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Regulation of conjugal relations in ancient Raybūn

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Two years ago several results of the initial stage of my investigations in the field of Raybūn epigraphy were presented to the Seminar for Arabian Studies. Since then the interpretation of the Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions discovered at this site by the Soviet Yemenite Complex Expedition (SOYCE) has been progressing steadily. Thanks to the fact that some of the most complicated formulae used in these texts, as well as the general scheme of drafting peculiar to dedications offered to the goddess Dāt Ḥimyam, had already been examined (Frantsouzoff 1995), it became possible to turn our attention to a thorough analysis of the actual inscriptions, particularly to an understanding of their content and of the cultural phenomena reflected in them. The first steps in this direction were taken in my papers delivered to the 2nd and 3rd Sabaeen Meetings (Rencontres sabéennes) in March 1995 and early February 1996.¹ As a result, on the basis of new epigraphic material, the interpretation of the term *grby-hn/ -n* as 'stonemason' has been confirmed and the high social status of this craftsman in the society of ancient Raybūn has been demonstrated (Frantsouzoff, in press, *a*). In addition, different types of oracles uttered in the Raybūn sanctuaries and a group of thanksgiving texts on stelae dedicated to Sin² on the occasion of recovery from disease have been explained (Frantsouzoff, in press, *b*).

Among the epigraphic monuments found in Raḥbān, one of the temples of Dāt Ḥimyam, there are two votive inscriptions, Rb I/84 no. 197a-e = SOYCE 705 and Rb I/84 no. 198a-f = SOYCE 706,³

which provide very interesting data about married couples of ancient Raybūn and the intervention of the priesthood in their conjugal relations. The revetment limestone slabs, which bear fragments of both texts, were excavated *in situ* directly on the western wall of building 3 (level 1).⁴ It should be noted that these two inscriptions of similar subject matter were attached to the same wall not far from each other. So the question arises whether the position of dedications in South Arabian temples bore any relation to their content. The peculiarities of script and spelling in both inscriptions suggest that they belong to the same palaeographic period designated by J. Pirenne as G (1990 : tabl. II), by G. M. Bauer as IV, and dated to the second to first centuries BC on the basis of SOYCE research (Bauer 1989 : 154 fig. 1; 1995 : 126 & pl. 2, 144 & pl. 3). It seems preferable to name this period 'classical', for it was marked by the burgeoning of a specific variety of South Arabian civilization in inland Ḥaḍramawt. The classical period in the history of Raybūn began with an abrupt change of script and orthography. The latter was altered, so that the character *ʔ* of the inscriptions was completely excluded from the system of writing and replaced by *s*.³ However, this reform of the spelling was not carried out in Šabwah, the capital of ancient Ḥaḍramawt, or in other cities of this region beyond the borders of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt and its lateral valleys. The reasons for such a reform remain obscure. It is possible that it was undertaken on the initiative of the local priesthood and was connected

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with some modifications of the cult (see Frantsouzoff, in press, *b*).

Rb I/84 no. 197a-e = SOYCE 705

Description

This text (Figs 1, 2) is inscribed on four rectangular slabs of different sizes (52.8 by 20.6 cm; 9.2 by 20.7 cm; 13.0 by 35.3 cm; 49.5 by 34.5 - 35.4 cm), the first of which is broken into two unequal parts. It was discovered in a very good state of preservation, almost all the characters are intact. The proportions of the signs (width: 1.7 - 2.2 cm; height: 6.0 - 6.2 cm) have a strong aesthetic effect on spectators and perhaps it is no mere chance that the ratio of width to half of a character's height is on average (1.95 : 3.05 = 0.639) close to the golden section (0.618).⁵ It is noteworthy that in the course of marking out the Raybūn inscriptions the masons drew upper and lower limits for every row of signs and then halved it with a horizontal line which was of great importance for the tracing and carving of signs. Bauer (1995) in his epigraphic diaries paid particular attention to the half-height of characters. In other words it appears that every character with the exception of *ʿ* and *w* is inscribed in two equal rectangles one above the other.

Text

1. *FṬNM/bn/LḤM/s¹qny/ # DṬḤMY # M/bḥ*
2. *thn/dtrḏwt/ʿlhns¹/D # ṬḤMY # M/bn*
3. *hy{/}/LR^cD/wbnmw/FṬNM/ # <l>s³tw # <r>/ḏw*
4. *yḥr/ʿ # m¹s³tm/ws¹wḥwr/ʿm/s²w^c*
5. *ts¹/ws³ # y/wrwtm/bmḥrmhn/mḥrm/D*
6. *<T>ḤMYM # DṬ/RḤBN/wtḏ¹/FṬNM/b²ḏn*
7. *<D>ṬḤMY # M/nfs¹s¹/w²ḏns¹/wr²bs¹/r²*
8. *s³/ḏy # n^cm*

Commentary

The structure of this text is standard for long Raybūn inscriptions found in the temples of Dāt Ḥimyam. It consists of three parts: a dedication of the votive phallus (*bḥt-hn*), a request for the remission of sins introduced by the formula *w-bn-mw/X/l-s³twr ...* ('and from X may be remitted (lit. removed) ...') and a final section represented by the formula *w-tḏ¹/X/b²ḏn/DṬḤMYM ...* ('and X placed under the will of Dāt Ḥimyam ...'). The 'narrative' section, which

begins with the conjunction *b-ʿbr/dt ...* ('because') and contains a more detailed description of the dedicant's actions, is missing here (cf. Frantsouzoff 1995 : 16, 18, 20-1). The first part of the text with the exception of the expression *bn hy{/}/LR^cD* as well as its closing part were interpreted earlier in full detail:

(1) Faṭanum, son of Laḥāʿamm, dedicated to Dāt Ḥimyam the (votive) phal-⁽²⁾lus, with which Dāt Ḥimyam was satisfied for his sake,⁽³⁻⁵⁾⁽⁶⁾ and Faṭanum placed under the will of ⁽⁷⁾Dāt Ḥimyam his soul and his will and by his reconciliation the reconcili-⁽⁸⁾ation with her which let be favourable (cf. Frantsouzoff 1995 : 17, 18, 21-2).

It should be added that the dedicant's name *FṬNM* has not so far been attested in either South Arabian, or in North Arabian epigraphy. It is to be compared, however, with al-Fityawn or al-Fiṭyūn - the nickname of the famous Judaic king (*malik*) of Yaṭrib ʿĀmir b. ʿĀmir, - the etymology of which is obscure, but it is certainly not Hebrew contrary to the erroneous statement of Ibn Durayd (Caskel 1966, I : Taf. 195; II : 247; Ibn Doreid 1854 : 259). As to the patronymic of the dedicant, Laḥāʿamm, it is certainly a local variety of the well known name Laḥayʿamm attested in the Qatabanian and Sabaean onomasticons.

The interpreted fragments of this inscription give no information about the reasons for its offering or the nature of a wrong action committed by the dedicant against the deity. The elucidation of these obscurities is to be found in the middle of the text which seems to be rather complicated and has no parallels among the South Arabian epigraphic monuments published to date.

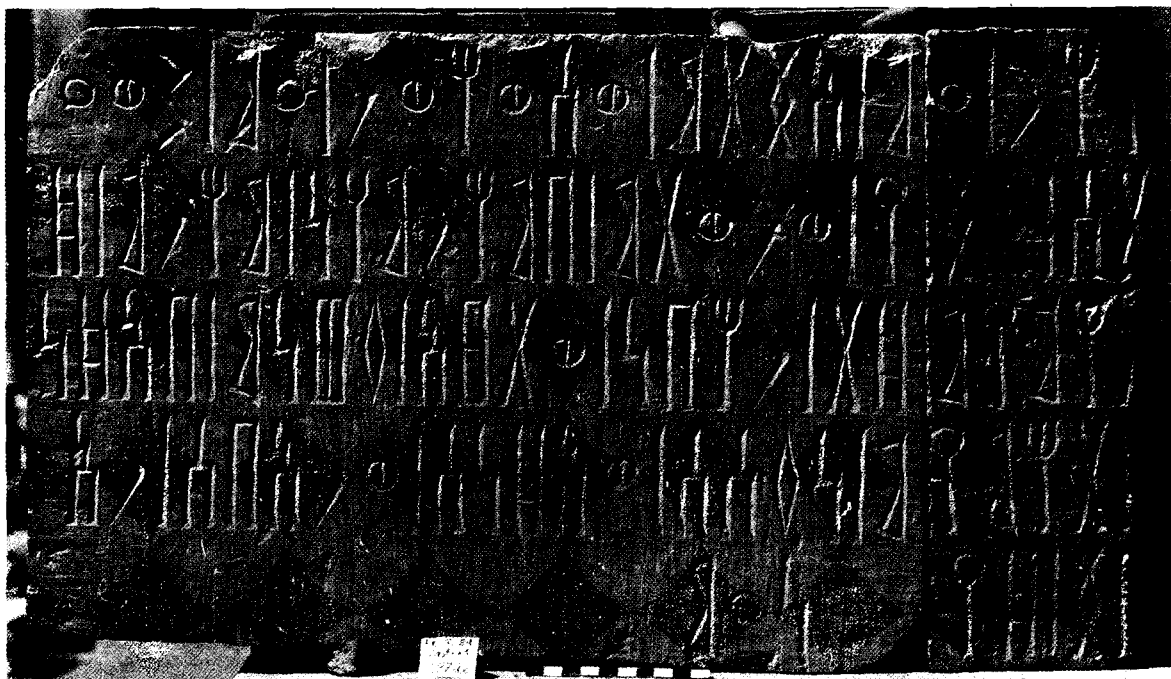
The expression *bn hy{/}/LR^cD*, for instance, is not attested outside Raybūn. Its spelling in the fragmentary inscription Rb I/88 no. 68 (line 3) with two dividing strokes (... *bn/hy^pLR^cD ...*)⁶ indicates that it consists of three separate words. The last of them appears to be a proper name Ilraʿad. The mention of 'the regulation that Ilraʿad was (usually) imposing on him' (*fḥ/fḥt-s¹/LR^cD*) and of 'the regulation that she imposed on him' (*fḥ/fḥt-s¹*) in SOYCE 706 (lines 5, 6), examined below, put an

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FIGURE 1. SOYCE 705 (Rb I/84 no. 197a-c) beginning of the inscription.



FIGURE 2. SOYCE 705 (Rb I/84 no. 197d-e) end of the inscription.



end to doubt about the gender of this person, since both verbs are in the feminine (imperf. and perf., 3 sing.). The context suggests that she held an important position in the hierarchy of the temple Raḥbān. In all probability the term ^ʾmt in the damaged fragment Rb I/88 no. 129 (⁽¹⁾ *wb^ʾmt/DTIḤ[MYM/...]* ⁽²⁾ *ʾLR^cD/...*) is applied to Ilra^cad and means not simply 'devotee', but 'servant', i.e. 'priestess' of the goddess (see Beeston *et al.* 1982

: 5). By its structure and place in the text, the expression *bn ḥy{1}ʾLR^cD* resembles to some extent the passage *bn bhlls²t^r/wftqd* ('because of (in consequence of) the unfavourable oracle that he recognized and examined'), which is also used directly after the formula of the dedication of *bḥt-hn*, in Rb I/84 no. 183, *etc.* = SOYCE 732 (lines 2-3).⁷

No meaning suitable for such a context among the derivatives from the roots HWY and HWW has

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been found in Arabic or in other Semitic languages except the Modern South Arabian (MSA) languages. In Mehri the verb *hwū*, *whū/yēháyw/yēhēhēw*, which derives from the root *H̄WY*, has a specific significance: '(usually a woman to a man) to send, or cause to be sent, a confidential or secret message (usually in the earliest stage of marriage negotiations)' (Johnstone 1987 : 456). In Jibbāli the meaning of the verb *ahbē*, which despite its form is of the same derivation (*H̄WY*), is analogous: '(wife) to tell a secret (to her husband)', 'to catch (b-) someone alone for confidential talk' (Johnstone 1981 : 311).⁸ It is very important that *hy* also issued from a woman (Ira'ad) and seemed to be addressed to a man (Faṭanum). Taking into account the general religious content of the Raybūn epigraphic material as well as the sense 'oracle' of the term *bhl* used in a similar position, there are good reasons for the interpretation of the noun *hy* as 'a confidential message sent by a priestess to a worshipper of a deity (and probably inspired by this deity)'. In this case the whole expression may be translated 'because of (in consequence of) the confidential message of (the priestess) Ira'ad'.

The formula *w-bn-mw/Xl-l-s³twr* ... in SOYCE 705 is notable for a specific feature: the verb *s³twr* is followed by *dw* instead of *d* which is normally used in that position. Both forms, however, are attested in Qatabanic for the relative pronoun of m. sing. (Beeston 1962 : § S 40:1; 1984 : § Q 25:1). It is obvious now that the same phenomenon was present in Hadramitic (Frantsouzoff, in press, b).

The key to the interpretation of the passage after *dw* lies in two terms, *s³t-m* and *s²w^ct-s¹*. The first, which derives from the root *ʔNT*, is common to all the epigraphic Sayhadic languages, where its spelling is rather variable (*ʔntt*, *ʔtt* (sing.), *ʔnt*, *ʔntt*, *ʔnt* (pl.) in Sabaic; *ʔtt* (sing.) in Qatabanic; *ʔnt*, *ʔntt* (sing.), *ʔntht* (pl.) in Minaic), and has two general meanings 'woman' and 'wife' (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 7; Ricks 1989 : 14; Arbach 1993, I : 6). The fragmentary context *s³t-m/dt* ... in Rb I/84 no. 6 = SOYCE 546 clearly demonstrates that *s³t-m* in Hadramitic is a form of the singular.⁹ There is no doubt that in Rb I/90 no. 143 = SOYCE 2306 (lines 1-2) the expression *h-ʔhhy/s³t-n* signifies 'for the brothers of the wife'. In SOYCE 705 the use of *s³t-m* in the absolute state with mimation, which does

not always correspond to the English indefinite article, gives no grounds for the conclusion that it was logically undefined and meant 'a woman'. Therefore the choice between 'woman' and 'wife' for the translation of *s³t-m* depends on an accurate interpretation of the whole passage.¹⁰

The term *s²w^ct*, which is to be compared with *s²t* 'spouse' in Sabaic texts of the monotheistic period, is already attested in Hadramitic. The general context of al-Oqm/1977, which mentions the dedication of a child (*wld-m*) to some goddesses (*ʔlhty/...*),¹¹ when the author's spouse was recovering from a disease (*w-m/tbr/s²w^ct-s¹/bn/m[rđ ...]*), gives conclusive proof that *s²w^ct* in Hadramitic had the same meaning as *s²t* in late Sabaic. It should be noted that in post-classical Yemeni Arabic *šāʿah* also signifies 'spouse' (Piamenta 1990-1, 1 : 271).

The verbs *yhr* and *s¹whwr* obviously derive from the same root, the first of them being in the imperfect of the base-stem (3 m. sing.), the second in the perfect of the causative stem (3 m. sing.). But to what root are they to be related? The form *yhr* implies three possible derivations, *viz.* from the root with *w* as first radical (WHR), with *w* as middle radical (HWR) or with doubled second letter (HRR) (see Beeston 1962 : §§ 23:2, 6, 10; 1984 : §§ 5:10, 11). The two occurrences of *w* in *s¹whwr*, one of which undoubtedly corresponds to a radical, permit us to exclude the third possibility. It is worthy of note that a form such as *s¹whwr*, with *w* after the causative prefix and another between two radicals, which in both cases seem to render the diphthong,¹² has no parallels in any Semitic language with the exception of Mehri.¹³ In that MSA language the causative and causative-reflexive stems of the verbs with initial *w* are represented either by the type *hēf^cūllšēf^cūl* (*hēwrūd* from WRD, *šēwgūs* from WĜS) or by the type *hēf^cāwllšēf^cāwl* (*hēwqāwf* from WQF, *hēwšāwf* from WŠF, *hēwšāwl* from WŠL, *šēwhāws* from WHŠ) (Johnstone 1987 : XLIII, XLI, 425, 427, 431). The latter seems to be due to the transformation of [ū] into [aw] under the influence of the glottalized radicals like [q], [š], [d], [t] or the pharyngal [ħ] (see Johnstone 1987 : XLIV, n. 1). Therefore the presence of *h* in *s¹whwr* probably testifies to the existence of a similar phenomenon in Hadramitic.¹⁴ The forms *hēwšāwb*, *šēwšāwb* (of type *hēf^cāwll šēf^cāwl*), that derive from the 'hollow' root

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ṢWB, constitute also a type in the paradigm of the verbs with medial *w*, but according to Johnstone this came into being, in place of ordinary types such as *hēnwūf* or *šēgēwēb*, as a result of the transposition of the initial and medial radicals (ṢWB → WSB) and of the above mentioned change of the long vowel [ū] into the diphthong (Johnstone 1987 : XLIV and n. 1, LXI, LXV). Thus, from a grammatical point of view, it seems preferable to consider *s¹wḥwr* as a derivative of WHR, not of HWR.

As for the semantics, the various meanings of the verb *hwr* and of its causative stem in the Sayhadic languages - which can be reduced to two basic notions, viz. 'to be ordained/to ordain' and 'to settle in a town' - do not conform to the context, where some action with a woman or wife (*yhr^r/m²s³t-m*) and with the author's spouse (*w-s¹wḥwr^r/m²s²w^ct-s¹*) are implied.¹⁵ Although the derivatives of the root WHR occur rarely in Semitic languages, the Arabic verb *waḥira* (*yahīru*, *yawḥaru*, *yayḥaru*) has a rather suitable meaning 'to be angry', 'to be irritated, annoyed', 'to hate', 'to be anxious, worried' (Ibn Manẓūr 1300-7, 7 : 143), 'être animé de colère ou de haine contre (*alā*) quelqu'un' (de Biberstein Kazimirski 1860, II : 1499). In the causative stem it means *asma'a-hu mā yaḡīzu* 'he made him listen to something annoying' (al-Zabīdī 1306, 3 : 600).¹⁶ Since there is no direct object after *s¹wḥwr* it is better to propose a slightly different interpretation of this causative form: 'to provoke an angry quarrelling, conflict, disagreement, discord'. Hence the passage *yhr^r/m²s³t-m/w-s¹wḥwr^r/m²s²w^ct-s¹* may be translated in the following way: 'he was becoming angry with the woman and provoked the angry conflict with his spouse.'

It is evident that the terms *s³t-m* and *s²w^ct-s¹* designate in this context the same person, i.e. the author's wife, and their use is for stylistic reasons only (cf. 'wife' and 'spouse' in English).¹⁷ The verb in the perfect *s¹wḥwr* certainly renders here a completed momentary action and refers to a concrete quarrel between the spouses, while the form *yhr* describes an iterative (or perhaps continuous) action in the past, which is typical for the imperfect in the Raybūn inscriptions (Frantsouzoff 1995 : 25, n. 24; in press, *b*), and thus alludes to the general discord in their relations.

The expression *w-s³y/wrwt-m/b-mḥrm-hn* is also

difficult to interpret. Though the noun *wrwt-n* was attested in Sabaic long ago (as-Sawdā' 29 = CIH 320 line 2), it still remains completely obscure (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 162; Avanzini 1995 : 127).¹⁸ On the other hand, the meaning of the verb *wrww* (pl.) mentioned in RÉS 3945 (line 13) is clear: 'to attack' (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 162). It has etymological parallels in other Semitic languages, especially in Ge'ez: *wārāwā* 'to throw', 'to cast off (down or forth)', *wārāw* 'javelin, dart' (Leslau 1987 : 618). In post-classical Yemeni Arabic the form III of WRY, *wārā*, probably means 'to violate the honour of a woman' (Piamenta 1990-1, 2 : 522). The word *wrw-m* inscribed on the scabbard discovered by French archaeologists among the treasures of Wādī Ḍurā' (Ḍurā'-Tombe 45 A) provides evidence that in Hadramitic¹⁹ the root WRW belonged to the same semantic range, since 'Piercing' or 'Striking' would seem to be a good name for a sword. Given the religious content of almost all the inscriptions from Raybūn, the term *wrwt-m* appears to signify 'an act that hurts a deity', 'an insult or an injury to it', i.e. 'a sacrilege', as a kind of indirect assault on divine commandments and ritual.

The form *w-s³y* is certainly a verb with 2nd and 3rd weak radicals which has not yet been attested in the Sayhadic languages. The initial letter of its root may correspond either to *tā²* or to *sīn* in Arabic. Among possible parallels there is a verb *sawwā* (from SWY) in the sense 'to do, to make' (originally 'to make level or straight') represented in the dialect of Daḡīnah as well as in some other dialects of the Yemen and Oman. One of the derivatives from the same root, *sā* (*yisī*), employed in the expression *yisī 'l-munkur* 'il commet des actions reprouvables' (de Landberg 1920-42, 3 : 2004-5)²⁰ is of considerable interest, for this particular meaning 'to commit (reprehensible actions)' fits very well into the context *w-s³y/wrwt-m/b-mḥrm-hn*, which in this case can be rendered as 'and he committed sacrilege in this temple'.

Translation

(1) Faṭānum, son of Laḥā'amm, dedicated to Dāt Ḥīmyam the (votive) phal⁽²⁾lus, with which Dāt Ḥīmyam was satisfied for his sake, in consequence of (3) the confidential message of (the priestess) Ilra'ad; and from Faṭānum may be removed

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(remitted) that ⁽⁴⁾ he was becoming angry with the woman and provoked the angry conflict with his ⁽⁵⁾ spouse and committed sacrilege in this temple, in the temple of Dāt ⁽⁶⁾ Ḥimyam dāt Raḥbān, and Faṭanum placed under the will of ⁽⁷⁾ Dāt Ḥimyam his soul and his will and by his reconciliation the reconciliation ⁽⁸⁾ with her which let be favourable.

It is not clear from this context if the expression *b-ḥrm-hn* relates to all the passage after *ḏw* or only to the last sentence beginning with *w-s³*, i.e. whether the quarrel of Faṭanum with his spouse was considered sacrilege, because it took place in the temple Raḥbān, or every serious conflict between spouses in ancient Raybūn was put on the same footing as violation of the temple ritual. In any case it seems to be no mere chance that conjugal relations were regulated by the priestess of the goddess Dāt Ḥimyam. The interpretation of SOYCE 706 given below confirms this conclusion.

Rb I/84 no. 198 a-f = SOYCE 706

Description

The inscription (Figs 3 - 6) was carved on six rectangular slabs one of which has not been discovered. The first of them (38.0 by 23.9 cm) is broken on the right side and split in two (parts a and b). The slabs c (Fig. 4, right; 12.2 by 25.4 cm) and e (Fig. 5; 46.3 by 35.1 - 35.35 cm) were found in a satisfactory condition, whilst d (Fig. 4 left; 46.3 by 25.6 cm) was split into six pieces. Only a fragment of the last slab, marked as f (Fig. 6; width: 9.3 cm), has been preserved. As is the case with a considerable proportion of the epigraphic monuments excavated at this site, the inscription was coated with red paint. The slabs were scorched in the fire that destroyed ancient Raybūn. The characters of this text are narrower than those of SOYCE 706 (width: 1.5 - 1.8 cm; height: 6.2 cm).

Text

1. [QN]Y²L/bn/S³RTMM/s¹ # [qny/DT/HMY]
2. M/bḥthn/wbnmw/QNY # [P²L/s³twr/ḏw]
3. ynsf/ḏyḏl/P²LR^cD/w #
4. m/kḏ # l¹P²LR^cD/wyr^cd/hS³cMR/w
5. ḏw/yng # m/bn/fth/fths¹P²LR^cD/ws¹
6. nḡm/bn # fth/fths¹/m{/}/s²w^cts /wt<ḏ>
7. ²l¹b²ḏn/DT/HMYM/nfs¹s¹/w² # ḏns¹/[wb]

8. r²bs¹/r²bs³/ḏyn^cm

Commentary

In contrast to SOYCE 705 the beginning of this text is marked with many lacunae. Even the author's personal name has not been entirely preserved. But it is possible to restore it thanks to the fact that only two initial characters before Y²L are missing in line 1, while in line 2 after the preposition *bn-mw*, which in Raybūn inscriptions introduces the formula with *s³twr* and is always followed by a proper name (see Frantsouzoff 1995 : 20-1),²¹ three characters, QNY, are intact. The coincidence of the third letter y in both cases suggests the possibility that the dedicant was called QNY²L (Qanay²il). This name, however, is not attested in the onomasticon of pre-Islamic Arabia. But the element QNY forms part of two North Arabian composite proper nouns *BDQNY* and *ZDQNY* (Lankester Harding 1971 : 296, 400). The comparison of North and South Arabian personal names like *BDMK*, *BDMLK*, *BDYT^cM^cBDYT^cN*, *BDWD*, *ZDWD/ZYDWD*, *ZDS²MS¹*, on the one hand, and *MK²L*, *MLK²L*, *YT^cL*, *WD²L*, *S²MS¹²L*, on the other hand (*op. cit.* : 296, 297, 305, 358, 400-2, 561, 565, 637, 658), demonstrates that in principle the second element of proper nouns preceded by *BD* or *ZD/ZYD* could be employed as the first element followed by ²L. Thus the name QNY²L proves to be in complete conformity with the structure of ancient Arabian composite names and its existence is quite possible.²² The name of the dedicant's parent, *S³RTMM*,²³ which probably derives from the quadriliteral root S³RTM, was also previously unknown.

SOYCE 706 is distinguished from the majority of Raybūn texts by the lack of the relative clause with the verb *rdwt* which defines the votive object. The restoration of *l-s³twr* in line 2 after *w-bn-mw* is obvious, while *ḏw* instead of *ḏ* is inserted here by analogy with the use of the same relative pronoun in line 5 and in SOYCE 705.

On the whole the translation of the two initial lines of SOYCE 706 as well as its final section (lines 6 - 8) offers no difficulty:

⁽¹⁾ [Qana]y²il, son of ŠRTMum, de[dedicated to Dāt Ḥimy-]⁽²⁾am the (votive) phallus and from Qanay[²il may be removed (remitted) that] ^(3 - 5).....

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FIGURE 3. SOYCE 706 (Rb I/84 no. 198a-b) beginning of the inscription.



FIGURE 4. SOYCE 706 (Rb I/84 no. 198c-d) middle of the inscription.



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FIGURE 5. SOYCE 706 (Rb I/84 no. 198e) towards the end of the inscription.

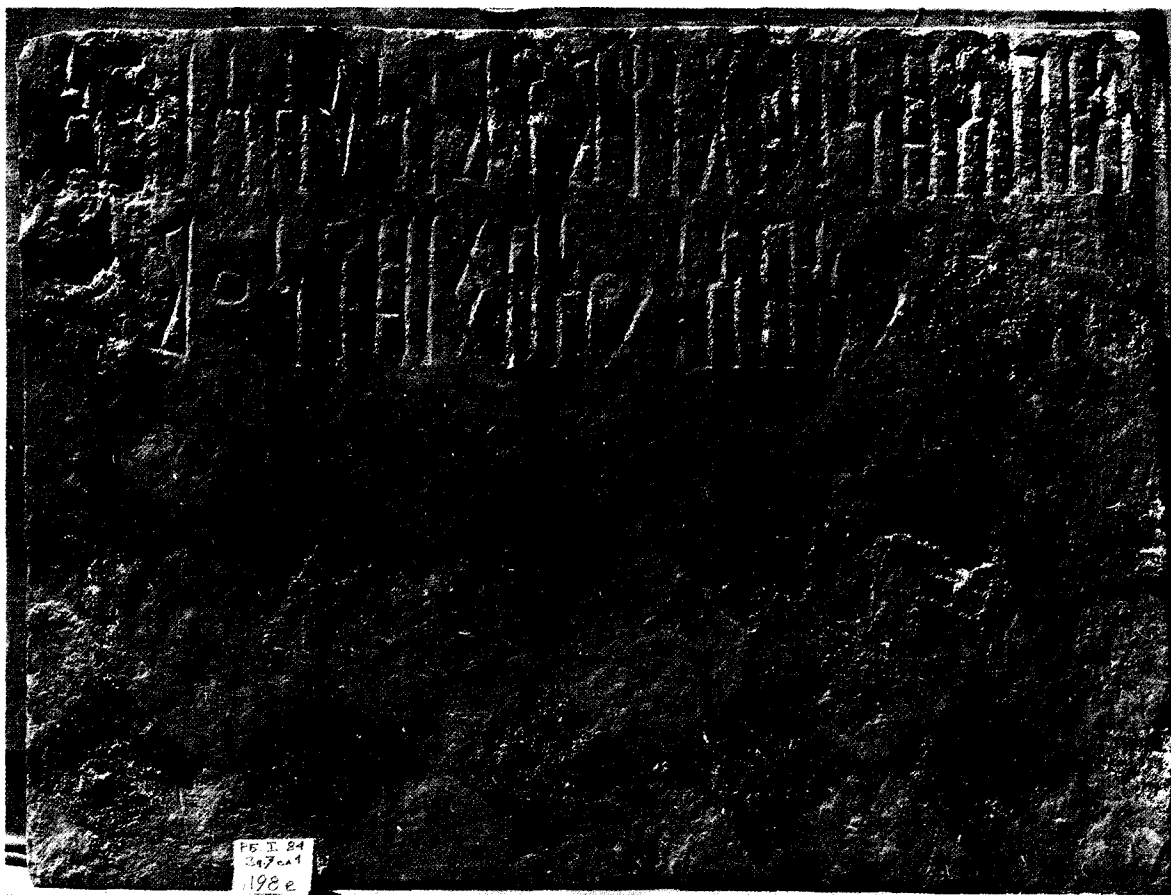


FIGURE 6. (Rb I/84 no. 198f) end of inscription.

(6) and he pla-⁽⁷⁾ced under the will of Dāt Ḥimyam his soul and his will [and by] ⁽⁸⁾ his reconciliation the reconciliation with her which let be favourable.²⁴

In the passage *ynsfd-ydl'LR'D* the first verb which is already attested in the epigraphy of Raybūn in the same sense as in Sabaic 'to perform rites' (Rb I/84 no. 196, *etc.* - SOYCE 708 (line 3) - Frantsouzoff 1995 : 19; *cf.* Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 99), is followed by a relative clause with an imperfect form *ydl* apparently deriving from the root DLL. But the meaning of *dll* in Sabaic, 'to fall sick of an epidemic' (*op. cit.* : 41), does not fit this context, where the direct object after *ydl* is expressed by a proper name. The semantic range of the Arabic verb *dalla* 'to err,

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stray, go astray', 'to deviate from the right way, or course' (*ḍallaʿ al-ṭariqah*), 'to miss, lose' and especially of its form IV *aḍalla-hu* 'he, or it, made him, or caused him, to err, stray, or go astray, etc.' (Lane 1863-93, V : 1796-7) seems to conform well to this section of SOYCE 706. It should be noted that this verb can sometimes have the same meaning in form I and in form IV; for instance, *ḍalla fulān^{um} baʿīra-hu* or *aḍalla fulān^{um} baʿīra-hu* which both mean 'such a one lost his camel' (*op. cit.* : 1796). Thus it seems possible to interpret the Hadramitic verb *ydl* used in the base-stem on the pattern of *aḍalla* in Arabic: 'to cause to err, to deceive, to lead into error, to mislead, to delude'.²⁵ As appears from the above, the dedicant 'was performing as rites something that was misleading Ilraʿad'.

The lacuna at the end of line 3, which covers approximately 20 cm or 10-11 signs (2-3 words), unfortunately cannot be restored and makes the general sense of this passage obscure. This missing fragment obviously contained a new sentence introduced by *w-* which probably gave some additional information about the breach of rites committed by the dedicant. The subordinate clause that relates to it *k-ḍl^lLR^cD* is, however, intact. The verb *ḍl* has been attested only in Minaic in the unique context of M 87 (line 2), and its interpretation is a matter of serious difficulty (Arbach 1993, I : 30). In Arabic *ḍaʿula* 'to be, or become, small in body, small, slender, thin, despicable, abject, ignominious, lean, spare' (Lane 1863-93, V : 1760) is intransitive. Its meaning as well as those of its other forms (III, VI, VIII) cannot be accepted for this context. By contrast, a parallel with *ṣāʿalā* 'to rebuke, reprove, reproach, offend, abuse, outrage, insult, etc.', which in Geʿez had various spellings, *i.e.* *ṣāʿalä, ḍäʿalä* (Leslau 1987 : 543), seems promising. It is possible to connect its etymology with the root *ḍ^lL*.²⁶ In this case *k-ḍl^lLR^cD* means 'when he (*i.e.* the dedicant) offended Ilraʿad'.²⁷

The expression *w-yr^cd/h-S³MR* is to be compared with *raʿada la-hu* 'he threatened him, or menaced him' in Arabic (Lane 1863-93, III : 1105). Even the government of both verbs is similar (*cf.* *h-* and *la-*). Šaʿmar is certainly a proper noun like ŠRTMum. The names, which derive from quadriliteral roots, occur in other Raybūn inscriptions (*cf.* 'Akrabum in

Rb I/90 no. 2, line 1; 'Ašḍar in Rb XIV/89 no. 1, line 9), while among common nouns such roots are extremely rare in Hadramitic as well as in the Sayhadic languages in general (Beeston 1962 : § 17:3). The translation 'and he was threatening Šaʿmar' raises no problems. But who was Šaʿmar: a man, a woman, perhaps the dedicant's wife? The context gives no answer to this question.

The second part of the section introduced by the formula *w-bn-mw/X/l-s³twr/* ... is of great value for the reconstruction of religious life in ancient Raybūn, since it resembles the corresponding section of SOYCE 705, even in its syntax: *ḍw/ynḡm/bn/fṭḥ/fṭḥ-s¹/LR^cD/w-s¹nḡm/bn fṭḥ/fṭḥ-s¹/m{/s²w^ct-s¹...*

In the first sentence the predicate is expressed by a verb-form of the base-stem imperfect, in the second the verb of the same derivation in the perfect of the causative stem is employed in the similar position (*cf.* *ḍw/ynḡm/.../w-s¹nḡm/...* and *ḍw yhr/.../ws¹whwr/...*). The common root of *ynḡm* and *s¹nḡm* appears to be NḠM, but a semi-circle after *s¹* at the very end of line 5 implies a restoration *s¹<w>* and casts doubt on this. It is not possible to assume, however, that the root in question is WNḠ. First of all, it is attested neither in Arabic, nor in the other Semitic languages. Although mimation of the imperfect occurs in Raybūn epigraphy (Frantsouzoff 1995 : 15, 19, 23, n. 5, 25, n. 24), its possible use in the perfect would be without parallel. As to *s¹<w>nḡm*, this verb-form is doubtless in the perfect on the analogy of *fṭḥ-s¹* in the following subordinate clause. Besides that, the left edge of the slab *d* seems to have been slightly bevelled. The last character of the following line (line 6) *ḍ* is situated just under *s¹*. Was there enough space for the full circle of the sign *w* after *s¹*? It should be borne in mind that mistakes occur rather often in the texts from Raybūn. In Rb I/83 no. 33 = SOYCE 190 (line 2) the initial character of the divine name 'Attarum was superimposed on *s¹*, for the engraver intended at first to write the name of Šin. In Rb I/84 no. 178, *etc.* = SOYCE 729 (line 1) the last letter in the dedicant's name Šarḥ was transformed from *ṭ* into *ḥ*. In Rb I/90 no. 6 = SOYCE 2170 *w* with a vertical line over it demonstrates that the engraver began to carve *q* instead of *w* in the expression *w-qny-s¹*. In Rb I/90 no. 64 = SOYCE 2228 there is a dividing

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stroke erroneously inserted in the name of the goddess (*HM/YM*). In Rb V/91 no. 61, *etc.* (line 5) *b-wbr* was inscribed instead of *b-^cbr*. The list can be extended.

There are good reasons to suppose that the engraver of SOYCE 706 confused at first *s'ngm* with *s'whwr*, for the meanings of both verbs prove to be very similar.²⁸ In MSA languages the semantic range of the derivatives from *ngm* is in perfect conformity with this context. They signify in Ḥarsūsi: *neḡam* 'to get angry, be angry', *anḡōm* 'to anger, make angry', *nātḡem* 'to get angry', *ṣenēḡem* 'to be angry with, argue with, quarrel with' (Johnstone 1977 : 95); in Jibbāli: *naḡám* '(wife) to be angry', 'to refuse (a husband his) conjugal rights', 'to be angry with a relation or close friend', *enḡím* 'to anger one's wife, alienate one's wife's affections', *ṣinīḡēm* '(married couple) to separate' (Johnstone 1981 : 185); in Mehri: *nēḡm* '(wife) to be angry, be angry and refuse her husband his conjugal rights', *hēnḡáwm* 'to anger (one's wife)', *nātḡēm* 'to get angry', *ṣēnēḡēm* 'to be angry, quarrel with one another.' (Johnstone 1987 : 288-9).

It follows from all this that in Hadramitic the base-stem of *ngm* can be interpreted with a certain vagueness as 'to have a family quarrel', 'to take part in a family quarrel' and its causative stem as 'to provoke a family quarrel'.

The term *ftḥ* 'judicial order', 'order, directive', 'decree' is well known in all the Sayhadic languages (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 47; Ricks 1989 : 132; Arbach 1993, I : 34), but in this context, where the intervention of the temple authorities, not of the secular political power is implied, I prefer to ascribe to it a more neutral meaning 'regulation'. As Korotayev has already established for the Sabaic language by analogy with *dmr/b-^cm* 'to give judgement in favour of someone,' (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 39), the verb *hftḥ*, when it governs an indirect object with the preposition *b-^cm*, means 'to make a judicial decision in favour of someone.' (*cf.* Fa 76 (line 8) reinterpreted in Korotayev 1995 : 93-4). Since the forms *^cm* and *b-^cm* are interchangeable, the same sense of this preposition in the expression *ftḥ-s'/^cm{/s²w^ct-s'* is to be revealed in line 6.

Thus the dedicant expressed the wish to be forgiven for 'taking part in family quarrels because of the regulation that Ilra'ad was imposing on him

and provoked the family quarrel because of the regulation that she imposed on him in favour of his spouse ...'

Translation

⁽¹⁾ [Qana]y'il, son of ŠRTMum, de[dedicated to Dāt Himy-] ⁽²⁾ am the (votive) phallus and from Qanay[il may be removed (remitted) that] ⁽³⁾ he was performing as rites something that was misleading Ilra'ad and ⁽⁴⁾., when he offended Ilra'ad, and he was threatening Ša'amar, and ⁽⁵⁾ that he was taking part in family quarrels because of the regulation that Ilra'ad was imposing on him and pro- ⁽⁶⁾ voked the family quarrel because of the regulation that she imposed on him in favour of his spouse and he pla- ⁽⁷⁾ ced under the will of Dāt Himyam his soul and his will [and by] ⁽⁸⁾ his reconciliation the reconciliation with her which let be favourable.

Conclusions

The comparison of these two texts, SOYCE 705 and SOYCE 706, reveals many similarities between the situations described in them. In both cases Ilra'ad, priestess of the temple Raḥbān of the goddess Dāt Himyam, intervened between spouses who were quarrelling in order to adjust their conjugal relations. It is noteworthy that no mention of such events was discovered in the epigraphy of other Raybūn temples, even among numerous inscribed stelae from the temple Mayfa'ān of the god Sin. So the question arises whether there existed a certain division of functions between South Arabian deities, at least in the pantheon of ancient Ḥaḍramawt. The sphere of family life seemed to be under the protection of Dāt Himyam, while the recovery from disease was within the competence of Sin and perhaps of the goddess 'Attarum ('Aštārum) (see Frantsouzzoff, in press, b).

Conflicts between husband and wife are also referred to in some Middle Sabaean inscriptions which thereby constitute an indirect argument in corroboration of the correctness of our interpretation. For instance, Ja 700 relates a story of Barlat the Nashanite, a woman from a vassal group subject to the clan of Banū Maqārum, who asked a steward (*mqtwy*) of her seigneurs to return her son to her from her husband.²⁹ The separated spouses in this case were certainly involved in a serious

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conflict. The situation sketched in Ja 750 (lines 13-16) seems to be more similar to those represented in two texts from Raḥbān. The dedicants, *i.e.* Farrwalay Mayḥayān, his two sons and his wife Wadaʿ[*tān*?], made a request 'that Almaqah protect them against the ex[change of bl]ows (?), which might happen between him (*i.e.* Farrwalay) and his wife, [and that] Almaqah protect them against this excha[nge of blows] (?) with his wife' ⁽¹³⁾.... *l-h^cnn-hmw/ʔLMQH/bn/l* ⁽¹⁴⁾ [*hm-ʔn/d-yknn/byn-hw/w-byn/ʔtt-hw* ⁽¹⁵⁾ [*w-l-ʔh^cnn-hmw/ʔLMQH/bn/hwt/ lh* ⁽¹⁶⁾[*m-n*][*ʔ*]*b-ʔm/ʔtt-hw/...*].³⁰

In spite of some resemblances there are also considerable differences between the cases described in Ja 750 and in the Hadramitic inscriptions examined here. In the temple Awwām the devotees of Almaqah asked the god to prevent them from family troubles, considered as an everyday occurrence, though an unpleasant one. In Raḥbān the worshippers of Dāt Ḥimyam dedicated penitential texts from which it appeared that their conflicts with their wives were regarded as offences against the ritual, perhaps as sins. The regulation of their conjugal relations was under the jurisdiction of the priestess of the goddess and SOYCE 706 clearly states that in at least one case she gave a decision in favour of the woman. Here once more we come across the problem of the Arabian matriarchate which in the unanimous opinion of its numerous opponents was removed from the agenda of research and shelved long ago. But facts are stubborn things, especially when they are extracted from epigraphic monuments. The inscriptions excavated by SOYCE testify with certainty that in ancient Raybūn women played a considerable part in various spheres of life (see Frantsouzoff, in press, *c*). For instance, the priestess Ilfaʿal, who in accordance with the predominant prejudices of scholars was taken by Bauer for a man (1989 : 157), performed sacred ceremonies in the same temple as Ilraʿad. The texts mention that she not only gave orders to Šaraḥʿil, one of the goddess' devotees, probably in connection with his family affairs (*cf.* Rb I/90 no. 143 = SOYCE 2306 (lines 2-3) : *m²mrt/ʔmrt-s¹/ʔLF^cL*), but also participated in the reconstruction of Raḥbān which seems to have been undertaken under her guidance (*cf.* Rb I/89 no. 279, *etc.* interpreted in Frantsouzoff, in press, *a*). Thus some parts of the

theory suggested by Robertson Smith, who, by the way, asserted on the basis of medieval Arabic sources that in pre-Islamic Arabia women could be chosen as judges (1903 : 125-6, n. 1), have been corroborated by recently discovered material from Raybūn. I am sure that forthcoming excavations in the Arabian Peninsula, especially within the periphery of the South Arabian civilization, will provide us with new epigraphic evidence of the high social status of women and even of their supremacy in the ancient society of this region at the earliest stage in its history.

An important remark on comparative grammar is appended. If the existence of lexical parallels between Hadramitic and MSA (alone among the Semitic languages), such as *hy* and *hwū* as well as the derivatives from NĠM, can be explained by analogy with the term *r^cbt* (see Frantsouzoff 1995 : 19), the appearance of *w* after the 2nd radical in the perfect of the causative stem of verbs with initial *w*, which regularly occurs only in Mehri, but is now attested in *s¹whwr* in Hadramitic, suggests the idea of their close genetic affinity within the Semitic group.

Notes

- * The following conventions are used:
 - [] restoration of obliterated character
 - < > damaged character or doubtful reading
 - { } omitted character added by the editor
 - # break in the inscription.
- ¹ The Round Table, Archaeology and Epigraphy of Ḥaḍramawt, which took place in the environs of St. Petersburg on 4th March 1995 and the European Science Foundation Workshop, Civilisations de l'Arabie preislamique, held at Aix-en-Provence on 3rd February 1996.
- ² The conventional transcription of the divine name *S¹YN* is here accepted, though its real vocalization seems to be different. Pliny the Elder reported that in Šabwah (Sabota) they worshipped the god Sabin (Pliny *Nat. hist.* : XII. 14.63 (32.63)) whose name was pronounced as Savin according to the Latin phonetic rules of the first century AD. However, the reading Sayīn proposed by Robin (1994 : 102, n. 4) is not the only possible one, since in the medieval Arab tradition the legendary king SVYān (Sayān, Siyān

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- or even Suyān) is to be identified with this god (see Abdallah 1975 : 50).
- ³ The archaeological symbols used for the designation of Raybūn inscriptions have already been explained (Frantsouzoff 1995 : 23, n. 3). In addition, most of the texts found at this site, but unfortunately not all of them, were marked with epigraphic sigla consisting of the abbreviated name of the Expedition (SOYCE) followed by numbers.
- ⁴ The temple of Raḥbān consists of three buildings to which the SOYCE archaeologists allotted the numbers 2-4. As for building 1 at the same site, Raybūn I (Rb I), it was identified with the sanctuary of the goddess ʿAṭtarum/ʿAṣtarum.
- ⁵ This regularity proved to be typical of those Raybūn inscriptions which belong to the same palaeographic style. The value of the above-mentioned ratio for them fluctuates just around the golden section and not around two thirds (0.666...), for example.
- ⁶ Cf. also the restored fragment of Rb I/84 no. 193 = SOYCE 699 (line 2): ... *b]n/hy^pLR[^cD ...*
- ⁷ The interpretation of the formula with *bhl* is given in Frantsouzoff, in press, *b*.
- ⁸ The signs 'x', 'ə' and 'k', which in the works of Johnstone render the sounds [ħ], [ē] and [q], are replaced in this paper by *h*, *ë* and *q* to keep the uniformity of transcription and transliteration.
- ⁹ It seems that the assimilation of *n* was possible only in the singular of this noun, while in the plural *n* and *t* were probably divided by a vowel (cf. *untā* (sing.), *inā^tum*, *unū^tum*, *anātā* (pl.) in Arabic).
- ¹⁰ See Beeston 1962 : § 27:1: '...the form *ʔs¹m* needs to be rendered either 'a man' or 'the man' according to the context.' See also Beeston 1951 : 313-15 for a discussion of the function of mimation in Sayhadic.
- ¹¹ The form *ʔlhty*, that is used here in the construct state of the plural, not of the dual, as Pirenne supposed (1990 : 77), is known from two different expressions, *ʔlhty/mḥrm-s¹pLM* 'the goddesses of his (i.e. Sin's) temple Alīm' and *ʔlhty/hgr-hn/S²BWT* 'the goddesses of the city of Šabwah', in RÉS 2693 (lines 5, 6). Therefore it is difficult to propose a reliable restoration of the lacuna after *ʔlhty/...*
- ¹² The purely consonantal nature of the South Arabian system of writing is here accepted as self-evident.
- ¹³ In Ḥarsūsi the form *awṣāwl* (from WṢL) seems to be unique (Johnstone 1977 : 137). In Jibbāli this type of internal vowel change does not occur.
- ¹⁴ In Rb I/84 no. 196, etc. = SOYCE 708 (line 4) belonging to the same palaeographic period as SOYCE 705 the form *s¹wḏ²-s¹*, where *w* did not appear after *ḏ*, suggests the idea that in Hadramitic this phenomenon was a tendency, not a rule. It is not excluded, however, that the difference of spelling between *s¹wḥwr* and *s¹wḏ²* was due to the influence of the 3rd radical [ʔ].
- ¹⁵ Cf. *ḥwr*, *ḥr* 'to be ordained, be issued (command, decree)', *ḥḥr* 'to decree, ordain', *yḥwr* 'to settle (transitive and intransitive) in a town' in Sabaic (Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 73), *ḥwr*, *s¹ḥr* 'to order, to decree', *ḥwr* 'to establish, remain' in Qatabanic (Ricks 1989 : 61-2), *ḥwr*, *yḥr* 'être mis en vigueur, publier', *ys¹ḥwr* 'décréter, ordonner' in Minaic (Arbach 1993, I : 50). In Hadramitic the verb *ḥwr* in the sense 'to settle' or 'to emigrate' has been attested in Khor Rori 3 (lines 5-6) and 4 (lines 6-7) in the expression *w-ḥwr/ḥm-s¹/s²ltt/ḥty-m* 'and he settled along with himself three groups of immigrants (?)' (cf. Beeston 1976 : 42: 'and along with him there emigrated three *ḥty*-groups'; the other interpretations (Pirenne 1975 : 86, 89; von Wissmann [and Müller] 1977 : 55-6) are to be rejected; the term *ʔḥty-m*, which was also read as *ʔḥty-m* (von Wissmann [and Müller] 1977 : 55-6), still remains obscure). The noun *ḥwr* occurs in Rb XIV/89 no. 221 = SOYCE 2075 (line 7), where *ḥwr/QDT-HN* 'the settlers (or immigrants) of (the village of) Qudat-hān (identified with modern al-Quzah at ten kilometres' distance south of Raybūn)', are mentioned.
- At first sight the meaning 'to settle' of the verb *ḥwr* (with a possible form of its imperfect *yḥr*) as intransitive seems to be suitable for the context of SOYCE 705. But in that case the causative stem *s¹wḥwr* must be transitive, which is at variance with the lack of a direct object after it. In addition, from the semantic point of view *ḥwr* always implies the process of settling a group of people, not a single person, and in contrast to

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- Khor Rori 3 and 4 and to SOYCE 2075, no toponym is mentioned in SOYCE 705. So this assumption is proved to be wrong.
- Among the derivatives of the root ḤWR in other Semitic languages the Ge'ez verb *ḥorä* attracted our attention, for one of its secondary significances 'coire, inire' (Dillmann 1865 : 113), 'to have sexual intercourse' (Leslau 1987 : 249) fits well with the context of SOYCE 705. It is well known that the restriction or temporary interdiction of sexual life played an important role in the temple ritual of ancient peoples. But, as Dillmann has already stated, the use of *ḥorä* in this specific sense is euphemistic, mostly typical of the language of the Ethiopian Bible (1865 : 113-14). Therefore the reference to it in search of an etymological parallel with the epigraphic language of the polytheistic epoch would be too slight and unfounded.
- ¹⁶ In this edition of *Tāḡ al-ʿarūs* there is an obvious misprint: *yaḡītu* instead of *yaḡīzu*.
- ¹⁷ It should be noted that in Arabic the derivatives of WHR are attested not only in the dictionaries, but in the texts too. 'In my bosom ... there is an anger (*fī ṣadri ... waḥr^{un}*)', says a Ḥudaylī verse (Levin 1978 : 464).
- It must be emphasized once more that the mimation of $\text{ʾs}^3\text{t-m}$ is not an obstacle at all to its translation with 'the'. In addition to the rule mentioned above (see n. 10) Beeston cites 'a considerable number of instances of the ESA mimation employed in contexts where the notion of indefiniteness is wholly out of place' (Beeston 1951 : 313-15).
- ¹⁸ This is accounted for by the fragmentary and perhaps mutilated nature of the text copied by Ḥayyim Habṣḥūsh for Halévy. The attempt of Avanzini to connect *wrwt-n* with *awrā* (WR^c) 'to bring home (livestock) in the evening' in Ḥarsūsi (Johnstone 1977 : 136) and not in Mehri, as she stated by careless mistake (Avanzini 1995 : 127), is really hypothetical and cannot be accepted.
- ¹⁹ The forms of attached pronouns and of the causative prefix as well as the dedication to Sīn dū Alīm in other texts engraved on artefacts from this archaeological complex demonstrate that the written language employed by the owners of these treasures was Hadramitic (Breton & Bāfaqīh 1993 : 71-2; cf. Ḍurā²-Tombes 1, 2, 5).
- ²⁰ According to de Landberg the form *sā* was explained in different ways (1920-42, 3 : 2005). He probably meant that it could also derive from *sā^a* (SW²) 'to be evil, bad, etc.' (cf. also *sā^a-hu* 'he did evil to him'; Lane 1863-93, IV : 1457) in classical Arabic.
- ²¹ The restoration proposed by Bauer (unpublished) in the epigraphic diary of 1984 *w-bn-mw/qny-[s^l...]* is to be rejected, for there is no instance of the dedication of possessions (*qny*) to any deity in the formula with *s^lqny* at Raybūn and in ancient Ḥaḍramawt in general, though the term *qny* often occurs in the final formula of Raybūn texts (after *tq²*).
- ²² The proper nouns like *ʿBDWD* or *ʿBDQNY* can be interpreted as 'slave (or devotee) of Wadd (or Qanay)', their second element being the deity's name or epithet. The name *WD^L* certainly means 'Wadd is god'. So *QNY^L* appears to signify 'Qanay is god'. Unfortunately, no mention of Qanay outside the onomasticon is known.
- ²³ It is not excluded that *S³RTMM* was a woman's name, for the matrilinear system of kinship occurred sometimes in ancient Raybūn (see Frantsouzzoff, in press, *a*).
- ²⁴ The formula with *tq²* from SOYCE 706 has already been translated (Frantsouzzoff 1995 : 22). Unfortunately its transliteration was reproduced there with an obvious misprint: [*w/wb*] instead of [*wb*]. This restoration at the end of line 7 corresponds well to the width of the lacuna (2.8 cm), which could not cover more than two characters, and is based on the analogy with *Rb I/89* no. 291, etc., line 11-[12]: *b-r²b-s^l/w-wld-s^l/r²b-s³/d-yn^c[m]* (*ibid.*).
- ²⁵ The term 'form I' and 'form IV' have been used for Arabic verbs and 'base-stem' and 'causative stem' for ESA (Epigraphic South Arabian) verbs.
- ²⁶ It is well known that in medieval Ge'ez the signs *ṣādāy* and *dāppā*, *ʿāyn* and *alēf* did not differ in pronunciation and were often confused.
- ²⁷ This meaning of *d²l* seems suitable for the context of M 87 (lines 1-3) too: ... *b-ywm/d²l/hl/mn/ybr²hl/HNWN* ... 'when he offended (or rather reproached) those who were transgressing the boundaries (?) of the clan of HNWN'.
- ²⁸ It is not excluded, however, that the prefix *s^lw-*

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could be employed in the causative stem of the verb *nġm* by analogy with the enigmatic form *s'wkbr* attested in the fragmentary context of as-Sawdā' 69 = M 110 = RÉS 2885 (line 1).

²⁹ This text has already been examined in detail by Irvine (1967), Beeston (1983 : 9) and Korotayev (1995 : 92).

³⁰ The restorations *l[h̄m-]n* and *lh̄[m-n]* are here proposed instead of *l[h̄b-]n* and *lh̄[b-n]* accepted by Jamme who interpreted this term as 'contentions', although the meaning of *lahaba* in Arabic 'to slap, strike with the open hand' (Lane 1863-93, VII : 2656) implies a more concrete translation. The root *LHB*, however, is not attested in South Arabian epigraphy, while the word *lhm-m* occurs in the expression *w-s'b byn-hmy/lhm-m/b'ly/hwt/wld-n* 'and an exchange of blows was provoked between them both (i.e. between the steward and the husband of Barlat) because of this child' in Ja 700 (lines 10-11) (cf. Beeston *et al.* 1982 : 82, 123).

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