils and mouth are engraved. The neck is thick. The arms are slender and short, drawn in to the bust. Two protuberances indicate the breasts. Traces of plaster suggest that the figurine was covered with plaster and then painted. The back is flat.

STONE OBJECTS

The stone objects found during excavation of the necropolis vary in type and function as well as kind of stone. They can be classified in 6 categories, with the first, featuring libation tables, being the most numerous, with 7 specimens. The tables have a square or rectangular surface surrounded by a raised frame; on one side there is bull's head spout. Such ritual tables are very common in Southern Arabia, occurring throughout the first millennium B.C.; they are generally carved in alabaster as well as limestone and sandstone. Large libation tables can have two bull's head spouts on one of the long sides (Catalogo di Roma 2000: 343, no. 223). Miniature offering tables are also found in the grave goods of the Sabaeans (*ibid.*: 365, no. 308, from the necropolis of Ma'rib) and Qatabanians (Antonini 2005b: pl. 7*e*, from the necropolis of Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl).

The second category features three household objects, a grindstone and two mullers, a type of object recurring in all regions and periods. We can merely add that they are made out of granite, which is not found in the Jawfite area.

The third category features recipients, including a fragment of a vase steatite, comprising a portion of the side and of the flat bottom. The striking thing about this vessel is the presence of vertical ledge on the side, while the outer surface is perfectly smooth (cf. Cleveland 1965: pl. 89, TC 2514). These two characteristics set it apart from the common cooking pots in the steatite (in Arab *burm*) of Southern Arabia. Such utensils are semicircular in shape with two horizontal ledge-handles about 2 cm below the smooth rim, with an outer surface (of the body and the rounded bottom) that is rough and traversed by quite deep grooves. The object in question certainly had another function, like the cylindrical jars found in the tombs of Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl and Hajar Bin Ḥumayd (cf. *ibid.*: 113, TC2514, pl. 89 from the necropolis of Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl; Van Beek 1969: 326, HI 89c, p. 329, fig. 130*c*, from a tomb of Hajar Bin Ḥumayd). In the latter site the tomb investigated by Gus Van Beek (*ibid.*: 324) dates back to between the 3rd and 1st century B.C. This category features two other small recipients, one cylindrical made of alabaster and the other of limestone, both flat-bottomed.

The fourth category features a cylindrical object made of alabaster with horizontal ribbing which could be part of the high ring base of a chalice (cf. *ibid.*: 274, H605, p. 294, fig. 118*g*, from stratum D of Hajar Bin Ḥumayd; 3rd century B.C.; Roux 1992: 356-57, fig. 21.*49*, from the cave-tomb 1 of Shabwa; 1st century A.D.).

The fifth category features three fragmentary incense burners, two of the cubic type with four feet and one which is low, possibly legless, with a broad flat rim. In the first type the faces had different decorations; the oldest specimens were engraved with the name of the kind of resins usually burnt during the rituals (Antonini 1988); the other incense burners, which could have pyramid-shaped feet, were decorated with south Arabian geometric motifs (grooves, dentils, panels).

Catalogue
1 Offering tables
1.1 (Pl. 34a)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./1.
SU: B.06.D/1; from Lev. 1.
Size: 20 × 15 × 5.5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: broken, with surface worn.

Description: small offering table with rectangular inset surface, duct in correspondence with neck of the bull's head. The bull's head is quite well preserved.

1.2 (Pl. 34b)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./28.
SU: B.05.D/1, from Lev. 1; -1.10 m from ground level.
Size: w 23.5 cm; l 27.5 cm; 6.5 cm thick; neck: l 6 cm; max. l 9 cm: min. w cm 7.5; edge: w 5 cm; 0.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: largely intact but worn.
Description: square libation table carved from a single sandstone block, with a bull's neck for liquids to drain away. The table has a wide edge that frames the slightly lower surface area. On the upper side of the neck one can still detect the central duct running lengthwise. Seeds and other vegetal residues suggest that the table had been reused in later times, probably as a mortar or quern.

1.3 (Pl. 34c-d)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./25.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; south of M4.
Size: 18 × 15 × 6.5 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: small offering table; the bull's head is missing. The square top is only a few millimetres deep, and the duct cut into the neck is only just deeper. On one side a fragmentary engraved inscription (see Agostini, p. 65).

1.4 (Pl. 34e)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./7.
SU: B.05.D/6, from Lev. 3.
Size: max. l 8.5 cm; max. w 10.7 cm; 5.7 cm thick; duct: l max. w 2 cm; min. w 1.2 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: one end of a small libation table, corresponding to the bull's head neck. On the top the fragment has a square duct which tapers towards the end, in correspondence with the bull's head. The right side bears vertical and oblique marks left by tools, while the left, very poorly conserved, still has a small portion of the edge that framed the top of the offertory table.

1.5 (Pl. 34f)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./5.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3.
Size: l 9.5 cm; 6.5 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: bull's head terminating in a slightly modelled snout which is flat underneath. The eyes are indicated by two small protuberances, and the nostrils by two slight indentations. The top of the neck has the duct that characterises this type of cultual table.

1.6 (Pl. 35a)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./7.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3.
Size: h 7 cm; l 6.5 cm; w 6 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: portion of bull's neck, part of a small offering table or gutter. It has a semi-oval cross-section, flat on the top, with a duct measuring 2 cm in width.

1.7 (Pl. 35b)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./32.
SU: B.06.D/9, from Lev. 3; behind M1.
Size: 10 × 6 × 5.2 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: neck of a small offering table (or gutter) of the bull's head type. Only the section of the neck with the central duct, 2 cm in width, is preserved.

2. Grindstones
2.1 (Pl. 35c)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./31.
SU: B.05.D/17, from Lev. 1; -1.32 m from ground level, near the western section.
Size: 16 × 12 × 5.5 cm.
Material: pink granite.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragmentary oval grindstone, slightly concave with smooth top and semi-circular cross-section.

2.2 (Pl. 35d-e)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./28.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3; near M4, -1.50 from surface.
Size: 5.7 × 5.4 × 5.9 cm.
Material: grey granite.
Conservation: fragmentary: one side broken off.
Description: cube-shaped muller with perfectly flat smooth top; one side is slightly concave, but also smooth and polished; on the other two sides one can just detect signs of wear. The other side (the sixth being broken off) has indentations perhaps caused by improper use as a hammer.

2.3 (Pl. 36a)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./36.
SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3; from the burials stratum.
Size: 10 × 6 × 4 cm.
Material: grey granite.
Conservation: fragmentary: one side broken off.
Description: disc-shaped muller with both sides smooth and polished. It seems to have been made out of a pebble.

3. Vessels
3.1 (Pl. 36b)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./33.
SU: B.06.D/8, from Lev. 1.
Size: h 6 cm; thickness 1.5-0.5 cm.
Material: steatite.
Conservation: fragmentary.

Description: fragment of steatite pot. Portion of side and what must have been a flat base is conserved. Vertical rounded edge on the side.

3.2 (Pl. 36*c*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./38.
SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1.
Size: h 2 cm; 0.5 cm tick; diam. base 4 cm.
Material: pale yellow alabaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: cylindrical alabaster vessel with straight side and flat bottom.

3.3 (Pl. 36*d*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./39.
SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1.
Size: h 3.5 cm; thickness 0.5-1 cm; diam. 5 cm.
Material: grey limestone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: small vessel with thick flat bottom; the thickness decreases progressively towards lip. Both outer and inner surfaces are smooth and polished.

4. Base of chalice
4.1 (Pl. 36*e*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./43.
SU: from surface, from collapse of east section of the excavation area.
Size: h 3.5 cm; diam. 3.1 cm.
Material: alabaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: cylindrical object with two horizontal flutings showing three parallel rings. Possibly fragment of a high ring base of a chalice.

5. Incense burners
5.1 (Pl. 36*f*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./34.
SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3.
Size: h 10 cm; w 5 cm; foot 3 x 3 cm.
Material: limestone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: incense burner of the cubic type with four angular feet decorated with a criss-cross of oblique incisions. On each of the two portions of the sides that have been preserved a letter is engraved: [dr]w and r[nd], denoting two common resins, *ḍarw* and *rand*. One can detect preparatory incisions for the inscriptions.

5.2 (Pl. 37*a*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./35.
SU: SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3.
Size: h 6 cm; l 9 cm; 3 cm thick.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: incense burner of the cubic type with four feet, only one conserved. The three extant sides are decorated with dentils.

5.3 (Pl. 37*b*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./37.
SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3.

Size: 7 × 6 × 2 cm.
Material: sandstone.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: small vessel, probably used as an incense burner to judge from the residues of burnt material inside. Square with a rim measuring 1 cm across and quite shallow.

BEADS

Three beads have come to light in the tombs excavated at Barāqish. The first (B.05.D.O./17) is made of bone, cylindrical and bored longitudinally (Caton Thompson 1944: 98, No. 10, pl. XLII.*24*). The second (B.06.D.O./36) is made of silvered glass with blue dots, globular, dating from the Hellenistic or Roman era (Dubin 1987: see bead chart). The third (B.05.D.O./29a) is made of semiprecious, globular, and was also found in one of the hypogean tombs of Waraqah, dating from the 1st century A.D. (Antonini 2005c: 86, fig. 64.*10*).

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 37*c* [a])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./29a.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.94 m from surface.
Size: diam. 1 cm.
Material: dark green calcedonium.
Conservation: intact.
Description: globular bead, bored through.

2 (Pl. 37*d*)
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./17.
SU: B.05.D/11, from Lev. 3; east of M1.
Size: l 0.7 cm; diam. 0.4 cm.
Material: bone?
Conservation: intact.
Description: cylindrical bead with bored longitudinally. Traces of green suggest that it had been in contact with a bronze object.

3 (Pl. 37*e-f*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./36.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3.
Size: diam. 0.4 cm.
Material: glass.
Conservation: intact.
Description: spherical bead bored through. The glass is silvered, decorated with 5 blue dots.

SHELLS

Twelve sea shells came to light in the tombs excavated at Barāqish. The most numerous were of the *Cypraea* species (B.05.D.O./29f-g; B.05.D.O./32e; B.06.D.O./6; B.06.D.O./34; B.06.D.O./35), most of them lacking the back. The second group comprises the *Oliva* species (B.05.D.O./29b-d, h; B.05.D.O./32d), all with a perforation at the top. Only one fragmentary

specimen of a bivalve was found (B.05.D.O./32c). All these shellfish are found in the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden (see Caton Thompson 1944: 104-105, pl. XLI). The first two species were used in necklaces and personal ornaments in general; the third was used as a tool, probably to polish ceramic ware (Van Beek 1969: 96, 289).

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 37*c* [b-d, f-h])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./29b, c, d, f, g, h.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.94 m from surface.
Conservation: intact.
Description: b, c, d, h: *Oliva inflata Reev.*; f: *Cypraea moneta*; g: *Cypraea turdus.*

2 (Pl. 38*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./34.
SU: B.06.D/8, from Lev. 1.
Size: 2 cm.
Conservation: intact.
Description: *Cypraea turdus Lamk.*

3 (Pl. 38*a* [c-e])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./31c, d, e.
SU: B.05.D/17, from Lev. 1.
Material: mother of pearl.
Conservation: intact.
Description: c: *Arca inflata Reev.*; d: *Oliva inflata Lamk.*; e: *Cypraea turdus Lamk.*

4 (Pl. 38*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./6.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3.
Size: 2.6 cm.
Conservation: intact.
Description: *Cypraea turdus Lamk.*

5 (Pl. 38*d*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./35.
SU: B.06.D/4, from Lev. 3.
Size: 2.8 cm.
Conservation: intact.
Description: *Cypraea turdus Lamk.* These shells were used to decorate clothing or in necklaces and bracelets.

BRONZE OBJECTS

Only three fragments of bronze objects have come to light, none of them complete. Two are rectangular flat objects, part of a hinge that would have been attached by means of a rivet inserted in the hole to a wood support (B.05.D.O./32a-b). The third is a fragment of a seal (B.05.D.O./29e), generally comprising a frame featuring the letters forming a name (Caton Thompson 1944: 77, pl. XLV.*15*). This type of seal dates from the first centuries of the Christian era (Simpson 2002: 179, Nos. 240-241). In

this case the small circle could be a ° ('). This type of seal *à jour* was applied to the fresh plaster put over the mouth of jars; they were sealed with a stopper, made of stone or terracotta, covered with plaster on which the owner's name was stamped. Fragments of plaster with a seal imprint were also found during excavations of the necropolis (see the following paragraph 'Plaster Jar Sealings'). Numerous specimens were found in the stratigraphic probe (Area C) conducted by Prof. F.G. Fedele close to and outside the walls of Barāqish, with some other fragments from the area of the temples of Nakraḥ and 'Athtar.

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 37*c* [e])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./29e.
SU: B.05.D/13, from Lev. 1; -0.94 m from surface.
Size: l 2.5 cm; w 1.6 cm; 0.3 cm thick.
Material: bronze.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragment of bronze seal *à jour*, with letter inscribed at the centre of a rectangular frame.

2 (Pl. 38*a* [a-b])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./32a-b.
SU: B.05.D/15, from Lev. 1; -1.04 m from surface.
Size: l 3.5 cm; w 2.5 cm; 0.2 cm thick.
Material: bronze.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: bronze hinge comprising two rectangular flat bronze fragments. One of the two has a small hole at one end.

PLASTER JAR SEALINGS

Four fragments of plaster came to light with a seal imprint; the plaster had been used to seal large jars with narrow neck and flared rim, filled with a disc-shaped stopper in stone or terracotta and covered with a thick layer of plaster; the owner's name or identifying marks were impressed on the plaster (Costa 1991). Seals are generally bronze, *à jour*, and the same type was found in excavating the tombs (B.05.D.O./29e). In the stratigraphic probe conducted by Prof. F.G. Fedele close to the city walls numerous fragments of plaster with seal imprints came to light. Charcoal from the 'jars sealing level' was dated by radiocarbon to 94 B.C.-32 A.D. (Fedele forthcoming).

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 39*a*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./2.
SU: B.06.D/1, from Lev. 1.
Size: l 5.5 cm; 1 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: the inscription on the fragment of the plaster jar sealing is incomplete (see Agostini, p. 66).

2 (Pl. 39*b* [c])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./40.
SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1.
Size: l 9 cm; 1 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragment of a plaster jar sealing with a
    hole through it.

3 (Pl. 39*b* [a])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./41.
SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1.
Size: l 6.5 cm; 1 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: the surface of the plaster jar sealing bears an
    engraved mark that sealed the vessel.

4 (Pl. 39*b* [b])
Inv. No. B.05.D.O./42.
SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1.
Size: l 8.2 cm; 1 cm thick.
Material: plaster.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: the plaster jar sealing had engraved
    identifying marks.

GLASS FRAGMENT

A fragment of a small white glass vessel was
found in the Late-Minaean level (-50 cm from below
the surface). Regrettably the bad state of conservation
does not allow us to establish its original form.
Decorations or monograms in relief can be discerned
inside frames; the glass vessel seems to have been
made in a mould. The excavations of the tombs at
Barāqish have yielded no other fragments of glass
vessels.

Catalogue
1 (Pl. 39*c*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./12.
SU: B.06.D/6, from Lev. 1; from west section, -50 cm
    below ground level.
Size: 3 × 2.3 cm; 0.2 cm thick.
Material: glass.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragment of white glass, porous, with small
    fluting under the lip and body with frames round
    either side. Inside the frames a decorative element in
    relief which cannot be reliably interpreted.

ORGANIC MATERIAL

This class covers some objects of different kinds
and functions which can be subdivided into two
categories on the basis of the material they are made
of. The first group of objects (No. 1) comprise two

wooden vessels: a bowl with flared foot and flat base
(B.06.D.O./3), apparently a wooden replica of the
common ceramic ring-foot vase; and a fragment of
the side and bottom of a deep wooden bowl
(B.06.D.O./10a).

The second category (No. 2) comprises various
organic materials, including some fragments of cloth
and woollen threads (B.06.D.O./4, B.06.D.O./9), ve-
getal fibres (B.06.D.O./10b, c), leather (B.06.D.O./11)
and human hairs (B.06.D.O./37). All this material was
found in the Late-Minaean level.

Catalogue
1.1 Wooden bowl (Pl. 39*d*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./3.
SU: B.06.D/2, from Lev. 1.
Size: h 4 cm; diam. of base 7 cm; thickness of side
    0.6 cm.
Material: wood.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: this is a wooden imitation of the more
    common terracotta prototypes of ring foot bowl.

1.2 Wooden bowl (Pl. 40*a* [a])
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./10a.
SU: B.06.D/2, from Lev.1; -50 cm from surface.
Material: wood.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: deep bowl with rounded lip and fine
    horizontal fluting. Round bore hole in the centre of
    the sides.

2.1 Threads (Pl. 40*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./4.
SU: B.06.D/2, from Lev. 1.
Size: l 5.5 cm; 1 cm thick.
Material: wool.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: remains of threads in organic material
    (sheep or goats' wool), off-white.

2.2 Cloth (Pl. 41*a*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./9.
SU: B.06.D/6, from Lev. 1.
Material: wool.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: scraps of yellowish cloth (wool) with black
    geometric decoration.

2.3 Fragments of basket and rope (Pl. 40*a* [b-c])
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./10.
SU: B.06.D/2, from Lev. 1; -50 cm from surface.
Materiale: palm fibre?
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: b: flat bottom of a basket probably made of
    woven palm fibre; c: piece of rope made out of two
    lengths of fibre rolled together as a spiral.

2.4 Tooled leather (Pl. 41*b*)
Inv. No. B.06.D.O./11.
SU: B.06.D/6, from Lev. 1.
Material: leather.

Conservation: fragmentary.

Description: fragments of leather with traces of sewing, possibly part of a sandal or bag.

2.5 Plait of human hair (Pl. 41*c*)

Inv. No. B.06.D.O./37.

SU: B.06.D/8, from Lev. 1; -1.15 from current ground level.

Size: l 19 cm.

Material: hair.

Conservation: intact.

Description: long slender human plait, chestnut colour, tied at each end with string.

CLAY STOPPERS

Finally we can illustrate two disc-shaped objects, made from a fragment of the sides of a terracotta vase. Such objects, often made of stone, were used as stoppers to seal containers, usually jars, and sealed with fresh plaster, on which the identifying mark of the potter or owner was engraved or imprinted (cf. Pl. 39*a-b*).

Catalogue

1 Terracotta stopper (Pl. 42*a*)

Inv. No. B.05.D.O./43.

SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1; -1.20 from current ground level.

Size: diam. *c.* 6.5 cm; 0.3 cm thick.

Material: terracotta.

Conservation: intact.

Description: disc-shaped stopper made from fragment of terracotta vase.

2 Terracotta stopper (Pl. 42*b*)

Inv. No. B.05.D.O./44.

SU: B.05.D/3, from Lev. 1; -1.20 from current ground level

Size: diam. *c.* 6.2 cm.

Material: terracotta.

Conservation: intact.

Description: irregular disc-shaped stopper made by adapting a fragment of terracotta vase. This piece is slightly concave.

POTTERY

We present the ceramic ware found in excavation area D starting from the stratigraphic probe carried out in the SW sector, at circa 3 m beneath the present ground level. Little ceramic ware was found at this depth (Lev. 4), probably because the probe area itself was small (2 × 2 m). This makes it impossible to establish what sort of structure was involved; we can simply define the period on the basis of the typology of vase ware and the dating obtained from C14 analysis. Level 4 produced only two containers of pottery (B.05.D/14 e B.05.D/18) belonging to a

unitary and homogeneous stratigraphic unit, which featured 15 fragments of rims, all included in the typology; of the 22 bottoms found, only 6 were chosen as diagnostic specimens; altogether 40 wall fragments were found, devoid of distinctive features (e.g. decorations, carinations, etc.) which could have completed the typological analysis.

In the stratigraphic sequence we then proceed to the ceramic ware from Level 3, comprising the structures that are related to the funerary stelae. As we said above (cf. Chapter 1), pottery fragments found *in situ* on the floor of some *loci* were exclusively ring-shaped bases with evident burn marks on both sides. The pottery containers from the two campaigns were 8 in all (B.05.D/6, B.05.D/9, B.05.D/11, B.05.D/12, B.06.D/3 B.06.D/4, B.06.D/9, B.06.D/10). In this stratum 124 ring-shaped bases came to light (whether fragmentary or complete), varying in diameter and height, only 46 rims and 52 fragments of walls, belonging to different vase types. We selected the best conserved and assorted pieces to draw up our typology (44 fragments).

The most abundant ceramic ware came from Level 1, comprising the thick deposit of heterogeneous material designated 'Late-Minaean' that accumulated on the deposit of sand (Lev. 2) which covered the burial area once it had fallen into disuse. As its composition shows, Level 2 was uncontaminated by any form of human frequentation for a certain period. The pottery containers for Level 1 from the two campaigns were 11 (B.05.D/3, B.05.D/4, B.05.D/5, B.05.D/8, B.05.D/10, B.05.D/13, B.05.D/17, B.06.D/2, B.06.D/6, B.06.D/7, B.06.D/8). In this stratum 65 ring-shaped bases and 2 flat bases came to light; 76 fragments of rims and 84 fragments of sides. We chose 8 bases and 37 rims belonging to a few vase types with a number of variants. This ceramic ware is completed with that found in the first 20 cm of excavation from the surface which, although kept carefully separate, does not in fact differ from that found in Level 1. The pottery containers were 7 from the two campaigns (B.05.D/1, B.05.D/2, B.05.D/7, B.05.D/15, B.05.D/16, B.06.D/1, B.06.D/5), comprising 37 fragments of rims, 26 of ring-shaped bases and 83 fragments of walls. We chose 10 specimens that added to the variants of the typology from Level 1.

We shall now look in detail at the characteristics of the pottery found in each stratum.

Level 4, Ancient South Arabian Period

Paste and Method of Manufacture

The pottery from this level was made using a prevalently light brown or beige-pink clay (Munsell 7.5.YR6/4, 7.5.YR7/4), quite purified but including

small-medium traces of straw as temper. The distinguishing feature of some of these potshards is the presence, on both the inside and outside of the rim, of a deep red or reddish-brown slip, mostly burnished (Fig. 1.*2, 4-7, 10*). This type of surface finish, together with a few specific shapes, constitutes the discriminating element of ceramic ware from the Ancient South Arabian period. The inner surface of some bases, probably belonging to bowls, is coated with slip (Fig. 2.*6*); the outer surface is either left plain o covered with a weak red wash. Among the fragments from walls, only six conserve a thick inner red burnished slip; externally the surface is plain, evidence perhaps that in specific vase forms (e.g. some bowls) the use of external slip was limited to the rim. Of the other fragments from walls, 18 have a grey and 16 a beige-orange clay; they are thick and their surfaces do not seem to have been treated. These fragments would be respectively from cooking and storage vessels.

Concerning the method of manufacture, the wheel never seems to have been used. In some examples, e.g. jars with flaring rim, the multiple-piece and composite technique has obviously been used, involving the addition of the rim and neck to the shoulder of the vase, at the point where decoration is generally added (Fig. 1.*14*). Vase fractures often occur precisely at this point. Naturally this technique was also used for the ring foot, which was joined to the convex vase base. In some specimens one can see finger imprints at the section joins (Fig. 1.*13*). The ceramic ware from this layer is nonetheless fairly homogeneous compact.

Typology

The typology is basically limited to two forms: bowls and jars. The bowls have quite oblique walls with the slip both internally and externally; one small fragment is peculiar in having grooves beneath the rim and thick red brownish burnished slip internally and externally (Fig. 1.*7*). The third type of bowl is more enclosed than the preceding specimens on account of its re-entrant rim (Fig. 1.*11-12*). The profile of the rim on these bowls is generally rounded; two unusual specimens are B.05.D.18/2 (Fig. 1.*3*) where the rim is made thicker and flattened off on the top and B.05.D.18/3 (Fig. 1.*8*) with a thicker, internally pointed rim.

The jar B.05.D.18/10 (Fig. 1.*13*) has a flat re-entrant rim and horizontal handle applied at the level of the shoulder. Jar B.05.D.18/15 (Fig. 1.*15*) also has a horizontal handle applied to the shoulder and a slightly flaring rounded rim; traces of deep red slip can be seen on the exterior of rim and handle. Jar B.05.D.18/14 (Fig. 1.*14*) is decorated with wavy lines, two on the shoulder and one on the body.

The bases all have the ring-shaped foot, varying in width, shape and height (Fig. 2.*1-6*).

For some of its formal and technical features this ceramic ware has precise equivalents in the pottery found in a stratum of the probe carried out by Prof. Alessandro de Maigret at the foot of the steps leading up to the temple of Nakraḥ (de Maigret forthcoming), and also that found in the probe of Prof. Francesco Fedele alongside the walls of Barāqish, outside one of the north-western ramparts (Fedele forthcoming). C14 dating has shown the ceramic ware from Lev. 4 to date from 11th-10th century B.C. The typology from this level does not feature the typical carinated bowls which are so common in the Sabaean layers at Hajar bin Ḥumayd, Yalā and in the above-mentioned probe at the temple of Nakraḥ.

Level 3, Minaean Tombs

Paste and Method of Manufacture

In Level 3 three types of paste have been identified with a different characteristic to that of the Ancient South Arabian ceramic ware from the probe; there is also a difference in the surface finishing. However the composite technique still prevails.

A new type of paste — never found in Ancient South Arabian ceramic ware — occurs in Level 3, yellowish in colour (Munsell 2.5Y7/4) with abundant straw making for a porous cross-section and irregular surface, while the potshards are lightweight. There was very little ceramic ware made using this paste in this level: merely 5 fragments of wavy rim bowls, one goblet (Fig. 2.*11*), one bowl (Fig. 2.*17*), one jar (Fig. 3.*5*), one base with ring-shaped foot (Fig. 4.*13*) and some fragments of walls. The interior and exterior surfaces are plain or wet smoothed.

A second type of paste has a brick colour (reddish-brown, Munsell 2.5YR4/6, 2.5YR4/8), rich in traces of straw and grit. This was used in some bowls, but above all jars of medium and large sizes, the surface generally left untreated (Figs. 2.*13*, 3.*6-8, 10*, 4.*3, 15*). The potshards have a porous surface and cross-section and medium-low texture since they flake off and powder; traces of plaster present on the exterior walls of some of the fragments suggest that they served for insulating purposes.

Among the ceramic ware from Level 3 pastel shades predominate (light brown e beige-pinkish, Munsell 7.5YR6/4, 7.5YR6/6), quite purified and fairly compact, representing above all medium to small size vessels. This paste was used in some bowls (Figs. 2.*9, 12, 18, 21*, 4.*1*), one jar (Fig. 3.*4*), one jar with flaring rim (Fig. 3.*11*) and several ring bases which probably belonged to these vases (Figs. 3.*14*, 4.*2, 5, 9, 12*). The bowls generally have the exterior surface covered with a red colouring and on occasions with slip and burnished in the interior. The jars have the surface left plain or burnished on the exterior. Jar

B.05.D.9/3 (Fig. 3.*4*) is particular in having burnished slip inside the rim, and over all the external surface, horizontal on rim, neck and shoulder, vertical on the body.

In Level 3 slip is less commonly used and of a more red/orange colour than on the ceramic ware from Level 4. Sometimes it is replaced by a dark red colour covering the exterior (Pl. 42*c*). Burnishing is also found on plain surfaces. In some specimens the exteriors are simply wet smoothed, leaving a characteristic patina, partially covering up irregularities in the surface.

Typology

As we have already said, this layer contained a disproportionate number of bases with respect to the rims and walls (Pl. 43*c*). Five bases showed traces of ashes and carbon (Fig. 4.*2, 5, 7, 9, 11*); they were probably used as oil lamps, like those found in tombs T1 and T2 at Kharibat al-Ahjur (Waraqah, Dhamār) (Antonini 2005c: 64, fig. 48, p. 83, fig. 63).

The ceramic ware from Level 3 can be divided up into four vase categories: bowls, cooking pots, goblets and jars. Among the bowls we can distinguish between tronconical bowls (Fig. 2.*7-9*), deep bowls with straight vertical walls (Fig. 2.*19-21*), convex profile bowls (Fig. 2.*10, 14-15*) and more enclosed bowls with a re-entrant rim (Fig. 3.*1-2*). All the bowls, even within the same category, vary in their rim profiles: some are rounded (Fig. 2.*7, 21*), some tapering (Fig. 2.*8, 11-12, 20*), some thickened (Fig. 2.*9-10, 14, 16-17*). There were only five fragments of wavy rim bowls, only one of which could be drawn (Fig. 2.*12*). Part of the numerous bases with ring-shaped foot belong to bowls. Those with a high footed base (Fig. 4.*2-3*) could belong to bowls or chalices.

Among the cooking pots we include item B.06.D.4/2 (Fig. 2.*16*), made in our second paste type, with straw and grit as temper that make it heavy and compact; the interior surface is covered with an weak red/orange burnished slip. Specimens B.05.D.9/8 and B.05.D.9/4 (Fig. 2.*13, 18*) may also be considered as basin or cooking ware, as the interior surfaces are covered with burnished slip, respectively orange and reddish-brown. The rim of cooking pot B.05.D.9/4 (Fig. 2.*18*) is thickened and bevelled on the exterior. The vessel with straight sides B.05.D.12/3 (Fig. 2.*19*), grey and covered with dark slip internally, burnt on the exterior, could also be a cooking pot; when serving this function these items would have been made without a ring foot and with a convex or flat base.

In the typology there is only one specimen of goblet with flaring rim and flat base (Fig. 2.*11*).

The jars are small and medium sized closed vases, some with a slightly flaring rim. There are ten in our typology (Fig. 3.*3-12*). Three have distinguishing features: jar B.06.D.4/4 (Fig. 3.*3*) has a straight rim on the exterior and thickened on the interior; jar B.06.D.4/11 (Fig. 3.*8*) has a knob applied on the shoulder; jar B.05.D.9/2 (Fig. 3.*9*) shows a clear break between neck and shoulder. Jar B.05.D.12/4 (Fig. 3.*5*) is 23 cm wide and has the rim thickened on the exterior; it could come under the category of bowls or basins, but is different from them for the lack of slip on the interior surface.

The jars are containers with a more pronounced, narrower neck, suitable for containing liquids or keeping products (Fig. 3.*10-12*). The three specimens in our typology show untreated inner and outer surfaces. The rim profile is generally rounded; jar B.05.D.9/1 (Fig. 3.*12*) is distinctive for the particular rim profile (thickened and bevelled internally) and the neck (thinner at the rim and thickened internally at the shoulder), which shows the method of manufacture, by hand and composite.

Level 1, Late-Minaean Period

Paste and Method of Manufacture

In Level 1 we found six types of paste, 3 equivalent to those in Level 3 and 3 new ones.

In Level 1 the ceramic ware made with a yellowish paste (Munsell 2.5Y7/4 and 2.5Y6/4) becomes predominant. The clay is rich in straw, making the pottery more porous and lightweight. This paste was used to make bowls (Figs. 5.*1, 5-6, 8, 10-12, 6.1, 3-6*), jars (Figs. 6.*7-8, 11, 7.4-5, 8-9*); of the bases one is from a bowl (Fig. 8.*2*) and one from a jar (Fig. 8.*5*). Generally the vases are wet smoothed. The base of jar B.05.D.3/39 (Fig. 8.*5*) has both interior and exterior surfaces covered with plaster.

In Level 1 we find the brick-coloured paste familiar from Level 3 (Munsell 2.5YR4/6, 2.5YR4/8), rich in straw and grits. It was used in the production of two bowls (Fig. 5.*3-4*), one small jar (Fig. 6.*13*), some larger jars (Fig. 7.*2-3, 6-7, 10*) and a jar base (Fig. 8.*6*). If we exclude the bowl fragment B.05.D.3/7 (Fig. 5.*3*), which has traces of red slip in the interior, the pottery made with this type of paste is generally wet smoothed externally and left plain internally.

In Level 1 few items came to light made with the light beige paste (Munsell 7.5YR6/4, 7.5YR6/6; quite refined (with small traces of straw and mica) and quite compact, this paste was used for medium and small sized vases: bowls (Figs. 5.*7, 9, 13, 6.2*), jars (Figs. 6.*9-10, 7.1*) and bases from bowls and jars (Fig. 8.*1, 3-4, 7*). As for the two pastes described above, the ceramic ware made using this type of paste was plain or wet smoothed.

For the first time we have here evidence of a refined pottery (Fig. 5.*2*). It features a beige clay

(Munsell 7.5YR6/4), its interior surface is entirely covered with a thick burnished red slip; the small bowl is decorated round the rim with a wavy line above a single straight line. This ceramic ware is known from Tamna', where it was found together with imported *terra sigillata* ware (1st century A.D.).

In Level 1 there is only one example of beige clay with a grey core, quite refined and covered externally with a dark brown slip, burnished with horizontal strokes on neck and shoulder and vertical strokes on body (Fig. 6.*12*; Pl. 43*c*). The burnished slip also covers the inner surface of the rim. Inside the small jar one can clearly see the junction between neck and shoulder, marked by evident imprints left by the potter's fingers. Specimens which are similar in every respect were found at Kharibat al-Ahjur (Waraqah, Dhamār) (Antonini 2005c: 63, fig. 47.*5-6*) and Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl (Ead. 2005b: 18, pl. 6*c*).

Finally, among the types of paste we can recall a grey-brown clay (Munsell 10YR4/2), not cooked but left to dry in the sun, used to form two lids with a knob on the top (Fig. 8.*8*). The clay has medium-small traces of straw and the surface is uncoated.

The ceramic ware from this level is made by hand; in one fragment of a bowl (Fig. 5.*13*) one can see particularly clear imprints of three fingers left on the internal wall during the joining of the rim/shoulder to the body of the vase, using the multiple piece technique.

Typology

For Level 1 the vase classification remains substantially the same as for Level 3 since we find the same bowls, and jars. Nonetheless we find some variants within each category. If for example we consider the bowls, we see that there was a preference for the medium to large sized type with the rim thickened internally (Fig. 5.*7-12*) or externally (Fig. 5.*13*). In Level 1 there were no bowls with straight walls, as found in Level 4 and Level 3. There is a new form of bowl with a slightly oblique tall rim with rounded profile (Fig. 6.*3*). In Level 1 there are more bowls — with respect to Level 3 — with wavy rim (11 fragments of rims came to light); normally the rim profile in these bowls is thinned. The width of the lobes of each fragment (Fig. 6.*3-5*) shows that the diameter of the bowls with wavy rim varies considerably. In one item (Fig. 6.*5*) we note a protrusion along the base of the rim, presumably the remains of the strainer that was a feature on some of these bowls. Many of the numerous bases with ring-shaped foot belong to the wavy rim bowls (Pl. 43*c*). These were considered Qatabanian (Bayḥān) in origin; the closest comparisons come from the houses and temples at Tamna' and the tombs of Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl; in these tombs miniature versions were also found.

With regard to the jars from Level 1 (Fig. 6.*7-13*), they do not differ significantly in form from those of Level 3 apart from small differences in rim profile. In fragments B.05.D.3/19 and B.05.D.3/17 (Fig. 6.*7-8*) the rim is thickened; in B.05.D.3/8 (Fig. 6.*9*) it is rounded and slightly flaring; jar B.05.D.3/9 (Fig. 6.*10*) has the rim bevelled externally and is decorated with two incised parallel grooves; finally fragment B.05.D.3/12 (Fig. 6.*11*) has a rounded straight rim.

With regard to jars for liquids, we have already mentioned fragment B.05.D.3/36 (Fig. 6.*12*) for the paste used and the surface finish (burnished dark brown slip); characterised by a tall flaring rim, with a handle applied to the shoulder, this type of small jar, generally with a flat base, was found in the hypogean tomb T1 of Kharibat al-Ahjur and dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D. thanks to the contextual discovery of silver coins from the reign of 'Amdan Bayyin Yuhaqbid (Ead. 2005c: 72, 74, fig. 52.*3-6*).

The jars used for transport or storage from Level 1 were quite numerous and characterised by a fairly thick rim that had been deliberately bevelled (Fig. 7.*4, 6, 8*) or was made concave inside (Fig. 7.*5, 7, 9*) to take a stopper. Various stoppers in terracotta (see § 'Clay Stoppers' above; some stone specimens were also found), specifically fashioned, were found on the surface. The transport jars were thus sealed, with the addition of a thick layer of plaster which completely covered the stopper, marked either with a seal imprint or incised distinguishing marks (see § 'Plaster Jar Sealings'). The rim profiles vary: in fragment B.05.D.3/27 (Fig. 7.*2*) it is rounded, in B.05.D.3/28 (Fig. 7.*3*) it is bevelled externally, and in B.05.D.3/26 (Fig. 7.*10*) it is thickened and flat at the top.

As we have seen there are virtually no decorations on the pottery from this level; apart from those consisting in one or two incisions beneath the rim, just one fragment from a wall had incised wavy lines (Fig. 8.*9*).

Figure 9 presents a selection of the ceramic ware from the surface layer of the excavation area. The types of paste and vase forms do not differ in the least from those found in Level 1. Here too we find the yellowish and brick red clay pastes: for the first type, 41 fragments of walls, 13 bases (8 medium-large, 5 small), 21 rims (1 transport jar, 18 bowls and jars and 2 wavy rim bowls). For the second type of paste there were 42 fragments of walls, 11 fragments of bases (9 medium-large, 2 medium-small), and only 5 rims from bowls and jars. There was also ware made from beige clay, with 4 bases, 13 rims (7 from bowls and jars and 6 from wavy rim bowls) and 4 bases.

Bowl B.05.D.1/9 (Fig. 9.*1*), in brick red clay, is similar to a bowl from Level 3 (Fig. 2.*10*); in the specimen from Level 1 the rim is tapering and the body deeper; both inner and outer surfaces are covered with a thin burnished red slip. Bowl B.05.D.1/4 (Fig. 9.*2*) was made using the same paste,

but its surfaces were wet smoothed. The two wavy rim bowls were made using either the light beige paste (Fig. 9.4) or the yellowish-green clay (Fig. 9.3). Both inner and outer surfaces of the rim were wet smoothed. The typology also includes a deep bowl with thickened rim (Fig. 9.5), two different forms of jar with a quite thin flaring rim (Fig. 9.6-7), two transport or storage jars, one with a pronounced hollow for the stopper (Fig. 9.8), the other with a thick flaring rim (Fig. 9.9). Finally there is a base from a wavy rim bowl made using the light beige clay, quite compact (Fig. 9.10), and a fragment of a wall, decorated with three incised slightly wavy lines (Fig. 9.11).
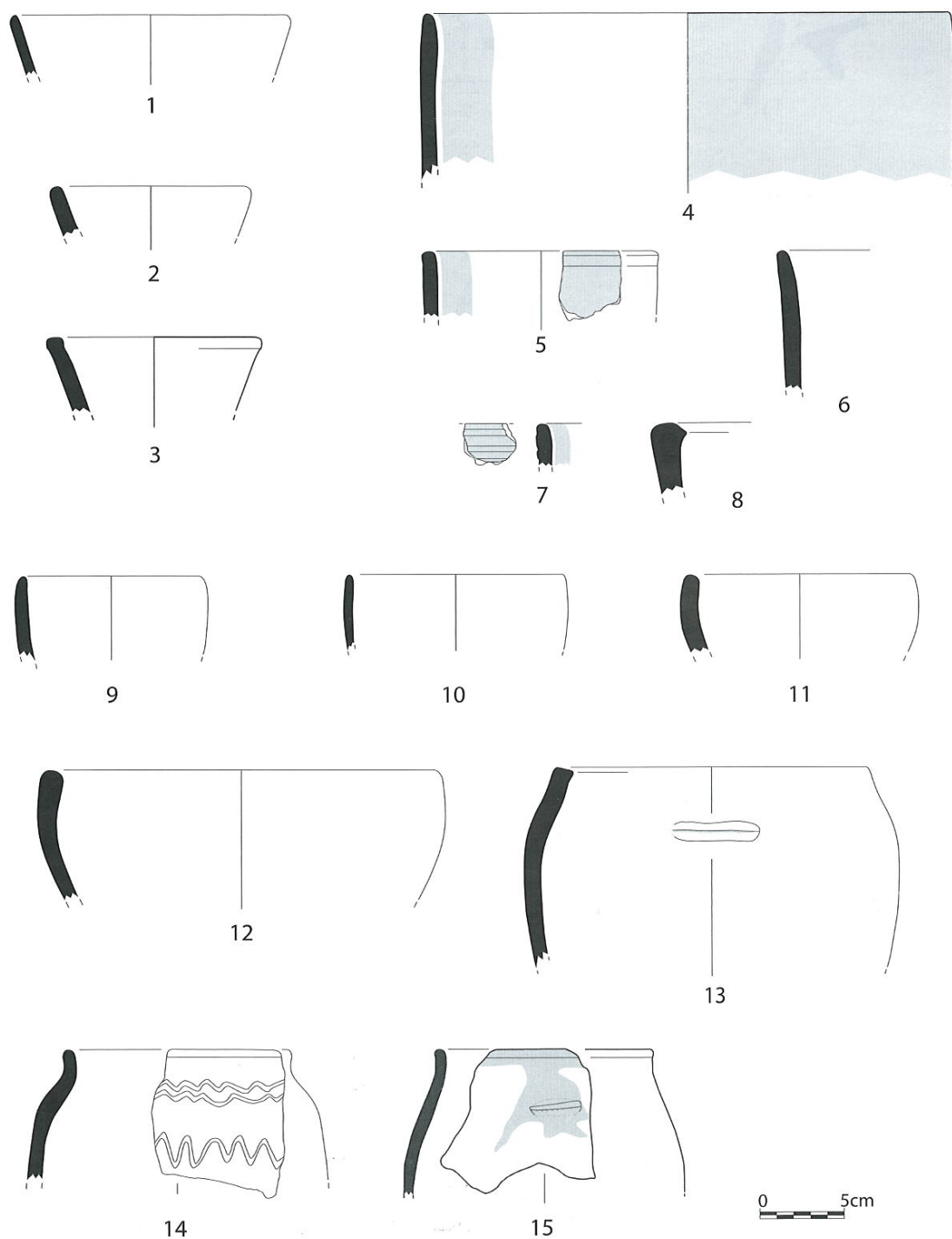
Fig. 1. Ancient South Arabian pottery from Level 4: *1.* B.05.D.18/1: bowl; bevelled rim on outside. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior burnished. *2.* B.05.D.18/7: bowl; rounded rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior red burnished slip. *3.* B.05.D.18/2: bowl; thickened rim, flat on the upper part. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior traces of plaster. *4.* B.05.D.18/9: bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4); dark grey core. Interior burnished, exterior red brownish slip. *5.* B.05.D.18/6: bowl. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior red burnished slip. *6.* B.05.D.18/8: bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior dark red brownish burnished slip. *7.* B.05.D.18/5: bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior red brownish burnished slip. Two horizontal incised lines below rim. *8.* B.05.D.18/3: bowl; interior pointed rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4); dark grey core. Exterior and interior plain. *9.* B.05.D.18/12: bowl; rounded rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior plain. *10.* B.05.D.18/4: bowl; rounded rim. Brown clay (7.5.YR5/4). Interior traces red slip, exterior beige wash. *11.* B.05.D.18/11: bowl; rounded re-entrant rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior wash. *12.* B.05.D.18/13: bowl; rounded re-entrant rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior burnished, exterior plain. *13.* B.05.D.18/10: jar; flat re-entrant rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior plain. Horizontal handle. *14.* B.05.D.18/14: jar; rounded rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Wavy lines incised decoration. *15.* B.05.D.18/15: jar, rounded rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior traces red slip. Horizontal handle.
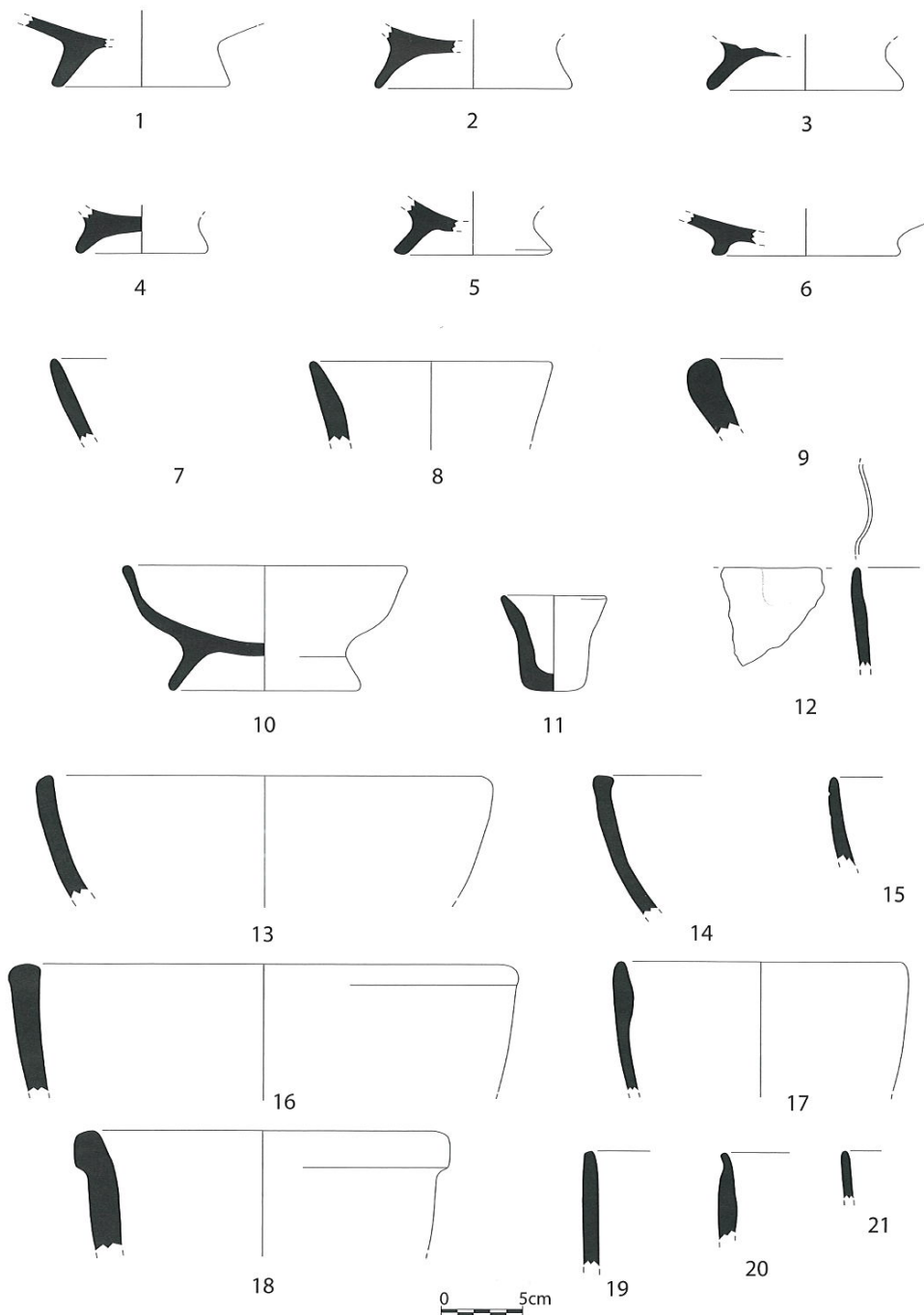
Fig. 2. Ancient South Arabian pottery from Level 4: *1*. B.05.D.18/16: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior red wash, interior plain. *2*. B.05.D.18/17: ring base. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Exterior reddish wash, interior plain. *3*. B.05.D.18/18: ring base. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). Exterior reddish wash, interior plain. *4*. B.05.D.18/20: ring base. Light brown (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior and interior plain. *5*. B.05.D.18/21: ring base. Reddish/brown (2.5YR4/4). Exterior and interior plain. *6*. B.05.D.18/19: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior plain, interior red slip. Minaean pottery from Level 3: *7*. B.05.D.12/2: bowl; rounded rim. Interior and exterior dark red burnished slip. *8*. B.06.D.4/1: bowl; flaring rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior orange burnished slip, exterior wet smoothed. *9*. B.06.D.4/6: bowl; thickened rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior burnishing, exterior plain. *10*. B.05.D.9/11: bowl, rounded rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior traces burnishing, exterior red colour. *11*. B.06.D.4/13: goblet; flaring rim; flat base. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior plain, exterior traces red colour. *12*. B.05.D.9/6: wavy rim bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Exterior and interior rim wet smoothed. *13*. B.05.D.9/8: bowl; bevelled on outside rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior red colour. *14*. B.06.D.4/5: bowl; thickened rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior plain. *15*. B.06.D.4/9: bowl. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior yellowish wash. Two horizontal incised lines below rim. *16*. B.06.D.4/2: bowl. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior red colour. *17*. B.05.D.12/1: bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior plain. *18*. B.05.D.9/4: bowl; thickened and flat on out side rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior dark red burnished slip. *19*. B.05.D.12/3: bowl. Grey clay. Interior and exterior dark red/purple burnished slip. *20*. B.06.D.4/7: bowl; tapering rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior burnishing. *21*. B.06.D.4/10: bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior burnishing.
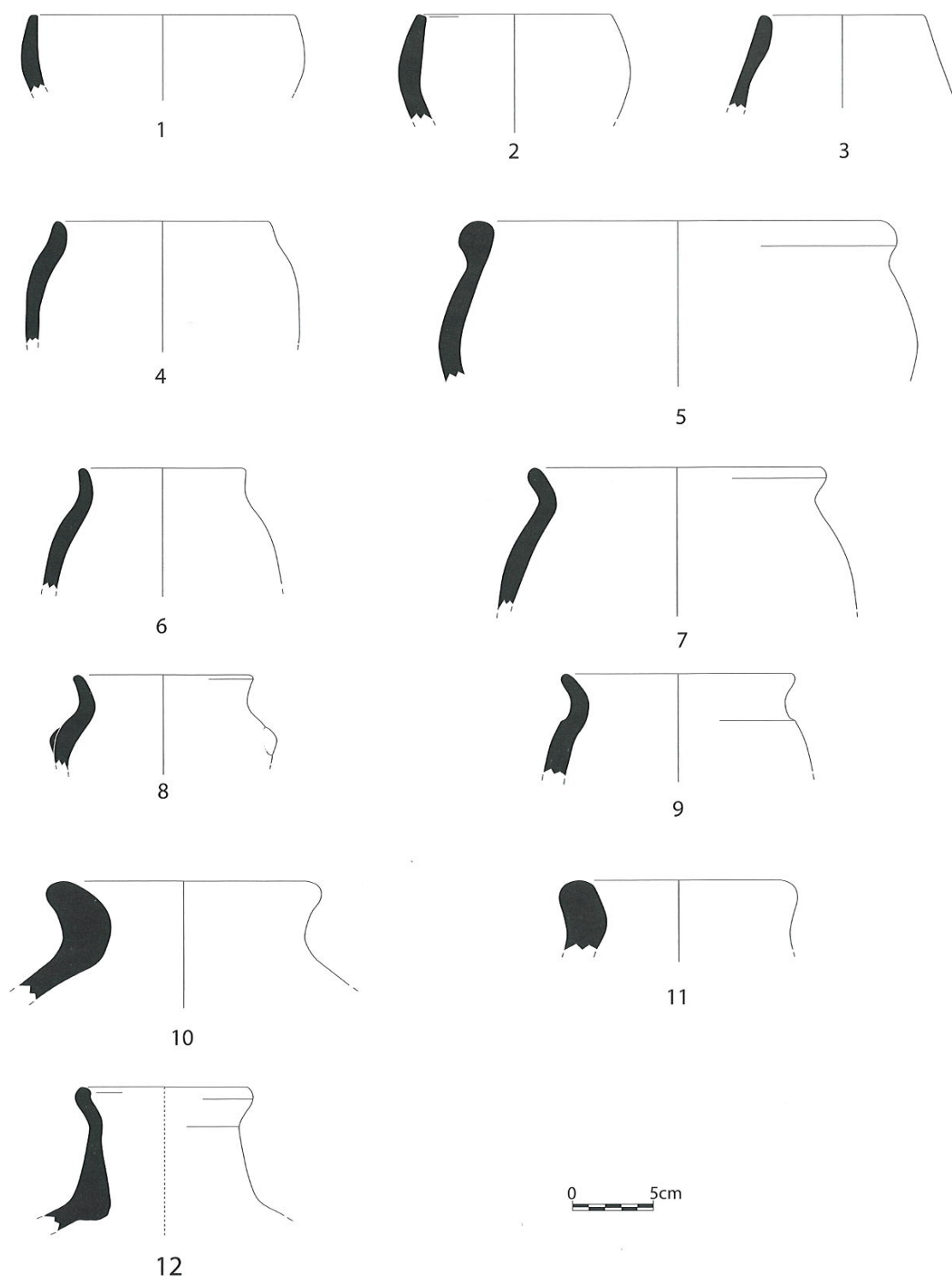
Fig. 3. Minaean pottery from Level 3: *1*. B.05.D.9/5: bowl; re-entrant rim. Brown clay (7.5.YR5/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *2*. B.06.D.4/3: bowl; re-entrant rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior plain. *3*. B.06.D.4/4: jar. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *4*. B.05.D.9/3: jar. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior rim light brown burnished slip, exterior light brown burnished slip, horizontal on rim, neck and shoulder, vertical on wall. *5*. B.05.D.12/4: jar; thickened rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *6*. B.06.D.4/8: jar; flaring rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior yellowish wash. *7*. B.05.D.12/5: jar; flaring rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6); grey core. Interior light red/orange burnished slip, exterior yellowish wash. *8*. B.06.D.4/11: jar; flaring rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior rim and exterior light brown burnished slip. Button applied on shoulder. *9*. B.05.D.9/2: jar; flaring rim. Grey/brownish clay (10YR4/2). Interior and exterior light red/orange slip. *10*. B.05.D.12/6: jar; thick flaring rim. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior plain. *11*. B.06.D.4/12: jar; thick flaring rim. Brownish clay (7.5YR5/4). Interior and exterior burnishing. *12*. B.05.D.9/1: jar; reddish clay (2.5YR4/6); grey core. Interior and exterior plain.
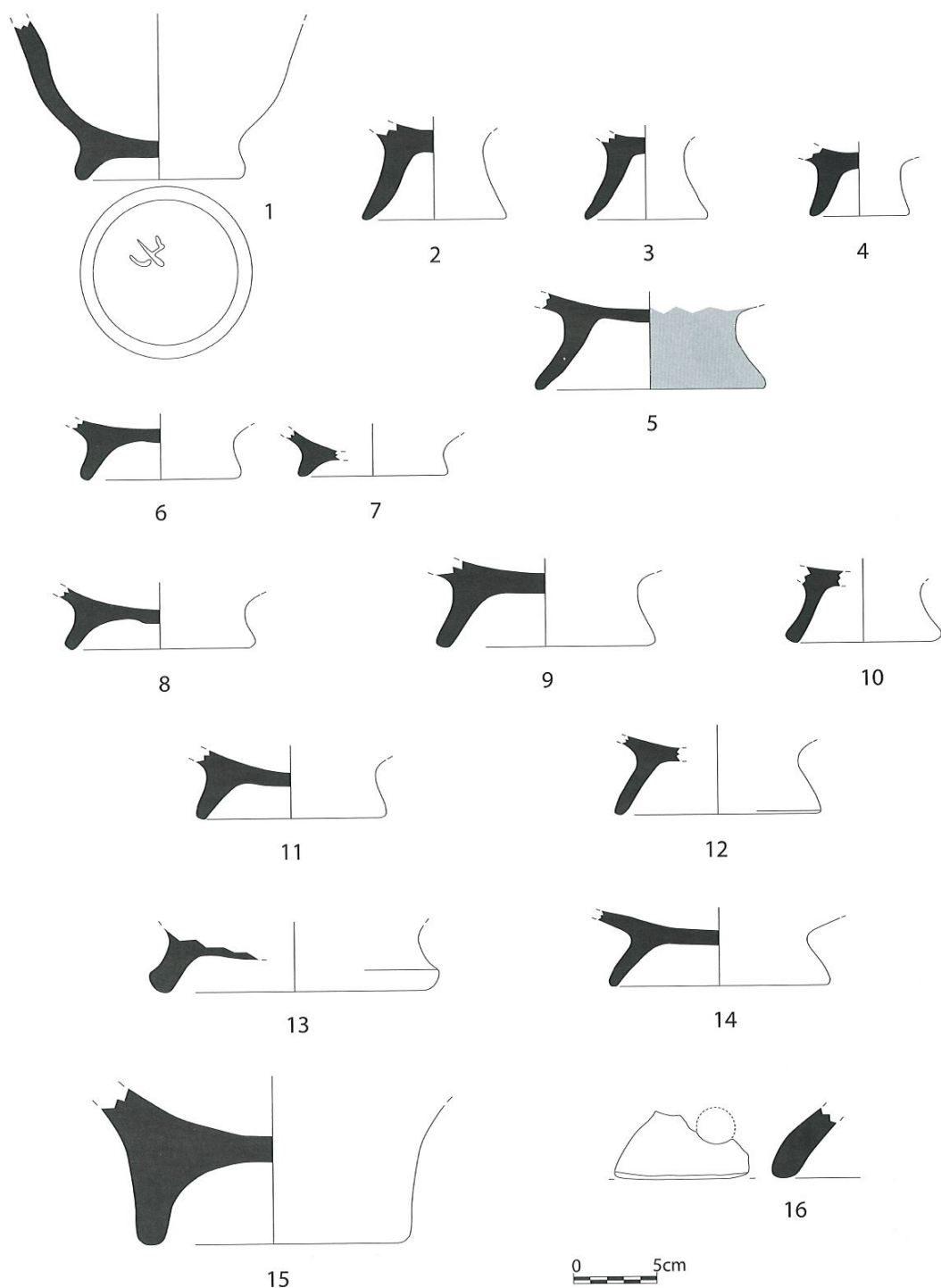
Fig. 4. Minaean pottery from Level 3: *1*. B.06.D.4/17: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior red/orange burnished slip, exterior smoothed. *2*. B.06.D.4/14: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. Burning inside. *3*. B.05.D.12/8: ring base. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6); grey core. Interior and exterior plain. *4*. B.06.D.4/15: ring base. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. *5*. B.06.D.4/16: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior red burnished slip, exterior red wash. Burning inside and outside. *6*. B.06.D.4/20: ring base. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. Burning inside. *7*. B.05.D.12/9: ring base. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior plain. *8*. B.05.D.9/10: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior red burnished slip, exterior red colour. Burning inside. *9*. B.06.D.4/24: ring base. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). Exterior yellowish wash. Burning outside. *10*. B.06.D.4/21: ring base. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). *11*. B.06.D.4/23: ring base. Reddish clay (2.5YR4/6). Burnishing outside. Burning inside. *12*. B.06.D.4/19: ring base. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). Exterior light red/orange burnished slip, interior plain. *13*. B.06.D.4/18: ring base. Light yellowish brown (10YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. *14*. B.06.D.4/22: ring base. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). Interior and exterior yellowish wash. *15*. B.05.D.9/9: ring base. Reddish brown (2.5YR4/4). Interior and exterior plain. *16*. B.05.D.9/7: lid. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Hole punched from outside prior to firing.
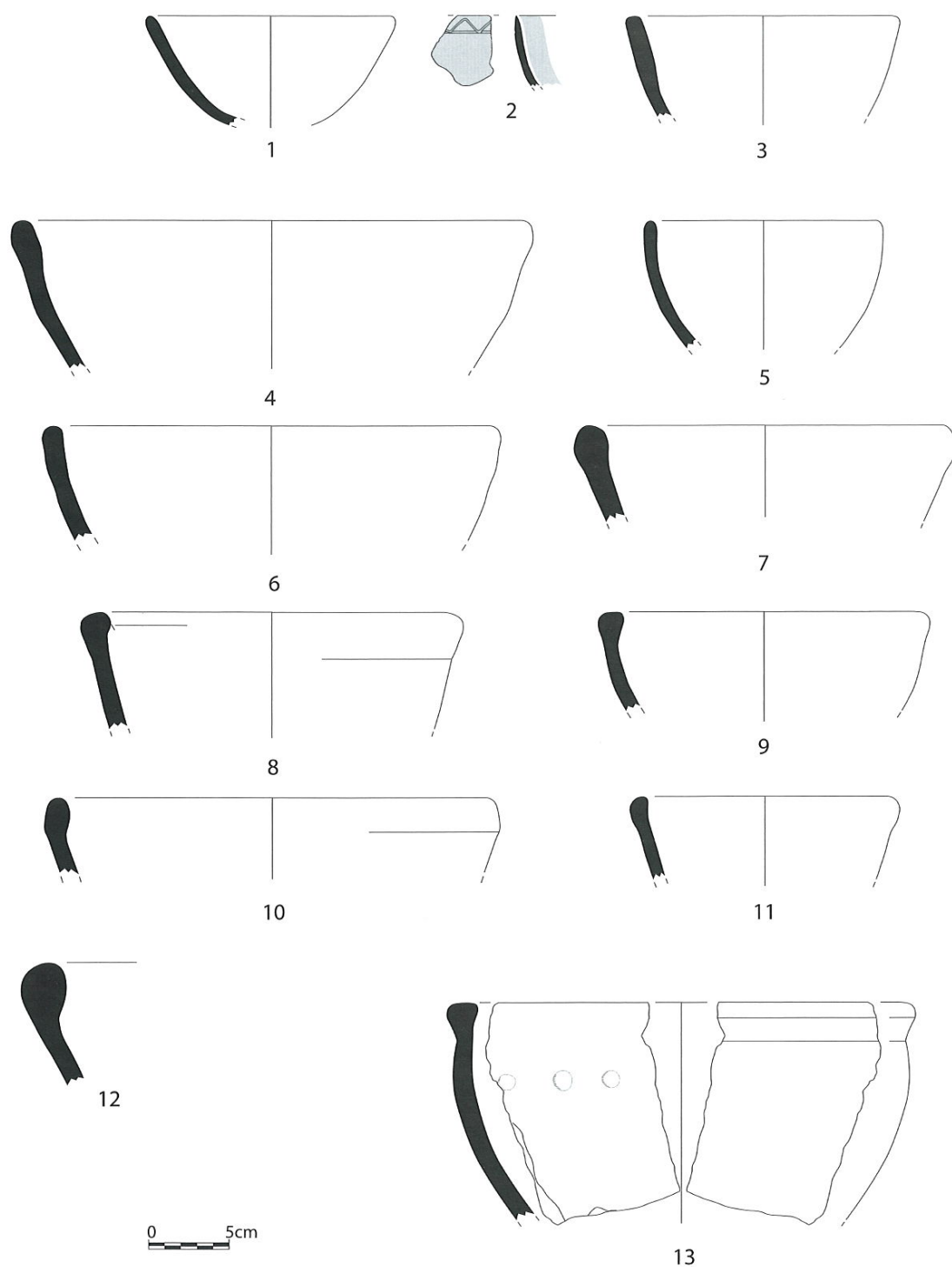
Fig. 5. Late-Minaean pottery from Level 1: *1*. B.05.D.3/14: bowl; rounded rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *2*. B.05.D.3/6: bowl; tapering rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior thick light red burnished slip. Incised wavy horizontal line below rim. *3*. B.05.D.3/7: bowl. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior red burnished slip, exterior smoothed. *4*. B.05.D.3/16: bowl. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *5*. B.05.D.3/21: bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *6*. B.05.D.3/20: bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Burning outside and inside. *7*. B.05.D.3/29: bowl; thickened rim inside. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior smoothed, exterior red colour. *8*. B.05.D.3/18: bowl; thickened rim inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior plain. *9*. B.05.D.3/23: bowl; thickened rim inside. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior yellowish wash. *10*. B.05.D.3/11: bowl; thickened rim inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior smoothed. *11*. B.05.D.3/13: bowl; thickened rim outside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior smoothed. *12*. B.05.D.3/24: bowl; thickened rim inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior plain. *13*. B.05.D.3/30: bowl; thickened rim outside, flat at the top. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. Finger print inside the shoulder/wall.
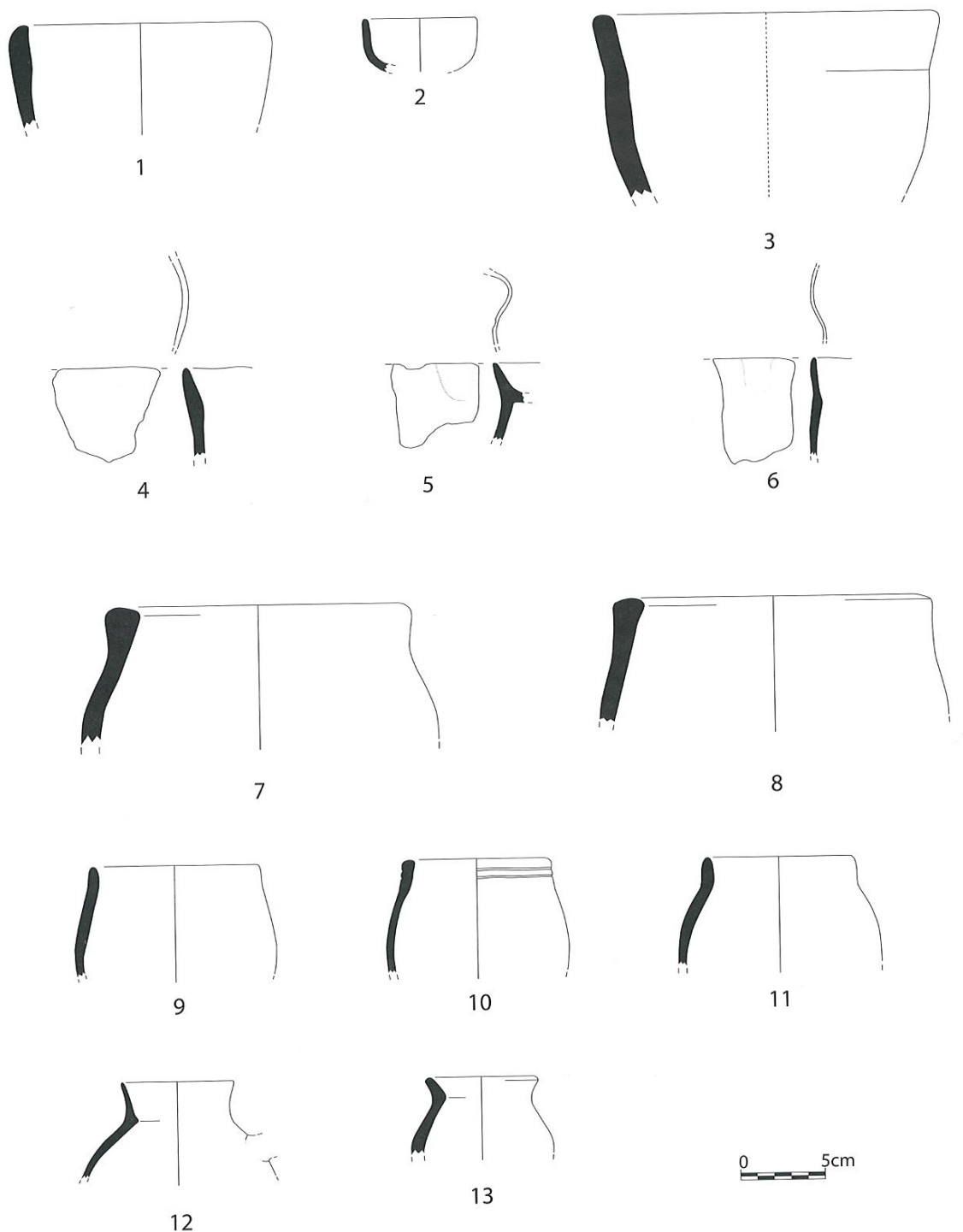
Fig. 6. Late-Minaean pottery from Level 1: *1*. B.05.D.3/10: bowl; bevelled rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *2*. B.05.D.3/5: bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. *3*. B.05.D.3/22: bowl; flaring rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *4*. B.05.D.3/1: wavy rim bowl; tapering rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *5*. B.05.D.3/2: wavy rim bowl with strainer. Yellowish clay (2.5Y6/4). Interior wet smoothed rim, exterior plain. *6*. B.05.D.3/3: wavy rim bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior smoothed rim, exterior plain. *7*. B.05.D.3/19: jar; thickened rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior plain. *8*. B.05.D.3/17: jar; thickened rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior smoothed rim, exterior plain. *9*. B.05.D.3/8: jar; rounded and slightly flaring rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. Burning inside and outside. *10*. B.05.D.3/9: jar; bevelled rim outside. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. Horizontal incised lines below rim. *11*. B.05.D.3/12: jar. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *12*. B.05.D.3/36: jar; flaring rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4); grey core. Interior rim and exterior dark brown/grey burnished slip: horizontal on rim, neck and shoulder, vertical on wall. Handle. *13*. B.05.D.3/4: jar; flaring rim. Light reddish/brown clay (5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed.
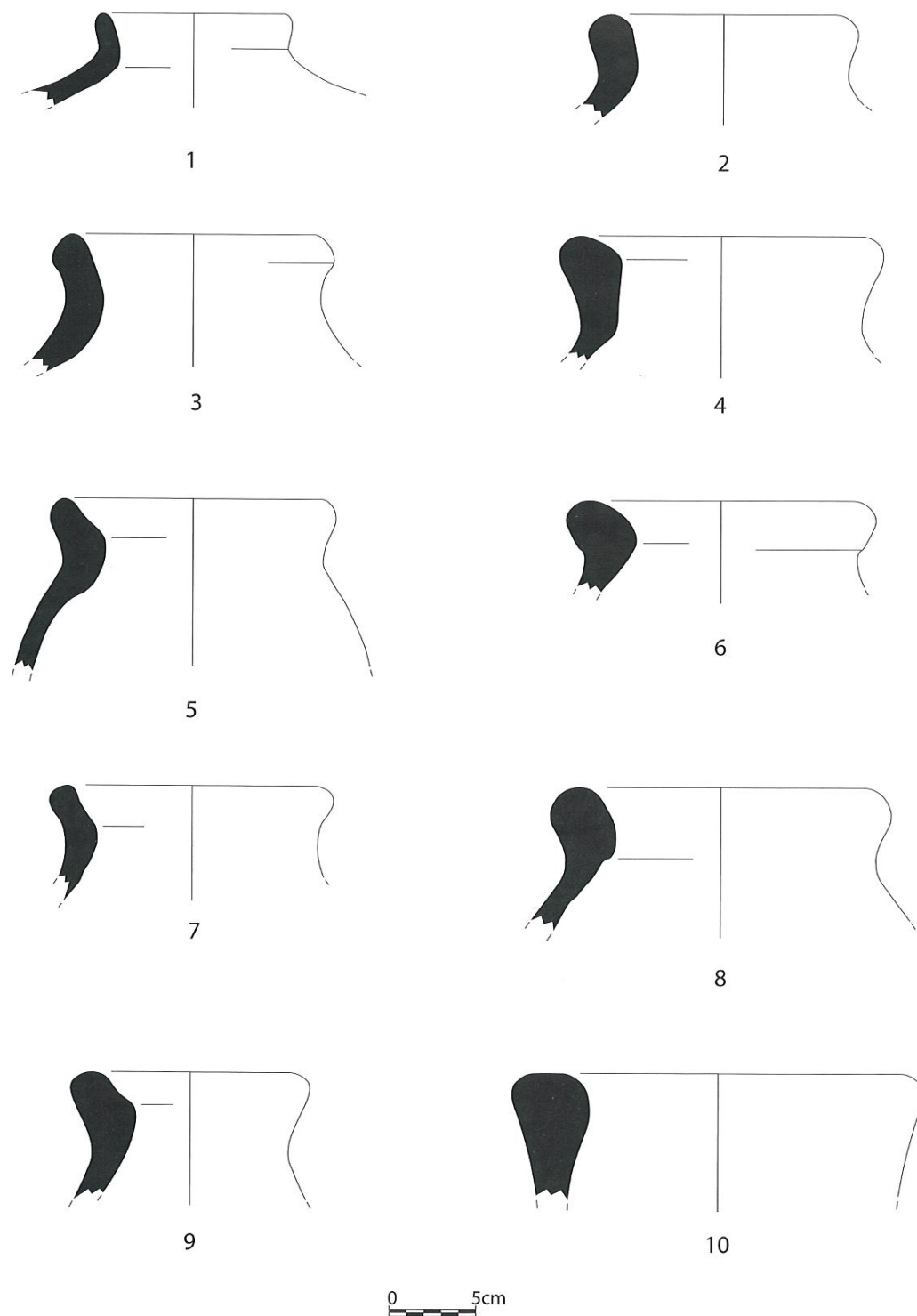
Fig. 7. Late-Minaean pottery from Level 1: *1*. B.05.D.3/15: jar; flaring, rounded rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *2*. B.05.D.3/27: jar; flaring rim. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior plain. *3*. B.05.D.3/28: jar; flaring rim, bevelled outside. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. Plaster traces. *4*. B.05.D.3/31: jar; flaring rim, bevelled inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. Plaster traces. *5*. B.05.D.3/32: jar; flaring rim, concave inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *6*. B.05.D.3/35: jar; flaring, thickened rim, bevelled inside. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior plain. *7*. B.05.D.3/25: jar; flaring rim, concave inside. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior wet smoothed. *8*. B.05.D.3/34: jar; flaring, thickened rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *9*. B.05.D.3/33: jar; flaring rim, concave inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *10*. B.05.D.3/26: jar; thickened rim, flat at the top. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior and exterior wet smoothed.
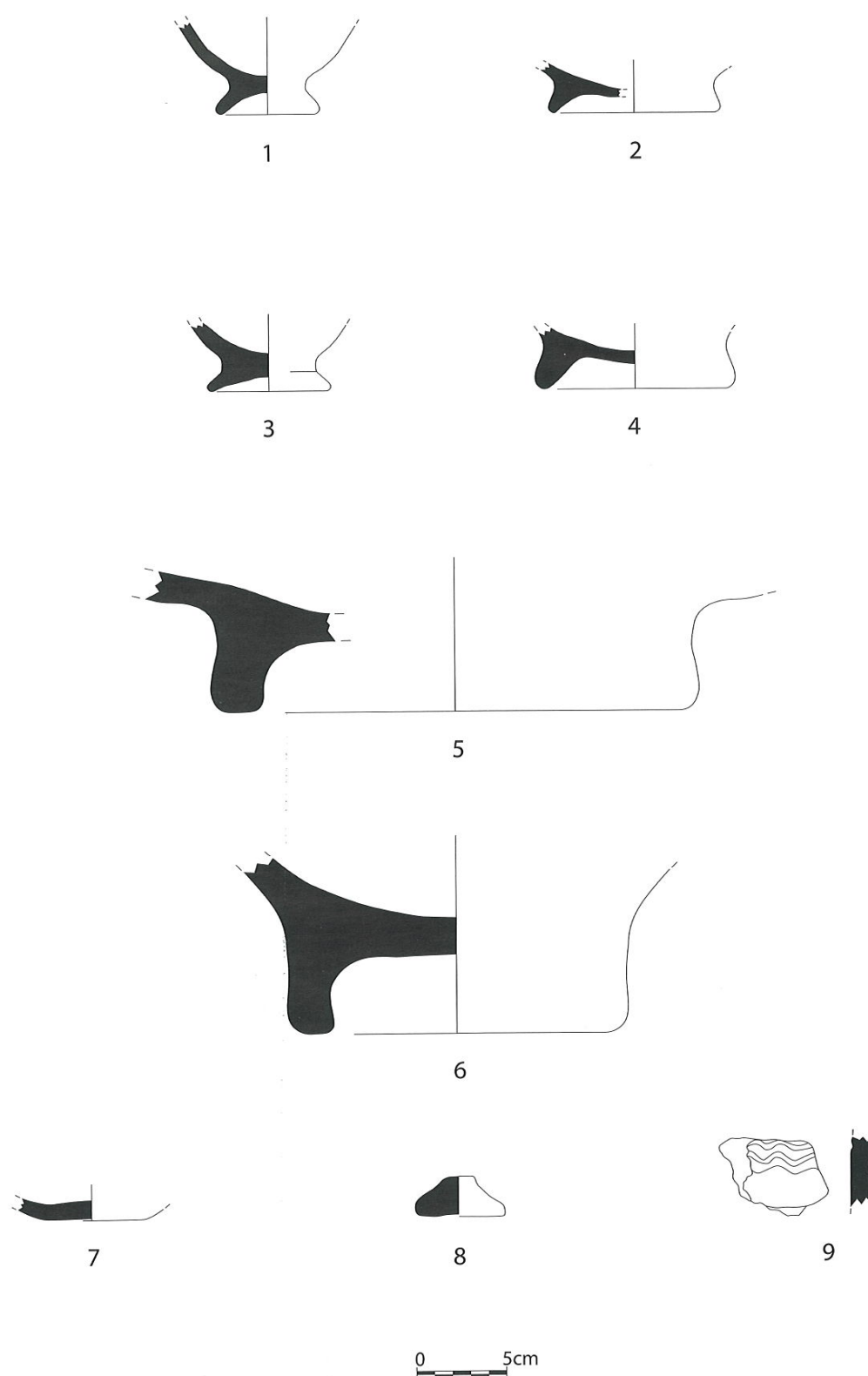
Fig. 8. Late-Minaean pottery from Level 1: *1*. B.05.D.3/41: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *2*. B.05.D.3/38: ring base. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *3*. B.05.D.3/37: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. *4*. B.05.D.3/40: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed and burning. *5*. B.05.D.3/39: ring base. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior and exterior plaster. *6*. B.05.D.3/42: ring base. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6). Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. *7*. B.05.D.3/43: flat base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior and exterior plain. *8*. B.05.D.3/45: lid. Brownish clay (7.5.YR5/4). Interior and exterior plain. Sundried. *9*. B.05.D.3/44: wall. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Incised wavy lines.
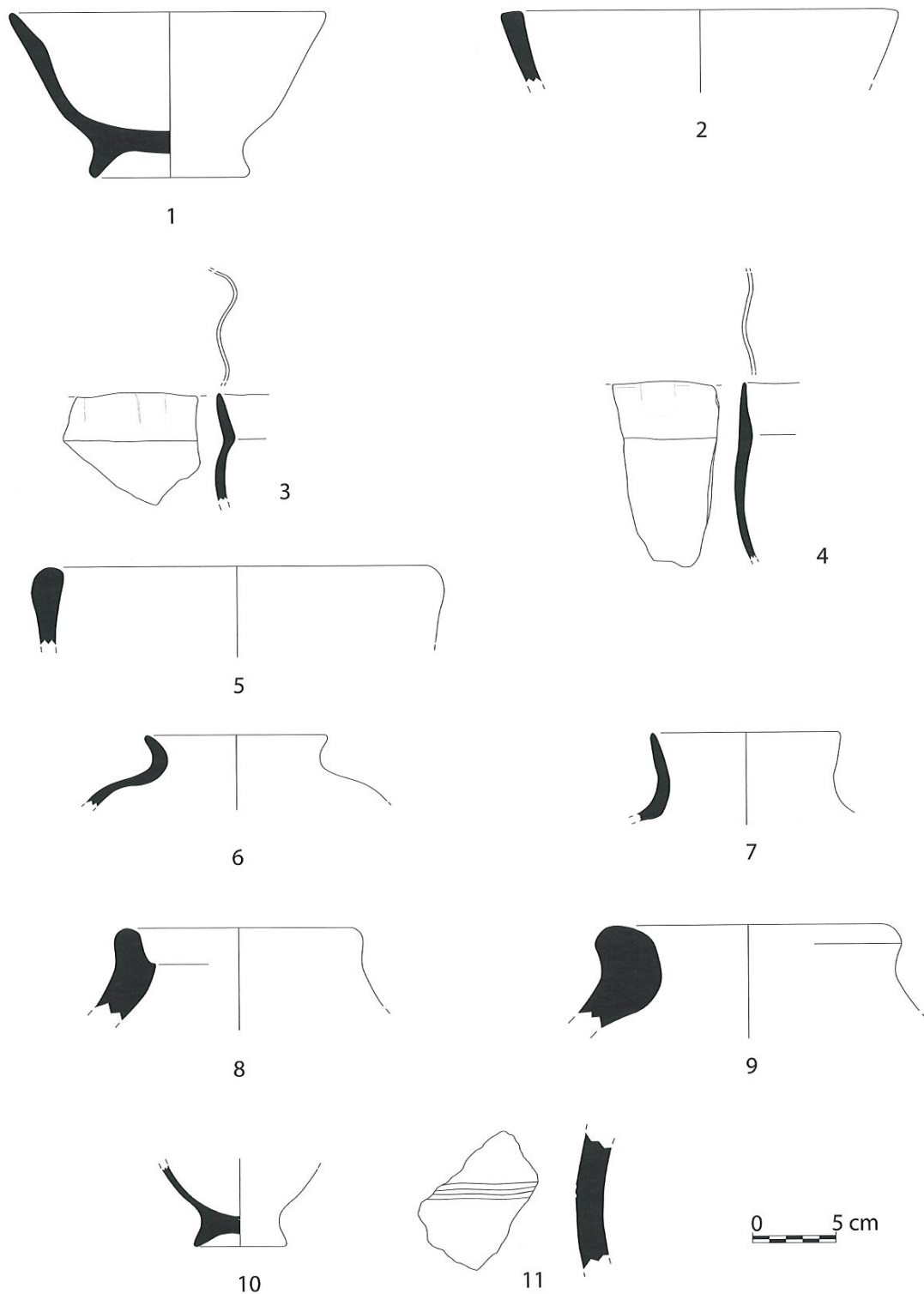
Fig. 9. Late-Minaean pottery from the surface: *1*. B.05.D.1/9: bowl. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/4). Interior and exterior burnished light red slip. *2*. B.05.D.1/4: bowl; flat rim at the top. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/4). Yellowish clay (2.5Y6/6). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *3*. B.05.D.1/7: wavy rim bowl. Yellowish clay (2.5Y6/6). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *4*. B.05.D.1/6: wavy rim bowl. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior rim and exterior wet smoothed. *5*. B.05.D.1/3: bowl; thickened rim outside. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain and exterior wet smoothed. *6*. B.05.D.1/1: jar; flaring rim. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Interior plain, exterior yellowish wash. *7*. B.05.D.1/5: jar; tapering rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior plain, exterior yellowish wash. *8*. B.05.D.1/2: jar; concave rim inside. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim, exterior wet smoothed. *9*. B.05.D.1/10: jar; thick flaring rim. Yellowish clay (2.5Y7/4). Interior rim, exterior wet smoothed. *10*. B.05.D.1/8: ring base. Light brown clay (7.5.YR6/4). Exterior wet smoothed. *11*. B.05.D.1/11: wall. Reddish/brown clay (2.5YR4/6); grey core. Interior plain, exterior wet smoothed. Combed lines.

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CONCLUSIONS

We cannot be sure that this is the only necropolis at Barāqish/*Yathill*, and thus that it actually represents the sedentary population of the ancient Minaean city. We believe that the city-states in the Jawf like *Qarnāw*, *Haram*, *Nashq*, *Nashshān* and *Yathill* itself, would have been endowed with genuine cities of the dead with monumental burials, as is documented for Ma'rib, rather than modest pit tombs like those excavated by the Italian Mission at Barāqish.

Nonetheless this archaeological exploration is very important because it is the first time that tombs from the Minaean period have been discovered and excavated. This investigation, which we hope in future to extend to the whole of the hill site, gives us an insight into the funerary customs of this people, aided by the discovery *in situ* of a large number of stelae with inscriptions which provide interesting new data from onomastics studies.

Although it was carried out over a fairly small area (2 × 2 m), the stratigraphic probe confirmed the presence of an Ancient South Arabian or 'Sabaean' stratum (Lev. 4) beyond the bounds of the urban settlement, dating back to the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. This dating derives from analysis of the ceramic ware and is borne out by C14 testing of finds from this level. It cannot be excluded that the Minaean funerary structures stand on burials of Ancient South Arabian period. Only an extensive excavation can hope to clarify the relationship between the structures attributed to the Minaean period and those in mud bricks of the Ancient South Arabian period.

The poor state of conservation of the funerary structures in Level 3 shows that they had been looted in ancient as well as in modern times. The more recent pillages are borne out by the deep trenches found in the eastern sector of the excavation area, which disrupt Level 1 and also meant that the remains in stone had been removed from Level 3. The same does not apply to the western and southern sectors, where the Late-Minaean Level 1 had escaped the attentions of illegal diggers in modern times. In Level 1 some funerary stelae clearly belonging to Level 3 (Pls. 20c,

21-22a, 25a, 28-29a) came to light, together with two small offering tables (Pl. 34a-b), also probably connected with funerary structures from Level 3, where similar specimens were found (Pls. 34c-35b). In one case the fragment of a stele had even been reused as a grinding implement, like a sort of muller (Pl. 29a); and a small ritual table, bearing extensive traces of seeds and vegetable remains, seems to have been reused as a grindstone or feeding trough (Pl. 34b). The nature of the stratifications from Level 1 and the material found therein, and above all the lack of any sign of constructions, suggests that the place was used as a rubbish tip in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The Minaean ceramic ware found in Level 1 is mostly of poor quality. Some specimens correspond to types found in Qatabanian territory. Among the vase types large transport jars predominated, sealed with stone or ceramic stoppers covered in plaster and stamped with a seal marks; such vases were common in the same period both at Tamna' and at Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl (where miniature versions were produced). In Level 1 at Barāqish numerous bowls with wavy rims came to light which are very common in Qatabanian sites, being known as 'Bayḥān bowls'. The same level also yielded a type of small jar with flat bottom featuring a burnished, brownish-black slip, corresponding precisely to specimens found in the tombs of Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl and Kharibat al-Ahjur that can be certainly dated to the 1st century A.D. Finally, also in Level 1 a fragment of a thin-walled bowl was found with a burnished red slip. The examples found at Tamna' and Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl can be ascribed to the last period of the city's life and use of the necropolis, i.e. between the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. In Level 1 at Barāqish no evidence has emerged so far of the imported *terra sigillata* and glazed ceramic ware. The chronology of Level 1 is ascribed mainly on the basis of archaeological materials, and borne out by the results of C14 testing.

So what period do the Minaean tombs date from? There is no doubt that the 1st century A.D. represents the *terminus ante quem* for dating Level 3. Samples of

charcoal collected from a structure in Level 3 have given results that coincide with those for Level 1. This correlation suggests that the dating refers to the period in which the necropolis was plundered. The deposit of sand constituting Level 2 denotes that the necropolis had been abandoned, probably on account of political instability in the territory. In the 2nd century B.C. the kingdom of Maʿīn still played a predominant role in overland trade (there is evidence of Minaean merchants in Egypt and the Greek island of Delos), but it was undermined by the continuous incursions of the Arab tribes that settled in the Jawf. The abandonment of the necropolis may be connected with these incursions, or alternatively to the period in which *Yathill* was held under siege in 25 B.C. by Roman troops under the prefect of Egypt C. Elius Gallus[1]. The area was reoccupied shortly afterwards, for different reasons but by people akin to their precursors, as can be evinced from the material culture.

This brings us to the analysis of the materials from Level 3. With respect to the ceramic ware, the only possible parallels are the pottery, which is fortunately intact, found in similar Jawfite funerary contexts, published by Arbach and Schiettecatte (2006: 89-96, pl. 27, figs. 109-111, pls. 28-42). However, this cannot provide certain dating because it does not comes from stratigraphic excavations. Among the vase types presented by the French colleagues we find parallels with the bowls on a ring-shaped foot (Figs. 2.*10* and 4.*1*; cf. *ibid.*: pl. 27, figs. 109-110), and jars with flared rim (Fig. 3.*10-11*; cf. *ibid.*: pls. 28-31, fig. 3.*6*, pl. 41, al-Jawf 04.145)[2] found in Level 3 at Barāqish.

As was the case for the ceramic ware found in Level 1, the vase types from Level 3 also require comparisons with material from outside the Jawf territory. The only diagnostic element we can readily indicate is the adoption of a new type of yellow clay used in the wavy rim bowls; the stratigraphic probe carried out at Shabwa showed these to date from the 2nd century B.C. (Badre 1992: 279-80), an element which can be important for the chronology of our tombs.

As far as the other material from Level 3 is concerned, the bead in silvered glass with blue dots (Pl. 37*e-f*) belongs to a type which is documented in the Mediterranean basin in Hellenistic and Roman times. The fragment of a cube-shaped incense burner (Pl. 36*f*) bearing the names of resins belongs to a typology which was widespread in Southern Arabia during the 1st millennium B.C., but the writing on this example indicates the middle of the millennium. The small offering tables found in Level 3 (Pls. 34*c*-35*b*) are documented in Southern Arabia, both full size and in miniature, throughout the 1st millennium B.C., even though most of the tables known to us bearing inscriptions date back to the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. On the basis of palaeographic

analysis of the inscription, item B.06.D.O./25 (Pl. 34*d*) could date from the 3rd-2nd century B.C.

In the case of the funerary stelae, not all the inscriptions lend themselves to palaeographic analysis. As Alessio Agostini recalls in this volume (see pp. 67-68), the fact that different writing styles occur contemporaneously demonstrates that in this kind of artifact chronological attributions based exclusively on the evolution in writing style can in fact be unreliable.

Let us therefore try to date the stelae in terms of art history. When we observe the style of the Minaean male heads in high relief (Pls. 28-30*c*) we find that they draw on an expressive 'idiom' which coincides perfectly with some Qatabanian portraits in the round (Antonini 2001: pls. 99-101) and Sabaean faces in relief, pointing to a common Southern Arabian artistic *koinè*. Thus the stelae found at Barāqish can also be dated to the last three centuries B.C.[3]. As for the fact that the stelae portraits found in Level 3 could be either engraved or in relief, we are certain that this does not indicate an evolution, in the sense of a semplification of form, since the various types, which we have subdivided according to form, came to light in the same stratigraphic context (Pls. 7-8, 13*a*).

When we compare the stelae from the tombs of Barāqish with those published by Arbach and Schiettecatte, we find notable coincidences in style and form in terms of both epigraphy and art history[4]. The French scholars, going exclusively on palaeography, date the items to a period extending from the 7th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., with the majority from the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. To date at Barāqish no 'stelae with eyes' have been found, although it cannot be ruled out that they will come to light when excavations are continued; these appear to

[1] Strabo, *Geographia*, XVI, 4: 22-24, where mention is made of Athrula, i.e. Yathill.

[2] As well as the similarities, we can also note the differences between the ceramic ware in the tombs of Barāqish and that from other Minaean tombs in the Jawf. Our typology lacks the jugs with strap handle (possibly item No. 12 in Fig. 3), which are present in Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: pls. 32-35. Whereas the material presented by Arbach and Schiettecatte lacks the vertical straight-sided jars present in our typology (Fig. 2.*20-21*). The pottery from the Barāqish tombs does not have the variety of decorations, incised and applied, which characterises the pottery originating from illicit excavations in the Jawf.

[3] Thus we can say that the period of use of the necropolis corresponds to the last phase of frequentation of the temple of Nakraḥ (phase A, 3rd-1st century B.C.), excavated by the Italian Mission in Barāqish. Cf. de Maigret & Robin 1993; de Maigret 2004.

[4] The faces with rugged lineaments in the stelae in Pls. 20*c*, 23*b*, 23*d*, 24*a* are to be found in Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: pls. 47-56; the elongated oval faces in the stelae in Pls. 20*b*, 22*b*, 25*a*, 27*b* are similar in *ibid.*: pls. 63-65, etc.

be the oldest form of stelae of all (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: pl. 43, fig. 158, al-Jawf 04.153).

Onomastics studies establish that stelae at Barāqish featured names of North-Arabic origin (see Agostini in this volume). It is not clear whether people originating in Northern Arabia had come to live on Minaean territory or whether Minaeans who had settled in the north of the Peninsula had adopted the local onomastics. We can simply say that these peoples were in continuous contact with one another through their commercial dealings. After all Barāqish was a major staging post on the caravan route used to transport resins to the north of the Peninsula.

The fact that there are stelae with schematic eyes or faces, or aniconic as well, at Taymā', Madāin Ṣāleḥ and Petra, does not mean a northern origin or influence for this type of monuments on the Minaean stelae (Garbini 1977: 378). The baetyls of the northern region, generally with a rectangular outline, sculpted on rockfaces, whether singly or in pairs or as multiples inside *naiskoi* with accompanying inscriptions, are generally identified with the divinities of the Nabataean pantheon (Moutsopoulos 1990; Zayadine 1990: 30-40). The Minaean stelae we have found, on the contrary, have a funerary function and are characterised by distinctive iconographic and stylistic features common to figurative production throughout Southern Arabia; they thus represent a deceased on a peculiar, autochthonous artistic expression.

The modest aspect of the burials at Barāqish reveals a rather lowly social status, possibly to be associated with the caravaneers themselves, in other words to the people who materially transported the merchandise up and down the Peninsula, on behalf of princes, priests or traders who lived in the cities (the privileged caste would undoubtedly have had funerary monuments more in keeping with their social standing). An inscription dating from the 6th century B.C. found at ash-Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa, near Barāqish, uses four words to indicate the different social groups that made up the Minaean community: noblemen, *clientes*, farmers and nomads ([5]). It may well be that our Minaean stelae are associated with the latter group.

Let us now make some observations about the funerary structures themselves. The *loci* appear to be lowly constructions, small and made from stones that are rough hewn; they are mostly square, put up next to one another, and built above the two principal walls M1 and M4. Their lay-out follows the contours of the hillside, and may have been conditioned by the presence of pre-existing structures. The walls designated M1 and M4 are both orientated east-west, but are not perfectly matching, perhaps because M4

collapsed at the lower end (see Pl. 6*d*); both appear to circumscribe and contain the tombs on the south-west side of the hill. For the moment we cannot say anything about the relationship between the structures in mud brick and those in stone. We can imagine that some *loci* were made out of bricks and others of stone, or else that the structures in stone towards the back were built on top of previous structures in mud brick.

The personal grave goods found in the *loci* amount to no more than some shells, beads and fragments of bronze; as for the ceramic ware, on the floor of some of the *loci* ring-shaped vase bottoms were lying upside down, and the evident burn marks indicate that they had been used as oil lamps; the small offering tables and incense burners are objects used in funerary rites. Apart from the poverty of the grave goods (which could be the result of repeated thefts), the most striking feature of our archaeological investigation of these funerary structures was the complete absence of human bones. This may be the consequence of various factors, including the looting of the tombs leading to the bones' dispersion, as was the case for many of the burials we excavated at Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl. This would go to show that the tombs were violated in ancient times, as is borne out by the layer of sand that covered them over before the site was reoccupied at a later date.

But how then are we to account for the rather reduced dimensions of the *loci*? The structures are not big enough to contain a human body, while their form rules out the customary burials. We can put forward two theories: the adoption of the rite of incineration, or alternatively that these structures are actually cenotaphs. The first hypothesis seems barely plausible because such rites have never been documented in Southern Arabia. The second will require corroborating evidence, and thus is still purely hypothetical. The cenotaph, or *vacuum sepulcrum*, is a symbolic tomb erected to commemorate someone who has been buried elsewhere, or whose body could not be recovered on account of death at sea or in battle or during a journey. Is it possible that we are dealing with cenotaphs of nomads working the caravans who, on dying far from their place of origin, received a symbolic burial here? This theory cannot be totally ruled out when one bears in mind the role played by the Minaeans in the caravan trade. Only further excavation and disclosure of all the structures will be able to clarify many of these doubts.

([5]) This is the oldest mention of nomads ('*rb*, Arabs) in Southern Arabia; cf. Robin 1991: 72-73.

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Introduction

The Proper Names (PN) that will be examined in this study represent the unique investigative opportunity of a significant Minaic onomastic corpus whose origin is derived from a reliable archaeological context. Furthermore, this documentation distinguishes itself in respect to that already known about monumental inscriptions which have been primarily identified along the city walls of the Jawf region.

Ancient South Arabian PNs vary according to area and time whereas different degrees of specification are possible, thus also representing a first indication for their analysis. This Onomastic Formula (Avanzini 1991b: 19 ff.) in fact, reflects both chronology and society. It can be composed by a First Name (identifying the person properly), followed by a Second Name (which is simply juxtaposed to the first) that could be also an Epithet (generally used in Royal Names in the Ancient period, but also by noblemen in the Late period). Further specification can also be the Patronymic (which can directly follow the first name, preceded by *bn/bnt*) or the indication of the Group which the person belongs to (indicated by the relative *d-/dt-*). Finally, a trace of the Tribe (preceded by *'hl*) or of the Lineage (preceded by *bnw*) can be found in the more articulated of these formulas (Robin 1992: 35-40).

Taking the particularity of this archaeological situation into account, what type of information can this onomastic offer? The following instances should be stressed:

Gender distinction is not immediate from a simple reading. In fact, masculine or feminine PNs can only be detected in a wider linguistic context since it is only the name's agreement with the other elements of the phrase (verbs, adjectives, pronouns) that we can comment on. Coming to our funerary stelae, where only the names are present without any context other than the archaeological and figurative one, the sex of the deceased can only be established with certainty in the presence of a patronymic preceded by *bn* (for masculine) or *bnt* (for feminine), or through the specification of a group name with *d-* (for masculine) or *dt* (for feminine).

The identification of the consonantal root of a PN can also suggest its basic *meaning*, which perhaps was originally quite perceptible (Avanzini 1971). This could lead to a type of translation of the PN which proposes a piece of information not primarily connected to the time in which these names were in use. In fact, we do not know what degree of semantic transparency these PNs had for the ancient South Arabians (just as we are not always aware of our own, for example). In some cases, a literal rendering of these names would seem arbitrary. The true significance of a PN relates to the person it identifies. Moreover, the use and diffusion of a name can be completely independent of its original meaning, which also takes the prevailing conservatism in onomastics into consideration. This is the case when we come across a name whose root has not yet been verified in Ancient South Arabian. This could be due to a lack of documentation (a root that has not yet been attested), but it could also reveal an ancient or external level which was not maintained in the living language in historical times. This problem could also involve the root considered in its semantic aspect, however dealing with this issue should imply a certain degree of caution.

A name could have been chosen according to a particular familiar or social tradition and trend, but any other hypothesis about the reason why a name was used can be misleading, and the intention of finding some indication of *ethnicity* in onomastics can be one of the most precarious. A single name *per se* cannot reveal any information about this affiliation, even if the study of a considerable number of PNs can in fact suggest something in this regard. In the case of South Arabian onomastics, it is also very difficult to identify a name as typically Minaean, Sabaean, Qatabanian or Hadramitic with certainty. The only thing we can perceive is that a PN is attested more in a certain linguistic areas than in others. A stronger cultural variety is perhaps clearer in theophorous

names, in particular when the divinity mentioned is one worshipped in a specific area, however, even in this case, extreme care is recommended (¹).

Vocalization in accordance with the most ancient Islamic traditions where the PN is mentioned is often proposed in the lists of South Arabian names consulted for this study (²). Besides making our pronunciation possible, the additional effect is that of a marked identification between Arabic and South Arabian, the vocalization of which, in reality, we know little about (Calvet & Robin 1997: 289). The fact that there are many similarities between Ancient South Arabian and Classical Arabic due to their linguistic relationship is undoubtedly something which must be taken into consideration. However, we must be careful when making certain identifications that would inevitably oversimplify the state of things. These Arab-Islamic sources are, on the other hand, of great importance since they can suggest a continuity of the onomastic tradition.

These stelae have been discovered in a regular excavation for the first time, thus providing additional elements that can contribute to the clarification of their *chronology*. This could provide a unique opportunity to combine the archaeological and epigraphical approach: in fact, up until now, only a general onomastic observation has been carried out, occasionally helped by the palaeographic typology set up by Jacqueline Pirenne (1956). Even if this method revealed itself to be useful as a relative chronological indicator, it should be remembered that it is often inadequate when dealing with non-monumental inscriptions. This criterion can suggest some general indications, especially in the absence of other data, but private inscriptions are those that show the greatest variability in the writing styles of a given period (e.g. due to materials used or the carver's accuracy).

The issues we have briefly described deeply influenced our investigation and its consequent interpretation. Every name found in these stelae was analyzed beginning with a general linguistic observation, thus isolating the root and the pattern which forms a name. In order to achieve this, we made use of the dictionaries available for ancient South Arabian languages (³). Every Semitic PN (those from South Arabia are no exception) can be composed in a complex linguistic structure, and for this reason it is useful to distinguish those realized as one-word names from sentence names. This second case can be divided between nominal sentences, genitive compound names or verbal sentences, but a clear distinction between them can rarely be carried out because of the above-mentioned absence of vocalization (it is only possible with imperfect verbs).

A general comparison follows, and this is achieved in two ways: one directed towards the examination of internal data (comparisons with onomastics from the other South Arabian languages), and the second which notes possible connections with the remaining Semitic onomastics. These two paths are however differentiated both in their modalities as well as in the conclusions that they suggest. In the first case, occurrences for each single PN in South Arabian are pointed out for each dialect, separating the Barāqish documentation from the rest of the Minaic one, in order to stress the data coming from our area of interest (⁴). These comparisons will show the exact matches with the name under investigation, bringing to mind other remarkable or common variants. The problem of undetectable variations in the actual realization of a name in South Arabian languages should be taken into account, as well as the presence of different vocalizations of a name with the same root and pattern within the same language, while bearing in mind that comparisons in South Arabian can offer important hints about the social and cultural aspects connected with these names.

Comparison within the other Semitic languages is intended to give more general linguistic indications, useful for a deeper interpretation of these names; such links are mainly detected by recognizing a similar use of both the root (taking into consideration the rules of phonetic change) and/or onomastic pattern. For this reason the intention is not (at least, not in the first instance) to find exact connections but a more general use of PN choice, with all the above mentioned limits that this type of investigation presents. It is in particular the lack of vocalization, as well as the absence of consonantal redoubling in Ancient South Arabian, which greatly limits the discovery of strict similarities. Furthermore, this approach contributes to increasing our understanding of South Arabian onomastics and places them into a broader context from a linguistic placement, origin, diffusion and chronological point of view.

(¹) The presence of *‘m* in some Qatabanian PNs could be interpreted as the god particularly venerated there, but also as a general mention of the 'maternal uncle' (Sima 2002: 199).

(²) al-Said 1995 for Minaeans; Tairan 1992 for Sabaeans; Hayajneh 1998 for Qatabanians.

(³) Arbach 1993 for Minaic; Beeston et al. 1982 plus Biella 1982 for Sabaic; Ricks 1989 for Qatabanic; Conti Rossini 1931 for all South Arabian.

(⁴) Minaic attestations come primarily from Arbach 1993 (Tome II) and Qatabanians from Avanzini 2004, both have been updated as far as possible with newly published texts. The Sabaic examples are mainly intended to give notice about the use of the PN in discussion. This documentation is mostly taken from Arbach 2002, Harding 1971 and Ryckmans 1934. Attestations are also available in the works cited at note 2 above, but sometimes they need to be rectified.

B.05.D.O./3 (Pl. 52*b*)

°11
[.]⟩[.]

Ll(⁾)
[.]r[.]

Description: letters len. 2.5 cm max. Irregular incision.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: since no Semitic root can ordinarily contain identical first and second consonants, we cannot admit a simple form here. It is possible to assume a hypocoristic; otherwise the first *l* could be explained as a preposition.
Internal data: n.a.
Comparisons: n.a.
The uncertain reading for the last letter is confirmed by another stele in this collection (B.05.D.O.24), thus representing the first two pieces of evidence for this name in the South Arabian area.
Certain connections are not possible, although we can attempt approaching it with the Akkadian *lalû* 'child', which created the PN *La-li-ia* (CAD 9: 52). In Ugaritic, the PN *lali'u* is known, but in this case we should accept a phonetic change from the root LL' 'lamb' (Gordon 1965: 428; Gröndahl 1967: 155).

Second Name

Only one sign is readable, and is not sufficient for any interpretation.

B.05.D.O./4 (Pl. 52*c*)

[1ħ]Чꝰꟿ1Ⅹ1[...]

[...]lt Yḥm['l]

Description: letters len. 3.2 cm max. The inscription is superficially incised onto a rough surfaced stone.

First Name

The last two remaining letters cannot enable any reconstruction, given the high number of names with this ending.

Second Name

Linguistic analysis: root ḤMY — 'to protect' (Sabaic and Qatabanic). Verbal Form (imperfect). Theophorous.
Internal data usually as a First Name (al-Said 1995: 181-82; Hayajneh 1998: 272; Arbach 2002: 417):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Yḥm'l*: M 151; M 283; Y.92.B.A.28.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Yḥm'l*: al-Jawf 04.23B; M 27; M 102; M 302; M

392A (4 occurrences); M 394; M 396; YM 18349; YM 28366; YM 29116; YM 29120; YM 29219; YM 30012.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Yḥm'l*: CIH 329; CIH 347; CIH 382; CIH 447; CIH 531; CIH 580; Gl 1142; Ja 707.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Yḥm'l*: AM 60.770; MuB 594; Ja 235; Lion 1; Lundin 30; MIFT.00/2; RES 3566; RES 4957; Waddingham 1.
  ○ As a group name: TC 1030.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Yḥm'l*: Rb XIV/87 no. 16; Rb XIV/87 no. 105; RES 3663.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Yaḫmu-Dagan* (Bron 1991: 87).
- Ugaritic: *Yḫmn* (Gröndahl 1967: 135).
- Hebrew: *Yaḥmay* (Noth 1966: 246).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Ḥm* (Benz 1972: 311-12)(⁵).
- Nabataean: *Ḥmyn* (Cantineau 1932: 97).
- Lihyanite: *Yḥm'l* (Harding 1971: 662).
- Safaitic: *Yḥm'l* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 624).
- Thamudic: *Ḥmy* (Shatnawi 2002: 678).

The onomastic pattern *yf'l* + divine name has been especially recognized in the most ancient South Arabian phase (Bron 1991: 87-91; Sima 2002: 195-98). During the 1ˢᵗ millennium B.C. this type of PN tends to decrease gradually until completely disappearing. This PN represents the only exception to this trend, at least until the 3ʳᵈ century A.D. (Avanzini 1991a: 53). Due to its vast diffusion, this PN does not allow any certain chronological indication.

B.05.D.O./9 (Pl. 29*b*)

1ħꟿꞀ°

Whb'l

Description: letters len. 3.7 cm max. Very irregular inscription.
Linguistic analysis: root WHB — 'to give, grant' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic). Verbal or Nominal Form (construct state). Theophorous.
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 179; Tairan 1992: 233; Hayajneh 1998: 268; Arbach 2002: 394-95; Ryckmans 1934: 224-25):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Whb'l*: M 151; M 164; M 200; M 209; M 236; M 283; M 347.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Whb'l*: al-Jawf 04.178; al-Jawf 04.203; al-Jawf 04.208; al-Jawf 04.250; al-Jawf 04.277; Haram 2; M 29; M 68; M 102; M 127; M 392A; M 392C; M 392D; M 394; Ma'īn 14; MAFRAY-Malāḥā 1; YM 529; YM 26550; YM 26574; YM 26618; YM 28028; YM 28345; YM 28418; YM 29115; YM 30044.

(⁵) Uncertain correspondence.

○ As a group name: Maʿīn 71.
○ *Whbʾl*: M 287; M 316; M 327 (al-ʿUlā).
- Sabaic:
○ *Whbʾl*: CIH 1; CIH 42; CIH 180; CIH 195; CIH 244; CIH 262; CIH 434; CIH 878; Fa 72; Gl 1228; Gl 1364; Ja 563; Ja 564; RES 3087; RES 4130; Ry 180; Ry 522; Schm/Mārib 26.
- Qatabanic:
○ *Whbʾl*: AM 60.744; BaBa al-Ḥadd 1; BM 141596; Hon 1; Ja 129; Ja 261; Ja 271; Ja 321; Ja 350; Ja 2470; MIFT 99/51; MIFT 00/17; MIFT 00/56; MuB 409; RES 3566; RES 4336; Ry 376; Ry 461; Ry 481; TC 1335; TC 1743; TT1 687; Waddingham 1; YMN 7.
- Hadramitic:
○ *Whbʾl*: Hamilton 8; RES 4690; RES 4693; RES 4908; Ry 622.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
○ *Whbʾl*: Ja 2693b.
Comparisons:
- Ancient Aramaic: **Yahabʾēl* (*Ya-a-ḫab-bi-*DINGIR-MEŠ) (Coogan 1976: 27).
- Aramaic: *Whbʾ* (Maraqten 1988: 156).
- Palmira: *Whbʾ* (Stark 1971: 85).
- Hatra: *Whybʾ* (Abbadi 1983: 100).
- Nabataean: *Whbʾl*; *Whbʾlh* (Cantineau 1932, II: 89).
- Lihyanite: *Whblh* (Caskel 1954: 153; al-Ansary 1975: 14).
- Thamudic: *Whbʾl* (Shatnawi 2002: 754).
- Safaitic: *Whbʾl*; *Whblh* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 623).
- Greek sources: *Ουαβαλλας/Ουαβηλος* (Wuthnow 1930: 91).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Wahbʾil*; *Wahbʾīl* (al-Said 1995: 179).

The root is very common in the formation of PNs and corresponds to West Semitic YHB, as shown by the Aramaic PN *ʾlyhb* (Maraqten 1988: 127). The god's name can be also found at the beginning: this variant is not only spread across South Arabia but also in other Semitic areas. The simple form is also attested (without any divine name, cf. RES 3315); in this case, according to Garbini (1976: 312), it is tipically Minaean.

B.05.D.O./10 (Pl. 24c)

Υ8ẙΧñH

ḏ-Sᴵt(ẖ)ty

Description: letters len. 3.8 cm max. Very unbalanced inscription.
Linguistic analysis: No PN based on the scheme *sᴵtfˤl* has been detected thus far (cf. al-Said 1995: 11-16; Tairan 1992: 8-10; Hayajneh 1998: 34-52). A simple causative could be very uncertain since non-Sabaic PNs also show the typical Sabaic causative prefix *h-* instead of *sᴵ-* as it should be grammatically expected in Minaic (Beeston 1978: 20). As the attestations shown below demonstrate, this PN has already been found three times, and only in the Jawf valley. We could also think of an

external origin for it (Central or Northern Arabia). Moreover, this PN cannot be linguistically explained by any of the ancient South Arabian roots.
Internal data:
- Barāqish:
○ *ḏ-Sᴵtẖty*: al-Jawf 04.162; YM 26646; YM 28537.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons: certain comparisons are unavailable.

B.05.D.O./11 (Pl. 29c)

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R(t)ʿ Mḥḍr

Description: letters len. 2.8 cm max. Very irregular inscription with uncertain sign shapes.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root RTʿ — 'to reach, to extend to', thus also 'post, station troops' (Minaic, Sabaic). According to Ethiopic, also 'to stand'.
Internal data (Hayajneh 1998: 147-48; Arbach 2002: 319; Ryckmans 1934: 204, 317):
- Barāqish:
○ *Rtʿ*: M 378 (only as a building name).
- Other Minaic:
○ *ḏ-Rtʿ*: M 392A; M 392C.
○ As a building name: M 401.
- Sabaic:
○ *Rtʿ*: CIH 270; CIH 851.
○ As a group name: RES 4940.
- Qatabanic:
○ *Rtʿ*: MuB 601; Ry 461.
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Lihyanite: *Yrtʿ* (Caskel 1954: 154).
- Thamudic: *Rtʿ* (Shatnawi 2002: 692).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *ar-Rātiʿ* (Hayajneh 1998: 148).

A semantic field associated with this name could also be 'to be righteous', as suggested by the Ethiopian documentation (Hayajneh 1998: 147). As a group name, it can also be found in its compound form *ḏ-ʿmrtʿ* which is fairly widespread along the Arabian Peninsula. It is also used as a PN for constructions, e.g. a curtain of the Maʿīn walls (M 401) and a 'corridor' in a Barāqish building (M 378).

Second Name

Linguistic analysis: root ḤDR — 'to offer' (Minaic [?], Sabaic, Qatabanic) [6]. Nominal Form (*mfˤl*).

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[6] This root may be connected with Arabic *ḥaḍara* 'to be present' and with the substantive *muḥāḍara* 'appearance' (Lane 1863, Book I: 589).

Internal data (al-Said 1995: 88-89; Hayajneh 1998: 120; Ryckmans 1934: 98):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Mḫḏr*: al-Jawf 04.267 (Second Name).
  ○ *ḏ-Mḫḏr*: M 392D.
  ○ Also attested in the form *Ḫḏr* (Maʿīn 71).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ḫḏr*: RES 4493.
  ○ As a group name: *ḏ-Ḫḏrⁿ* — CIH 640; RES 4527.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Mḫḏrᵐ*: AM 60.613; Ghul-YU 122; Ja 304; Ja 305; RES 3902 n. 164; Ry 555.
  ○ Most common forms *Ḫḏr/Ḫḏrᵐ/Ḫḏrⁿ* (also as group names).
- Hadramitic:
  ○ Most common forms *Ḫḏrᵐ/Ḫḏrⁿ* (and obviously *Ḫḏrmt*).

Comparisons:
- Biblical Hebrew: *Ḥæṣrô*; *Ḥæṣrôn* (Noth 1966: 38, 243).
- Lihyanite: *Ḫāḏirah*; *Ḫāḏirū* (Caskel 1954: 147).
- Thamudic: *Ḫāḏirat* (Ryckmans 1934: 98) [7].
- Safaitic: *Ḫḏr* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 569).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Maḫāḏir*; *Muḫāḏir* (al-Said 1995: 88).

B.05.D.O./12 (Pl. 27*b*)

ḏ-(H)rm

Description: letters len. 4.5 cm max. Uneven signs, deeply carved.

Linguistic analysis: root HRM ? — 'misfortune', 'weakness' (Sabaic). Probably also the root *RYM 'be over, overlook, height' (Minaic [?], Sabaic). If we accept the second root it could be interpreted as a Verbal Form with causative (*hfʿl*), falling of the second weak radical.

Internal data (Tairan 1992: 220; Hayajneh 1998: 254; Ryckmans 1934: 74):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *ḏ-Hrm*: CIH 332.
  ○ *Hrm*: Gl 1522.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Hrm*: CIAS T 62/p8/54.10 (feminine); RES 3902 no. 55 (both as a first name).
  ○ *ḏ-Hrmw*: RES 3878.
- Hadramitic: n.a.

Comparisons:
- Biblical Hebrew: *Harūm* (Noth 1966: 241; al-Ansary 1975: 9).
- Lihyanite: *Hrmh* (Caskel 1954: 146).
- Safaitic: *Hrmʾ*; *Hrmt*; *Hrm* (as tribal name) (Harding 1971: 613).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Harim*; *Huraim*; *Harma* (Tairan 1992: 220).

This PN is also used to indicate the well-known town in the Jawf area, Haram (al-Scheiba 1987: 59), frequently mentioned with mimation.

B.05.D.O./13 (Pl. 52*d*)

Whb(ʾl)

Description: letters len. 2.4 cm max. Precise and clean inscription.

See B.05.D.O./9: First Name.

B.05.D.O./15 (Pl. 20*b*)

Ns²ʾ

Description: letters len. 4.5 cm max. Slightly regular and superficial signs.

Linguistic analysis: root NS²ʾ — 'to undertake' (Minaic); 'to raise', 'to take action' in military context with the meaning 'to initiate hostilities' (Sabaic); 'to take away, remove' (Qatabanic); cf. also Arabic *našā* 'to grow'.

Internal data (Tairan 1992: 215-17; Hayajneh 1998: 248-49; Ryckmans 1934: 144):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ns²ʾⁿ*: CIH 648.
  ○ *Ns²ʾy*: Ja 612.
  ○ Generally in compound forms as *Ns²ʾmr*; *Ns²ʾkrb*; *Ns²ʾyfʿ*.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ns²ʾm/Ns²ʾⁿ*: Ja 2359.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ Only compound forms, e.g. *Ns²ʾsˡmʿ* (Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 13; Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 45) or *Ns²ʾkrb* (RES 2641).

Comparisons:
- Palmira: *Nšʾ* (Stark 1971: 100).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Nšʾ*; *Nsy* (Benz 1972: 361-62).
- Lihyanite: *Nsʾh*; *Nsʾlh*; *Nsʾmnt* (Caskel 1954: 150).
- Thamudic: *Nšʾt* (Ryckmans 1934: 144).
- Safaitic: *Nšʾn*; *Nšʾt* (Harding 1971: 587-88).

Bron connects this root to the meaning 'prince, head', according to a parallelism in Amorite, e.g. *Ya-aḫ-wi-na-si*, *Ya-du-ur-na-si* (Bron 1994: 63). This is especially useful in explaining compound PNs.

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[7] Not mentioned in Shatnawi 2002.

B.05.D.O./16 (Pl. 24*d*)

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'ws¹ Ḥr(n)

Description: letters len. 2.5 cm max. Very unbalanced traits and crudely incised.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root *ʾWS¹ — 'to give, to return (a gift)' (Cohen 1970, I: 13).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 67; Tairan 1992: 79; Hayajneh 1998: 89; Arbach 2002: 153; Ryckmans 1934: 41-42; Conti Rossini 1931: 101-102).
- Barāqish:
  ○ *'ws¹*: M 151; M 246; M 411.
  ○ *'ws¹ⁿ*: Y.92.B.A.21+30.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *'ws¹*: al-Jawf 04.218; al-Jawf 04.255; al-Jawf 04.258; al-Jawf 04.268; Ja 2227; as-Sawdā' 91; M 59; M 306; M 345; M 376; M 392A; M 392B; M392C; M 392D; M 397; RES 3270; Shaqab 5; YM 22225; YM 23208; YM 26547; YM 26579; YM 26607; YM 26647; YM 26660; YM 26673; YM 28334; YM 28360; YM 28408; YM 28507; YM 28531; YM 30015; YM 30041.
  ○ *'ws¹*: M 319; M 326; M 327; M 358; RES 3270 (al-ʿUlā).
  ○ *'ws¹*: M 334 (Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ).
  ○ *'ws¹ᵐ*: al-Jawf 04.153; M 73; M 392A.
  ○ *'ws¹ⁿ*: M 32; M 392A;
- Sabaic:
  ○ *'ws¹*: CIH 512; CIH 737; Ja 831; RES 4738.
  ○ *'ws¹ᵐ*: CIH 90; CIH 702.
  ○ *'ws¹ⁿ*: CIH 811; CIH 938.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *'ws¹ⁿ*: VL 9.
  ○ *'ws¹ᵐ*: BM 141599; MIFT 00/37; RES 3566.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *'ws¹ᵐ*: Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 251; Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 269.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *'ws¹*: Ja 2776.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Ya-ú-uš-ᵈIM*, not sure link with this root (cf. Huffmon 1965: 171).
- Palmira: *'wšy* (Stark 1971: 67).
- Lihyanite: *'ws*; *'s* (Caskel 1954: 142; al-Ansary 1975: 12-13).
- Thamudic: *'ws*; *'s* (Shatnawi 2002: 645, 653).
- Safaitic: *'ws'*; *'s* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 551, 556).
- Dedanitic: *'ws* (van den Branden 1962: 52).
- Nabataean: *'wšw* (Cantineau 1932: 57).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *'Aws* (al-Said 1995: 67).

This PN is frequently composed with a theonym. Such patterns can be recognized wherever this root is used in South Arabian onomastics, cf. *'ws¹'l*, *'ws¹'tt*, *'ws¹'m*, *'ws¹lt* (Hayajneh 1998: 89-90). The name *'ws¹ⁿ* is also used as a toponym for the region South of Sabā'

(al-Scheiba 1987: 16-17). The occurrence of *'ws¹ⁿ* as PN denoting a *mḥrb* (as in Conti Rossini 1931: 102) should be corrected with *ʿwm* (according to Arbach 2002: 153).

Second Name

The reading is highly doubtful. The final *n* is very outlined from the rest of the word, albeit also between the first and second letter we find a considerable gap. The reading of a *faṣl* before the *n* is uncertain.

Linguistic analysis: root *ḤRR? — 'free man' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 87; Harding 1971: 186; Ryckmans 1934: 89):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Ḥr*: RES 3376 (al-ʿUlā).
  ○ (*Ḥrm*): M 139; M 222; M 392A.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *ḏ-Ḥrⁿ*: as a group name and place-name, CIH 608 (Arbach 2002: 251; al-Scheiba 1987: 24) (⁸) — probably to also remember the compound PN *Ḥrʿhr* (Tairan 1992: 99).
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ḥr*: RES 4274 (group name).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Ugaritic: *Ḥr* (Gröndahl 1967: 136) (⁹).
- Hebrew: *Ḥarran*, as a tribal name (Noth 1966: 244).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Ḥr* is present, although it is likely to be connected with the Egyptian Horus: cf. Ugaritic (Benz 1972: 317).
- Lihyanite: *Ḥrn*? (JS 158 — uncertain, cf. Conti Rossini 1931: 152).
- Thamudic: *Ḥr* (Shatnawi 2002: 672); *Ḥrn* (Ryckmans 1934: 89).
- Safaitic: *Ḥr* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 568); *Mḥr*? (Ryckmans 1934: 89).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: PNs like *Ḥirinna* or *Ḥurain* possibly to be explained with the Arabic root *ḤRN (al-Said 1995: 87).

B.05.D.O./18 (Pl. 20*c*)

ᚼᛏᛉ

Ḫld

Description: letters len. 2.6 cm max. Deep, regular and spaced-out signs. Traces of preparatory lines above and under the inscription.

(⁸) With *Ḥrn* two different places are expressed: one in South Arabia, near Jebel Jihaf, the other in the Ḥejāz (Ryckmans 1934: 339).

(⁹) Its derivation from the Semitic root *ḤRR is doubtful: it could also be connected with the Egyptian god 'Hor', as for Phoenician and Punic.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root *ḪLD — 'to be eternal' (Minaic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 99; Hayajneh 1998: 130; Ryckmans 1934: 103):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Ḫld*: al-Jawf 04.182; al-Jawf 04.188; M 45; M 395; YM 26605; YM 26639; YM 26655; YM 30048.
  ○ *Ḫld*: RES 3777 (al-ʿUlā).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ḫld*: RES 4940.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ḫld*: FAJ 61 (Hayajneh 1998: 312).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Ḫld*: Ja 2774.
Comparisons:
- Hebrew: *Ḥêled*; *Ḥeldaj*; *Ḥuldā(h)* (Noth 1966: 230).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Ḥld* (Benz 1972: 310).
- Palmira: *Ḥldʾ* (Stark 1971: 88).
- Nabataean: *Ḥldw* (Cantineau 1932, II: 96).
- Lihyanite: *Ḥld* (Caskel 1954: 148).
- Thamudic: *Ḥld* (Shatnawi 2002: 683).
- Safaitic: *Ḥld*; *Ḥldt*; *Ḥldy* — very common (Harding 1971: 226).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Ḫalada*; *Ḫalda*; *Ḫālid* (Ryckmans 1934: 103).
- Greek sources: *Χάλεδ* (Wuthnow 1930: 119).

The Minaic occurrence in M 395 is on the list of hierodules and identifies a woman from Wagaʾ (Bron 1998: 120). Besides the root for 'to be eternal', this PN can also be explained with the root for 'mole', commonly associated with the Northwestern Semitic (Noth 1966: 230; Benz 1972: 310). This suggested a similar interpretation for this PN in South Arabia as well (Schaffer 1981: 297-98). Therefore we may be looking at two very distinct roots: the original *ḪLD, meaning 'eternal' and the root *ḪLD, meaning 'mole' [10] which is not documented in South Arabian. Most likely, the first should be credited with lying behind these PNs, and perhaps also in the Northwest (where Ḥ > Ḫ).

B.05.D.O./20 (Pl. 21*a*)

[...]1

ℓ ,[...]

Description: letters len. 2.5 cm max. Superficial incision.
Only one letter is clear, thus not allowing any interpretation.

B.05.D.O./21 (Pl. 52*e*)

◊⅂⅂ñ

(ʾlgf)

Description: letters len. 2.2 cm max. Regular and deep signs. The stone fracture has cut the lower half of the inscription.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: The Qatabanian PN *Yʿgf* (imperfect verbal form) could suggest the root ʿGF 'to be compassionate' also for the name under discussion, after assimilation of the first *ʿayn* (Hayajneh 1998: 279). Theophorous.
Internal data:
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a
Comparisons: n.a.

Although fragmentary, the letters can be easily reconstructed. Doubts arise due to the lack of any other internal occurrence or comparison.

B.05.D.O./22 (Pl. 25*a*)

ц◦ñ

S¹ʿd

Description: letters len. 2.7 cm max. These irregular letters are carved with different degrees of depth.
Linguistic analysis: root S¹ʿD — 'to grant, bestow a favour' (Minaic, Sabaic) [11].
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 118; Hayajneh 1998: 160; Arbach 2002: 330; Ryckmans 1934: 152-53):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *S¹ʿd*: M 247; M 347 (4 occurrences).
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *S¹ʿd*: al-Jawf 04.294; M 392D; YM 10192; YM 26656; YM 28509; YM 28358.
  ○ *S¹ʿd*: M 289; RES 3720 (al-ʿUlā).
  ○ *S¹ʿd*: M 352 (Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ).
  ○ Ja 2345b.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *S¹ʿd*: CIH 745; CIH 896.

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[10] The root ḪLD is not preserved in South Arabic, however, it should be noted that the two different meanings can also be found in Arabic under the same root of ḪLD (Lane 1863, Book I: 784).

[11] Cf. Arabic *saʿida* 'to be lucky', *sāʿada* 'to help, give support' (Lane 1863, Book I: 1360-63); in Hebrew *sʿd* 'to give support' and in Aramaic *sʿd* 'to help' (Koehler & Baumgartner 1995, 2: 761).

○ *S¹'dᵐ*: CIH 193; CIH 242; CIH 285; CIH 287; CIH 334; CIH 347; CIH 349; CIH 609; CIH 649; CIH 711; CIH 737; CIH 880; RES 3977; Ry 506.
○ *S¹'dⁿ*: CIH 722; CIH 934.
- Qatabanic:
○ *S¹'d*: Ja 185.
○ *S¹'dᵐ*: CIAS 47.82/j 1; Ja 263; RES 3566.
- Hadramitic:
○ *S¹'dᵐ*: Ingrams 1; Ja 993.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Ya-as-ḫa-di-im* (Huffmon 1965: 245).
- Hatra: *Š'dw* (Abbadi 1983: 172).
- Palmira: *Š'd* (Stark 1971: 115).
- Nabataean: *Š'd*; *Š'dw*; *Š'dy*; *Š'd'*; *Š'dh*; *Š'dt* (Cantineau 1932, II: 152).
- Lihyanite: *S'd* (Caskel 1954: 151).
- Thamudic: *S'd*; *S'dt*; *S'dn* (Shatnawi 2002: 703-704).
- Safaitic: *S'd* (very common); *S'd'*; *S'dn*; *S'dt* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 582).
- Greek sources: Σαδδος (Wuthnow 1930: 101).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Sa'd*; *Sa'īd* (al-Said 1995: 118).

Also found in compound forms with divine names and with *'b* ('father'). It is also attested in Jeddah as the name of a divinity (Ryckmans 1934: 25; cf. also al-Said 1995: 118).

B.05.D.O./23 (Pl. 21*b*)

)8Ψ4|4Ꝑ1ĥ

S¹lm Mḥḍr

Description: letters len. 2.7 cm max. Regular squared signs.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root S¹LM — 'to sue for peace; peace' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic). Nominal Form. This widespread noun is often also interpreted as a short verb form in which the god's name has not been explicitly expressed as: '(the god) has brought peace', otherwise it can be considered to be a nominal sentence in construct case (again with no expression of the divine name): '(god's) peace' (al-Said 1995: 119-20; Hayajneh 1998: 161-62).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 119; Tairan 1992: 129; Hayajneh 1998: 161-62; Arbach 2002: 343; Ryckmans 1934: 150):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
○ *S¹lm*: al-Jawf 04.196; al-Jawf 04.219; al-Jawf 04.274; al-Jawf 04.286; M 392A; M 392D; RES 3746; Ry 719; YM 26651; YM 26665; YM 28335; YM 28380; YM 28390; YM 28524; YM 30013; YM 30032; YM 30033.
○ *S¹lm*: RES 3365; RES 3746 (al-'Ulā).
○ Recognizable variants for feminine names: *S¹lmt*; *S¹lmbw*; *S¹lmy*.

- Sabaic:
○ *S¹lm*: BR-Yanbuq 11; Ja 1021b.
○ *S¹lmᵐ*: CIH 22; CIH 719.
○ *S¹lmⁿ*: CIH 446.
- Qatabanic:
○ *S¹lm*: H 2155/2148A.
○ *S¹lmⁿ*: CIAS 95.11/w5/n1; MQ dhū-Wayn 9 (as group name in RES 3858).
- Hadramitic:
○ *S¹lm*: Shabwa S/75/69.
○ *S¹lmᵐ*: Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 63 (feminine).
○ *S¹lmⁿ*: Ja 940; Ja 959; Ja 965.
Comparisons:
- Assyrian: *Sa-la-ma-a-nu*; *Sa-la-ma-nu*; *Sa-lam-a-nu* (Tallqvist 1966: 190-91).
- Amorite: *Sa-la-mu-um*; *Sa-li-ma-an*; *Sa-li-ma-nim* (Huffmon 1965: 246-47).
- Ugaritic: *Šlmy*; *Šlmn* (Gröndahl 1967: 193).
- Hebrew: *Šālem*; *Šillem* (Noth 1966: 165, 174, 258).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Šlm* (Benz 1972: 417).
- Aramaic: *Šlm* (Maraqten 1988: 218).
- Palmira: *Šlwm* (Stark 1971: 114).
- Nabataean: *Šlmw*; *Šlmn*; *Šlmh*; *Šlmt* (Cantineau 1932: 150-51).
- Lihyanite: *Slm*; *Slmt*; *Slmh* (Caskel 1954: 151).
- Thamudic: *Slm*; *Slmt*; *Slmn* (Shatnawi 2002: 704-705).
- Safaitic: *Slm*; *Slmt*; *Slmn* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 583).
- Greek sources: Σαλάμου; Σαλέμου (Wuthnow 1930: 103).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Salām*; *Sālim*; *Salm*; *Sallām*; *Salam*; *Silm* (Hayajneh 1998: 162).

Second Name

See B.05D.O./11: Second Name.

B.05.D.O./24 (Pl. 28*b*)

○ꝶꝶ

Ll'

Description: letters len. 2.8 cm max. Irregular and crude incision.

See B.05.D.O./3: First Name.

B.05.D.O./25 (Pl. 28*c*)

4ꝰĦ

Ḏym

Description: letters len. 4 cm max. Regular, spaced and balanced inscription.
Linguistic analysis: root *DYM ? — (not attested in South Arabian), cf. Arabic *ḏāma* 'to blame, despise'

(Lane 1863 [1872], Book I: 951); otherwise ḎMM, cf. Arabic ḏimm: 'to lose weight' (Ryckmans 1934: 70) ([12]).

Internal data (al-Said 1995: 189; Hayajneh 1998: 143):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ Ḏym: al-Jawf 04.265.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ Ḏym^m, Mḏym: both in VL 9 as a tribal name (Minaic?).
- Hadramitic: n.a.

Comparisons:
- Safaitic (hypothetical): Ḏm , cf. Arabic ḏāma 'to blame' (Harding 1971: 256, 260).

The Qatabanian occurrences (VL 9) may refer to Minaean traders residing in Tamnaʿ. In addition, in a piece in Ammān there is a Ḏymt that Garbini considers as the feminine of the above-mentioned Qatabanic Ḏym^m (Garbini 1977: 376). Its belonging to Minaic could be proved by recent French findings (al-Jawf 04.265).

B.05.D.O./26 (Pl. 28*d*)

ዘⳝክ¶◦
ዛⳆ⳽

ʿm'ns^l
S²yd

Description: letters len. 2.8 cm max. Very refined inscription. The signs can be approached to style E2 of Pirenne's paleographical typology (end of 2nd century B.C.).

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root 'NS^1 — 'man, husband, warrior' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic). Nominal Form (construct state). Theophorous, ʿm.
Internal data: (al-Said 1995: 140; Tairan 1992: 161-62; Hayajneh 1998: 196; Arbach 2002: 164; Ryckmans 1934: 220).
- Barāqish:
  ○ ʿm'ns^l: M 171; M 173; M 193; Y.92.B.A.21+30.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ ʿm'ns^l: al-Jawf 04.34; M 1; M 73; M 74; M 125; YM 621; YM 18346; YM 18347; YM 18349; YM 28371.
- Sabaic:
  ○ ʿm'ns^l: CIH 119; CIH 308; CIH 510; CIH 511; CIH 515; CIH 973; CIH 980; RES 4043; RES 4167; RES 4228; RES 4405; RES 4563; RES 4669; Turner 1.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ ʿm'ns^l: Av. Ṭāh 1; Cox 4; Ja 2490j; RES 3902 no. 111; RES 5015.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ ʿm'ns^l: ʿUqayba 3; CaTh 15; CaTh 49; Raybūn

Ḥadrān 24; Rb I/84 no. 183/184a-b/185/182a-b; Shabwa VI/76/81.

Comparisons:
- PNs formed by the combination of these two elements seem peculiar to South Arabian. The use of 'ns only is more concentrated in North Arabian; ʿm obviously shows a broader usage in Near Eastern onomastics.
- Nabataean: ʿm'n (Cantineau 1932: 132).
- Lihyanite: 'ns (Caskel 1954: 142).
- Thamudic: 'ns (Shatnawi 2002: 652).
- Safaitic: ʿm'n; 'ns (Winnett & Harding 1978: 597).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: ʿAmmī'anas or ʿUmyānis (Tairan 1992: 162) ([13]).

Second Name

Linguistic analysis: root *S²YD — (not attested in South Arabian). Possible comparisons are those with Arabic ŠYD which is related to the meaning 'to strengthen' (referred generally to building operations), but also 'to raise' (especially for one's voice) (Lane 1863, Book I: 1629-30).
Internal data (Gnoli 1993: 39-40):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ ḏ-S²yd: Shaqab 4; Shaqab 5.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a.

Comparisons:
- Safaitic: Šydn (Harding 1971: 363).

This is the third attestation of this name, all of which are in Minaic. The other two from Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa indicate a family to which two rs²w-priests belonged (Gnoli 1993: 76 and 78). These inscriptions are dated at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. (Kitchen 2000: 649).

B.05.D.O./27 (Pl. 21*c*)

ዘⳆⳝⳄ

(Ḥtg')

Description: letters len. 3.2 cm max. The inscription has been intentionally erased (*damnatio memoriae*?). Undecipherable, reading is highly conjectural.

([12]) These two roots are however connected to each other, cf. Cohen 1970, fasc. 4: 332, 335.
([13]) About this name in ancient Islamic Yemen see Goldfeld 1973.

B.05.D.O./33 (Pl. 27c)

𐩺𐩬�
𐩥𐩯𐩽

Nbṭ
Db(g)

Description: letters len. 2.5 cm max. Irregularly spaced and incised signs.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root NBṬ — 'to dig a pit' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic). The North-western PNs (see here below) can be explained through alternative meanings: cf. Hebrew *nbṭ* 'to look at' (Koehler & Baumgartner 1995: 661), Ugaritic *nbṭ* 'to shine forth' (Gordon 1965: 456) or Akkadian *nabāṭu* 'to gleam brightly' (CAD: 22-23).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 165-66; Tairan 1992: 212-14; Hayajneh 1998: 244; Arbach 2002: 293; Ryckmans 1934: 134).
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Nbṭ*: M 227 (uncertain).
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Nbṭ*: M 32 (other compound forms with theonym, e.g. *'lnbṭ*; *Nbṭ'l*; *Nbṭ'ttr*).
  ○ *Nbṭ*: GOAM 315 (as a second name).
  ○ Also used as an Epithet in royal names: CIH 377, Haram 2; M 202; M 197; M 219+M 218+M 211+M 215; M 367; Ma'īn 10; RES 2980.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Nbṭ*: CIH 377.
  ○ *Nbṭᵐ*: CIH 861, as an epithet in CIH 737.
  ○ Attested also as a toponym and building name; various compound forms are available.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Nbṭ*: RES 3902 n. 19 (widespread as theophorous, e.g. *Nbṭ'l*; *Nbṭ'm*).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Biblical Hebrew: *Nᵉbāṭ* (Noth 1966: 186).
- Nabataean: *Nbṭw*, used as a personal name but primarily as their own ethnonym (Cantineau 1932: 117).
- Safaitic: *Nbṭ*, frequently used to indicate Nabataeans (Harding 1971: 579; Winnett & Harding 1978: 615).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Nabaṭ*; *Nubaiṭ* (al-Said 1995: 165).

Second Name

Linguistic analysis: root *DBL? — 'to fulfil a contract' (Sabaic); *DBB? 'to fortify' (Biella 1982: 79).
Internal data: n.a.
Comparisons: n.a.

A complete examination of the second name is impossible due to stone fracture. The most likely reading is that proposed, though it is not documented in South Arabia. Alternative readings such as *Dbb* or *Dbl* could have more connections but they are not totally suitable for the sign traces left.

B.06.D.O./13 (Pl. 22b)

𐩽𐩲𐩣

Mt'

Description: letters len. 3.2 cm max. Irregularly shaped signs.
Linguistic analysis: root MT' — 'to save, deliver, make thrive'(Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 158; Tairan 1992: 195; Hayajneh 1998: 229; Ryckmans 1934: 133):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Mt'*: al-Jawf 04.240; M 392A; Shaqab 16; YM 28976; YM 29222; YM 30014; (M 32 as a Group Name).
  ○ *Mt'ᵐ*: al-Jawf 04.46.
  ○ *Mt'ⁿ*: al-Jawf 04.283; M 73; Ma'īn 100; YM 24942+24943.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Mt'ᵐ*: BR-Yanbuq 6; CIH 707; Ja 841.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Mt'ᵐ*: BaBa al-Ḥadd 1; C 27; CIAS 47.11/o1; CIAS Ss 74/s4/95.11/n.3; MuB 601.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Mt'*: Khor Rori 3.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Mt'*: Ja 2725d.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: **Mati''l* >Ma-ti-DINGIR (Huffmon 1965: 235).
- Assyrian: *Ma-ti-'-il(u)*; *Mati-ilāa* (Tallqvist 1966: 135-36).
- Aramaic: *Mt''l*; *Mt'dd*; *Mt'y* (Maraqten 1988: 182-83).
- Lihyanite: *Mt'* (Harding 1971: 526).
- Safaitic: *Mt'* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 609).
- Thamudic: *Mt'* (Shatnawi 2002: 737).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Matī'* ('Abdallāh 1975: 87; Caskel 1966: 404).
- Greek sources: *Ματέ* (Wuthnow 1930: 74).

B.06.D.O./15 (Pl. 31a)

𐩥𐩥𐩢

(K)ḥḥ

Description: letters len. 6.4 cm max. Irregularly shaped signs, deep incision.
Linguistic analysis: undeterminable root.
Internal data:
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a.

Comparisons:
- Safaitic: *Kẖ*; *Kẖy* (Harding 1971: 495; Winnett & Harding 1978: 605).
- Thamudic: *Kẖt* (Harding 1971: 495).

Difficulties arise in the reading of the first sign because its lower part is covered by thick plaster. However, based on the size and position of the other two signs, we can safely say that the reading we propose is certain. Readings with *'alif* or *s¹* can be excluded as there is no apex trace in the upper part. The *b* is difficult to accept given the dimensions of the two adjacent letters.

B.06.D.O./16 (Pl. 23*a*)

⟨signs⟩

Yẖ(b)'l
'd[.]

Description: letters len. 1.9 cm max. Regular but superficial signs.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root *ḤBB ? — 'cereal crops' or 'to adhere [?]' (Sabaic). Verbal Form (imperfect). Theophorous.
Internal data and comparisons: n.a.

Some PNs are formed with the root proposed (Tairan 1992: 95-96). None of them, however, are documented as imperfect verbal forms. The common PN *Yḥm'l* cannot be considered, given that *m* is not suitable with the traces left.

Second Name

This reading presents difficulties and so it is highly hypothetical. The only known PN that could fit into this context could be *'dn*, a feminine one from M 392A. In Sabaic the same PN identifies a lineage (CIH 550).
In the Sabaic inscription CIH 541/84 there is a PN *'dl*, to also be considered ('Abdallāh 1975: 76).

B.06.D.O./17 (Pl. 23*b*)

⟨signs⟩

S²nb

Description: letters len. 3 cm max. Very superficial incision.
Linguistic analysis: root *S²NB ? — (not attested in South Arabian), cf. Arabic ŠNB: 'to shine'.
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 127).
- Barāqish:
  ○ *S²nb*: as a family name but out of context (according to al-Said 1995: 127).

- Other Minaic:
  ○ *S²nb*: YM 26567.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Islamic sources: *Šanab* (al-Said 1995: 127).

B.06.D.O./18 (Pl. 31*b*)

⟨signs⟩

Rty(d)

Description: letters len. 3.7 cm max. Irregular and unbalanced signs.
Linguistic analysis: root RṮD — 'to protect' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic). Scheme *f⁽yl*. This form suggests a rendering as Raṯīd (cf. al-Said 1995: 110).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 110; Tairan 1992: 124; Hayajneh 1998: 148):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Rṯd*: Antonini Stele 2 ([14]); M 151; M 283.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Rtyd*: YM 26623.
  ○ *Rṯd*: al-Jawf 04.167; al-Jawf 04.213; M 392A; M 392C; Ma'īn 95.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Rṯd'l*: CIH 153; CIH 241; CIH 797.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Rṯd*: CIAS 95.11/o9 no. 3; Ghul-YU 116; MuB 206.
  ○ Most of the occurrences are within a theonym and with the termination -*t*.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ No strict correspondence, but from this root cf. *Mrṯdm* (Ja 923) or *Mrṯd'm* (CIAS 47.82/o6).
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Rṯd*: Ja 2588n/l.
Comparisons:
- Thamudic: *Rṯd* (Shatnawi 2002: 692).

This root is frequently used in other Semitic areas for the creation of PNs, where it is especially used in theophorous names and with -*t* suffix.

([14]) It is a stele which comes from the Islamic levels on Nakraḥ temple in Barāqish. It could however come from this necropolis.

B.06.D.O./19 (Pl. 52a)

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Zyd'(l) 's²- m

Description: letters len. 3.4 cm max. Irregular signs, deeply carved. Preparatory line above the inscription.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root *ZYD? < cf. Arabic *zāda*: 'to grow' (Müller 1962: 61). Nominal / Verbal Form. Theophorous.
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 115; Tairan 1992: 127-28; Hayajneh 1998: 155; Arbach 2002: 435; Ryckmans 1934: 227):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Zyd'l*: M246; M 283; M 411; M 283.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Zyd'l*: al-Jawf 04.166; al-Jawf 04.210; al-Jawf 04.264; M 139; M 392A; M 392C; YM 24942+24943; YM 26546; YM 26578; YM 28356; YM 28392; YM 28513; YM 29212; YM 30002; YM 30016; YM 30051.
  ○ M 338 (Fayyūm?).
  ○ M 349 (Delos).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Zyd'l*: CIH 37; Ir 32; Ja 401.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Zyd'l*: CIAS 47.11/p8 n. 1 (4 occurrences); Ja 2470; MQ-HK 7; MuB 153; RES 3566; RES 3902 no. 134.
- Hadramitic: n.a.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Zyd'l*: Ja 2594
Comparisons:
- Aramaic: *Zydw*; *Zydn* (Maraqten 1988: 159-60).
- Hatra: *Zyd'lt* (Abbadi 1983: 105).
- Nabataean: *Zyd'lhy* (Cantineau 1932: 92).
- Lihyanite: *Zyd'l* (Harding 1971: 304).
- Safaitic: *Zd'l* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 579).
- Thamudic: *Zd'l* (Shatnawi 2002: 700).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Zaid'īl* (Caskel 1966: 604).
- Greek sources: *Ζαιδηλου* (Wuthnow 1930: 49).

Second Name

Linguistic analysis: root *S²YM? — 'to promise, to set up' (Sabaic) but also 'to protect' (Qatabanic). From here, also the meaning 'patron deity' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic). Probably *'f'l* nominal pattern.
Internal data:
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *S²m*: Ja 899a (uncertain).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Lihyanite: *Šm*; *Šmt*; *Šm'l* (Harding 1971: 356).

- Thamudic: *Šmt* (Shatnawi 2002: 712).
- Safaitic: *'šmt*; *Šm*; *Šm'l*; *Šmt* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 586-87) [15].

B.06.D.O./20 (Pl. 23c)

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Ms²km

Description: letters len. 4.5 cm max. Regular, slightly uneven signs.
Linguistic analysis: root S²KM — 'to be of low-birth' (Minaic, Qatabanic), cf. also Arabic *šakama*: 'to repay, compensate'; then, 'gift'. Nominal Form on stem *mf'l*. This root is used in other onomastic forms: e.g. *Škm*, *Škmt*, *Škym*, *Škmᵐ* (cf. Tairan 1992: 200).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 162; Tairan 1992: 199-200; Hayajneh 1998: 235):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Ms²km*: M 32; M 73; YM 29992.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ms²kmᵐ*: MAFRAY al-Asāḥil 8.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ms²kmᵐ*: TC 1773.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Ms²kmᵐ*: Ja 944; Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 28; Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 34; Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 156.
Comparisons:
- Nabataean: *Škm'lhy* (Cantineau 1932: 150).
- Thamudic: *Škm*; *Škmlh* (Shatnawi 2002: 711).
- Safaitic: *Škm*; *Škmt* (Harding 1971: 354).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Miškamum* (Caskel 1966: 436).

B.06.D.O./21 (Pl. 25b)

[.]ꢠꢝꢥꢣ

Ḏkr'[.]

Description: letters len. 2.9 cm max. Very superficial and rough signs. Traces of preparatory lines above and under the inscription. An ending with -*l* can be excluded (probably mimation).
Linguistic analysis: root *ḎKR — 'to mention, record' (Minaic, Sabaic, Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 105-106; Hayajneh 1998: 140-41; Arbach 2002: 201; Ryckmans 1934: 69): With this form we do not have exact occurrences in Minaic; along the simple forms, there are also compound PNs with an imperfect verb: *Yḏkr'l* (al-Jawf 04.259; M 13; M 151; M 29; M 27; M 59; M 43; M 86D). Another stem is that represented by *Mḏkr* (al-Jawf 04.279; al-Jawf 04.288).

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[15] For those ending in -*t* the belonging to a root *ŠMT should be considered.

- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Dkr*: al-Jawf 04.273 (uncertain); YM 28339; YM 28378; YM 28538; YM 30019.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Dkr*: RES 4603.
  ○ *Dkrᵐ*: CIH 823; Ja 741; Nami NN 55.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Dkrᵐ*: Ja 349; RES 3566.
  ○ *Dkrⁿ*: BM 141585; Doe 22a; (RES 3858 as Group Name).
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Dkr*: Bi'r Ḥamed 11; Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 27 (not sure); Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 128 (not sure); Rb I/84 no. 210a-b (feminine); SOYCE 647 (feminine). Compound names such as *'ldkr, 'mdkr, Dkr'l, Ṣdqdkr* are common.

Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Za-ki-ru-um* (Huffmon 1965: 187).
- Assyrian: *Za-ku-ri; Zā-ki-ru; Zi-ik-rum* (Tallqvist 1966: 246).
- Ugaritic: *Za-ki-ru* (Gröndahl 1967: 196).
- Aramaic: *Zkr* (Maraqten 1988: 160).
- Palmira: *Dkry* (Stark 1971: 83).
- Hebrew: *Zakkūr* (Noth 1966: 242).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Zkr* (Benz 1972: 305-306).
- Nabataean: *Dkrw* (Cantineau 1932: 82).
- Lihyanite: *Dkr* (Harding 1971: 255).
- Safaitic: *Dkr; Dkrn* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 636).
- Thamudic: *Dkr'l* (Shatnawi 2002: 689).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Dakarān; Dakar* ('Abdallāh 1975: 49).

B.06.D.O./23 (Pl. 31*c*)

◦ 🯄)

R(ḍ)w

Description: letters len. 5.8 cm max. Deeply incised signs, covered by thick plaster.
Linguistic analysis: root RḌW/Y — 'to please, satisfy' (Minaic, Sabaic, Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 112; Hayajneh 1998: 153; Arbach 2002: 313; Ryckmans 1934: 32):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Rḍw'l*: M 204; M 282.
  ○ *Rḍwⁿ*: M 246 (it is probably the PN of a tower here).
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Rḍwt*: M 392B.
  ○ *'brḍw*: al-Jawf 04.26; Haram 11; M 392C (feminine).
  ○ *Rḍwⁿ*: Ja 2266; RES 3739; RES 3776 (al-ʿUlā).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Rḍw*: Nami NN 57.
  ○ *Rḍwt*: CIH 855.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Rḍw*: RES 3902 n.110; MIFT 00/20.
  ○ *Rḍwt*: Ghul-Yu 107; H 3020; RES 4243.
  ○ *Rḍwᵐ*: RES 3902 n.185; TC 812.

- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Rḍwᵐ*: Raybūn Ḥaḍrān 21 (uncertain).
  ○ *Rḍwⁿ*: Hamilton 8; RES 2687; Shabwa Ecluse A.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Ra-ṣa-ᵈDa-gan* (Huffmon 1965: 265).
- Assyrian: *ᵈRu-ul-da-a-a-ú* (cf. Lundin 1981: 211) [16].
- Hebrew: *Reṣîn* (Noth 1966: 257).
- Nabataean: *Rṣwt* (Cantineau 1932: 147).
- Lihyanite: *Rḍwn* (Harding 1971: 280).
- Safaitic: *Rḍw; Rḍwt; Rḍy* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 577).
- Thamudic: *Rḍ; Rḍwt* (Shatnawi 2002: 695-96).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Riḍwān* ('Abdallāh 1975: 61; Caskel 1966: 490).

This name is widespread through the Arabian Peninsula (especially in the North), also because it is connected with the goddess Ruḍā. This name becomes more common as the nomadic people increased the pressure in the area [17].

B.06.D.O./24 (Pl. 30*b*)

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M'dʰ

Description: letters len. 2.7 cm max. Deeply incised and slightly regular signs. The piece has revealed traces of corrections in correspondence to the last two letters, thus probably due to stone reuse or by error of the lapicide himself.
Linguistic analysis: root M'D — 'to add' (Minaic). The root 'DN should also be considered, cf. Arabic 'to bent' (in this case *mf'l* pattern without nunation).
Internal data (Ryckmans 1934: 123):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *M'dʰ*: YM 28340.
  ○ *M'd*: YM 28029.
- Sabaic:
  ○ Here attested as an ethnonym and lineage (cf. al-Scheiba 1987: 50).
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *M'dᵐ*: Ja 249; Ja 250; Ja 2503; Ja 2516; Ja 2517; MIFT 00/11; MIFT 00/69; RES 3566.
  ○ *M'dᵐ*: Ghul-YU 124; Ja 251; Ja 488 (as a Group Name).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Safaitic: *M'd; M'dm; M'dn* (Harding 1971: 523).

[16] It is a cuneiform transcription of the goddess name Ruḍā. The phonetic adaptation with the consonantal cluster *-ld-* is one of the pieces of evidence that sustain the hypothesis of the original lateral realization of the phoneme /ḍ/.

[17] On this matter and on its historical, religious and linguistic implications see Lundin 1981: 211-15.

B.06.D.O./26 (Pl. 23*d*)

[.]Υ̌ӟ ІhꝆΠΥ ◦

Whb'l (M)ḫ[.]

Description: letters len. 4 cm max. This stele has many reading difficulties. The graphic signs are not very deep because of the coarse grain of this limestone. The reading of the first name is very plausible but an interpretation of the second is rather impossible because, besides the roughness of the base, there are traces of latter corrections by the carver.

First Name

See B.05.D.O./09.

Second Name

Given the presence of the name *Mḫḍr* three times in this collection as a Second Name (B.05.D.O./11; B.05.D.O./23; B.06.D.O./27), an integration in this sense could be proposed, but close observation of the piece and the space left on the stone do not encourage this interpretation.

B.06.D.O./27 (Pl. 24*a*)

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Ḥyw Mḫḍr

Description: letters len. 2.5 cm max. Regular and balanced signs.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root ḤYW — 'life' (Minaic, Sabaic, Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 96; Tairan 1992: 104-106; Hayajneh 1998: 126; Arbach 2002: 255-56; Ryckmans 1934: 91):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: M 155; M 283 (3 occurrences).
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: al-Jawf 04.222; M 3; M 28; M 53; M 75; M 78; M 387; M 392A; M 392B (4 occurrences); M 392C; M 392D; Ma'īn 18; Shaqab 16; YM 26595; YM 26589; YM 26689; YM 28515; YM 30042.
  ○ *Ḥyw*: M 316; M 358 (al-'Ulā).
  ○ In Minaic it is also attested with mimation in First Names or Patronymics (i.e. YM 26542; YM 18344) and with nunation in Patronymics. There are also secondary forms as *Ḥyy* and *Ḥywt* (MAFRAY al-Kāfir 27B).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: CIH 6; CIH 59; CIH 113; CIH 765; Fa 3.
  ○ *Ḥyw^m*: CIH 2; CIH 99; CIH 111; CIH 120; CIH 269; CIH 270; CIH 298; CIH 317; CIH 358; CIH 403; CIH 492; CIH 493; CIH 495; CIH 555; CIH

740; CIH 792; Gl 1519; Gl 1522; Ja 2922; Ja 2948; RES 3418; RES 3923; RES 3955; Schm/Mārib 26; Schm/Samsara 9; Turner 1.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: AM 60.756; Ja 890j; Ja 2432; RES 3691.
  ○ Here frequent with mimation (e.g. C 29), nunation (e.g. Ja 2520) and with suffix -*t* (MIFT 00/10).
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: Rb XIV/90 n. 103 (reading is unclear, probably not complete, cf. Hadramitic PN *Yḥyw*).
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Ḥyw*: Ja 2617h.

This PN is also attested in Ethiopia, in the two forms *Ḥyw* and *Ḥywt*. The latter is the Second Name of the King *W'rn* (Marrassini 1985: 303, 306).

Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Ya-aḫ-wi-*AN (Huffmon 1965: 71-72, 191-92).
- Ugaritic: *Ḥyn*; *Ḫa-ya-il* (Gröndahl 1967: 137).
- Hatra: *Ḥyy* (Abbadi 1983: 109).
- Hebrew: *Yeḥī'êl*; *Yeḥiyyāh* (Noth 1966: 206, 246) [18].
- Phoenician and Punic: *Ḥw'*; *Ḥwy* (Benz 1972: 308-309).
- Nabataean: *Ḥyw* (Cantineau 1932: 95).
- Lihyanite: *Ḥyw* (Harding 1971: 211).
- Safaitic: *Ḥyw* (*ibid.*).
- Thamudic: *Ḥy*; *Ḥyt* (Shatnawi 2002: 680).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Ḥaiy* (Caskel 1966: 293).

Second Name

See B.05.D.O./11: Second Name.

B.06.D.O./30 (Pl. 24*b*)

ΧΧ◦

'zz

Description: letters len. 3.5 cm max. Very regular and clear-cut incision.
Linguistic analysis: root 'ZZ — 'to be strong' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 136; Tairan 1992: 157; Hayajneh 1998: 189; Arbach 2002: 181):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *'zz*: Ma'īn 95; YM 26620; YM 28419.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *'zz^m*: CIH 406; CIH 517; Gl 1637; Ja 2102d.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *'z^m*: Ja 186.

[18] The first one is in Ezra 8: 9, the second in Chronicles 15: 24.

○ *'dd*: RES 3519, probably composed with -*krb* [19].
○ Attested forms as *Y''zz* (TC 1078) and *'zz'l* (Ja 880).
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *'zz*: al-'Uqla Bāfaqīh 5.
  ○ *'dd^m*: CT 10; CT 24; Ja 931; RES 4691.
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *'zz*: Ja 2776.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Ú-zu-na-AN*; *Uz-zi-ya* (West Semitic loanword) — (Huffmon 1965: 160).
- Assyrian: *A-zi-zu* (Tallqvist 1966: 49).
- Ugaritic: *'zn* (Gröndahl 1967: 112).
- Aramaic: *'z'* (Maraqten 1988: 197).
- Palmira: *'zyz* (Stark 1971: 44).
- Hatra: *'zy* (Abbadi 1983: 150).
- Hebrew: *'Azī'el*; *'Azayāhū* (Noth 1966: 253).
- Phoenician and Punic: *'zz*; *'z* (Benz 1972: 374-75).
- Nabataean: *'zyzw* (Cantineau 1932: 129).
- Safaitic: *'zz* (Harding 1971: 418).
- Thamudic: *'zz*; *'zn* (Shatnawi 2002: 722).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *'zīz* (Caskel 1966: 218)
- Greek sources: *Αζιζος* (Wuthnow 1930: 156).

This PN is fairly widespread because this root is also related to the Arabic goddess 'Uzzā [20], also mentioned in South Arabia in the form *'zyⁿ* (also used in other theophorous names). It was already known in preislamic South Arabia as an epithet of the god 'Attar, and furthermore al-'Azīz will also be a divine attribute in the Qur'ān.

B.06.D.O./31 (Pl. 25*d*)

Ⱀ)Ⰵ

Ḥrm

Description: letters len. 3.2 cm max. Irregular and unbalanced inscription.
Linguistic analysis: root ḤRM — 'to prohibit, be in a sacral state' (Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 86; Hayajneh 1998: 118; Arbach 2002: 251; Ryckmans 1934: 98):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Ḥrm*: M 222.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Ḥrm*: M 139; M 392A.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Ḥrm*: CIH 12; CIH 523; CIH 766; Ry 520.
  ○ *Ḥrm^m*: CIH 287.
  ○ *Ḥrmt*: CIH 826.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Ḥrm*: Ja 1124 (uncertain).
  ○ *Ḥrm^m*: Doe 6; Ghul-YU 122; MIFT 00/4; RES 3566; RES 3902 n.165.
  ○ *Ḥrmt*: Ja 176; MuB 150.
  ○ *Ḥrmy*: AM 60.1295.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Ḥrmt*: Shabwa S/76/51 (feminine).
- Qaryat al-Fāw:
  ○ *Ḥrm*: Ja 2615n.

○ *Ḥrm^m*: Ja 2774be.
Comparisons:
- Amorite: *Me-eḫ-ri-mi-im* (Huffmon 1965: 204).
- Ugaritic: *Ḥrm* (Gröndahl 1967: 136).
- Ancient Aramaic: *Ḥarīmā* (*Ḥa-ri-im-ma-'*), (Coogan 1976: 26) [21].
- Hebrew: *Ḥārim* (Noth 1966: 136-37).
- Phoenician and Punic: *Ḥrm* (Benz 1972: 318).
- Nabataean: *Ḥrmw* (Cantineau 1932: 100).
- Lihyanite: *Ḥrm* (Harding 1971: 185).
- Safaitic: *Ḥrm* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 568).
- Thamudic: *Ḥrm* (Shatnawi 2002: 674).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Ḥarīm*; *Ḥarām* ('Abdallāh 1975: 43; Caskel 1966: 299).

The Stelae of the MAIRY Collection

MAIRY.05/6 (Pl. 46*b*)

Ⱶ)Ⱶ

Mrd

Description: letters len. 2.4 cm max. Deep and regular incision.
Linguistic analysis: root *MRD — 'to fight' (Minaic) [22]; 'to recover' (Hadramitic).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 160; Hayajneh 1998: 232-233; Ryckmans 1934: 132; Arbach 2002: 280):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *Mrd*: M 151.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *Mrd*: al-Jawf 04.183; al-Jawf 04.236; al-Jawf 04.239; al-Jawf 04.289; Cox 2; M 393; MAFRAY/Darb aṣ-Ṣabī 3; YM 26608; YM 26636; YM 26642; YM 26610; YM 26713; YM 28336.
  ○ *Mrd*: RES 3785 (al-'Ulā).
  ○ *Mrd*: M 368 (Madā'in Ṣāliḥ).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *Mrd^m*: RES 4924; RES 4964; Ry 506.
  ○ *Mrdⁿ*: CIH 853 (as a Second Name).
- Qatabanic:
  ○ *Mrd^m*: Aylward 1; MIFT 99/46; MuB 545; Ry 471.
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *Mrd^m*: Ingrams 1; Ja 917; Ja 956.

[19] In this case such a phonetic realization may be due to an Hadramitic influence or may be considered to be a Hadramitic name attested in Qatabān (cf. *infra* and Hayajneh 1998: 189).
[20] On this matter see Lundin 1981: 215-16.
[21] Uncertain correspondence, it is possible that this name should be Persian rather than West Semitic (Coogan 1976: 74).
[22] Where this PN is in the form *Mrdm* (cf. *infra*) it should also be explained as a result of the root *RDM 'to repair, protect' with a prefix *m*-; in this case the final *m* will be not mimation but radical consonant (cf. Sabaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic). In any case this would not influence our interpretation of the Minaic occurrences.

Comparisons:
- Assyrian: *Mar-du-u* (Tallqvist 1966: 128).
- Biblical Hebrew: *Mæræd, Mard* (Noth 1966: 250).
- Palmira: *Mrd* (Stark 1971: 97).
- Nabataean: *Mrdw* (Cantineau 1932: 118).
- Lihyanite: *Mrd, Mrdm* (Caskel 1954: 149).
- Thamudic: *Mrd* (Shatnawi 2002: 739).
- Safaitic: *Mrd, Mrdn, Mrdy, Mrd'l, Mrdl* (Harding 1971: 540; Winnett & Harding 1978: 610).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Mārid, Murayd* (Hayajneh 1998: 233).

MAIRY.05/7 (Pl. 44*a*)

$\overset{\mathrm{v}}{\mathbb{Y}}[\ldots]$

[...](ḫ)

Description: letters len. not determinable. The inscription is too fragmentary and does not allow any interpretation. The traces which remain reveal an accurate incision with a preparatory line above.

MAIRY.05/9 (Pl. 44*e*)

$[..]\,°\overset{\circ}{\mathbb{3}}°\mathsf{X}$

Tw(m‘) [..]

Description: letters len. 1.8 cm max. Very irregular and unbalanced signs. Reading uncertain. Also the presence of a Second Name is uncertain, probable trace of its first sign left.

First Name

Linguistic analysis: root *TWM? — (not documented in South Arabian). Cf. Arabic *twm* 'pearl' (Lane 1863 [1872], Book I: 323). Nominal Form (construct state)? The final *‘ayn* could be an apocope of the god's name ‘Aṭṭar.
Internal data (Müller 1962: 33):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic: n.a.
- Sabaic: n.a.
- Qatabanic: n.a.
- Hadramitic: n.a.
- Sabaic from Ethiopia:
  ○ *Twm^n*: Drewes 37b ([23]).
Comparisons: n.a.

Second Name

Undecipherable.

MAIRY.05/16 (Pl. 45*a*)

$\mathbb{?}\mathbb{h}°\mathbb{?}$

L‘s^{l}y

Description: letters len. 3.8 cm max. Irregular and crude incision.

Linguistic analysis: root ‘S^{1}M? (cf. Beeston 1978: 18) or *L‘S^1? — (The latter is not attested in South Arabian) — to be probably also connected with Arabic *la‘isa* 'having blackness in the lip' (Lane 1863, Book 1: 2663).
Internal data (al-Said 1995: 156; Ryckmans 1934: 121):
- Barāqish:
  ○ *L‘s^l* (unpublished, cf. al-Said 1995: 42).
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *L‘s^{l}m*: al-Jawf 04.232 ; M 392C; YM 28346; YM 28515.
- Sabaic:
  ○ *L‘s^{l}m*: Ja 692.
- Qatabanic:
  ○ Only names composed on root ‘S^{1}M, e.g. *‘s^{l}m^m*; *‘s^{l}y^m* (Hayajneh 1998: 292).
- Hadramitic:
  ○ *L‘s^{l}m*: Ba-Qutfah 55.
  ○ *L‘s^{l}m^m* (Rb XVII/88-89 no. 1).
Comparisons:
- Thamudic: *L‘sn* (Harding 1971: 516).
- Safaitic: *L‘s* (Winnett & Harding 1978: 608).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Li‘sān, 'Al‘as, La‘s* (al-Said 1995: 156-57).

A not entirely convincing explanation of this name could be through the root *‘S^{1}Y ('to do, buy', but also 'to offer up to sacrifice'). This root is already known in the formation of PNs, e.g. *‘sy'l*, in Thamudic, and *‘sy* in Safaitic (Müller 1962: 79). According to the attestations mentioned above, it is safer to interpret this name as a hypocoristic variation with *y*. The initial *l-* is considered to be a preposition by Jamme (see Ja 692) but Beeston explained it as the divine name *'l*, falling the first *'alif* (Beeston 1978: 18).

MAIRY.05/17 (Pl. 45*b*)

$\mathbb{?}\mathbb{8}[\ldots]$

[...]ty

Description: letters len. 2.7 cm max. Regular and deep signs. The inscription is too fragmentary and does not allow any interpretation.

MAIRY.05/18 (Pl. 51*d*)

$\mathbb{h}°\mathbb{h}$

'ws^l

Description: letters len. 2.2 cm max. Regular, deeply carved signs.

See B.05.D.O./16: First Name.

([23]) It is a graffito found at Gobo Fĕnṣĕḥ, see Drewes 1962: 17.

MAIRY.06/3 (Pl. 48*b*)

ḥ°ḥ

'ws¹

Description: letters len. 3.3 cm max. Regular, deeply carved signs.

See B.05.D.O./16: First Name.

MAIRY.06/5 (Pl. 47*a*)

ⴼⵏⵣ

S²yb

Description: letters len. 4 cm max. Regular and deeply carved signs. Traces of preparatory lines above, under and between each letter. Forms close to E2 style in Pirenne's classification (end 2ⁿᵈ century B.C.).
Linguistic analysis: root *S²YB: 'to become old' (Müller 1962: 69-70).
Internal data (Ryckmans 1934: 318):
- Barāqish: n.a.
- Other Minaic:
  ○ *S²yb*ⁿ: M 343 (as a group name).
- Sabaic:
  ○ *S²yb*: known in a graffito from Saudi Arabia (Ryckmans 1957: 559).
- Qatabanic:
  ○ (*'s²yb*): RES 3902 n. 194; Ja 348 (TC 949).
- Hadramitic: n.a.
Comparisons:
- Palmira: *Šb'*; *Šyby* (Stark 1971: 113-14).
- Nabataean: *Šybw* (Cantineau 1932: 149).
- Lihyanite: *Šb* (Harding 1971: 337).
- Safaitic: *Šyb* (*ibid*.: 363).
- Thamudic: *Šb* (Shatnawi 2002: 707).
- Arabo-Islamic tradition: *Šayba*; *Šaybān* ('Abdallāh 1975: 71).

MAIRY.06/6 (Pl. 46*a*)

Description: letters len. 3.5 cm max. Very crude and irregular incision. Probable intentional cancellation (*damnatio memoriae*?). Unreadable.
Other Inscriptions

In this section we report other brief texts, both from excavations in Area D and from the Collection. These inscriptions however are not chiefly connected to onomastic matters, for this reason these data will not appear in the following conclusions.

B.06.D.O./2 (Pl. 39*a*)

ⴼ[.])°

'r[.](q)

Description: letters len. 1.2 cm max. This plaster jar sealing shows traces of impressed signs. A precise reading can only be achieved for the first two. It is also possible to glimpse at least other two signs before the fracture. These letters appear to be *hq*, but there is no sense in this combination. It cannot be excluded that it might be an acronym, like those occasionally found in coins. The function of this plaster piece was to close a jar, which makes this type of abbreviation quite probable.

B.06.D.O./25 (Pl. 34*c-d*)

ⵣⵏⵀⵣ

ms¹lm

Offering table

Description: letters len. 1.5 cm max. Slightly regular and superficially carved signs.
This term is already known in Minaic, e.g. Darb aṣ-Ṣabī 9; Darb aṣ-Ṣabī 17; Haram 47; M 387; Shaqab al-Manaṣṣa 16 and YM 24942+24943.

MAIRY.05/11 (Pl. 50*a-d*)

ⵀⵀⵖ

ḥḏk

Type of aromatic

Description: letters len. 2.9 cm max. Very regular and balanced inscription.
This word is well-attested both in Sabaic and Qatabanic. In Minaic, it is only known up to now in texts from Barāqish (Y.86.BAR.13; Y.92.B.A.11; Y.92.B.A.48 — these two are unpublished).
A clear botanic identification of this noun, as well as a certain etymological explanation, is not attainable [24].

----

[24] A wider study of the identification of aromatics, also with suggestions concerning this term, is Müller 1997: 193-210 (esp. pp. 202-203); see also Sima 2000: 270, n. 43.

MAIRY.05/12 (Pl. 51c)

[...]ᵗ°ᵐ|Ⅹ1ᵗ

ẓlt S¹ʻ(y)[...]

Tomb of S¹ʻ(y)[...]

Description: letters len. 6 cm max. Balanced and regular signs. The graphic style is close to Pirenne's E1, even if not all the signs properly fit in that category (especially *ẓ*). Probably 3rd century B.C.

This is a fragment of an inscription indicating the property of a tomb. The term *ẓlt* is well-known as a type of building also in Sabaic. Essentially, it indicates any type of 'covered structure' and, more specifically, a funerary building.

The formula *ẓlt* + PN is already attested in Minaic: e.g. al-Jawf 04.29; M 304; M 386; YM 28334.

The PN is fragmentary and could be followed by other types of onomastic specification (such as patronymic); it should probably be restored as *S¹ʻyd* or *S¹ʻydt*, the only known Minaean names with this same beginning. The first is especially attested in the northern Minaic documentation (al-ʻUlā: M 333; M 464; Ja 2287) as well as in graffiti from Saudi Arabia and Qaryat al-Fāw (Ja 2736). The other is attested as a patronymic in the M 283, from Barāqish. To be considered as a diminutive of *S¹ʻd* (see B.05.D.O./22; al-Said 1995: 119).

MAIRY.05/14 (Pl. 51a)

)Ⅲ◊Ⅲ|Ⅱ1ᵗ
◊)ⵎ1Ⅲ|ⵀ1ᵡ
1◊|Ⅹ|ⵀⴔ

Zyd ḏ-Qṭr
s³lʼ ḏ-Yhrq
bn [.]t[.]fl

Zyd ḏ-Qṭr
dedicated to ḏ-Yhrq

...

Description: letters len. 2.4 cm max. Very crude signs and irregular incision. The third line is readable with extreme difficulty. Even the graphic style and the depth of the incision reveal, upon close observation, a different hand; therefore it is not impossible to assume that this part was written later as an addition to an already complete text after the second line. If we accept the reading *bn [...]* it may be possible that a further onomastic specification was deemed necessary after the PN in the first line. Seen the difference in the incision style, this line could also be a latter forgery.

For the first PN see B.06.D.O./19 where it is theophorous. The simple form *Zyd* is already attested in Minaic as a First Name (e.g. M 246, M 283 from Barāqish).

Instead, the group name has not given any other occurrence within South Arabian documentation at this time. A feminine PN is known in Hadramitic with the form *Qtry* (Raybūn Kafas/Naʻmān 143; Raybūn Kafas/Naʻmān 156).

This altar is dedicated to ʻAṯtar, which is indicated here only by the epithet.

MAIRY.06/4 (Pl. 49a-e)

ⵀⅢⵤ

ḥḏk

Description: letters len. 1.9 cm max. Regular, deeply carved signs.

See above MAIRY.05/11.

CONCLUSION

We have analyzed the onomastics of 42 stelae, of which 33 come from the excavation of sector D and 9 from the MAIRY collection. The legible names are 38 in total (see Table 1). We can recognise the following:

Homonyms single or first names: *'ws¹* (3), *Ll'* (2), *Whb'l* (3).
second names: *Mhdr* (3);
Hapax *Ll'*, *'lgf*, *Twm'* (excluding its single presence in an Ethiopian graffito).

Table 1. Occurrences of analyzed PNs

PNs	Single Name	First Name	Second Name	Stelae
'lgf	+			B.05.D.O./21
's²m			+	B.06.D.O./19
'ws¹	+	+		B.05.D.O./16 MAIRY.05/18 MAIRY.06/3
'm'ns¹		+		B.05.D.O./26
'zz	+			B.06.D.O./30
Db(g)			+	B.05.D.O./33
Dkr'[.]	+			B.06.D.O./21
Dym	+			B.05.D.O./25
Hrm (d-)	+			B.05.D.O./12
(Htg')	+			B.05.D.O./27
Hr n			+	B.05.D.O./16
Hrm	+			B.06.D.O./31
Hyw		+		B.06.D.O./27
Hld	+			B.05.D.O./18
(K)hh	+			B.06.D.O./15
L's¹y	+			MAIRY.05/16
Ll'	+	+		B.05.D.O./03 B.05.D.O./24
M'dn	+			B.06.D.O./24
Mhdr			+	B.05.D.O./11 B.05.D.O./23 B.06.D.O./27
Mrd	+			MAIRY.05/6
Ms²km	+			B.06.D.O./20
Mt'	+			B.06.D.O./13
Nbt		+		B.05.D.O./33
Ns²'	+			B.05.D.O./15
R(d)w	+			B.06.D.O./23
Rt'		+		B.05.D.O./11
Rty(d)	+			B.06.D.O./18
S¹'d	+			B.05.D.O./22
S¹lm		+		B.05.D.O./23
S¹thty (d-)	+			B.05.D.O./10
S²nb	+			B.06.D.O./17
S²yb	+			MAIRY.06/5
S²yd			+	B.05.D.O./26
Twm'	+			MAIRY.05/9
Whb'l	+	+		B.05.D.O./9 B.05.D.O./13 B.06.D.O./26
Yh(b)'l		+		B.06.D.O./16
Yhm['l]			+	B.05.D.O./4
Zyd'(l)		+		B.06.D.O./19

The certain double names are 6 (10 if we also consider those whose reading is incomplete). The single names are 25. The fact that these stelae show such an amount of basic Onomastic Formulas, without any further specification of affiliation, is particularly noteworthy, and it has been also noted in recently published material coming from Jawf (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: 99). It was believed in such cases that the subjects were of low social status and therefore unable to present strong community affiliation. In our situation, the archaeological datum can sustain this hypothesis given the poor materials found.

If we look at the distribution of these names, and their position inside the PN pattern, we can observe that, in the case of compound names, the more

attested first names have also been found as single names, thus indicating that the two are somehow interchangeable. The second names, on the other hand, have only been found in this position and never as first or single names. We have made the decision to not specify these second names as either an epithet, patronymic or family name, remembering the case noted by G. Ryckmans in his study of some rock graffiti in Saudi Arabia (but of South Arabian origin) where 'le deuxième nom ne parait pas être un nom de clan ou de famille: là où on lui trouve déjà un répondant connu, celui-ci fait dans la plupart des cas fonctions de prénom' (Ryckmans 1957: 559). In our case it cannot be completely excluded that these second names could somehow reveal a type of familiar affiliation, as it is suggested by the PN *Mḫḍr* which has been found three times in this position (probably even four times if we consider this uncertain reading for B.06.D.O./26).

We also have two cases where the name, although single, is preceded by the relative ḏ-, as usually occurs when indicating the belonging to a group (ḏ-Ḥrm; ḏ-Sᵗṯty). According to Beeston, this particularity may indicate leaders of the group in question (Beeston 1978: 15-16).

The lack of patronymics should also be stressed, both in the strict sense as well as to indicate family membership (for this question see Avanzini 1991b: 22 ff.). Moreover, even clan names or lineages are lacking.

Theophorous names are 6, and the divinities cited are:

'l   4 in second position (*Whb'l, Yḫb'l, Yḥm'l, Zyd'l*);
        1 in first position? (*'lgf*). *L'sᵗy* uncertain.
'm   1 in first position (*'m'nsᵗ*).

The almost complete absence of mimation and nunation is noteworthy. These forms of specification do not follow precise rules in the field of onomastics. However, it must be remembered that mimation is a phenomenon that is principally found in the most archaic PNs ([1]).

There are many elements which can be used regarding the chronological placing of this corpus. To begin with, for the first time we have a definite archaeological context and, upon observation based on these data, we can deduce an almost contemporary placing of the stelae coming from area D. This underscores all the inadequacies of the palaeographic system as a dating tool for non-monumental inscriptions. The writing on these stelae, in fact, shows a great variability that is undoubtedly also to be ascribed to the different materials used as well as to the different preparations which the surface underwent before the name was carved. It ranges from very careful writing, with clear-cut, precise marks and even-sized letters (in some cases there are preparatory traces and parallel lines in the area where the name was to be carved), to very uncertain writing and very uneven marks.

The comparison carried out in respect to the internal documentation (Table 2) has revealed that these names can already be considered to be widespread in the Minaean region (27 correspondences out of 38), whereas the search for links with the already known onomastics from Barāqish has instead given 13 matches. However, it must be taken into account that up to this point, the documentation of the ancient *Yathill* comes from inscriptions that are found for the most part along the city walls. Consequently, evidence is certainly incomplete, due to the loss of information. Futhermore, at this time, only PNs belonging to those from the higher social classes are known since they were the ones who financed the construction or restoration of the city walls. This is also proven by the different Onomastic Formula used: in the city walls inscriptions, in fact, patronymics and group memberships are often specified. As a result it was impossible to find reliable comparisons between the onomastic of the stelae and those of monumental inscriptions. There are obviously homonyms in the case of first names but this can be explained by the fact that they are some of the most common PNs, thus shared amongst individuals of different classes.

Table 2. Comparisons within South Arabia (internal data)

PNs	Barāqish	Min.	Sab.	Qat.	Had.
'*lgf*					
'*s²m*					
'*wsᵗ*	*	*	*	*	*
'*m'nsᵗ*	*	*	*	*	*
'*zz*		*			*
Db(g)					
Ḏkr'[.]		*	*	*	
Ḏym		*		*?	
Ḥrm (ḏ-)			*	*	
(*Ḥtg'*)					
Ḥr n		*?	*		
Ḥrm	*	*	*	*	*
Ḥyw	*	*	*	*	*
Ḥld		*	*	*	

([1]) As we have seen in the comparisons proposed with the other South Arabic dialects, mimation and nunation were fairly frequently documented phenomena.

(K)ḫḥ					
L ‘s¹y	*	*	*		*
Ll‘					
M’dn		*		*	
Mḫḍr		*		*	
Mrd	*	*	*	*	*
Ms²km		*	*	*	*
Mt‘		*	*	*	*
Nbṭ	*	*	*	*	
Ns²’			*	*	
R(d)w	*	*	*	*	*
Rt‘		*	*	*	
Rty(d)	*	*		*	
S¹‘d	*	*	*	*	*
S¹lm		*	*	*	*
S¹thty (d-)		*			
S²nb	*?	*			
S²yb		*	*		
S²yd		*			
Twm‘			(Ethiopia)		
Whb’l	*	*	*	*	*
Yḫ(b)’l					
Yḫm[’l]	*	*	*	*	*
Zyd’(l)	*	*	*	*	

The onomastic connections found with the rest of the Semitic languages have produced further data which contributes to the completion of our analysis (Table 3). As mentioned in the introduction, our intention here was to mainly investigate some similarities in the onomastics taken in the broader sense (i.e. use of roots and pattern formations). North Western links are very relevant, and this is especially true for that which concerns languages attested during the 1ˢᵗ millennium B.C. Some element of continuity is also perceivable related to the more ancient stage, which is explainable with the Amorite substratum. North Eastern Semitic is less involved in the observation of these PNs, but when we come across it, it is always together with North Western Semitic: these connections are thus explainable with a broader common substratum, if not just loans coming from the Northwest itself.

Table 3. Comparisons with the other Semitic areas

PNs	North Arabia	North West	North East	Islamic Sources
’lgf				
’s²m	*?			
’ws¹	*	*		*
‘m’ns¹				*
‘zz	*	*	(*)	*
Db(g)				
Dkr’[.]	*	*	*	*
Dym	*?			
Ḥrm (d-)	*	*		*
(Ḥtg’)				
Ḥr n	*	*		
Ḥrm	*	*		*
Ḥyw	*	*		*
Ḫld	*	*		*
(K)ḫḥ	*			
L ‘s¹y	*			*
Ll‘				
M’dn	*			
Mḫḍr				*
Mrd	*	*	*	*
Ms²km				*
Mt‘	*	*	*	*

Considering South Arabia in the broader sense, we can recognize the presence of these PNs in other dialects as well, with a slight predominance of ties to Qatabanic, followed by Sabaic and lastly with Hadramitic (comparisons with the latter are surely limited by its scarce documentation).

A brief comparison was also attempted with another category of artefacts, such as the small statues representing seated individuals, generally known as the ‘ancestors’ (²). Except for doubts regarding the authenticity of some of these pieces (as suggested by Garbini 1977), it is generally believed that Jawf is the area of their provenance, even though this is uncertain given that they usually come from antique markets, as often happens with small-sized objects, and therefore little or nothing is known about their discovery. Moreover, these statues are both figuratively and stylistically difficult to place chronologically. Comparison of the names that we have come across in the stelae of the Barāqish necropolis with those in some cases inscribed on the ancestors’ bases has not produced any results, thus being certainly a partial datum, due to the small number of samples taken into consideration, but it is certainly significant.

(²) For a typological definition see Antonini 2001: 63-120.

Nbṭ	*	*		*
Ns²'	*	*		
R(d)w	*	*	(*)	*
Rt'	*			*
Rty(d)	*			
S¹'d	*	*		*
S¹lm	*	*	*	*
S¹ṯhty (d-)				
S²nb				*
S²yb	*			*
S²yd	*			
Twm'				
Whb'l	*	*		*
Yḫ(b)'l				
Yḫm['l]	*	*		
Zyd'(l)	*	*		*

In any case, the most convincing links are those found in North Arabian languages, with a sensible prevalence with Safaitic. Here similarities are even more evident due to the considerable presence of simple names and lacking in specifications about family or group membership. This also leads us to believe that they probably did not belong to a very high social class as has already been assumed based on similar data presented by G. Ryckmans regarding the creators of rock graffiti in Saudi Arabia and the recent Jawf documentation ([3]).

Upon explanation of this closeness it is quite natural to think about caravan trading along the Arabian Peninsula, which probably contributed to a considerable increase in the continuity where onomastics can be one of the indicators. The reciprocal contact, which was also promoted by common economic and commercial interests, consequently led to cultural, linguistic and social interaction which must still be investigated adequately. It is because of this continuity that, in the study on the nature of such influences, the concepts of 'origin' and 'destination' are not very suitable, being too simplistic in a long-term perspective ([4]). A persistent exchange is the most reasonable explanation for this association.

The particular archaeological setting, and above all the absence of human remains in these tombs (see Antonini in this volume, p. 45), could raise many questions about the actual individuals for whom these stelae where intended at the very end of the 1st millennium B.C. These stelae could have been made to commemorate Minaeans who died abroad, especially if we accept the hypothesis that we are dealing with individuals who were involved in caravan trading. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that these people left no element that could lead us hypothesize a strong integration with an urban community. This situation is very different from the necropolis of Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl, for instance, in the kingdom of Qatabān, which is clearly intended to receive those deceased from the capital Tamna' (Antonini & Agostini, in press).

Lastly, it is worth noting that the onomastic material that we analyzed also shows a certain degree of continuity in the ensuing Islamic tradition, thus revealing a considerable stability in the use and formation of PNs.

Sigla

All inscriptions are cited according to Kitchen 2000 which must be referred to for further details and specific bibliography. For Qatabanic documentation see also Avanzini 2004. The following are to be added:

al-Jawf:	Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006.
Antonini Stele 2:	Antonini 2005.
C 27; C29:	Antonini 2001 (Arbach).
Cox 2; Cox 4:	Robin 2005-2006.
GOAM:	Arbach & Audouin 2007.
Lion 1:	Arbach 2005.
Ma'īn 100:	Robin, Antonini & Bron 2005-2006.
MIFT:	Antonini, Arbach & Sedov 2002.
Raybūn Ḥaḍrān:	Frantsouzoff 2001.
Raybūn-Kafas/Na'mān:	Frantsouzoff 2007.
Waddingham 1:	Robin 2005-2006.
YM:	Arbach & Audouin 2007; Arbach, Schiettecatte & al-Hādī 2008.

([3]) Ryckmans 1957; Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006; Arbach & Audouin 2007; Arbach, Schiettecatte & al-Hādī 2008.

([4]) A North Arabian influence was also recognized in some Ethiopic PNs (Marrassini 1985). The fact that similarities of this kind are also present in this corpus could generate further study.

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FUNERARY STELAE AND OTHER OBJECTS FROM THE BARĀQISH AREA
(MAIRY COLLECTION)

by Paola Pagano

Introduction

During the two excavation campaigns (2005-2006) carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen, directed by Prof. A. de Maigret at Barāqish, it was possible to acquire a number of manufacts, mainly offered by the local inhabitants or found during surveys of the site area ([1]). These were above all funerary stelae of a type already familiar in the Jawfite territory, plus three incense burners and a fragment featuring an ibex in relief. The objects, currently conserved in store rooms on the Barāqish site, will become part of the MAIRY collection (Missione Archeologica Italiana nella Repubblica dello Yemen) conserved in the local antiquarium, set up by the Mission.

These objects provide striking parallels with the pieces brought to light on the site of Barāqish. It is of particular interest to compare the stelae of the collection with those unearthed by Dr S. Antonini in necropolis: a circumscribed area, lying outside the walls of the ancient city, which has provided highly interesting data (see S. Antonini and A. Agostini in this volume). The extreme stylistic affinity of these pieces with those found during the excavation entitles us to establish the provenance as being from the same necropolis or in any case from the same area.

THE FUNERARY STELAE

Until recently this peculiar category of monuments had not been much studied. Among the stelae reviewed in an article that appeared in 1964, M. Höfner identified Qatabanian and Sabaean types but nothing that was Minaean. When he came to revise this classification G. Garbini (1976: 308-15; 1977: 375-81) proposed a Minaean context (on the basis of both onomastics and provenance) for the so-called *Augenstelen*, previously considered a typical product of the Sabaean culture. After the studies of J. Pirenne (1977) no more progress was made until the publication of some unpublished stelae from the Jawf by S. Antonini (2005a) and the recent acquisition by the National Museum of Ṣanʿāʾ of 143 stelae from the illegal excavations of sites in the Jawf, studied by M. Arbach and J. Schiettecatte (2006:

98-117). Needless to say the excavation of the necropolis of Barāqish, with the discovery *in situ* of numerous stelae, has opened up promising lines of research, making it possible to formulate new and more detailed hypotheses concerning the influences on the production of these artifacts, and also to establish a typology and a chronological framework.

General Features

The 21 stelae in the MAIRY collection presented here are almost all of the same type: a simple rectangular stone slab (limestone or sandstone), bearing on the front a more or less stylised representation of the face of the deceased with an inscription engraved beneath the face. The shape of the stelae may vary slightly: in three cases (Pls. 46*b*, 47*d* and 48*b*) the slabs are not perfectly rectangular but taper off slightly towards the base. This detail, with others concerning the manufacture, poses the problem of the location of these pieces. Where and how were these stelae set up? The overall impression one gets observing them is that they were conceived to be viewed only from the front; in fact in their manufacture the front of the stelae had received the most attention not only in terms of the iconographic details of the face but also in the efforts to make the stone flat and well polished. In some specimens one can clearly see marks left by the tool used to polish the surface in the form of short parallel incisions (Pl. 47*a*, 47*e*). On the contrary, the sides and back have generally only been rough hewn and rarely polished (in fact the items reviewed here have at most been polished on the sides, never on the back). Traces of plaster are sometimes still visible on the back of the slabs (Pls. 44*a*, 44*c*, 45*b*). Thus we might think of

stelae set into the ground (Höfner 1964: 220), although the absence of a rostrum and the traces of plaster would suggest they were set into masonry. This finds direct parallels in the burial customs of the neighbouring region of Saba; here square alabaster funerary stelae, representing the idealised face of the deceased in relief, were set into special niches hollowed out of the upper part of pillars, which were quite probably merely propped up against the funerary structure (Gerlach 2002).

It seems that not even the results of the excavations in the necropolis of Barāqish are able to offer a solution to this question: although found *in situ*, the stelae were not in their original position, with the sole exception of three slabs propped up, one next to the other, against the external wall of one of the *loci*. Indeed we cannot rule out the possibility that the stelae were arranged in different ways, and that this may have reflected the economic status of the owner.

Typology

The MAIRY collection 2005 and 2006 comprises 19 stelae plus a small fragment bearing details of depiction.

In this corpus we can recognise 5 categories based on the typologies identified by M. Arbach and J. Schiettecatte (2006) for the stelae from illegal excavations in the Jawf and by S. Antonini for the stelae found in the excavation of the necropolis of Barāqish (see above chap. 2, p. 16). With respect to S. Antonini's typologies, the collection presents two additional categories, namely stelae with eyes and aniconic stelae, while there are no stelae covered in plaster. Thus there are:

1. Stelae with eyes
2. Stelae with incised face
3. Stelae with face in low relief
4. Stelae with face in high relief
5. Aniconic stelae.

Stelae with Eyes

The first category features the so-called *Augenstelen* or stelae with eyes, and includes stelae characterised by the representation of eyes alone, without other parts of the face. These eyes are generally incised, lozenge-, almond- or circular-shaped, sometimes surmounted by eyebrows made with two semicircular lines. We also know of examples in which the rendering of the eyes, while adhering to the usual scheme, differs somewhat from analogous stelae: in an example recorded by G. Garbini (1976: 308, pl. v) the stela has perfectly circular eyes which protrude from the flat surface of the slab in slight relief, and the iris is represented by a dot incised in the centre. The inscription with the name of the deceased is placed below at a variable distance from the depiction.

Only two stelae of this type appear in the Jawfite repertory analysed by M. Arbach and J. Schiettecatte

(2006: al-Jawf 04.153 and 04.154). On paleographic grounds they are dated to the 7th-6th century B.C. and 3rd century B.C. respectively.

In an article published in 1976, G. Garbini reviewed 21 stelae of this type, giving an accurate analysis of the onomastics of these funerary monuments and calling into question their attribution to the Sabaean linguistic and cultural sphere (as maintained by M. Höfner). It emerged clearly how, apart from the presence of a few names common to the whole South Arabian area, in the *Augenstelen* one never comes across a typically Sabaean name; nonetheless the recognised onomastics for these stelae is largely autonomous, with an undeniable North Arabian component. Thus the stelae with eyes can be said, on the grounds of their onomastics, provenance and typological features, to constitute a typically Minaean production which compares with analogous North Arabian (in particular the Aramaic stelae from Taymā') [2] manufacts. This production seems to have lasted for only a limited period in the 7th-6th century B.C. Garbini argues that the profound abstraction in the rendering of human faces soon gave way to a richer depiction, which however remained schematic. In reality such a typological evolution does not seem to reflect a purely chronological parameter.

Only one stela in the collection belongs to this category.

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.05/7 (Pl. 44a).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 13 cm; w 13 cm; 4 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: the stela has a diagonal fracture through the inscription.
Description: 'stela with eyes'. The depiction above the inscription with the name of the deceased is merely a pair of almond-shaped eyes put in with a single incision. The inscription is interrupted by a diagonal fracture in the slab. One can see the horizontal lines traced to delimit the limits of the inscription. The front and lateral sides of the slab are perfectly polished, whereas the back is only rough-hewn. The whole surface bears traces of plaster.

Stelae with Incised Face

The second category, stelae with incised face, is the largest in the collection (9 examples). The essential lineaments of the face are rendered quite schematically by means of shallow incisions occupying the upper portion of the stela. The profile is generally that of an elongated face, oval or trapezoid in shape, surmounted by a horizontal band stretching the whole width of the slab,

[2] These monuments, identified as *npš* in many cases, have been analysed by C. Edens and G. Bawden (1989: 62-64) who recognise in them a 'cultural form' which is widespread in Southern Arabia in the late 1st millennium B.C. with evident parallels both in South Arabian funerary stelae with schematic faces and in monuments with analogous Nabataean representations.

representing the forehead, with a long rectangular nose departing from it in the centre. The mouth is either a single line or an oval in which the lips may be divided by a short horizontal incision (see MAIRY.05/4: Pl. 44*c*). The eyes, rhomboid or oval in shape, are placed immediately beneath the brow and can be highlighted by arching or angular eyebrows. No specimen is depicted with pupils. One fragmentary stela (MAIRY.05/9: Pl. 44*e*) shows only the lower portion of the face; in this case the chin is less angular, and there seems to be a summary depiction of the neck and shoulders (although this may simply be the result of surface flaking due to the slab's very poor state of conservation).

Catalogue

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/3 (Pl. 44*b*).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 14 cm; w 15 cm; 5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: stela broken on three sides.
Description: funerary stela with incised face. The face, only part of which is extant, presumably had an angular profile (to judge from the straight incision on the left). The forehead is quite high (2.5 cm), the almond-shaped eyes are incised on either side of the nose, depicted as a top-less rectangle. Only the front of the slab is smooth; the other three sides are flat but merely rough-hewn (not polished). The dark patina covering the back indicates lengthy exposure to the light, above ground, while the patina in the cross-section shows the age of the cracks.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/4 (Pl. 44*c*).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 22 cm; w 16 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: the lower portion is broken off obliquely and irregularly.
Description: funerary stela with incised face: on the upper half of the rectangular stela the lineaments of the deceased are incised in a schematic, trite fashion; the name on the lower portion is missing. The face is very angular, surmounted by a high forehead and dominated by a broad rectangular nose set between the almond-shaped eyes; on the contrary the eyes are quite small and close-set, surmounted but slightly arching eyebrows. The mouth is also almond-shaped and as wide as the base of the nose. Noteworthy is the indication of the lips divided by an incised line. The remains of plaster on the back of the stela suggest it was set into a specific niche probably hollowed out of the masonry of the funerary structures.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/8 (Pl. 44*d*).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 11 cm; w 9.5 cm; 4 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: top left corner of slab broken off, inscription missing.
Description: funerary stela with incised face in upper part of rectangular slab. The lozenge-shaped eyes are surmounted by eyebrows forming an obtuse angle; the nose is rectangular, the outline of the face is quite angular and tapers rapidly to the tip of the chin which however is curtailed by the horizontal crack in the slab. The dark patina covering the whole surface indicates lengthy exposure to the sun; it also covers the crack and chip in the top corner. The sides are polished, the back rough-hewn.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/9 (Pl. 44*e*).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 14 cm; w 16 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: only the middle portion of stela extant.
Description: stela with incised face. Its partial conservation rules out a detailed account of the depiction. The inscription is also hardly legible (see Agostini, p. 64).

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/16 (Pl. 45*a*).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 30 cm; w max. 10 cm, min. 7 cm; 9 cm thick.
Conservation: complete, but slab front badly flaked.
Description: irregular rectangular stela, with schematic face incised in upper half. The long oval face features large almond-shaped eyes and mouth of the same shape; a long chip has removed the nose. The manufacture is very cursory. (See Agostini, p. 65.)

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/17 (Pl. 45*b*).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 22 cm; w 11.5 cm; 5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: only right portion of stela extant. Most of the surface with the face has flaked away.
Description: this stela, originally rectangular with incised face, now features only part of the right profile of the face with part of the eye. Only the last letter remains of the inscription beneath the depiction (see Agostini, p. 65). The front surface is flat and polished and conserves traces of plaster.

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/2 (Pl. 45*c*).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 23.5 cm; w 18 cm; 6 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary. The inscription that was probably engraved on the lower portion of the stela is missing.
Description: funerary stela with incised face. The triangular face, angular at the chin, features lozenge-shaped eyes, surmounted by arched eyebrows. In the centre the long rectangular nose departs from the forehead, a horizontal band occupying the upper portion of the stela to the edge. The front surface of the slab is badly abrased and scored by numerous scars that have removed part of the lineaments (the mouth is barely visible).

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/6 (Pl. 46*a*).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 35.5 cm; w 21 cm; 6 cm thick.
Conservation: complete.
Description: rectangular funerary stela with incised face. The top of the head corresponds to the edge of the slab. The face is triangular with an angular chin. The eyebrows forming an obtuse angle surmount lozenge-shaped eyes; the nose is narrow and rectangular; beneath is the oval mouth. The profile of face and nose are particularly marked compared to the other elements in the face, almost as if to suggest a slight relief. A border of irregular width, entirely made up of the oblique, parallel scoring produced by the manu-facturer's tool, runs right round the front of the stela. The surface treatment suggests the slab may have come from a wall, and been reused as a stela (see Agostini, p. 65).

Stelae with Face in Low Relief

The third category comprises stelae with the face in low relief. This type of stelae gives the idea of a timid attempt at three-dimensional work, relying on a more marked profile for the face, making it appear raised with respect to the flat surface of the stela; the profile of the eyes may also be in relief, and other elements too (like the pupil, which in some cases is put in as a sort of 'button' at the centre of the iris or eyebrows).

The front of the stelae in this category usually has a distinctive series of marks: dense parallel incisions fanning out from the face, made by the manufacturer's tool so as to 'bring out the face' with respect to the flat surface of the slab.

Two specimens can be assimilated to the typology established by M. Arbach and J. Schiettecatte of 'stèles au front saillant' (al-Jawf 04.295; 04.296) (Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: 99): in MAIRY.05/6 and MAIRY.05/15 (Pl. 46b-c) the forehead and nose are in slight relief with respect to the surface of the slab, on which the other lineaments are merely incised.

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.05/6 (Pl. 46b).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 17 cm; w 11 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: oblique fracture through inscription.
Description: funerary stela in very low relief. The rectangular slab tapering towards the base has the essential lineaments of the deceased schematically incised: forehead, eyes, nose and mouth, without any indication of the profile of the face generally found in such depictions. The forehead and nose, descending perpendicularly, form a T in very low relief with respect to the surface of the stela, whereas the other elements are incised (almond-shaped eyes quite close-set, small mouth comprising one horizontal line). The front of the stela, which conserves many traces of red colouring, is perfectly polished; one can clearly see (particularly around the lineaments) the marks of the manufacturer's tool, straight superficial incisions, dense and parallel. Two particularly interesting marks are the parallel lines defining the space for the eyes and nose. The sides and back of the slab are left rough-hewn. (See Agostini, p. 63.)

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/15 (Pl. 46c).
Material: sandstone.
Size: 5.8 × 4.2 cm.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: small fragment of a funerary stela, showing only the central portion of the triangle featuring the lineaments. The large almond-shaped eyes are incised, the rectangular nose in relief, continuing to the top of the triangle. This together with MAIRY.05/6 (Pl. 46b) can be assimilated to Arbach and Schiettecatte's category of 'stèles au front saillant'.

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/5 (Pl. 47a).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 30 cm; w 14.6 cm; 6 cm thick.
Conservation: whole.

Description: funerary stela with face in low relief. The profile of the triangular face stretches well beyond the upper half of the slab, surmounted by a broad forehead. The large rhomboid-shaped eyes have the edge in relief and 'button' pupils; the eyebrows are also in relief, the mouth a simple incised oval. The protruding, triangular-shaped nose is a later addition. Numerous marks were left by the tool used in polishing the surface of the stela and etching the relief of the face; of particular interest is the grid incised to define the space for the inscription (see Agostini, p. 65). The stela was coloured completely red.

Stelae with Face in High Relief

There are seven stelae in this category. Since the manufacturing technique allows for greater stylistic detail, without departing from the schematic character of this type of monument, we find more variants among the various examples. In the upper portion of the rectangular slab, the face of the deceased emerges in fairly pronounced relief, quite distinct from the flat surface of the stela; the profile is generally an elongated oval with the undercut chin, sometimes highlighted by a chin-strap beard lining the jaw. At the top there is a thin band running parallel to the top of the head and ending (in some cases) at the side level with the temples, in a sort of straight-cut sideboard (e.g. MAIRY.05/2, Pl. 47c, where this detail is clearly evident); this marks the hairline in one specific style found also in some Qatabanian statuettes. The eyebrows, also in relief, form two large arches that take up the full width of the lower part of the forehead. They meet in the centre where the nose descends, varying in width and of triangular cross-section, sometimes with an indication of the nostrils. On either side there are the eyes which may either be simply incised or, more often, made with the outline of the lids in relief and possibly an indication of the pupil, or else inset, designed to contain intarsio, slight traces of which have occasionally survived (MAIRY.06/3, Pl. 48b, for example shows traces of plaster in the right eye socket). A similar variety in the rendering, more or less modelled, is seen in the mouth, with lips which may be protruding or merely an incision. The ears are in very low relief to either side of the head, generally done with concentric incisions.

The surface of the face is accurately polished and often has marks left by the tool used for this purpose; similar marks but differently oriented can be found on the slab showing how the relief of the head was achieved (also visible in the low relief typology).

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.05/1 (Pl. 47b).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 18 cm; w 16 cm; 7 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief carved in the upper part of the sandstone slab. The top of the head corresponds to the edge of the slab. The face is basically triangular, tapering to the chin. The high broad forehead is bordered beneath by the arch of the eyebrows,

forming a sort of T with the nose. The almond-shaped eyes have lids in relief, like the mouth, with the thin lips also in delicate relief. The ears are sculpted at the sides, directly on the flat slab of the stela. The surface has a dark patina probably due to long exposure. The fracture, oblique and low down, is lighter in colour and thus presumably more recent. The front of the stela still bears the marks left by the tool used in polishing the surface; the sides and back are simply rough-hewn.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/2 (Pl. 47c).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 17 cm; w 20 cm; thickness max. 6 cm, min. 3 cm.
Conservation: fragmentary: fracture at the level of the chin.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief. The face is broad, with an oval profile. The broad forehead is surmounted by the characteristic thin band (1 cm in this case) indicating the hairline, ending laterally in two straight-cut sideboards level with the temples. The arch of the eyebrows is very pronounced and surmounted by eyebrows in a double arch. The nose, with triangular cross-section, is narrow at the top, broadening progressively to the base (here missing). The upper lip is in relief; the profile of the jaw is highlighted with a chin-strap beard. The ears are in relief on the base slab, with a cursory indication of the inner contours (with 3 concentric semicircles). The eyes, vaguely rhomboid-shaped, are simply incised. The whole surface of the stela must have been covered in red colouring, many traces of which remain; front, sides and back are all flat and polished.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/5 (Pl. 47d).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 13 cm; w 13 cm; thickness max. 6.5 cm, min. 4 cm.
Conservation: fragmentary: an oblique fracture has removed the chin and all the lower portion of the stela with the inscription. The nose is also chipped.
Description: the face of the deceased is carved in quite high relief on the upper part of a rough-hewn block of stone. The profile is a regular oval, with a broad forehead surmounted by hair in slight relief running parallel to the top of the head and falling away at the sides. The ears are in slight relief on the base slab, with 3 concentric semicircles. The eyebrows, quite pronounced, frame eyes that must have been hollowed out to take intarsio, now missing. The protruding nose is in the centre, with triangular cross-section, and beneath it the mouth with pursed lips in slight relief. The surface of the face is smooth while the back is simply rough-hewn.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/10 (Pl. 47e).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 18 cm; w 19 cm; slab 5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: lower half missing, nose chipped.
Description: The face sculpted in high relief is that of a male figure, viz. the characteristic chin-strap beard, protruding 2 mm along the jaw. The forehead is bordered by the hairline: a band 2 cm wide running across the width of the forehead, in slight relief. The eyebrows frame the large eyes, hollowed out to take intarsio. The nose has a triangular cross-section; the mouth consists in a not quite horizontal slit with the lower lip slightly protruding. The ears, as always in this type of stela, are in low relief, directly carved in the base slab, with concentric semicircles inside. The surface has traces of red colouring. The face is smooth and well polished, and the oblique marks left by the tool are visible on the slab; the sides and back are rough-hewn.

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/1 (Pl. 48a).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 20 cm; w 20 cm; 5.5 cm thick.
Conservation: only the upper portion of stela is extant, with face of the deceased.
Description: the stela, made square by a fracture that has removed all the lower portion, is entirely taken up by the face of the deceased. The profile is broad and slightly squared at the jaw. Beneath the prominent arch of the eyebrows are two small slits for the eyes, and the short nose seems flattened. The mouth consists in a simple horizontal slit immediately beneath the nose.

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/3 (Pl. 48b).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 27.5 cm; w 14 cm; slab 3 cm thick.
Conservation: complete.
Description: funerary stela with face in relief occupying the upper half of the stela. The forehead, tall and broad, is surmounted by the hairline, an incised line running parallel to the top of the head, 1 cm below it. The eyebrows, slightly arched and in relief, frame the large eye sockets, the right one still containing the plaster intarsio. The nose is long with a triangular cross-section and broadens progressively to the base, with an indication of the nostrils; the mouth is simply a horizontal incised line. On either side of the profile, in a completely unnatural position, there are the ears in low relief, on the base slab and with concentric semicircles. It is a male figure, with chin-strap beard highlighting the jaw. The front of the stela bears numerous traces of plaster. The manufacture of this stela is admirable, notably in the accuracy of the lineaments, the attention to detail (eyes in intarsio, indication of nostrils) and the carefully polished surface. While adhering to the conventional stereotypes, this stela somehow manages to escape from the rigidly schematic character of this production. (See Agostini, p. 64.)

Inv. No. MAIRY.06/8 (Pl. 48c).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 17 cm; w 16 cm; 7 cm thick.
Conservation: only the upper portion of the stela extant with human face in high relief.
Description: face in relief, part of a funerary stela. The profile is a fairly broad regular oval. The broad forehead is surmounted by the hairline, in slight relief, and delimited beneath by the eyebrows, also in relief, forming a sort of T with the nose, which is narrow and with a triangular cross-section. The eyes have raised lids and the pupil is indicated as a 'button', with a raised dot in the centre. The mouth is a horizontal slit, the ears, only the left of which is just visible, in slight relief done directly on the flat surface of the base slab. The jaw, delicately rounded, is framed by the chin-strap beard. This specimen is striking for the refined quality of the craftsmanship: the perfectly polished surface of the face highlights the soft contours, a most unusual feature in this production.

Aniconic Stelae

There is only one example of this category in the collection, and indeed it is a rarity in the whole corpus of Jawfite stelae. The catalogue of Arbach and Schiettecatte has no specimen, and the two excavation campaigns in the necropolis of Barāqish only yielded stelae with a human face engraved or in relief, with an inscription of the name of the deceased.

On the other hand several specimens are known from the Qatabanian area where aniconic stelae in alabaster constitute a typical category; among the various items retrieved by the Italian Mission in Tamna' from illegal excavations (in 1999 and 2000) there were several specimens of this category, analogous to the stelae from Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl discovered in the 1950s by the American Mission (Cleveland 1965: pls. 70, 78-84; Antonini, Arbach & Sedov 2002: 1-3, pls. I-III) and by the Italian Mission in the excavation campaigns 2003-2004 (Antonini 2005b). These stelae, in alabaster, may either be made from a single block tapering towards the top to resemble a small obelisk, or are rectangular, with the top edge straight or slightly concave or convex. Many of such stelae were set into a base which had the name of the deceased inscribed, or were sculpted in a single block with at the bottom a smooth base featuring from one to three steps. In this case too the front of the stela was generally smooth and accurately polished, unlike the sides and back which were usually left rough-hewn; evidently this type of stelae too, although totally devoid of depiction, were designed like the others to be seen solely from the front. In all likelihood they were set up in limestone niches (documented in the necropolis of Ḥayd Ibn 'Aqīl), veritable stone 'boxes', or placed directly in the *loculi* of the tombs.

The suggested dating of the Qatabanian stelae is quite late, from 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. (Antonini, Arbach & Sedov 2002; Antonini 2005b). On the basis of its affinities with these stelae, we can propose the same dating for the stela in the collection.

The question of the origin of the aniconic type is significant. So far the general tendency in the production of South Arabian funerary stelae has clearly been for a figurative representation. Could the appearance of aniconic stelae in Southern Arabia from the end of the 1st millennium B.C. be connected to the penetration of Arab peoples from the north of the Peninsula [3]? Such peoples had long been in the habit of representing their divinities in aniconic stelae (the betyles). Besides, one only has to think of the Nabataean culture and the numerous blocks of stone devoid of depiction, carved in the cliff face at El-Siq, to realise just how deeply this habit was rooted in this region (Moutsopoulos 1990: 53-75). Can we then speak of a sort of exchange or transfer of ideas from the north to the south of the Peninsula? Or is it more appropriate to speak of the development of analogous iconographic themes and forms with a common cultural denominator?

Whatever the answer, it is significant that in the South Arabian culture aniconic stelae remained closely associated with the commemoration of the deceased, in a relatively limited geographical and chronological context. Any temptation to see them as evidence of an evolution in local funerary practices must not lose sight of the fact that there was no diminution in the production of anthropomorphic stelae, which persisted until the end of this tradition.

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.06/7 (Pl. 48*d*).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 18 cm; w 11 cm; 5 cm thick.
Conservation: complete.
Description: aniconic funerary stela. The profile of the stela, although flat, recalls the form of a conical obelisk with a rounded top. The front is perfectly polished and still shows the parallel marks made by the manufacturer's tool (principally in the upper portion). This specimen would probably have been set into a stone base bearing the name of the deceased (as is abundantly attested in Qatabanian parallels). This stela was found on the surface in the area of the necropolis of Barāqish.

The Incense-burners

The MAIRY collection features three stone incense-burners in different shapes, each belonging to typologies that are very common throughout Southern Arabia, above all in the archaic era. These objects were a fundamental part of the furnishings of South Arabian temples, witness their dissemination over the whole territory. Specimens have been found in terracotta and bronze (although there are none in the collection), as well as stone, and their variety is due not only to the material but also to the shapes and decorative motives [4].

We are dealing with portable incense-burners, not monumental structures set up permanently in temples, and we can identify two predominant typologies. The first category is quite homogeneous: a cubic incense-burner, generally small in size (9-10 cm), made from one block of limestone, with four angular feet (see MAIRY.05/11: Pl. 50*a-d*). The four lateral faces bear the inscription of the four different resins that were customarily burnt during the rituals. The characteristic feature of this category is the decoration of the four angular feet with the motive of incised criss-cross lines (although this is not found on the item in the collection), which may extend to the lower portion of the sides of the cube.

This first category has two generally attested variants: some specimens (not in this corpus) lack the feet but have the standard cubic shape (Mordtmann 1898: 33, nos. 38-40); in the other variant, which is found in the collection, the incense-burners are rectangular rather than cubic, generally small in size,

[3] There are numerous, evident signs of this penetration in linguistic terms, in onomastics and in the fact that local cult began to show significant variations (cf. Robin 1991).

[4] For a more comprehensive treatment of South Arabian incense burners cf. Forte 1967.

with the inscription on the front or on all four sides (see MAIRY.06/4: Pl. 49a-e). The decorations may feature the classic motive of criss-cross lines or various incised geometric motives: simple zig-zag lines or more elaborate re-entrant panels (the architectonic motive known as 'false windows'), a motive with parallel fillets and dentils evoking temple architecture ([5]).

The second group is more homogeneous than the first: in almost all cases we have an incense-burner with a protruding rim on a tronco-pyramidal base, usually 40-50 cm in height. A cubic block of limestone or sandstone, or more rarely alabaster, with a slight cavity made in the upper part (for the embers used to burn the grains of incense) stands directly on a base that varies in height, made out of the same block of stone and generally tapering towards the top (see MAIRY.05/14: Pl. 51a). This base may either be perfectly smooth, as in the collection, which has only one engraving in South Arabian characters in the upper portion of the front, or fluted and set into a stepped pedestal (see for example the altar in Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006: al-Jawf 04.38, pl. 13, fig. 39). On the front of the incense-burner there is an incised snake. Nonetheless the greatest element of variety in the many specimens found throughout the South Arabian territory lies in the decoration of the upper element. This may be simply incised or done in low relief, and may cover one or all of the faces of the cube. The most common depiction on the front of such incense-burners is a crescent moon surmounted by the solar disc, sometimes mounted on a trapezoid element. This element may be complemented by architectonic motives, or representations of ibex and bulls (Forte 1967: 102, fig. 2.a-c; Catalogo di Roma 2000: 278-79, figs. 19, 22-25). Some later specimens have other motives too, such as a vine tendril and a scene with a camel driver (Antonini 2007: 30).

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.06/4 (Pl. 49a-e).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 9,8 cm; w 12.5 cm; 6.5 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary: evident traces of burning.
Description: rectangular incense-burner with four angular feet. The quite thick sides have a central cavity with signs of burning still visible. The external surface, partially abrased, conserves decoration round three sides of a recessed panelling motive bordered top and bottom with a row of dentils; on the front the same motive borders an inscription in South Arabian characters with the name of a resin: ḥdk.

Inv. No. MAIRY. 05/11 (Pl. 50a-d).
Material: sandstone.
Size: h 10 cm; w 9 cm.
Conservation: almost complete, lacking only part of the edge.
Description: cubic incense-burner with four angular feet with square cross-section; the cavity was created by hollowing out the upper portion to a depth of 2.8 cm leaving a flat rim 1 cm wide round the four sides. The sides of the incense-burner are decorated below the rim and in the lower portion (immediately above the feet) with two rows of triangles pointing upwards, regularly spaced at intervals of 2 cm. One side bears the name of a resin (ḥdk), and the other three clear signs of preparation for incision of the names of the resins. The cavity has signs of burning still visible, and traces of red colouring are scattered over the whole surface.

Inv. No. MAIRY.05/14 (Pl. 51a).
Material: limestone.
Size: h 48 cm; w foot min. 16 cm and max. 19 cm.
Description: incense-burner on a tall parallelepiped stem with rectangular body for burning incense. On the front of the body is an incised snake. In the upper portion of the stem an inscription taking up three lines (see above Agostini). The front surface is more finished, while the sides and back have been flattened and polished only round the edges. The surface inside the edges is rough-hewn or bush hammered.

An Alabaster Relief with Ibex

The last piece of the collection is a fragment of an alabaster relief depicting an ibex, part of the left side of the frame of a votive plaque. The ibex motive is conserved almost complete, depicted in low relief in a rectangular panel: the animal is crouching, facing right and depicted as usual with large curving horns.

There is an outstanding example of this genre of relief in the vestibule of the temple of Almaqah at Mārib (Catalogo di Roma 2000: 343, fig. 220). The relief, conserved entire, features frontal views of antilope heads surmounted by a frieze of traditional architectural motives with two vertical borders adorned with crouching ibex. A boustrophedonic inscription names various individuals as being consacrated to the tutelary divinity of the temple.

Similar reliefs form part of the furnishing of South Arabian temples, a sort of *ex-voto* from worshippers who deposit their dedications inside the sacred buildings. Many examples of such votive plaques, all from Mārib and most of them fragmentary, are contained in the *Corpus* compiled by J. Pirenne (1977: 315-23, 391-402).

Catalogue
Inv. No. MAIRY.05/13 (Pl. 51b).
Material: whitish alabaster with reddish streaks.
Size: h 8 cm; w 18 cm; 8 cm thick.
Conservation: fragmentary.
Description: fragment of low relief in alabaster, with lateral border decorated with a crouching ibex. The animal is depicted in a right-facing profile, looking towards the central panel which usually contains an engraved dedication. It has large curving horns and the characteristic tuft of beard under the chin. To the right of the ibex part of a letter from the inscription engraved in relief in the central panel survives.

([5]) One need only look at models of the temples attested in the Yemen, Kamna being the oldest (cf. Catalogo di Roma 2000: 407, fig. 437).

Final Considerations

The stelae in the MAIRY 2005-2006 collection are undoubtedly the most interesting class of material, both for their formal features and for the series of questions posed by this distinctive production. With the exception of the aniconic stelae, which have clear formal links with Qatabanian counterparts, all the other items in the collection constitute a typically Jawfite, or indeed Minaean, production (Garbini 1976: 308-15).

Naturally we must not minimise the limits of a discussion concerning finds that came above all from illegal excavations: data on provenance are often limited to the scant information provided by the vendors, and this greatly reduces the information these decontextualised objects are able to give us. Nonetheless, going on the few elements we possess, we can hypothesise that these stelae come from an area near Barāqish and, in the absence of more definite data, we can compare them to those turned up in the excavations.

The presence of North Arabian names (see above Agostini) would then be justified in seeing indicators of a migration of Northern elements towards the South? While the evidence of onomastics for the stelae does seem to support this hypothesis, we still lack stylistic and iconographic corroboration, and we must look to the production in the Northern areas for apposite parallels. Cleveland has undertaken just such a study, and recognised in the anthropomorphous stelae of Taymā', the Nabataean stelae of Petra and Madā'in Ṣāliḥ, and the stelae of Khirbet Rizqeh, elements bearing comparison with the South Arabian production (Cleveland 1965: 16-17, 44). Naturally we must be circumspect in drawing such analogies: while there are undeniable formal parallels with the stelae of Taymā' (schematic representations of human faces with the eyes, eyebrows and nose outlined) (Edens & Bawden 1989: 63-64) and the Nabataean stelae (Moutsopoulos 1990: 53-60), there are substantial differences when it comes to specimens from the Jordanian site of Khirbet Rizqeh. Here it is not the face alone which is depicted but the whole body (although there is also a second type, nicknamed 'Mr. Chad' by the site excavators, featuring only the eyes and a long nose, as in the examples from Taymā') (Kirkbride 1969).

Like the formal aspects, the function of these monuments too may differ in the various contexts: if there can be no denying the funerary nature of the South Arabian stelae and their counterparts of Taymā', the Nabataean specimens have quite another significance. Here we have baetyls, representations of divinities from the local pantheon, as in the stela of the goddess Hayyan from the temple of the 'winged Lions' in Petra, or the numerous 'face-idols' carved in the cliff faces at El-Siq (Moutsopoulos 1990: 58, fig. 4 and pl. III). In the case of the stelae at Khirbet Rizqeh, too, we cannot properly speak of funerary monuments, since they clearly post-date the burials they appear at first sight to be associated with. According to the interpretation of D. Kirkbride, these stelae, standing in a circle in the ground, constituted a sort of 'sanctuary' or sacred site linked to the cult of ancestors.

This brings us to chronological considerations: while we can offer no precise dating for the stelae at Taymā' studied by R.L. Cleveland ([6]), or for those from the site of Khirbet Rizqeh (the chronological ranges proposed by scholars in both cases being too broad, in practice covering the whole of the 1st millennium B.C.), the Nabataean examples are quite late (dating mostly from the onset of the Christian era); and thus were obviously preceded by the South Arabian stelae, the oldest of which date back to the 7th century B.C.

On the basis of these elements it is clear that one cannot trace an absolute dynamic of influence moving from north to south. The question of the origins or originary influences acting on this peculiar South Arabian production must be reopened, or rather approached in different terms. It is not a matter of acculturation in a north-south direction, but rather a broader and more complex reality of contacts and shared ideas which invariably accompanies exchanges of material goods and which undoubtedly highlights the cultural identity of the Arabian Peninsula.

Certainly it would be difficult to reconstruct a coherent picture of the ideologies underlying what appears to have been a widespread practice throughout Southern Arabia (with implicit links with the more northerly areas of the Peninsula). There does seem to be no doubt that the same conception of human representation informs the entire production of South Arabian figurative funerary stelae. The *ratio essendi* of the monument lies in the rendering of the facial lineaments, although the meaning that these communicated is still the object of speculation.

The first answer that comes to mind is that they constitute a symbolic representation of the face of the deceased. However, this interpretation is undermined by the existence not so much of the stelae with eyes (which could still, taking it to extremes, represent the idealization and simplification of the typical features of the deceased) as of the aniconic stelae (one example of which forms part of the collection: Pl. 48*d*). To account for the latter we may recognise a plausible apotropaic function (Antonini 2005a: 312), designed to ward off either the dangers that commonly beset burial sites (above all profanation), or maybe curses aimed at the soul of the deceased. But perhaps we should not entirely discount the hypothesis of J. Pirenne (1977: 542-43), that these stelae functioned as baetyls (from *bayt'il*, 'home of the divinity'), representing the encounter between the soul of the deceased and the divinity ([7]).

([6]) This is a stela from the *Industrial Site* of Taymā' (cf. Abu Duruk 1989: pl. 8), found in a necropolis context which had been considerably disturbed and known several phases of occupation, extending from the mid-2nd to the mid-1st millennium B.C., and another stela found at Taymā' in a stratigraphic context which was also not well defined, giving a chronological range from the 9th to 5th century B.C.

([7]) However I do not find this thesis entirely convincing on account of the different meaning attributed by the Semitic

What must be borne in mind is that each reality that participates in the strictly ideological dimension is by definition somewhat inaccessible and tends to elude definition. All that remains of a 'forgotten *habitus*' (in our case the funerary sphere), known to us only from a few archaeological remnants, is only a part, indeed a tenuous reflection, of what it did in fact express. The ideological mechanisms which were at work behind such representations, and the sense that motivated them, remain to a large extent inscrutable. Of course it is legitimate to draw conclusions concerning the ritual requisites, psychological inclinations and attitude towards death of an individual, but once again we cannot convincingly connect the material formulations (architectonic, monumental) or their functional use to the ideological situations and fundamental spiritual requirements.

Turning to the other items in the collection, as we have said the incense-burners and plaque with the ibex are typical manufacts of the South Arabian territory, as indicated both by their dissemination and by the decorations. On the incense-burners, with their characteristic shapes (cubic, or rectangular with a tall tronco-pyramidal base), we find decorative motives which are typical of the South Arabian repertory: inverted triangles and 'false windows' (which have clear architectonic origins and are very recurrent). Such thuribles are a characteristic feature of temple furnishings which, with a variety of forms, materials and decorative motives, persist through the ages.

The votive plaques inscribed with decorated friezes also form part of the repertory of furnishings of Yemeni temples; their function is clearly indicated by the specimens that have come down to us whole, bearing in the central panel a dedication, generally the consecration by worshippers to the tutelary divinity. In addition to the inscription, the significant element in these plaques is the representation of the ibex, a motive amply attested in Minaean and Sabaean contexts throughout the 1st millennium B.C.

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sensibility to the concept of betyl: literally 'dwelling of the god', as shown by its use in Genesis (28, 22) where 'Bethel' has the meaning οἴκος Θεοῦ or in Aramaic *bêt-elaha*, 'home of the god', as in numerous passages in the Old Testament. Thus the stone represented the dwelling of the god and came to be identified with the god. This identification was justified on account of the properties which the divinity and the stone had in common: stability, solidity, hardness and inalterability (cf. Moutsopoulos 1990: 54-55).

a. The excavation of a Minaean necropolis of Barāqish from SE.

Excavation area

b. Aerial photo and the location of the Minaean necropolis.

a. The Sector D before the archaeological excavation.

b. The Sector D at the beginning of the excavation.

a. Level 1 from E.

b. Funeral stela (B.05.D.O/24) found in Level 1.
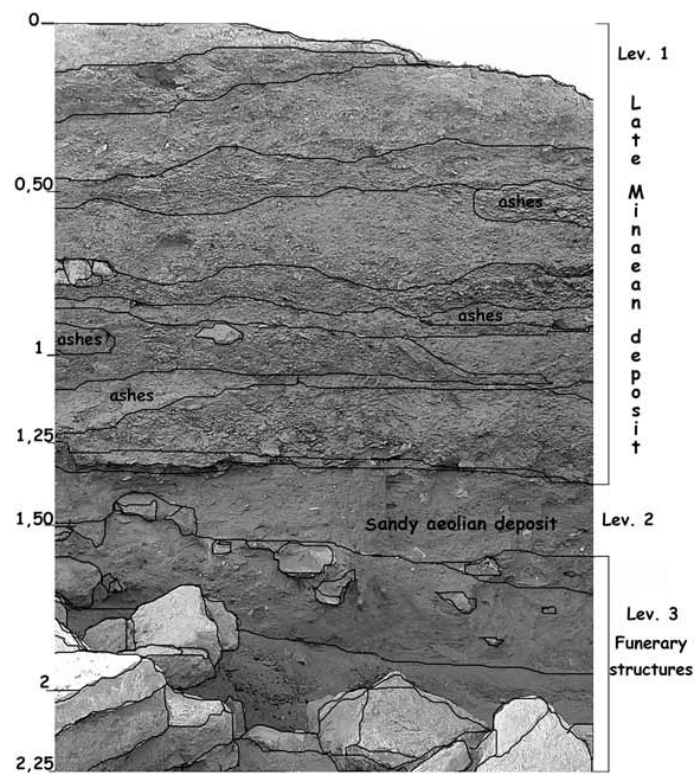
a. Southern section of the excavation area.

b. Stone level appeared under the sandy Level 2 (from NW).
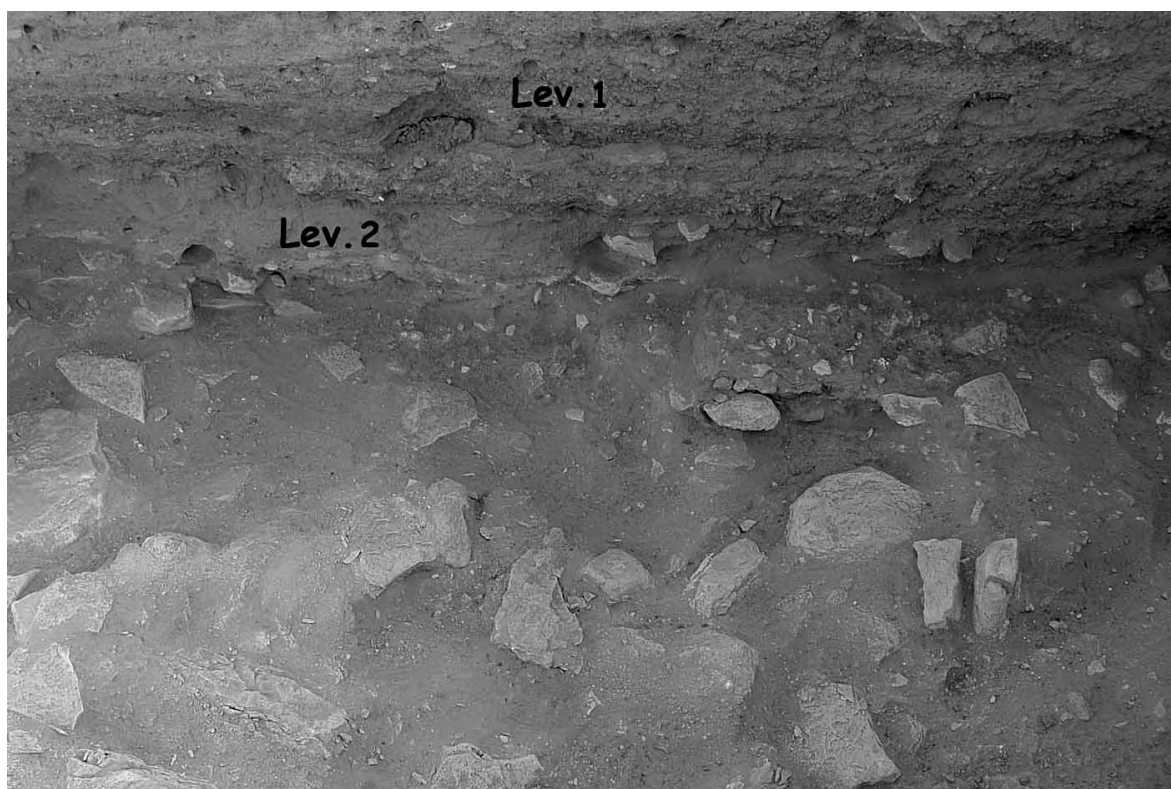
a. Surface of Level 3 related to the funerary structures (from NE).

b. The *locus* L8 is delimitated by huge squared stones.

a. In the foreground the wall M1 with a NW-SE direction (from E).

b. In the foreground the wall M2 (from E).

c. In the foreground the mud brick wall M3 with EW direction (from E).
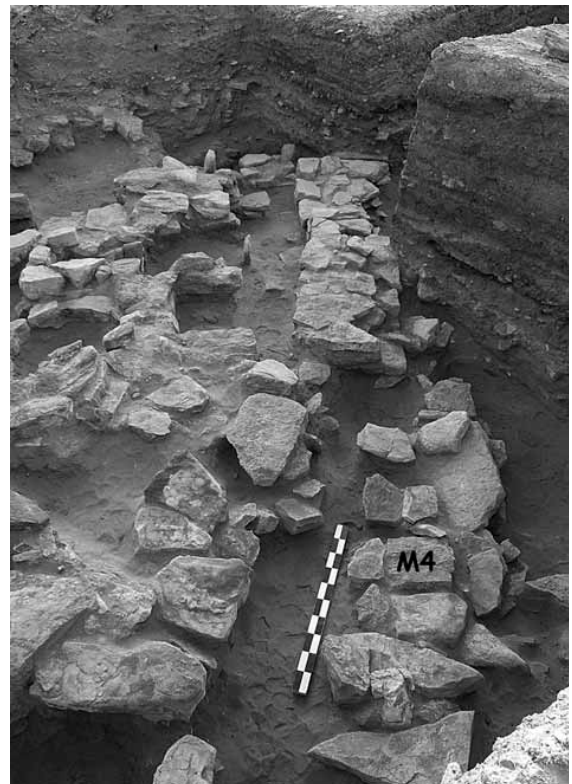
d. The wall M4 (from W).

a. In the foreground the wall M4 at the beginning of the excavation; in the background M1 (from NW). The scattered stelae are indicated by the letter S.

b. Distribution of some stelae on M1 and in the *locus* L12.

a. The stelae B.06.D.O/26 and B.06.D.O/27 found on top of M1.

b. The stelae B.06.D.O/24 and B06.D.O/24; in the foreground the upside-down stela B.06.D.O/16 (see Photo 50).

a. The wall M5 is on the NW limit of the excavation area.

b. The *locus* L1 at the beginning of the work. The floor of the *locus* is made of beaten earth (from N).

a. The probe in the *locus* L1 (from SW). The ring base-shaped of a vase, used as oil-lamp, lies on the floor.
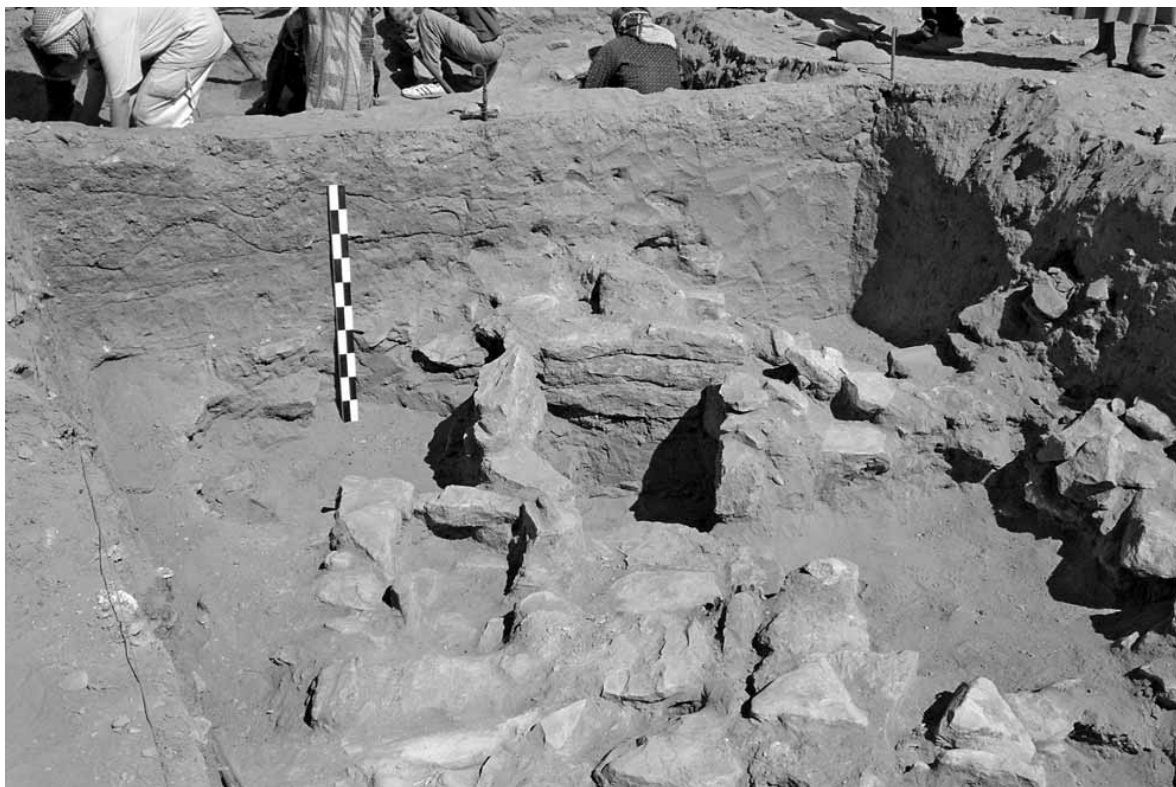
b. Three courses of stone blocks preserved in L1 lean on a natural sandy level (from S).
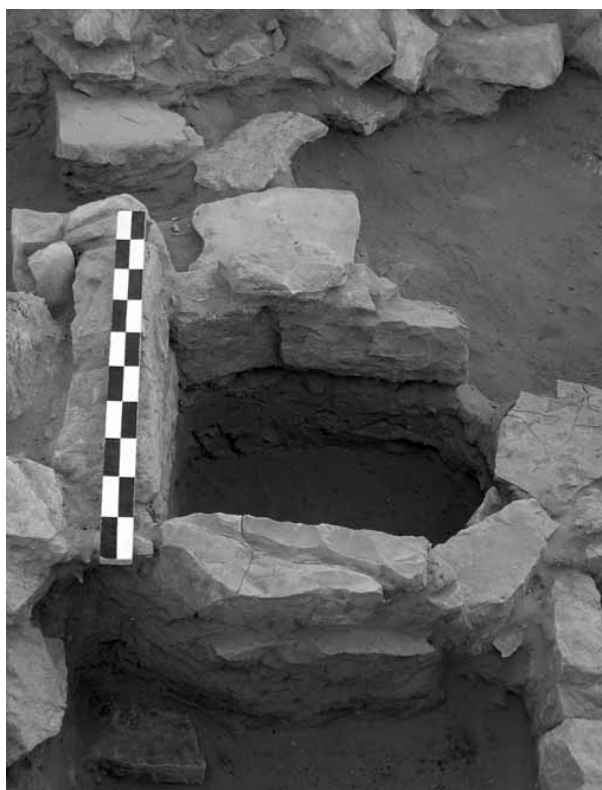
a. The *locus* L1 (form W).

b. The *locus* L7 (from S).

a. The *locus* L3 (from S).

b. The *locus* L12 (from S).

a. The stelae found during the excavation in L12 (from SE).
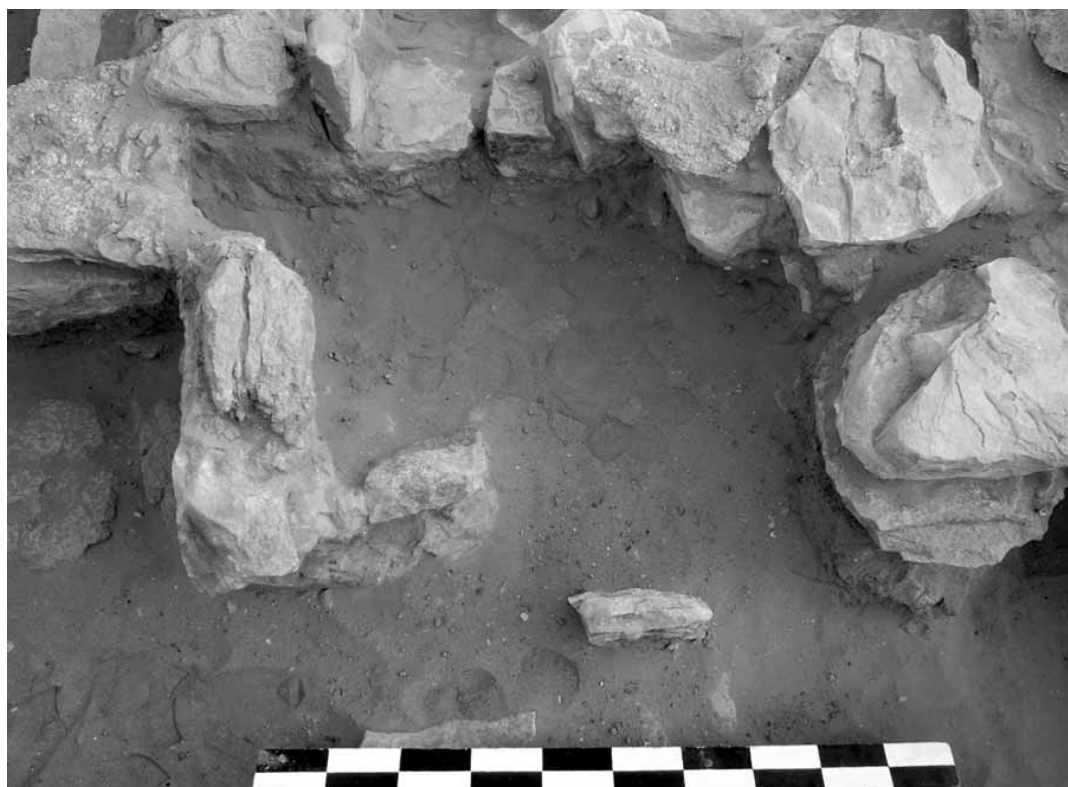
b. The *locus* L12 (from S).

a. The *locus* L2 (from S). In the foreground is the wall M1; on the right is the only niche found in the excavation area.

b. L2 during the excavation.

a. The steale found in L2, covered partly by compact soil (from SO).
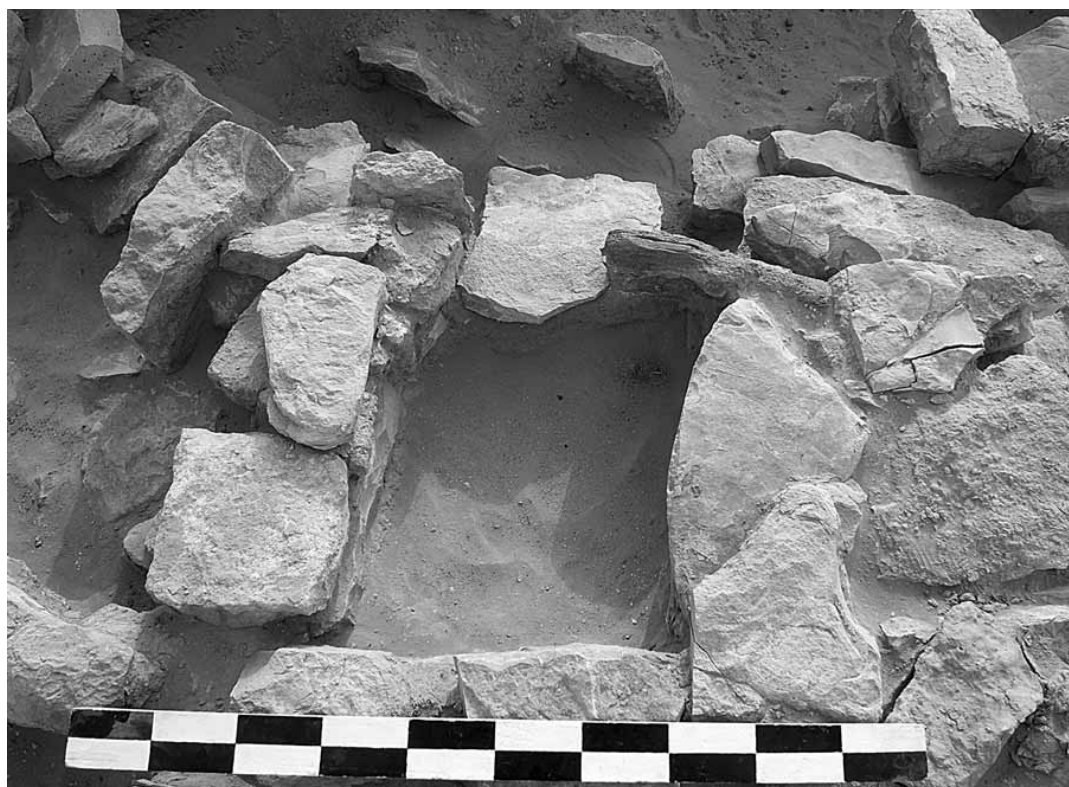
b. The *locus* L4 (from W).

a. The *locus* L10 (from N).

b. The *locus* L6 (from N).

a. The *loci* L14, L15, L16 (from NW).

b. The *locus* L14; the ring-shape base of a vase lies on the floor of beaten earth (from N).

a. The *loci* L15 e L14 (from S).

b. The *locus* L16 (from S).

a. The *locus* L5 (from S). The ground of L5 is made of stone slabs.

b. The *locus* L9 (from S).
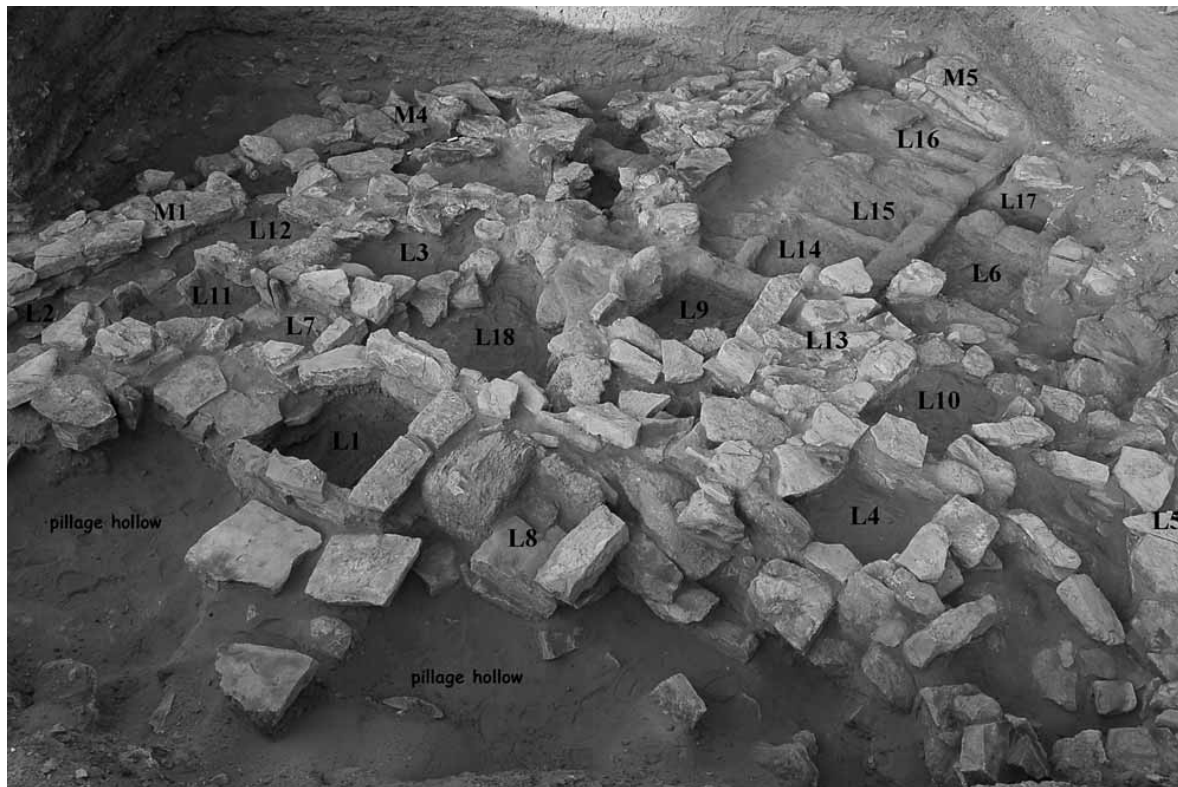
a. General view of the excavation and the location of the *loci* (from NE).

b. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./15).

c. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./18).
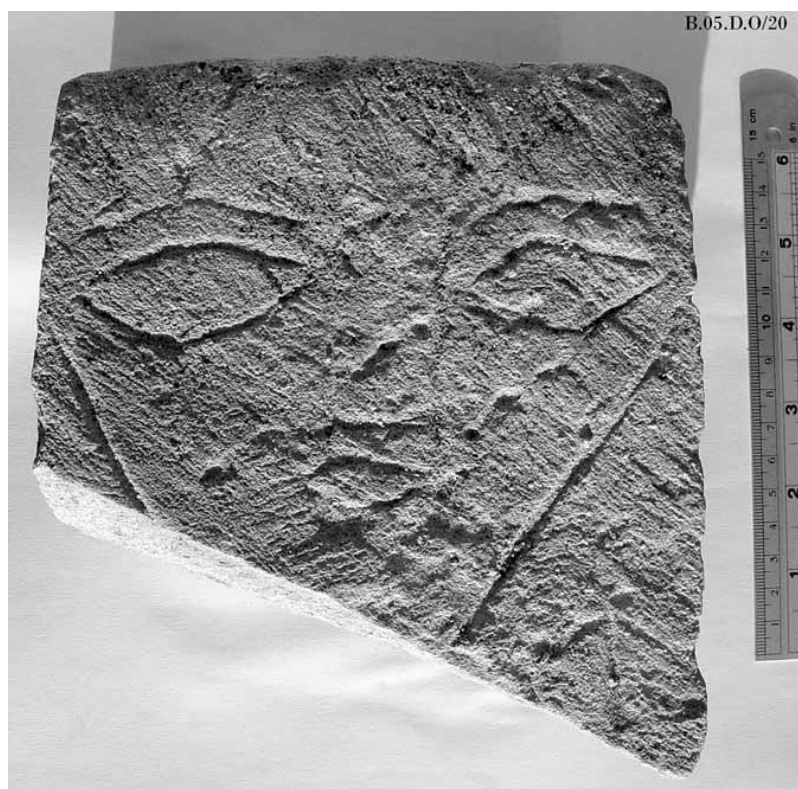
a. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./20).

b. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./23).
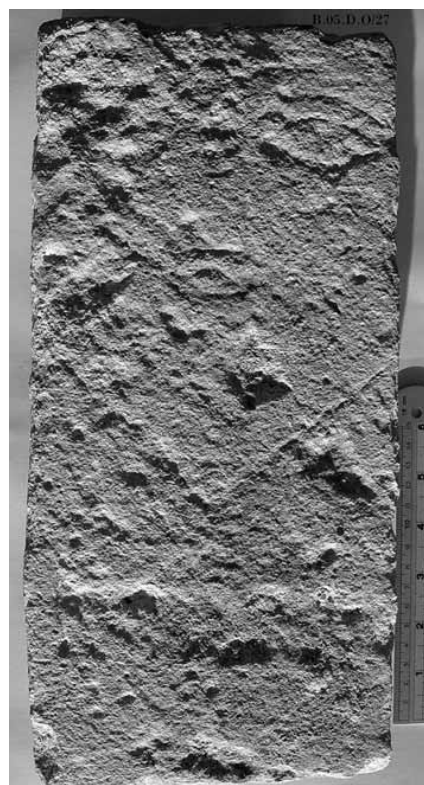
c. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./27).
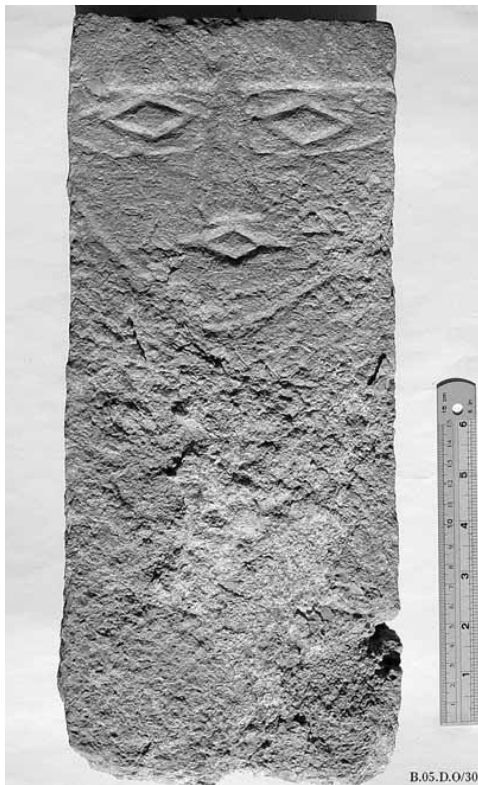
a. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./30).

b. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./13).

c. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./14).

a. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./16).

b. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./17).

c. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./20).

d. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./26).

a. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./27).

b. Reused stone as stela with inscription (B.06.D.O./30).

c. Stela with engraved face (B.05.D.O./10).

d. Stela with engraved face (B.06.D.O./16).

B.05.D.O/22

a. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./22).

B.06.D.O/21a

b. Stela with low relief face (B.06.D.O./21).

B.06.D.O/22a

c. Stela with low relief face (B.06.D.O./22).

B.06.D.O/31a

d. Stela with low relief face (B.06.D.O./31).

a. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./2).

b. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./5).

d. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./6).

a. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./8).

b. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./12).

c. Stela with low relief face (B.05.D.O./33).

a. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./19).

b. Stela with high relief face o (B.05.D.O./24).

c. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./25).
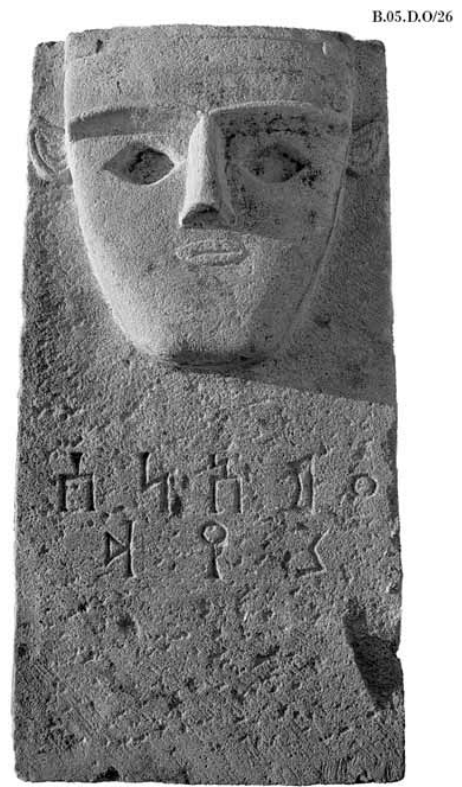
d. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./26).

a. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./1).

b. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./9).

c. Stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./11).

a. Fragmentary stela with high relief face (B.05.D.O./14).

b. Stela with high relief face (B.06.D.O./24).

c. Stela with high relief face (B.06.D.O./29).

a. Stela with plaster covering (B.06.D.O./15).

b. Stela with plaster covering (B.06.D.O./18).

c. Stela with plaster covering (B.06.D.O/23).
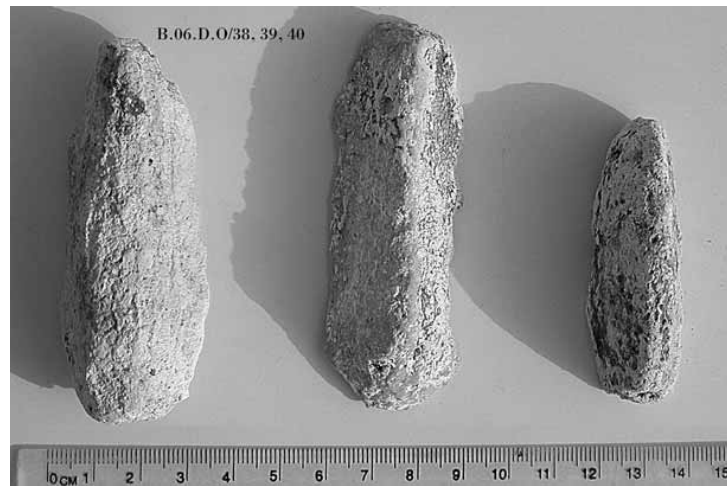
a. Noses in plaster, upper side (B.06.D.O./38, B.06.D.O./39, B.06.D.O./40).
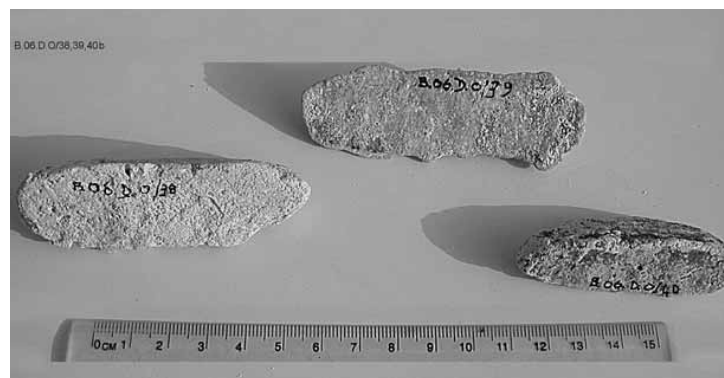
b. Noses in plaster, lower side (B.06.D.O./38, B.06.D.O./39, B.06.D.O./40).
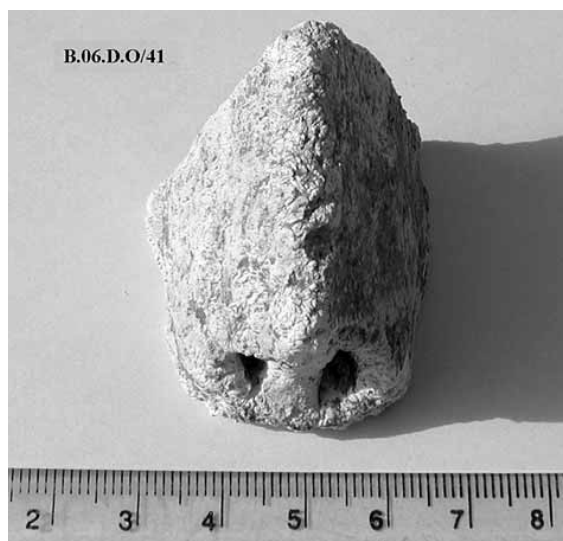
c. Fragment of plaster nose, front side (B.06.D.O./41).

d. Nose in plaster, lateral view (B.06.D.O./42).

a, b, c. Terracotta figure (B.06.D.O./8).

a. Offering table (B.05.D.O./1).

b. Offering table (B.05.D.O./28).

d. Fragment of offering table (B.05.D.O./7).
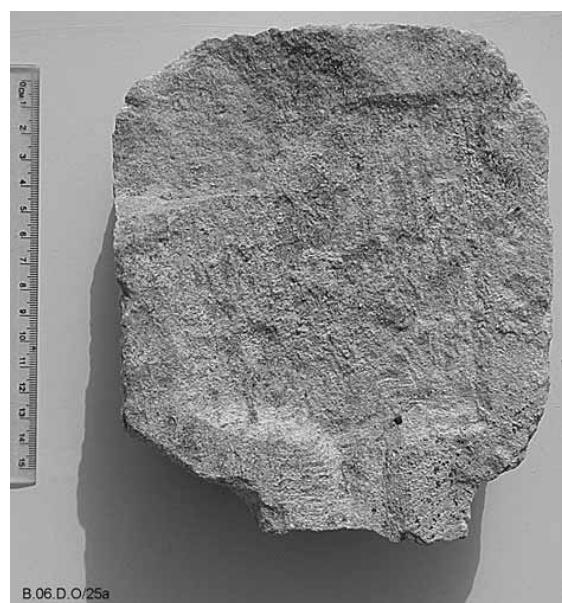
c. Fragment of offering table (B.06.D.O./25).
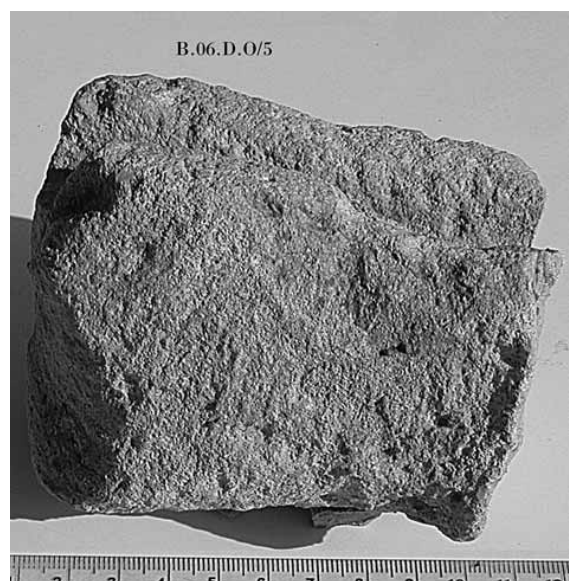
e. Fragment of offering table (B.06.D.O./5).
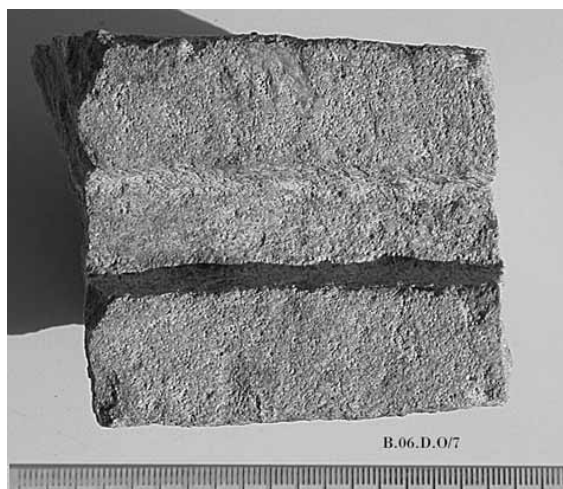
a. Fragment of offering table (B.06.D.O./7).
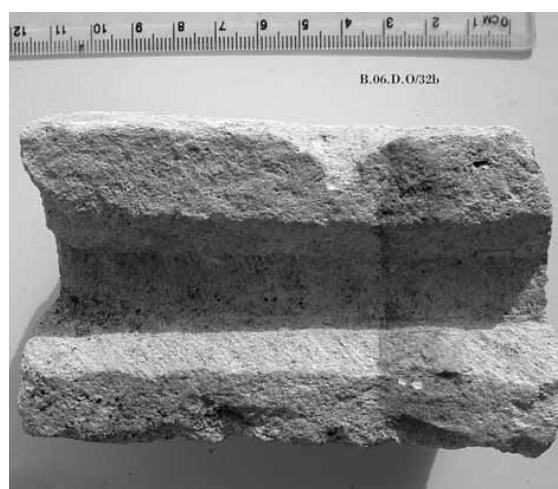
b. Fragment of offering table (B.06.D.O./32).

c. Fragmentary oval grindstone (B.05.D.O./31).

d. Cube-shaped muller (B.06.D.O./28).
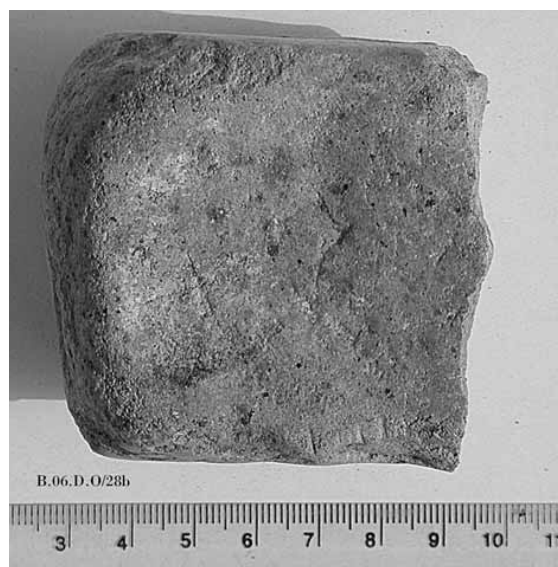
e. Cube-shaped muller (B.06.D.O./28).
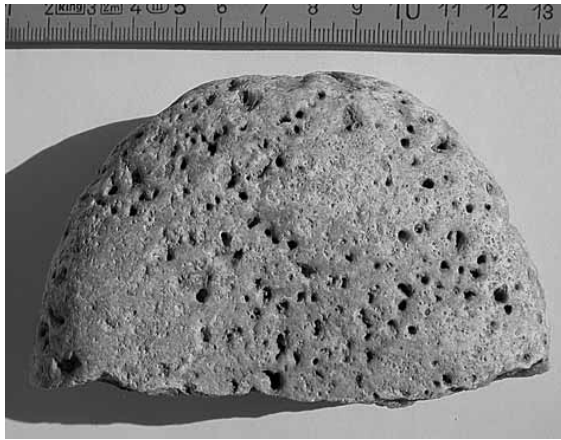
a. Disc-shaped muller (B.05.D.O./36).

b. Fragment of steatite pot (B.06.D.O./33).
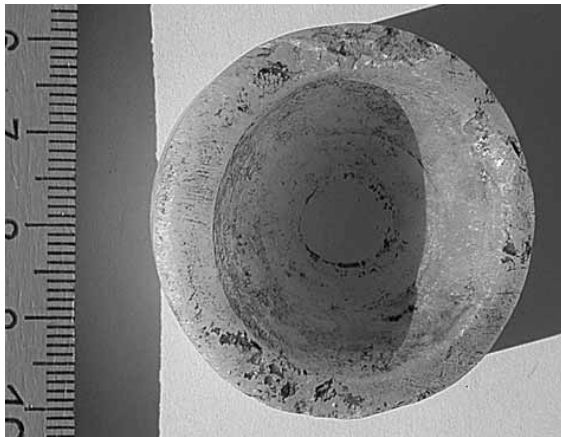
c. Cylindrical alabaster jar (B.05.D.O./38).

d. Small vessel in limestone (B.05.D.O./39).
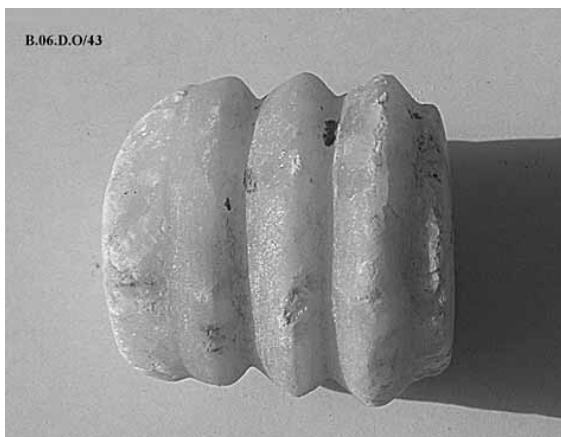
e. Ring base of an alabaster chalice (B.06.D.O./43).
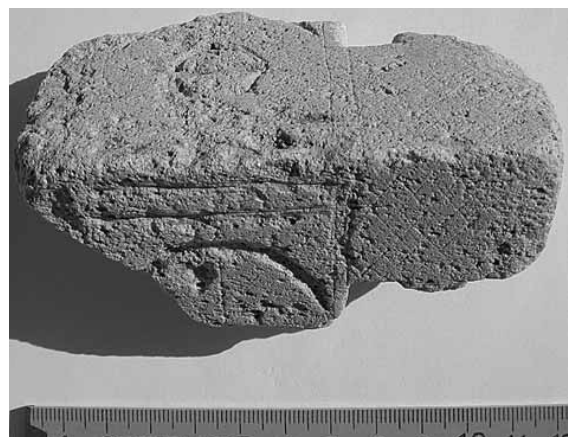
f. Fragment of incense burner (B.05.D.O./34).

a. Fragment of incense burner (B.05.D.O./35).

b. Fragment of incense burner with flat bottom (B.05.D.O./37).
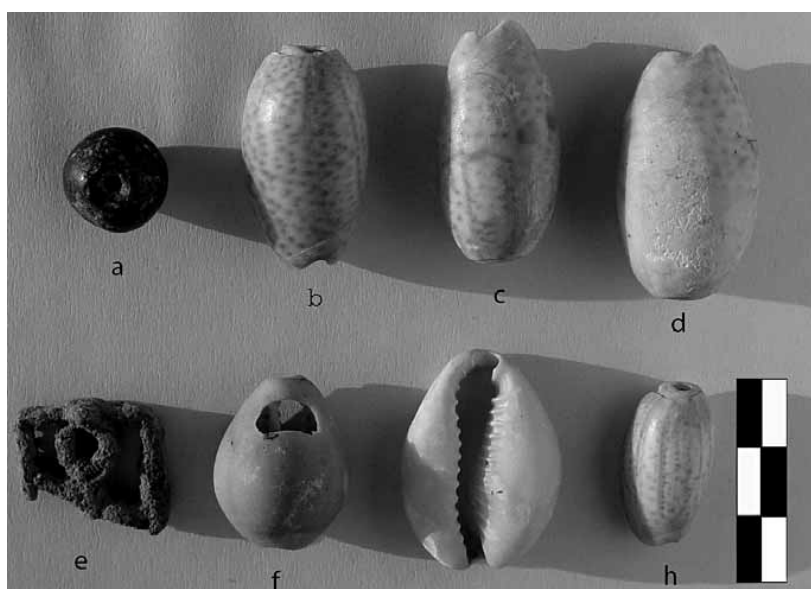
c. a: Globular bead (B.05.D.O./29a); b-d, f-h: shells (B.05.D.O./29b-d, f-h); e: fragment of bronze seal (B.05.D.O./29e).
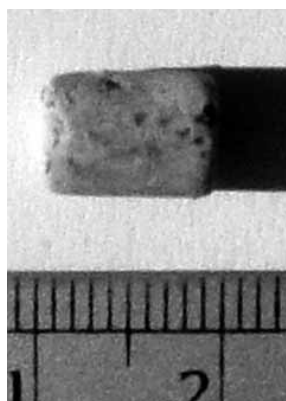
d. Cylindrical bead (B.05.D.O./17).
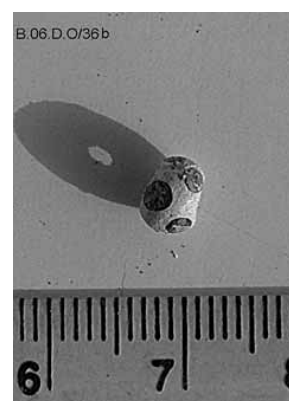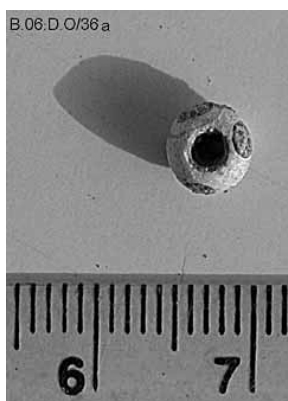
e-f. Glass spherical bead decorated with 5 blue dots (B.06.D.O./36).
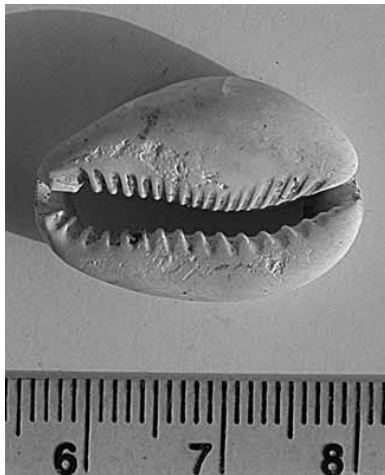
a. Shell (B.06.D.O./34).
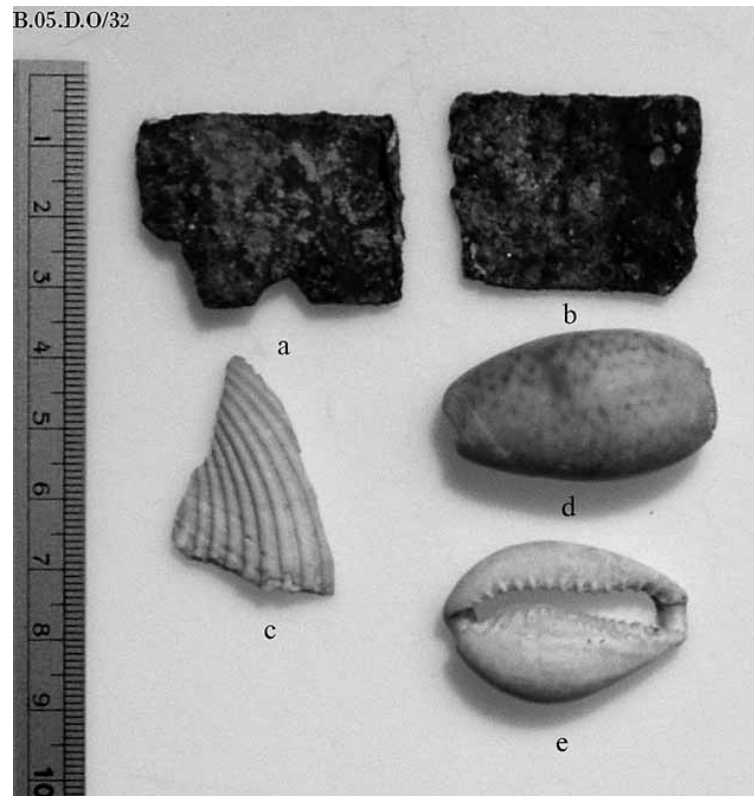
b. a-b: bronze fragment (B.06.D.O/31a-b); c-e: shells (B.06.D.O./31c-e).
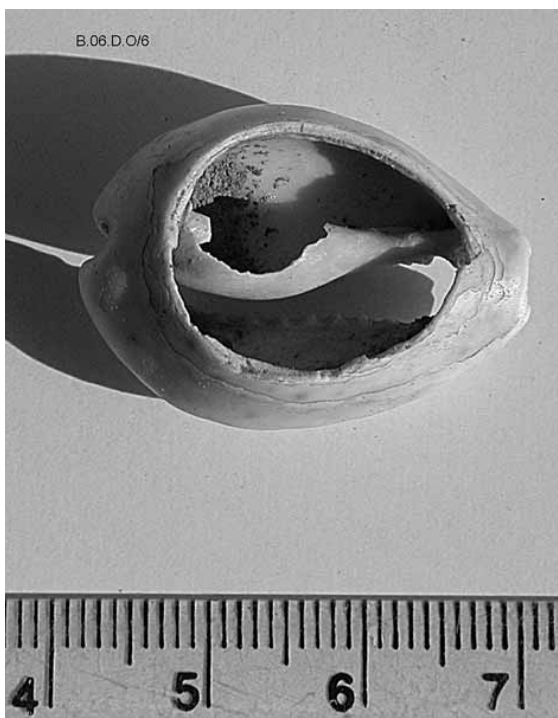
c. Shell (B.06.D.O./6).
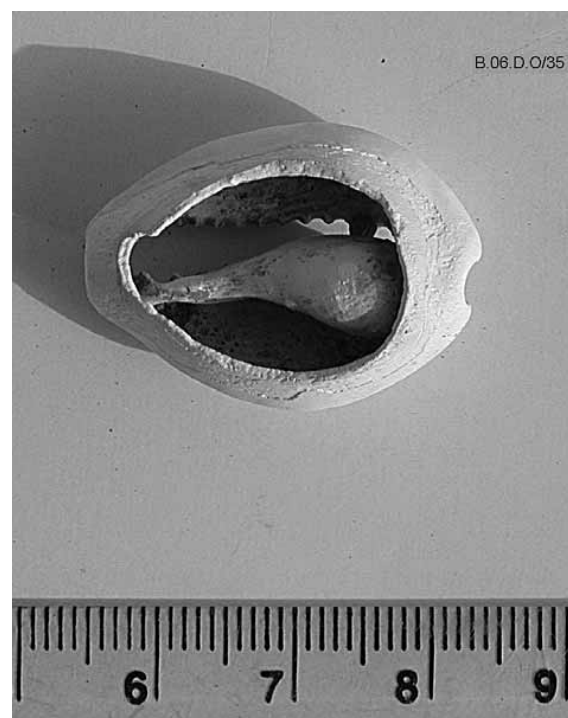
d. Shell (B.06.D.O./35).
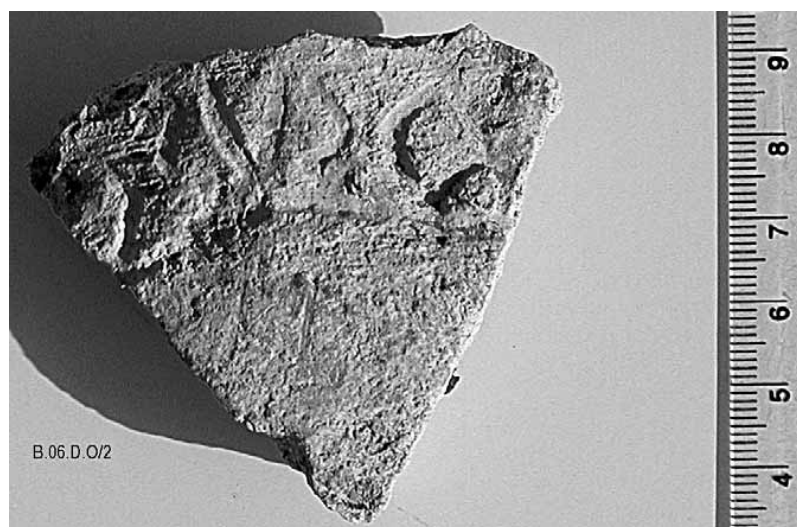
a. Fragment of plaster jar sealing (B.06.D.O./2).

b. Fragments of plaster jar sealings (B.05.D.O./40-42).
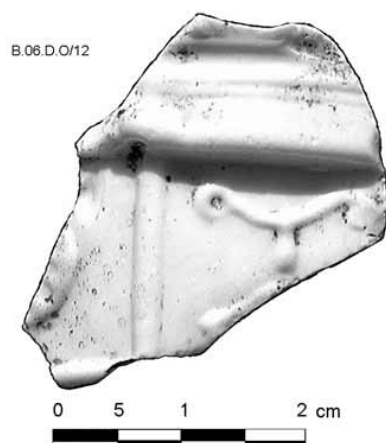
c. Fragment of white glass vase (B.06.D.O./12).

d. Wooden bowl with ring shape base (B.06.D.O./3).
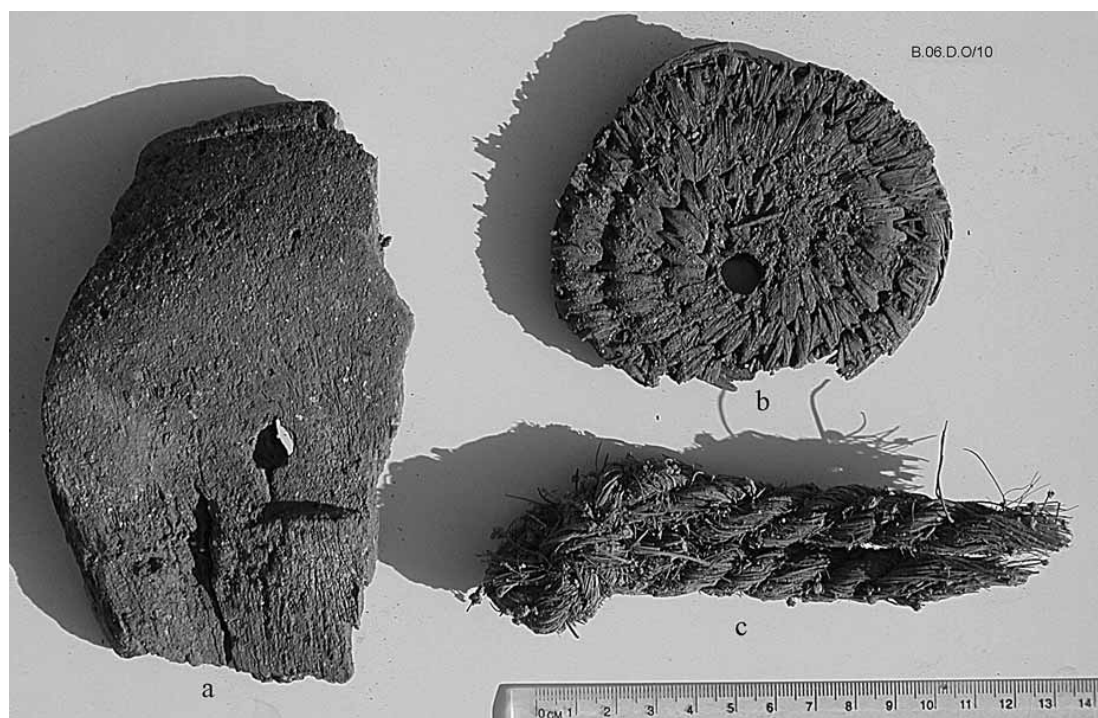
a. a: Fragment of wooden bowl; b-c: fragments of basket and rope (B.06.D.O./10).

b. Remains of threads in organic material (B.06.D.O./4).
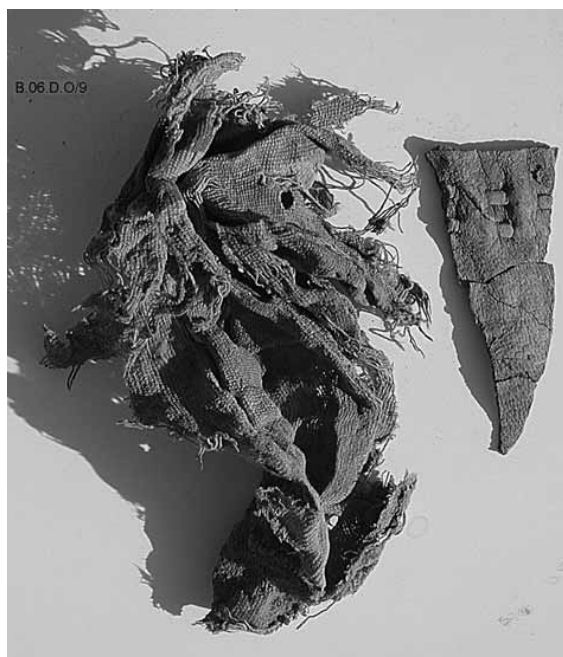
a. Scraps of yellowish cloth and leather (B.06.D.O./9).
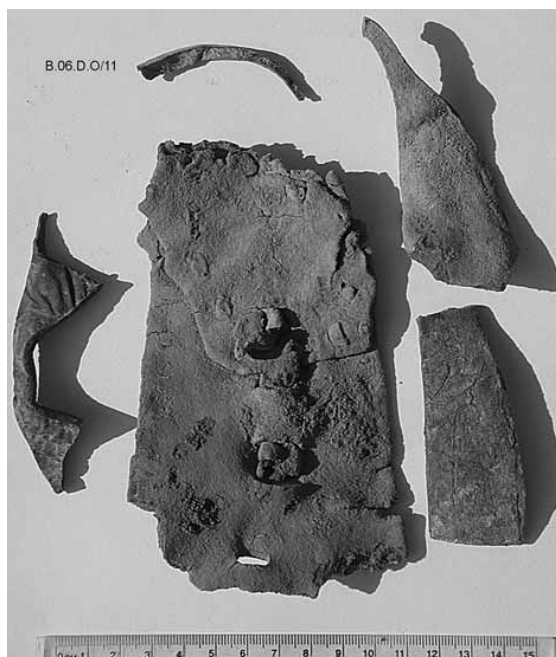
b. Fragments of leather with traces of sewing (B.06.D.O./11).

c. Long human plait (B.06.D.O./37).
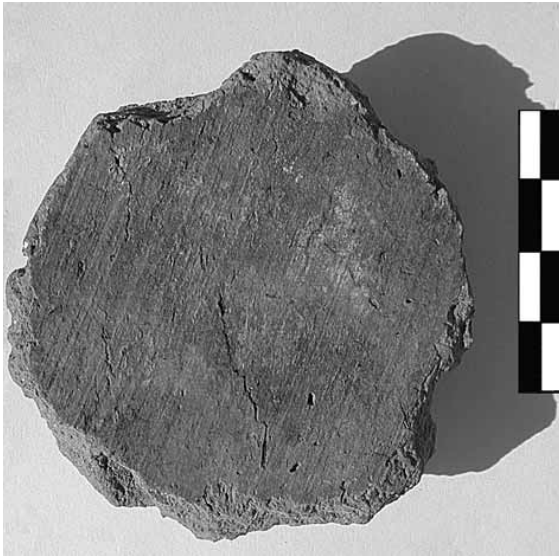
a. Clay stopper (B.05.D.O./43).
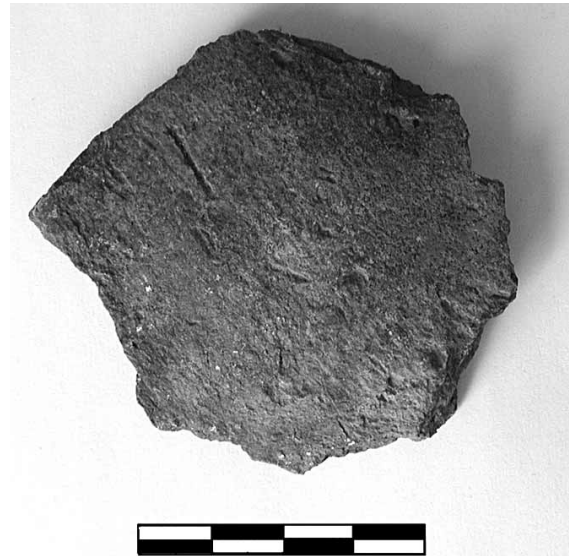
b. Clay stopper (B.05.D.O./44).

c. Bowl: red colour covers the outer surface (fig. 2, n. 10; B.05.D.9/11).
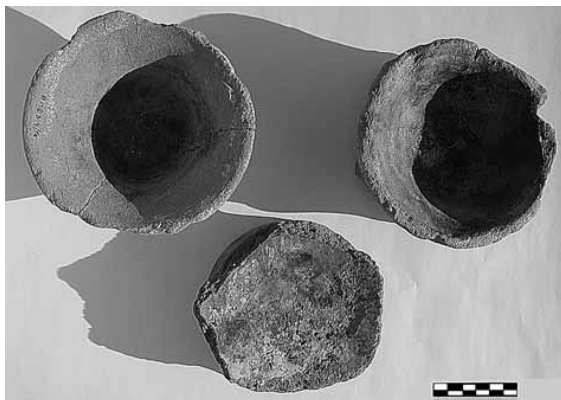
a. Ring shape bases with rests of burning: they were used as oil-lamps.

b. Jar covered by burnished dark brown slip (fig. 6, n. 12; B.05.D.3/36).
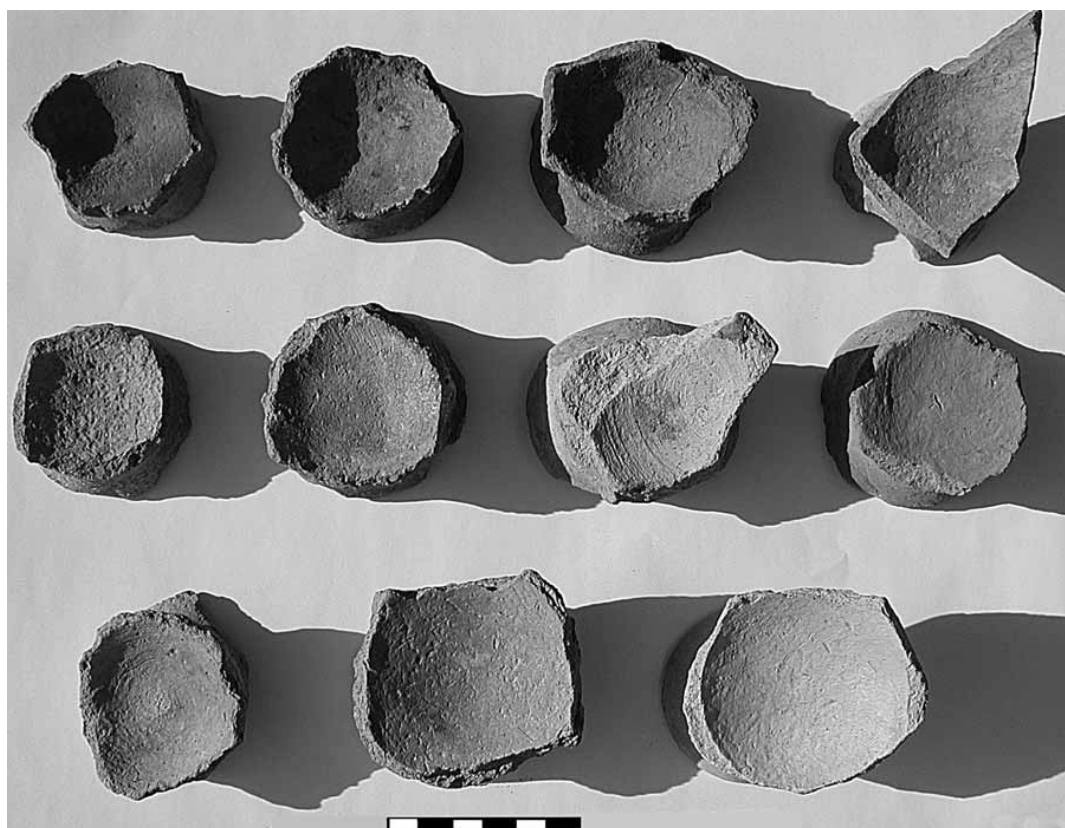
c. Small ring shape bases, belonging probably to wavy rim bowls.

a. Eyes stela (MAIRY.05/7).

b. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/3).

c. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/4).

d. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/8).

e. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/9).

a. tela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/16).

b. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.05/17).

c. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.06/2).

a. Stela with engraved face (MAIRY.06/6).

b. Stela with low relief face (MAIRY.05/6).
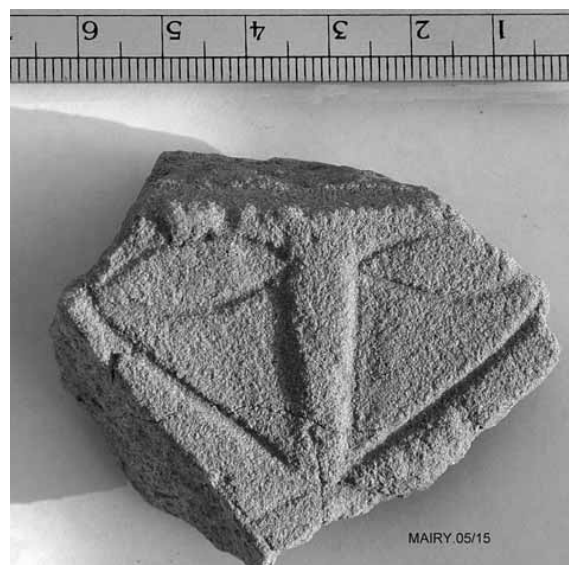
c. Stela with low relief face (MAIRY.05/15).

a. Stela with low relief face (MAIRY.06/5).

b. Stela with low relief face (MAIRY.05/1).
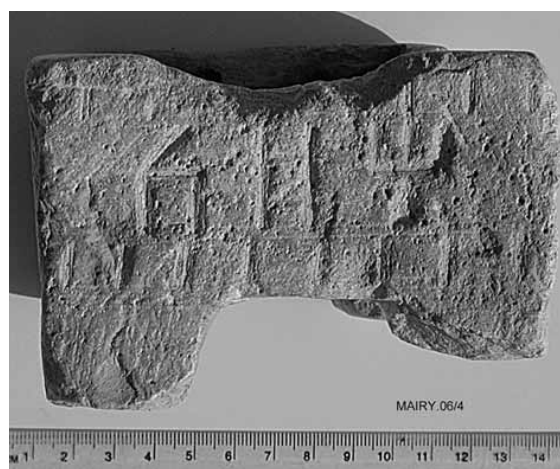

c. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.05/2).

d. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.05/5).

e. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.05/10).

a. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.06/1).
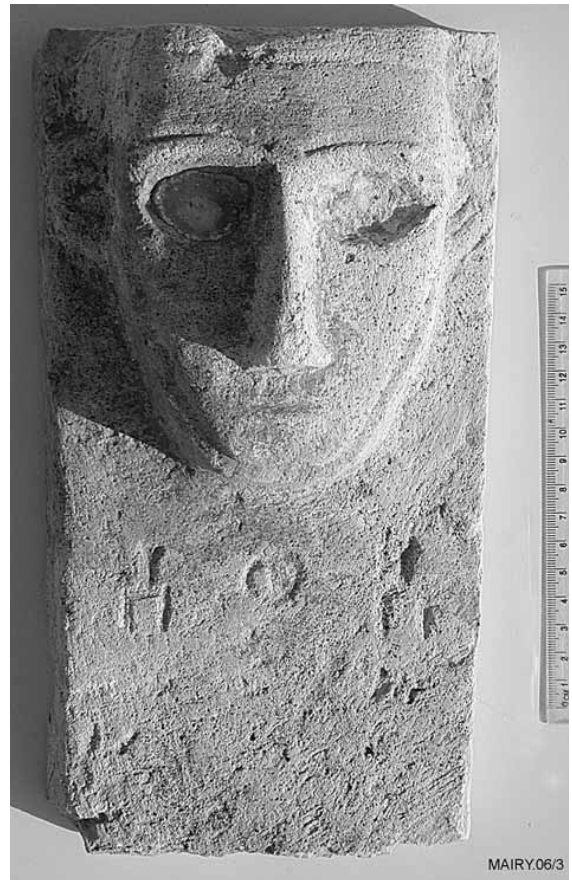
b. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.06/3).

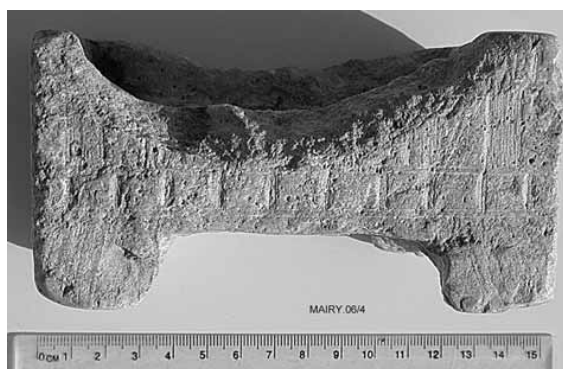*c*. Stela with high relief face (MAIRY.06/8).
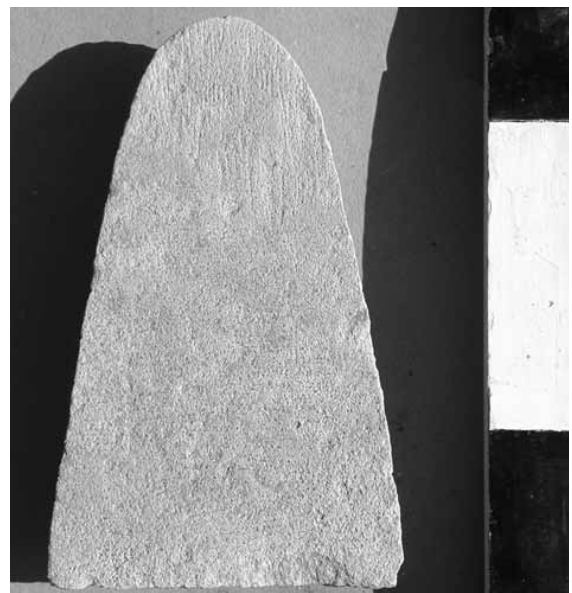
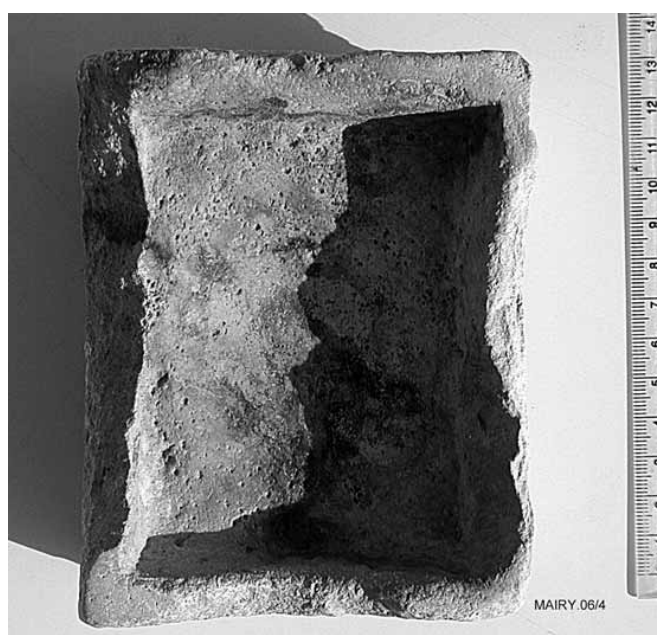*d*. Aniconic stela (MAIRY.06/7).

a. Incense burner (MAIRY.06/4).

b. Incense burner (MAIRY.06/4).

c. Incense burner (MAIRY.06/4).

d. Incense burner (MAIRY.06/4).
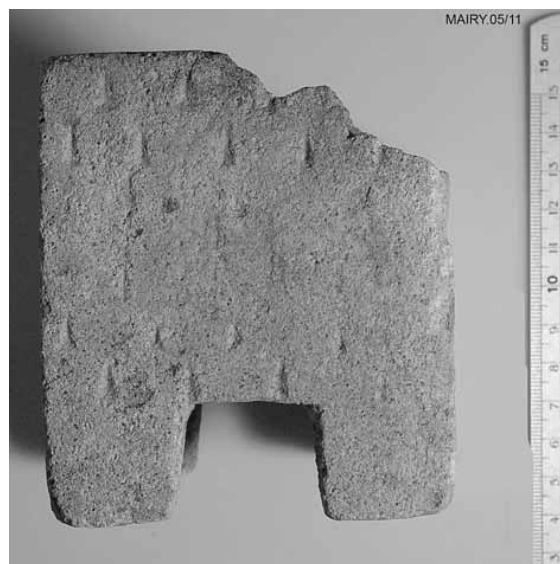

e. Incense burner (MAIRY.06/4).

a. Incense burner (MAIRY.05/11).

b. Incense burner (MAIRY.05/11).

c. Incense burner (MAIRY.05/11).

d. Incense burner (MAIRY.05/11).

a. Incense burner (MAIRY.05/14).

b. Alabaster relief with an ibex (MAIRY.05/13).

c. Inscription (MAIRY.05/12).

d. Inscription (MAIRY.05/18).

a. Inscription of a funerary stela (B.06.D.O/19).

b. Inscription of a funerary stela (B.05.D.O./3).

c. Inscription (B.05.D.O./4).

d. Inscription of a funerary stela (B.05.D.O./13).

e. Inscription of a funerary stela (B.05.D.O./21).