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# Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond

Multidisciplinary perspectives

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# Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Yemen: A Minaean Necropolis at Barāqish (Wadi Jawf) and the Qatabanian Necropolis of Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl (Wadi Bayḥān)

Sabina Antonini and Alessio Agostini<sup>1</sup>

## Summary

During two archaeological campaigns at Barāqish/*Yathill*, a number of pit graves has been excavated in a necropolis located approximately 200 meters west of the city walls. This is the first time that Minaean graves have been investigated, offering a unique opportunity to study Minaean funeral customs. Further, a significant number of stereotype inscribed stelae was discovered *in situ* and the study of the iconography and onomastics has provided interesting information regarding the origin of the people who habitually visited the region between the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The rather modest crafting and typology of the pit graves, very different from the tombs of the other large caravan cities such as Tamna<sup>c</sup>, show that *Yathill* was populated also by a nomadic community, residing seasonally outside the city walls. The graves we investigated presumably belong to this community.

The necropolis of Tamna<sup>c</sup> is situated about 2 km north of the city, on the western side of the hill named Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl. The tombs were investigated in two excavation campaigns at the foot of the hill and on the hillside, and are contemporary of those of Barāqish. The funerary monuments are multiple-roomed family tombs, and numerous inscribed stelae suggest that it was largely Qatabanians residing in Tamna<sup>c</sup> who were buried in the cemetery.<sup>2</sup>

**Keywords:** southern Arabia, Barāqish, Tamna<sup>c</sup>, tombs, stelae, onomastics

## The Excavation

### Barāqish

Over the last 10 years the Italian Archaeological Mission, under the direction of Prof. Alessandro de Maigret, has excavated the two sites of Barāqish and Tamna<sup>c</sup>. In both cases attention has focused above all on the urban settlement, although recently the scope has been enlarged to include the respective necropolises. The necropolis of Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl was already known to scholars from the excavations carried out in the 1950s by the mission of the American Foundation for the Study of Man (Cleveland 1965), while the one at Barāqish had never been excavated.

The recent archaeological activity at Barāqish has involved the excavation of a series of tombs (Antonini & Agostini 2010) and stratigraphic probes both within the ancient city near the temple of Nakrah (de Maigret *in press*) and just outside the city walls (Fedele *in press*). This has produced interesting data concerning the Minaean occupation of Barāqish, which overlay a pre-existing Sabaeen settlement. Our findings originate from the stratigraphic probes, the material culture (primarily the pottery), the epigraphy and from radiocarbon dating. The latest results confirm what had been deduced in the early 1990s thanks to the excavation of the temple of Nakrah, which stands inside the city wall (de Maigret & Robin 1993). The history of the necropolis seems to be closely linked to the events that had affected the city of Barāqish. Excavating the tombs enabled us to identify for the first time the typology of the tombs and the funerary

customs of the Minaeans, and also to establish at last the archaeological context for the Minaean stelae, which were previously known to scholars only from the antiquarian market (Antonini 1998, 2005a; Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006; Arbach *et al.* 2008; Garbini 1977; Höfner 1964).

The necropolis is situated about 200 m west of the main city gate (Fig. 1). It is a small mound of anthropic origin, with fragments of funerary stelae and pottery dating from pre-Islamic times. Excavation of the mound revealed a first, thick layer totally devoid of structures, comprising stratified levels of debris from the late-Minaean period (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD) which in turn covered a sandy aeolian layer that had been deposited on the funerary structures. This seems to show that the area of the burials was reused as a tip after the necropolis had been abandoned and covered by wind-blown sand. The Minaean tombs were built on top of some mud-brick structures having a different orientation from Sabaeen times (i.e. beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC), as evidenced by the pottery, characterized by a thick burnished dark red slip, and radiocarbon analyses.

In spite of evident and repeated episodes of looting in the area (in ancient times as well as recently), a series of contiguous pits were brought to light. These were rather small (sides measuring 50-70 cm), square, oval or round in shape, and surrounded either by a row of barely fashioned limestone blocks or by little walls in mud-bricks. The burial area must have been enclosed, to judge from a thick wall conserved to the height of two courses discovered on the south-western edge of the excavation area (Fig. 2). We believe that each pit was marked by an anthropomorphic funerary stela (Fig. 3), even though no tomb was found intact and no stelae in the original position. The personal grave goods found were scant (some shells, beads, bronze fragments and pot shards),

<sup>1</sup> Sabina Antonini is the author of the “The Excavation” section and Alessio Agostini of the “Onomastic Analysis” section.

<sup>2</sup> The translation of “The Excavation” section was done by Dr Mark Weir, Lector at “L’Orientale”, Naples.



Figure 1. Barāqish: satellite view of the ancient city and the location of the Minaean necropolis.



Figure 2. Barāqish: general view of the excavation area and the location of the pit-graves (from NE).

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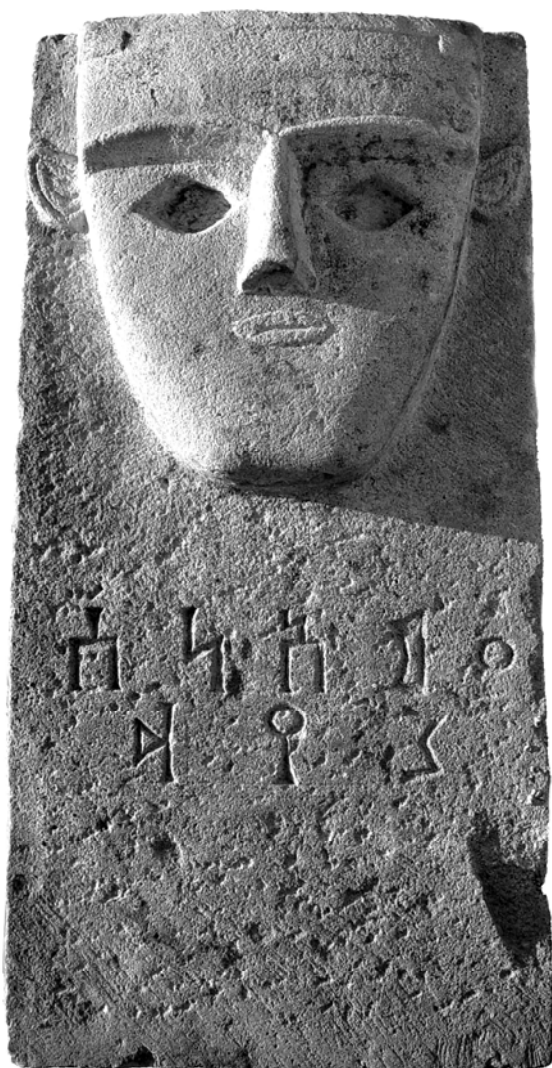


Figure 3. Limestone funerary stela with male face in high relief, from Barāqish necropolis.

either on account of the violations or because of the poverty of the tombs themselves; nonetheless we did find fragments of offering tables and incense burners associated with documented Southern Arabian religious practices. Amongst the common local pottery, of mediocre quality, we found the characteristic bowls with wavy rims, known as Bayhān bowls, and jars with everted rim used for transportation, i.e. pottery that was present in other contemporary sites in Southern Arabia. The polylobate bowls appear at Barāqish towards the end of the Later Sabaeen occupation (late 7<sup>th</sup> century), continuing into the Final Sabaeen (early-mid 6<sup>th</sup> century; Fedele in press). The latest examples are documented in the late-Minaean period. Regarding the jars, they have fairly thick rim, sometimes concave inside to take a stopper in terracotta or stone, specifically fashioned in lenticular shape. The jars were then sealed with the addition of plaster which completely covered the stopper,

and marked with a seal imprint or incised marks. This type of jar is found in Southern Arabian contexts between the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and the first centuries AD. Both the wavy rim bowls and jars were widespread in different archaeological sites of the Inner Yemen as well as of the plateau and coast, proving some circulation of local products.

From an art historical evaluation of the portraits, when we observe the male heads carved in high relief on the Minaean limestone stelae (Fig. 3), then we recognize a style familiar to the Qatabanian and Sabaeen alabaster heads sculptured in the round, pointing to a common Southern Arabian artistic language. This fact, together with both the analysis of the archaeological material, including the pottery, and the palaeographical study of the inscriptions on some of the stelae, enabled us to date these tombs to a period between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. This period corresponds to the latest phase (phase A) of the temple of Nakrah (de Maigret 2004: 21-23; de Maigret & Robin 1993: 450-458).

The small size of the *loci* rules out the customary burial by deposition of the corpse. Either a different type of burial was used, possibly in a crouching position, or other funerary rites were involved such as cremation, although in this case urns should have come to light. The latter hypothesis can surely be discarded because to date no evidence for such a rite has ever been found in the Southern Arabian civilization. The first hypothesis does seem plausible, although no human remains came to light in any of the trenches or nearby areas. There is no doubt that the structures were pillaged, as indeed is the case for all the tombs we investigated at Ḥayd bin ‘Aqīl, but in the latter context many traces of bones came to light, and one complete skeleton was found still *in situ*. The suggestion that Barāqish was not in fact a burial area can be immediately rejected because some forty funerary stelae were found *in situ*. It is still too early to give definitive answers, since further excavations may unearth human bones, but given our findings we suggest that these tombs should be interpreted as cenotaphs. The study of the onomastics (see below) established that most of the names incised on the stelae of Barāqish, as well as on those found in other sites of Jawf (Arbach *et al.* 2008), have similarities with North-Arabian names. At Tayma, Madāin Šāleḥ and Petra there are baetyles inside *naiskoi* with schematic eyes or faces, or that are aniconic, which recall the Minaean or certain Qatabanian stelae. These, however, are generally identified with the deities of the Nabataean pantheon. The Minaean stelae, on the contrary, have a funerary function, as they represent the symbolic portraits of the deceased, rendered in a peculiar, autochthonous way. Therefore, the hypothesis that the tombs of Barāqish could be related to caravaneers and to people of a rather lowly social status, of both southern and northern Arabian origin, cannot be totally ruled out when one considers the role played by the Minaeans in the caravan trade, and by Barāqish as a major staging post in the Jawf.

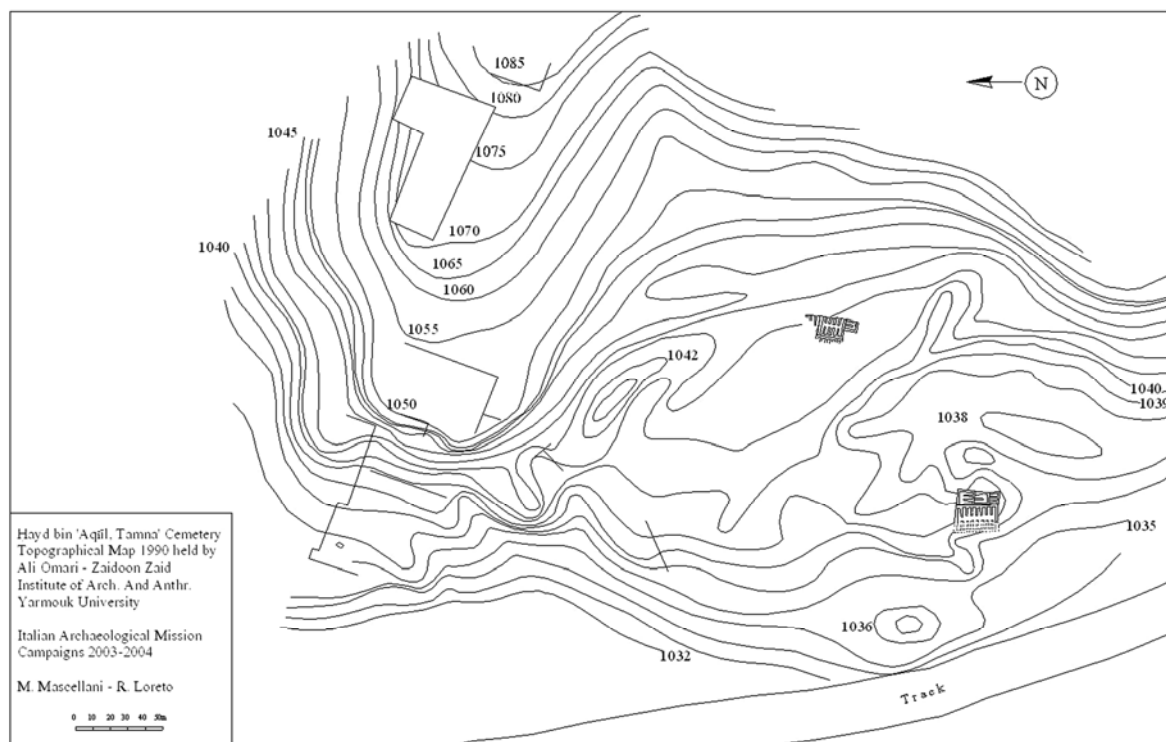


Fig. 4. Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl: topographical plan of the Qatabanian necropolis (by 'Alī Omari e Zaydūn Zaid 1990, Yarmouk University) and the location of the tombs excavated by the Italian Mission.

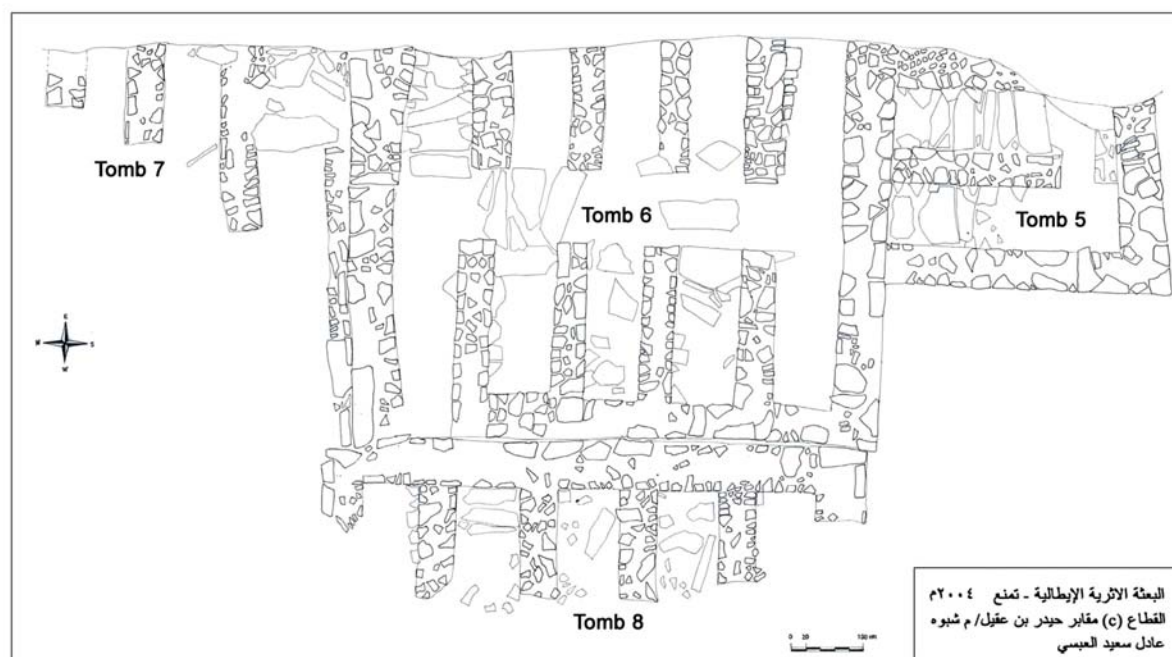


Figure 5. Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl: the tombs excavated by the Italian Mission.

### *Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl*

Ḥayd bin 'Aqīl is the hill where the necropolis of Tamna<sup>c</sup> is located, about 2 km north of the ancient city (Fig. 4). The tombs, which are on the western side of the hill, comprise masonry structures built from irregular blocks of granite and schist (Antonini 2005: 2-7). The layout is organized in quarters in which it is possible to isolate

some groups of tombs where the funerary chambers (*loci*) can be recognised. These were funerary monuments involving multiple depositions, square or rectangular in shape, and we have identified three types of tombs (Fig. 5). The most common type has *loci* disposed in a herringbone pattern separated by a central corridor. The second type has a series of funerary chambers opening to a common corridor. The third type comprises a series of



*loci* with no corridor. It seems that none of the tombs was isolated; the original structure was subsequently extended by setting further tombs against it, exploiting more than one of its external walls. The internal space of each tomb was divided into several adjoining *loci* (the number of *loci* varies depending on the length of each tomb) and each *locus* is vertically partitioned with slabs of schist used to form up to three *loculi*, each taking one deposition (Fig. 6). Some of these slabs were built into the side walls, while others rested on ledges made of short flat stones projecting 15–20 cm from the side walls. Since each *loculus* was about 1 m high, a monumental tomb must have been over 3 m in height. On the basis of the recognisable structures we were able to identify points of access to the tombs in the upper part of one of the external walls, but no means of communication between one tomb and another. Each funerary quarter (composed of several tombs) was clearly separated from the others by open spaces which may well have been criss-crossed by pathways.

The tombs in Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl had evidently been looted (in ancient as well as in modern times), but nonetheless we found examples of grave goods, comprising symbolic human portraits in alabaster, offering tables, incense burners, Qatabanian pottery, sporadic personal objects (beads, utensils, shells) and funerary stelae (Antonini 2005: 8-9). The stelae are made of alabaster and may be of the aniconic (Fig. 7), anthropomorphous or

zoomorphous type (bovine stelae). In general the name of the deceased is clearly visible either on the stela itself or on a base (made of limestone or alabaster) built to take the stela. The study of the funerary goods allowed us to date the latest burials in the range of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Specifically, several vase types are recurrent amongst the ceramics found in the tombs, including the wavy rim bowls, which are commonly used both in domestic and cultual contexts. There are close parallels between the pottery of Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl and the pottery found in precise stratigraphic profiles of the temple of Athirat and the houses excavated in the Market square of Tamnaʿ (Antonini & Buffa, in preparation). Moreover, the typical funerary thin-walled jars found in the tombs of Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl, characterized by flaring rim, globular body, flat bottom and finished with brown burnished slip, are precisely dated by the discovery of this type of jar in the hypogean tombs of Kharibat al-Ahjur (Antonini 2005c: fig. 47, no. 5-6; fig. 62, no. 2-3) together with 10 coins of ʿAmdān Bayyin Yuḥaqbiḍ, king of Saba and dhū Raydān (80-100 AD) (Davidde 1992) and imported objects of Roman origin (Antonini 1992). However, some older objects together with those from this period suggest that the tombs were in use over a long period of time, and also that some objects may have been reused. The results we achieved studying the cultural material are confirmed by the palaeographical study of the inscriptions.



Figure 6. View of the tombs built against the rock face on the hillside (from NE).



Figure 7. Alabaster aniconic stela found in the excavation at Ḥayd bin ‘Aqīl.

### Onomastic Analysis

An analysis of the onomastics found on the stelae of the two necropolises is an important tool in achieving a deeper knowledge of the individuals for whom these burials were intended. The first analysis of these data from Barāqish (Agostini 2010) and Ḥayd bin ‘Aqīl (Agostini in preparation) was largely from a linguistic perspective. Some aspects of their historical implications are outlined here. The differences between these two near contemporaneous cemeteries can also be stressed, thanks to the comparison between these two groups of proper names. The material is not abundant enough to let us think that our conclusions will not receive some future correction, but what is of particular value here is that these names come from an archaeological context, and for the Minaean kingdom, for the first time, they do not come from the antiquities market.

#### Barāqish

Barāqish has yielded numerous inscriptions, most of which were set into the circuit of city walls or found inside the site. These are mostly official inscriptions in which the people named, who are the subjects of the texts, must have occupied a leading role in the society of this Minaean city. Thus our knowledge of the onomastics of Barāqish chiefly concerns the upper social class, and must not be taken as being representative of the population as a whole.

The proper names on these stelae can be subdivided into three groups according to the pattern, or onomastic formula, used:

- a. Single Names (20 in total)
- b. Double Names juxtaposed to each other (11 in total)
- c. Single Name preceded by the relative *q*- (2 in total)

As indicated, they can be distributed according to their number, taking into account all the stelae for which we can identify this pattern, even if the name is not entirely legible.

What is evident at first is the high number of single names. In these cases, it is highly improbable that the individual could have been identified even by his contemporaries. This onomastic model has been frequently observed in the abundant material recently published from the Jawf valley (Arbach & Audouin 2007; Arbach & Schiettecatte 2006; Arbach *et al.* 2008), and was previously recorded by Gonzague Ryckmans in some Saudi Arabian rock inscriptions (Ryckmans 1957). Whilst Ryckmans hypothesised that in such cases the individual would have been of low social class,<sup>3</sup> Beeston thought that the use of single personal names meant that those persons were “in process of being integrated into a tribe; and [...] there may have been in the towns a floating population of ‘unattached’ individuals with no family or clan background” (Beeston 1978: 16).

The presence of single names introduced by the relative pronoun is particularly unusual, because the relative is generally used to express affiliation to a family or group and follows the first name. For analogous cases, Beeston pointed out that such individuals may have been some kind of head of that group, however the presence of the relative pronoun as an indication of aristocracy can be recognized with certainty only in the late Himyarite period (Beeston 1978: 15-16). What follows is a comparison of our newly found names with the already known onomastic documentation divided according to its provenance. This is performed only for those names for which a complete reading is possible and not taking into account the number of homonyms.

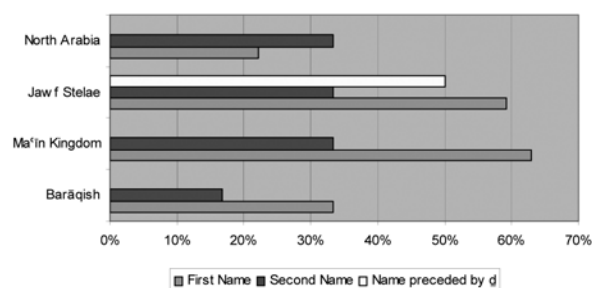


Figure 8. Percentage of matches between the names found in the Barāqish necropolis and the rest of the Minaean documentation.

<sup>3</sup> This explanation could be surely adapted in these more recent cases, even though I would like to stress that in others, like those of graffito names, the scribe probably wrote his name in an extemporaneous way, without any intention to stress his familial and social background with great precision.



In observing the comparisons between these names and those already known in Minaic, we can see a difference between first and second names (Fig. 8). The first names show more connections with the known Minaic documentation (comprising the Jawf stelae). This is easily understandable as these are some of the most common names in use, and are thus shared by individuals from different areas and social classes. Other connections can be found within the Barāqish documentation, the other Jawf funerary stelae and even with the Minaic texts from the north of the Arabian Peninsula. This indicates that the first names found in this necropolis were also in use across the Minaean area of influence. The funerary stelae from Jawf have been set apart because of their peculiarity and uncertain origin, as they all come from an unknown context. However, the fact that such onomastics present many similarities with this particular group is noteworthy.

The case of second names, which are of greater importance for the identification of the bearer's affiliation, is more complex. For these names the comparisons are very few, not only due to their numerical scarcity, but also because only one of the names is attested in the known Minaic documentation.

The presence of some homonyms in the group of second names is also to be stressed; three stelae are recorded in which the second name is *Mḥdr*.<sup>4</sup> This is one of the names for which we have not been able to find exact matches in the Minaic onomastics. As already pointed out, we can advance the hypothesis that the excavated structures were intended for someone who was not effectively buried there, since no bones were found in any grave (see above). If we add the fact that the names used (in particular the second names) have no strict connection with the Minaic onomastics, we can hypothesise that such individuals were connected in some way with the town of Barāqish, but that they were not in effect members of the community. The most plausible idea is that they were caravaneers engaged in commerce throughout the western side of the Peninsula, thus explaining why they used onomastics with some clear links to the Minaic tradition, but also to the Northern tradition, especially Safaitic (Agostini 2010: 69). The fact that three stelae bear the same group name could suggest that members of the same family were engaged in the same economic activity.

#### *Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl*

There is a greater quantity of data from Tamna<sup>c</sup>, primarily due to the abundant epigraphic material from stelae found during excavation and on the antiquarian market. There are then some 70 inscriptions from the city itself, which form a reasonably comprehensive account of the names of the inhabitants of Tamna<sup>c</sup>.

The Qatabanian necropolis has revealed the following modalities in proper name composition:

- a. Single Names (2 in total)

- b. Double Names juxtaposed to each other (9 in total)

- c. Double Names, the second being introduced by the relative *q-* (3 in total)

Most of the names on these Qatabanian stelae are double (personal name + family name), but we note a difference in the onomastic formula used. The name of the family group may be either simply juxtaposed or linked to the personal name by the relative pronoun *q-*. In this case we have not encountered the phenomenon of single names introduced by the relative as in Barāqish (see above). The presence of single names is moreover not as numerous as in Barāqish. Jamme (1952: 15-16) conjectured that these names belonged to members of the community who had not yet been fully integrated into the life of the city, such as individuals who had died young and who had thus not yet become fully-fledged-members of the town.<sup>5</sup>

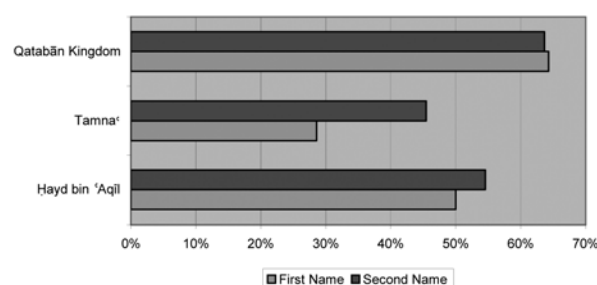


Figure 9. Percentage of matches between the names found in the Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl necropolis and the rest of the Qatabanic documentation.

The coherence between our documentation and that already known in the necropolis, in the town of Tamna<sup>c</sup> and, more generally, to Qatabanian onomastics, is considerable (Fig. 9). This is true for both first and second names. For this reason we can argue that such onomastics are totally in line with those already known as true “Qatabanian”, and we conclude that these graves were intended for the inhabitants of Tamna<sup>c</sup>.

Thanks to abundant material coming both from the town and the necropolis itself, and to the previous American excavation campaigns, we are able to carry out more extended comparisons and recognise consequently, among those buried in the cemetery, some of the family groups that feature in the inscriptions from the city. Jamme himself recognised four major families, which he called “les grand clans”: *Ḍrʿn*, *Ḍrḥn*, *Ygr*, *Ḡrbm* (Jamme 1952: 30-97). These groups can be very numerous and extended, and the palaeographic variations in the inscriptions that allude to the same family show them to have been strikingly long-lived. In the tombs we excavated in Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl we found three more attestations involving the *Ḍrʿn* family,<sup>6</sup> all of them coming from the same structure (Tomb 1).

<sup>4</sup> Stelae No.: B.05.D.O./11; B.05.D.O./23; B.06.D.O./27.

<sup>5</sup> Both of the stelae bearing single names are very small, and one was found very close to Tomb 4, which was surely intended for three young persons, as shown by the small dimensions both of the *loci* and of the bones.

<sup>6</sup> Stelae No.: T.03.C.T1.O./32; T.03.C.T1.O./36; T.03.C.T1.O./38.

Closer scrutiny of the findings reveals further interesting aspects. The three stelae which bear the same second name were found very close to each other,<sup>7</sup> so we can suppose that the original burials were also very close by. The onomastic formula used is different, since the use of the relative pronoun is only seen in one case. This suggests that the presence or absence of the relative was not a matter of social status, but probably due to other factors, such as the availability of space on the stela or, more simply, that there was no fixed pattern to be followed (Avanzini 2004: 319-320; Jamme 1952: 8; 25-26). We can hypothesise that in funerary contexts simplifications tended to be used, on account of having limited space for lettering, whereas in the case of official public inscriptions (like those put up in the city) the onomastic formula is invariably more extended and articulated. In the latter case, those responsible for a major construction or recorded as signing a legislative decree obviously had every interest in being identified in the most unequivocal way possible. This could explain why we have not found more complex formulas here, such as the presence of the patronymic, for instance, which is more frequent on monumental inscriptions. So, if the presence of a patronymic is an indicator of distinguished social status, the presence or absence of the relative indicating family affiliation may be a consequence of the type of text.

Near the stelae belonging to the *Dr̥n* family there is another which bears the second name *Hrn*,<sup>8</sup> which we know from other inscriptions to have been somehow related to the *Dr̥n* family. All these texts come from Tamna<sup>c</sup> (RES 3566 and VL 5) or from Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl (Ja 350) and are all dated between the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. These data suggest that Tomb 1 at least was primarily intended for members of the same enlarged family, including those affiliated after marriage. The large amount of material brought to light by the Americans cannot be investigated in the same way, because we do not know the exact position in which the stelae were discovered. This could have been of great help in confirming the use of these structures as “family chapels”. However, it can be recognized that one family (like that of *Dr̥n*) could have had different burial structures in different parts of the necropolis (since the areas excavated by the Americans and those we are studying here are distant from each other), and this could be the consequence of a chronological distance, i.e. depending on the availability of burial spaces over time. Besides, such large groups were probably divided into various sub-groups whose members, as time passed, no longer felt strong bonds even though they bore the same family name.

## Conclusions

With regard to the Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl cemetery, it may be assumed that it was mainly used for the families living in Tamna<sup>c</sup>, as demonstrated both by the onomastics and the necropolis’ architecture and layout. It is in fact possible to identify quarters of tombs which could be interpreted as genuine “funerary chapels”, intended for members of the same family. The architecture of the tombs, planned for subsequent extensions, is further evidence for this use. In the same way, the tomb plans correspond perfectly to what can be termed a modality of spatial organization informed by a single overall approach which has given shape to different kinds of structures. As de Maigret pointed out: “the South Arabian schema of the tripartite private house seems to be reflected, as well as in religious architecture, also in funeral architecture” (de Maigret 2002: 106).

At Barāqish, on the contrary, the cemetery plan is much less homogeneous, and the lack of an overall design can be primarily seen in the disorderly manner in which the pit-graves were built up. It is almost as if each new structure (which cannot be properly described as a “burial” in the absence of corpse) was simply made next to an earlier one, without any preordained criteria.

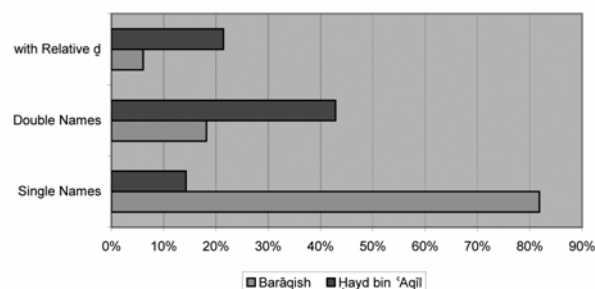


Figure 10. Comparison between the distributions of onomastic formulae used in the two investigated necropolises.

Moreover, whereas the onomastics have enabled the recognition some of those buried in Ḥayd bin ʿAqīl as citizens of Tamna<sup>c</sup>, the onomastics of the Minaean stelae suggest groups coming from elsewhere, in view of the many cross-references with northern Arabian onomastics. The absence of human bones remains an open question: if the necropolis of Barāqish is considered as a sort of cenotaph, this makes the identification of the ethnic background of the deceased even more difficult. As we have noted, there are many common elements with names from the north of the peninsula, and the lack of bodies strengthens the hypothesis that we are dealing with people who died beyond the borders of Minaean territory. But did they die elsewhere because they were not Minaeans or because they were Minaeans who happened to be elsewhere at the moment of their death? In the first case they would have been foreigners who certainly had some sort of contact with the inhabitants of Barāqish, otherwise why would they have had such a monument? In both cases it is likely that they were people engaged in commerce, perhaps caravaners who, whether Minaean

<sup>7</sup> All come from Locus 2 in Tomb 1. Since the tomb has been looted we cannot be totally sure of their original collocation, but we can suppose that they should not have been put very far away from the position in which have been discovered.

<sup>8</sup> Stela No.: T.03.C.T1.O./35.

or not, had developed relationships with the sedentary inhabitants of the city but did not “officially” belong there.

What is shown by the study of these two cemeteries is that at the turn of the millennium two of the most important South Arabian centres probably exhibited different forms of social and ethnic complexity: the capital of Qatabān was probably occupied by a society composed of large and long-lived family groups, whereas Barāqish, like other cities of the Jawf, was more exposed to the influence of small groups that originated from northern Arabia. This differentiation is revealed also by the two onomastic patterns: the family affiliation is clearer in the Tamna<sup>c</sup> necropolis, while in the cemetery from Barāqish this kind of specification is virtually absent (Fig. 10). This scenario suggests that we have not yet discovered the actual burial site of the urbanized citizens of Minaean Yathill.

### Sigla

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 RES 3566 Published in *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale (see also Avanzini 2004: 293-298).  
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#### Authors’ Addresses

Dr Sabina Antonini PhD  
Via Case sparse, 25  
I-06019-Umbertide (Perugia)  
sabantonini@tiscali.it

Dr Alessio Agostini PhD  
c/o Università degli Studi di Firenze  
Dipartimento di Linguistica  
Piazza Brunelleschi 3-4  
I-50121 Florence