EUROPEAN UNION
AND
ENPI CBC MEDITERRANEAN SEA BASIN PROGRAMME
ENPI CBCMED. Cross-border Cooperation in the Mediterranean.

**MEDINA PROJECT**

Project Coordinator
Alessandra Avanzini

Technical Coordinator
Annamaria De Santis

**EXHIBITION**

Insights into Ancient South Arabia. The Collection of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale “G. Tucci” in Rome

**CATALOGUE**

Concept
Rocío Ferreras Méndez

Articles Authors
Alessandra Avanzini
Paola D’Amore
Alexia Pavan
Irene Rossi

Cards Authors
Alexia Pavan
Irene Rossi

Translations
Claudia Alborghetti

Edition and Production
MagoProduction

Photography
Paolo Ferroni (Archivio Fotografico MNAO)

Graphic Design
Rocío Ferreras
Irene Farré

Printing and Binding
Dedalo - Pisa

This publication has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union under the ENPI CBC Mediterranean Sea Basin Programme. The contents of this document can under no circumstances be regarded as reflecting the position of the European Union or of the Programme’s management structures. It is a non-venal edition.

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MEDITERRANEAN network for the valorization and fruition of inscriptions preserved in museums [http://medina.cfs.unipi.it/] is a two-year project funded by the European Union with the ENPI - CBC Med programme in 2012. The project aims to enhance awareness, both in the local and in the international community, of the cultural heritage of some of the most important Ancient Near Eastern civilizations, as a necessary step for its future preservation.

The project is partly focused on the literate societies of the Phoenicians and Nabataeans, for which writing was essential to several aspects of their organization: bureaucracy, commerce and religion. Far less known than the Phoenicians and the Nabataeans – but for the story of the Queen of Sheba’s visit to Solomon, or the myth of Arabia Felix in the classical world – the South Arabian civilization appeared at the end of the second millennium BC on the southern borders of the Near Eastern world, where the Arabian Peninsula looks out onto the Indian Ocean. Thanks to the ingenious exploitation of water resources, the production of frankincense (the aromatic resin of the Boswellia Sacra tree) and its export to the rest of Arabia, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, the kingdoms of South Arabia flourished until the sixth century AD in the area of current Yemen.

The surviving epigraphic texts in the Phoenician, Nabataean and South Arabian languages – all written in alphabetic scripts – are a rare treasure chest
of interesting historical elements of these three civilizations: thousands of names for deities, kings, men, women, cities, temples, palaces are mentioned in the official documents created to send messages through the exposure to the general public, conveying their concept of power or religion. Their importance is rightly assessed if considering that the history of the ancient Phoenician cities and of the Nabataean kingdom of Petra, as well as the culture of the South Arabian kingdoms, are known almost exclusively through epigraphs, artworks and archaeology.

In the two years of its life MEDINA has been working both to increase knowledge exchanges among institutions of the Mediterranean sea basin, and to encourage the use of innovative digital technologies to communicate to the public the Phoenician and the Nabataean cultural heritage, especially preserved in Lebanese and Jordanian museums (the National Museum of Beirut and the Museum of Jordanian Heritage of the Yarmouk University). Moreover, the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale (MNAO) in Rome has been involved into the activities of the project to endorse its collection of one hundred of South Arabian epigraphs and artefacts.

On one hand, a strategy to promote epigraphic and archaeological assets has been developed: digital collections, online museums and virtual exhibitions are the most suitable means, developed with advanced digital technologies, to engage a large public, most of all young people, and educate them providing a proper and immediate interpretation. On the other hand, training courses addressed to non-EU students, researchers and museum personnel have been organized in order to spread a common understanding of the best practices in the field of digitization, communication of cultural heritage and promotion of museums. Finally, MEDINA has contributed to involve Lebanese and Jordanian museums into a network of institutions conducting their research in the domain of the Ancient Near East cultural heritage.

A digital catalogue of the most important and meaningful artefacts that the museums involved into the project preserve has been created. Both inscriptions and archaeological objects were photographed, catalogued and, limited to epigraphs, transcribed and encoded according to the standards accepted by the international community. The catalogue gives access to the inscriptions and artworks digitized, organized into three digital collections, thematic paths and online exhibitions. Thus MEDINA intends to provide their description, carried out according to strict scientific criteria, but also to encourage the exploration of the content and guide non expert users to understand their multiple meanings.

At the same time, several social platforms have been developed to engage the project target groups identified among the general public. The Facebook page of MEDINA seeks to gain the attention of the young generations, whereas the Twitter account and the Linkedin group are disseminating knowledge and skills among researchers and professionals in the cultural heritage and IT domains.
However, the traditional means of communication have not been abandoned. Three printed catalogues have been prepared in order to illustrate, through the inscriptions and the not-inscribed objects of MEDINA, some aspects of the Phoenician, the Nabataean and the South Arabian civilizations respectively. Furthermore a handbook explains to the general public the Nabataean civilization demonstrating the unique contribution to knowledge provided by inscriptions. The present volume aims to introduce the non-specialist public to the culture of South Arabia, by means of a journey through the most relevant of the near forty epigraphic and sixty an-epigraphic pieces preserved in the Museum. Detailed descriptions of the artefacts, with transcriptions and translations of the texts, can also be consulted in the digital catalogue of MEDINA [medina.humnet.unipi.it].

As the project has almost come to the end, I would like to thank the consortium, a multidisciplinary working group consisting of research and education institutions, archaeological museums and private companies in the communication and creative domains, from a number of Mediterranean countries: the Yarmouk University (Jordan), the Institute of Ancient Near East Studies of the University of Barcelona (Spain), GAIA Heritage (Lebanon), and Magoproduction (Spain), in addition to the University of Pisa (Italy).

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale “Giuseppe Tucci” in Rome that allowed us to document both the artefacts and the epigraphs for the digital and the paper catalogues.
The collection of ancient South Arabian objects from the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale ‘Giuseppe Tucci’ has been growing larger since 1976 and includes four collections containing ceramics, sculptures, reliefs, architectural elements, inscriptions, bronze objects, terracotta figurines and coins (D’Amore, Jung 2010).

This large collection is rooted in the past and owes its foundation to an important political event: the Trattato di Aamicizia Italo-Yemenita (Italian-Yemenite Friendship Treaty) signed in Ṣan‘āʾ on 2 September 1926 (Rossi 1926: 534-536) by the Eritrean Governor Jacopo Gasparini, considered one of the most eminent diplomats of Italy. Born in Volpago del Montello on 23 March 1879, Jacopo Gasparini dedicated his life to Africa and occupied key roles in Eritrea (as Governor from 1 June 1923 to 1 June 1928), in Yemen (as Ambassador), and in Somalia (as Regent) (Del Boca 1999).

The Treaty, signed on 2 September 1926 and renewed in 1937, also mentioned the opening of hospitals in the main cities in Yemen. Thanks to the medical cooperation and the opening of Italian hospitals in the country, antiquities collections were created and brought to Italy under the approval of the Imam (Ja’ame 1956: 1-86).

The most important collection of the Museum is the Zoli–Ansaldi. Cesare Ansaldi, archaeologist, doctor, and traveller was visiting Cyrenaica as colonial doctor when in 1929 was summoned in Yemen by Corrado Zoli, Governor...
of Jubaland, to guide the al-Hudaydah hospital. Ansaldi had been for three years the family doctor of the Royal family, as well as political representa
tive for Italy. He bequeathed Carlo Zoli his rich collection of antiquities, gathered during his stay in al-Hudaydah. In 1933 Zoli brought it to Italy with the intention of leaving it to the Vatican Museums. Thanks to Carlo Conti Rossini, Zoli resolved to pass it on to Museo Nazionale Romano, where it was exhibited on 23 September 1935 together with the celebrations for the inauguration of the 19th International Congress of Orientalists. The collection is composed by reliefs, figurines of ancestors from the al-Jawf region, alabaster men’s heads, two funerary stele (one of which - MNAO 12998 - belongs to the category of augenstelen, characterized by the presence of engraved eyes only, without other facial elements), numerous commemorative and dedicatory inscriptions together with altars for incense, votive stones and offertory tables. Among the funerary statuettes, the Kannan one stands out (MNAO 13024), clothed in a plissé tunic and wearing a rich necklace. It is a rare example, attested by other two findings from Ethiopia. The paleography of the inscription, according to A. Jamme, dates back to the first half of the first century BC.

The second South Arabian collection was donated on 27 December 1938 to the Museo Nazionale Romano and once belonged to Ettore Rossi (born Secugnago 30 October 1894- died Rome 23 August 1955) (ROSSI 1939: 103; JAMME 1956: 86), one of the most important Orientalists and academicians of Italy, well versed in the languages and cultures of Turkey, Iran and Arabia. His collection is composed of ten objects, among which there are inscriptions and reliefs, gathered during one of his trips to Yemen in January 1938 in the region of Ṣan‘ā. In his inventory (JAMME 1955: 103-130), he noted the origin of the pieces: six come from Na‘d, a village about 25 km south of the capital, one from Yarim and three from Zafár, ancient himyarite capital, 15 km away from the city of Yarim. Here he persuaded some workers, who were transporting building material for the reconstruction of a mosque, to give him four ancient carved stones.

These two collections had been partially exhibited in a small room of the Museo Nazionale Romano until 1984, when they entered in the catalogue of Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale ‘Giuseppe Tucci’ in compliance with an article in its constitutive decree which allowed the museum to accept state collections undergoing inventory reorganization, only if they were not directly related to the other collections within the museums they originally belonged to.

The third collection is the one gathered by doctor Lamberto Cicconi, donated to the Museum in 1987. In September 1936, Cicconi was sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Yemen to join the Italian Health Mission in Ṣan‘ā where twelve Italian doctors were already working, and he remained there until the end of 1938. His collection includes four objects among which a rare alabaster head of a youth inspired by Hellenistic art.

The last collection was again gathered by a doctor, Mario Livadiotti, who arrived in Yemen in March 1961, and became the personal doctor of the last Imam and of the first President of the Republic. This last collection includes several fragments from reliefs, among which an exemplary with an ibex spurting from a leaf, belonging to a larger astrological group; one in alabaster, part of the decoration of what was probably a podium, with the characteristic so called ‘false window’ decoration; and another in limestone, maybe a remainder of a large seat.

The South Arabian collection of the Museum is completed by some coins from the “Bucranium” series.
A culture that was to prove long lasting began to develop in South Arabia (today’s Yemen) in the early first millennium BC, throughout the sixth century AD. Classical authors adopted the evocative epithet of Arabia Felix when referring to the kingdoms of South Arabia. One of the reasons for this positive connotation was because it was the origin of rare and precious substances.

The area of south west Arabia has a high upland plateau that rises up steeply from the coast. It runs parallel to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean at an altitude of over 3000 metres. The Yemeni high plateau is furrowed by broad valleys (the wādīs) towards the sea, or inland towards the desert. In the early stages of the history of South Arabia, its kingdoms were all located inland on the high plateau bordering the desert. The water which was needed for agriculture to develop came with the monsoon rains which fell abundantly on the high plateau twice a year. In prehistoric times water conservation ensured supplies to small communities, but it was only with the construction of large dams in the early first millennium BC that larger areas could be irrigated and the valleys towards the desert became transformed into fertile oases. The technique adopted for conserving water and irrigating the fields was sophisticated and highly effective.

The best known South Arabian kingdom of the early first millennium was undoubtedly Saba’, also because of its mythical queen who supposedly visited king Solomon. Its capital, Marib, which like all South Arabian cities was
surrounded by walls, was extensive, with impressive temples. To the west of Marib lies the fertile Jawf valley which was originally divided among Saba’ and a number of city-states, which later became the territory of the Ma’in tribe. To the east of Marib there was the kingdom of Qataban and further east still, the kingdom of the Hadramawt. One of the other powerful kingdoms of early South Arabian history was Awsān, but it was conquered by Saba’ at the beginning of the seventh century BC and later incorporated into the confederation of Qataban.

The situation of the kingdoms of South Arabia underwent considerable change in the first century BC. Certainly from this time on the peoples of the high plateau not only were the object of the policies of alliances forged by the kingdoms of the edge of the desert, but also the active subjects of South Arabian history. The kingdom of Himyar arose on the highlands with its capital Zafār, with a passage to the Red Sea where the seaport of Muza was crucial to the sea traffic between Rome and India. After a series of lengthy wars that lasted until the end of the third century AD, Himyar overran the southern part of the South Arabian Peninsula ruling it until the mid-sixth century AD.

Called by a local ruler against Christianised Abyssinia that had invaded South Arabia to defeat the radical Judean king Yusuf Aš’ar Yaṯ’ar, the Persians took control of the country until 652, when the leading Yemenite tribes forged an alliance with the Islamic state shortly before the death of the prophet.

The history and the culture of Ancient South Arabia is known mainly by the direct written sources, made up of an extremely rich epigraphic corpus of more than ten thousand inscriptions.

The cult of a main god was at the base of the identity of the inhabitants of the kingdoms of South Arabia, and complex pantheons with many divinities are attested in each kingdom. Our sources are assuredly inadequate for reconstructing such an intrinsically complicated matter as the religious world. The South Arabian left thousands of dedicatory inscriptions, thanking the god for grace received or beseeching favours. We can only surmise about South Arabian mythology, which must have been as rich as that of the other cultures of the ancient Near East, from the abundance of astral and animal symbols connected with the divinity in the inscriptions.

During a recent salvage operation in Nashshān, an important city of Jawf, new temple columns emerged which were finely carved, with scenes depicting anthropomorphic gods. The name of the divinity is written above the representation of him – the characters portrayed are wearing long robes and long beards, they lean on sticks and the overall iconography is similar to examples from Mesopotamia. The temple assuredly played an important part in the economy of the South Arabian kingdoms. Paganism dominated until the mid-fourth century AD when a Himyarite king and his son converted to a monotheistic religion which, initially, was somewhat neutral and prudent. The single deity is not clearly identified as the God of Israel or the Christian God but was known by the generic title of “the lord of heaven” or “the lord of heaven and earth”. From the fifth century AD onwards, the religion of the king became increasingly clearer towards Judaism.

Political power was vested first and foremost in the king. The most renowned sovereign of the first phase of the history of South Arabia was a Sabaean king of the seventh century BC, Karib’il Watar, who is recorded – like one of his predecessors Yaṯ’a’amar Watar– in the Assyrian sources as bringing precious gifts to the Assyrian kings. He left us two exceptional documents – authentic annals of his glorious reign in the form of two long inscriptions, carved on an imposing looking structure of stone set in the internal courtyard of the temple of the main Sabaean god Almaqah in Śir-wāḥ, an inland city near Marib.

The kings were celebrated as commanders, as priests who conducted the rites of establishment of the kingdom, as constructors of urban and hydraulic structures and roads, like the Qatabanian king Yadaʾab Dubayan who opened mountain passes towards the Sabaean territory in the mid first millennium BC.

The monumentality of South Arabian constructions – monolithic columns in stone, monumental sluices of the dams, the walls surrounding the cities –
struck the earliest travellers arriving in Yemen at the end of the nineteenth century. The artistic style of South Arabia had its own, original codification from the beginning of its history, although some foreign influence was also felt. From the first century AD South Arabian art was influenced by imports from the Greek-Roman world, which added to rather than detract from its originality.

The economy of South Arabia depended largely on its enormous potential for trade. During the first millennium this was mainly managed by the Minaeans, leading caravans of precious products – especially incense among others – along the trans-Arabian routes towards North Arabia, Egypt and the Mediterranean. The apex of the Minaean trade was probably in the fourth century BC, during the reign of the king Abyada Yaṭaʿ, and probably was already in decline at the time of the expedition sent by Augustus to South Arabia under the leadership of the prefect of Egypt Ælius Gallus in 25 BC, whose aim of conquering the Arabia Felix soon failed.

Since the establishment of coastal ports, among which we shall remember the foundation of the harbour of Qana in the first century BC by Yaḥuʾr ʾil mukarrīb of Ḥadramawt, South Arabia was also as a market place for the exchange of merchandise between India and the Mediterranean. The strong presence of the state in trading is evidenced also by a Greek source, the Periplus Maris Erythraei, a navigation handbook written by an anonymous author of the first century AD.
The collection of Ancient South Arabia in the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale “G. Tucci” in Rome offers an interesting overview on the art of ancient Yemen. This rich and varied collection – which includes inscriptions, sculptures, reliefs, bronze objects – mirrors the originality and prolific production of the artistic and cultural tradition of South Arabia in the pre-Islamic era.

If we look for Yemen on a map, the first thing we notice is its geographic isolation. Seated in the extreme southern area of the Arabian Peninsula, the territory is bordered by the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and by an endless desert that has been significantly nicknamed “Empty Quarter”.

The challenge that Yemen inhabitants won was learning how to most efficiently exploit an inhospitable territory, overcoming the difficulties related to its geographic position, and turning a weak spot into a strong one. Along the great caravan they went, across the infinite sea of sand, to reach the Assyrian courts already at the beginning of the first millennium BC. In the centuries marked by the appearance of the Christian era, they made use of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to sell the precious spices that made Yemen known as ‘Arabia Felix’, becoming a bridge between West and East. This assumption is necessary if we accept that ancient Yemenite art reflects this double aspect (contradictory as it is) given to its link to south Arabian history and geography. On the one hand there is originality, diversity and
a certain conservatism wholly due to its peripheral position. On the other hand, however, there is a sensibility to other cultures and a capacity for acknowledging, re-elaborating and shaping foreign motifs into something it can call its own.

South Arabian art was born in the northernmost part of the country. From the region of Jawf come the first instances of an artistic tradition that at the beginning of the first millennium BC – in its conception – seems already ripe. South Arabian people show from the very first objects a perfect competence of sculpting techniques – they are masters with the alabaster – and remarkable skills in the fusion and metal working.

This art, at the beginning, is modeled on geometrical patterns. On the heads of ibex appear huge round horns, bull's heads are described with few lines, and animals' snouts are long and sometimes substitute the animal itself, like in the magnificent frieze MNAO 13053.

Art is often at the service of the dead. They are represented on stelae where generally appear their faces (MNAO 12994), sometimes only the eyes (MNAO 12998) or they are quickly sketched in statuettes, almost trapped in the stone they have been carved onto. A rich collection of these objects belongs to the Museo d'Arte Orientale. Traditionally called "ancestors", even though they seem to depict the dead, such figures are presented all in the same position: seated, with their arms stretching out and clenched fists. The physical attributes and the clothes are so vaguely defined that in most cases it is impossible to say whether they are men or women.

These figures tell us that for the entire first millennium BC, the South Arabian people are seldom interested in representing a faithful image of the human figures, which are often identified by the name inscribed on the base of the object itself.

Stelae were much appreciated objects by the South Arabians, who used them very often. Apart from being supports for representations, they were used also for written texts, embellished with geometrical frames that run along the edge of the inscription on three sides. A frieze made of animals' heads (antelopes or bulls) was located horizontally on the upper part of the object, whereas a series of crouching ibex in profile, inside square-shaped elements one on top of the other, decorated the side bands. MNAO 12964 and MNAO 10322 are fragments of such objects.

In its first centuries, Yemenite art was characterized by standardized motives and artefacts that were repeated without any variation, such as the offertory tables with protome of a bull, of which a remarkable example is in MNAO 12999.

With the opening of the sea commerce and the development of long-distance market, Yemenite art began to change. New imported products arrive, such as the splendid bronze and silver vessels destined to enrich the tables of royal palaces, or the busts of foreign divinities like Dionysus or Athena. South Arabsians adapted to the new trends, the Hellenistic first and then the Roman, which had a strong impact on the local substratum. Clothes, hair dressing, and gestures change, new gods appear or ancient are absorbed into the foreign ones. Large bronze statues represent figures in their heroic nudity, or with armours inspired by the Roman tradition. A statuette even presents a South Arabian king wearing a toga. Human figures are less schematic, the interest for a faithful representation of their facial features increases, hair dressing changes and new elements appear such as the cornucopia, cymbals and the lyre. Grapevines are more frequent among vegetal images, often paired with composite figures, according to the Hellenistic tradition of the peopled scrolls (MNAO 10323). Also changes the way the dead are represented in stelae, where there are scenes narrating their life and show their social status. Quite often these scenes are inserted in
arch-like frames on columns and are decorated by flowery elements such as in MNAO 13022.

At the beginning of the fourth century AD the whole Yemen was united under a single central power, Ḥimyar, which spans from the Red Sea to the shores the Indian Ocean and on the inland. From the artistic point of view, the number of imported objects decreased.

The South Arabian artistic production of this period is marked by the Parthian-Sasanian influences that are evident in the use of new themes (e.g. the battle of knights) or re-elaborations (hunting). From the iconographic point of view, the human figures changed and picked up the typical traits of the Eastern tradition with elongated eyes and curls created with the use of a drill, an example of which is MNAO 13056. The bizarre figures of the Hellenistic tradition proliferate, as well as battles among monsters, between bulls and lions and large predatory birds like hawks (MNAO 13054), all shown on seals.

These are the first instances of the end of the pre-Islamic Arabian civilization; soon the whole Peninsula would be united under Muhammad.
The South Arabian civilization left an incredible amount of epigraphic documents that are the direct sources for the reconstruction of its history and culture.

The South Arabian inscriptions come from modern Yemen, as well as from some Ethiopian sites where the Sabaean presence is attested in the first half of the first millennium BC. Some neighboring areas of southern Arabia, like Oman, and some caravan sites along the trans-Arabian routes in modern Saudi Arabia provided ASA documentation as well. Isolated graffiti or inscriptions were found also in Egypt and in the island of Delos, witnessing the trading impulse of the South Arabian people.

The decipherment of the Ancient South Arabian writing and the study of the language began halfway through the nineteenth century, following the records of the epigraphic texts by European travelers and officials in Yemen and Ethiopia. The epigraphic missions carried out since the late nineteenth century, apart from the casual discoveries and - unfortunately - the recent proliferation of sales on the market of antiquities, have led to the current knowledge of more than ten thousands of ASA texts.

Different theories have been put forward about the origins of the South Arabian language and writing in relation to the origins of the population. According to some scholars, such origins are to be traced outside southern Arabia, on the basis of the similarities with the languages and alphabet-
ic scripts attested in the late second/early first millennium BC in the area between the Syro-Levantine coast and the north of the Arabian Peninsula. From here, movements of peoples towards the South of the peninsula would have superimposed their presence and culture on the local population, beginning to leave testimonies of what we define as the South Arabian civilization.

A different theory underlines that even the most ancient attestations of the ASA civilization are the expression of an already mature society, with its own cultural specificities, suggesting that its origins are to be traced back in the region of their historical settlement. In fact, the strategies for the adaptation to a very complex territory, the technical solutions adopted for its exploitation and the settlement pattern suggest a long-span endogenous development. The upheavals that marked the beginning of the Iron Age, with the emerging of the state structures and the opening of the trans-Arabian routes, fully involved in the Near Eastern circuits a region that was previously isolated at the margins of the great empires.

As regards the language, the differentiation of the South Arabian language into four main varieties – the Sabaic, the Minaic, the Qatabanic and the Hadramitic, expression of the four main kingdoms of the first millennium BC – is clearly identifiable from the morphological and lexical point of view since the earliest epigraphic testimonies and it is indicative of a long linguistic history.

Concerning the script, a derivation of the South Arabian alphabet from the Phoenico-Aramaic one is arguable, as recent analyses have shown that the perishable supports of some ancient texts can be dated as early as the end of the second millennium BC. Moreover, the South Arabian alphabet follows a proper letter order, which is proof of an independent tradition. New theories suggest that the oasis of Taymäʿ in northern Arabia could be the place where it was elaborated and spread in the Peninsula.

The South Arabian monumental script, very geometric and regular, is attested for public inscriptions on stone or metal supports since the ninth-eighth century BC. Each letter is graphically separated from the adjacent ones and the division between the words is marked by a vertical trait.

Just as most of the scripts used to write down Semitic languages, so the South Arabian writing normally goes from right to left. However, in the first half of the first millennium BC, the importance of the kingdom of Sabaʾ, which used a boustrophedon ductus (right-to-left then left-to-right and so on, in each consecutive line), influenced the style of some inscriptions of the other kingdoms. In fact, the alternation of the political or cultural pre-eminence of the different kingdoms over time was such as to condition the other writing schools.

Apart from regional variations, the writing style followed a quite uniform evolution from more geometric (MNAO 10322) to more ornate shapes of the letters (MNAO 13007) in the whole of South Arabia during the long history of its civilization. The writing technique also changed from carving the letters on the stone to sculpting the surface around them, to obtain a text in relief (MNAO 13015).

The inscriptions in monumental writing were intended to be exposed and to last in time. These included texts by rulers and officers (MNAO 13013), but also by individuals or families (MNAO 13008). They were recorded on various supports such as rocks, stone blocks and architectural structures, and on a wide variety of objects for funerary, cultic, votive but also domestic use, many of which artistically worthy, like plaques (MNAO 13047), stelae (MNAO 13022), incense burners (MNAO 14284), statues and figurines (MNAO 13024), and also altars, thrones, lamps, containers, personal ornaments, seals.

Besides the records of worship acts (like pilgrimages or sacred hunts) or simple onomastic inscriptions, such as those on tombs and funerary objects (MNAO 12994), the main typologies of inscriptions are dedications to the deities, celebrations of building activities, and legal regulations. The texts followed a style coded on the basis of their purpose.

The ancient dedicatory texts are for the most part very concise, recording the identity of the authors, the object of the dedication and the beneficiary
god. Later on, the texts began to be enriched with the request of protection and sometimes with anecdotic accounts (MNAO 13007). A peculiar category of inscriptions dedicated in the temples are the expiatory texts: the authors repent to the gods, listing the infringements they committed. These are usually related to the ritual or purity sphere.

The construction texts commemorated different kinds of building activities. These regarded either public or private structures, of civil, religious or agricultural interest (MNAO 13005+13006).

The legal inscriptions were issued by the political power (king, tribe, magistrates) or by the priestly class. Administrative acts on property rights of private individuals or families are also attested (MNAO 13010).

Texts of extemporary nature like graffiti were usually drawn or engraved in monumental writing on rocks or walls from people passing by, generally recording their names.

In the 1970s, a new typology of writing of the South Arabian alphabet was discovered. Incised with a stylus, or sometimes painted, on wooden sticks and palm leaves’ stalks, the letters have a less geometric shape. As said, this cursive (or minuscule) writing had been in use since the end of the 2nd millennium BC to record private and movable documents like letters and contracts. Texts with a narrative character, or a digression, are rarely found and no literary text is known up to the present.

The epigraphic documentation – with its limits, but also with its character of direct source, immediate expression of a contingent fact – is the ultimate source for the reconstruction of the South Arabian culture and history. The epigraphs of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale form a heterogeneous collection of about forty documents of different textual typology, support, date and provenance. This allows to propose a path inside the history, language and society of the South Arabians through the most significant written evidence offered by the collection.
CATALOGUE
Representations of South Arabian men and women occur in different forms in the collection of the Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale. Sometimes they are represented in shape of simple stelae where only the eyes are schematically sketched out (MNAO 12998), in other cases faces have been carved in limestone stelae (MNAO 12994) or are sculpted in the round (MNAO 12996, 14282, 13055). The collection includes a number of seated figures with probably funerary function, where the representations are sometimes associated with the name of the deceased (MNAO 12971, 12985, 12977, 13024). Not only stone, but also metal was used for the human figures as attested by the bronze foot presented in the catalogue (MNAO 10332). Moreover, reliefs with narrative scenes depict South Arabian people in different activities (MNAO 12963).

Statues, statuettes and representations on slabs and stelae bear witness of the taste of ancient South Arabsians and their cultural evolution. Men usually dressed long, plain and short-sleeved tunics, tied around the waist by a belt and often with a fringed strip of cloth hanging down to the front. Sometimes a dagger was held inside the belt, just like today the Yemeni jambiya is part of the traditional costume. Kings and important people were sometimes depicted with divine or semi-divine attributes (such as the lion skin), or even made use of foreign attributes as well as the king of Awsán depicted wearing a toga. Women also wore brief tunics, with a round neckline and short sleeves. They probably wore cloaks to protect themselves from cold weather, and often wore sandals. Plain necklaces or elaborated jewels were particularly appreciated by South Arabian women, who also liked semi-precious stones and glass beads. Rings and bracelets adorned the hands of both women and men. In the beginning, South Arabian women used to wear their long hair down on shoulders, simply by tucking the hair slightly behind the ears. Then, during the Christian Era, style changed and they wove the hair tightly using pins, following the Roman vogue. Also men, who usually had a beard, wore their hair short in the beginning - as witnessed by ancient portraits – but from the first century BC they preferred long hair with rolls.
This artefact represents an unusual variation of the well-known typology of funerary stela with depiction of the face of the deceased. In fact, instead of engraving the face in relief on the same surface level of the inscription, here it is sculpted inside a sort of niche, while the name is engraved on the protruding surface below. The man was named Tawb of the family Haza.

The object belongs to a well-defined category of funerary stelae made by a rectangular slab, usually roughly worked, with the only representation of a pair of eyes, incised or in relief. The name of the deceased is written in the lower part of the object. Stelae with eyes are typical of the region of Jawf (northern Yemen), where they have been produced since the first half of the 1st millennium BC. The reading of the name of the deceased is very uncertain (Lab'am?).
MNAO 12956 | Human head in alabaster | H. 21.5 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.
Male funerary head with a long neck. The representation is highly stylized with flat eyebrows, deeply curved oval eyes, small mouth. Tiny holes, originally filled with a black substance, show the presence of beard and moustache. Flat on the upper part, the head was probably refined with the application of plaster hairs.
This alabaster head differs from the previous for its greater realism. The naturalistic rendering of the eyes, the nose, the mouth and the position of the head itself, turned of three quarter, suggests an interest in portrait. The long neck must have been fixed on a base. The upper part of the head and its back are roughly worked. Eyes and hair were in different material, probably shell and plaster. Flat on the back, the face was conceived for a frontal view and was probably inserted in a niche.
MNAO 13055 | Head of man in alabaster | H. 10, w. 7 |
From YarımZend. Rossi collection.
Head of a man, probably part of a relief. The face is very
detailed (a portrait?), with elongated eyes, pronounced
mouth, carefully modeled ears. Moustache, the line of
the beard and of the curls were realized with a series of
small holes, made with a drill. The iconography reminds
Parthian/Sasanian influences and it is an example of how
South Arabian art has been influenced by the contacts
with their neighbors.

MNAO 12971 | Statuette of seated woman in stone, with
inscription | H. 16.1, l.h. 1.7 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.
This representation of a seated woman is very squat, with
huge head and squared high shoulders, disproportionate
in respect to the lower part of the body. The somatic
traits are very schematic with a large vertical nose,
rhomboidal eyes, high forehead and large projecting ears.
The legs grow thinner in correspondence of the ankles.
The top part of the head is flat. From a paleographical
point of view, the inscription of the name Rašanat might
be dated to the second half of the 1st millennium BC.
Statuette of seated figure interpreted as a woman. It belongs to the type “seated on stool” which collects statuettes of men and women on low quadrangular seats. The intentional disproportion between the upper and the lower part of the body is evident. The woman is depicted with arms stretching out in the characteristic position of the dedicants. The statuette has some inserted elements in different material (probably bronze) as indicated by the holes visible nearby the elbows.
MNAO 12977 | Statuette of seated figure in stone, with inscription [H. 23.1] Zoli-Ansaldi collection. This statuette depicts a seated figure, usually interpreted as a woman. However, the sketched-out representation of the dress and the breasts could point to a man figure. The name Balyan, unusually engraved on the back and left-to-right, does not help in the identification of the gender. The originality of the inscription, as well as the statuette, is disputed.

This statuette of a seated woman lacks the head and the hands. The hole in the right arm is probably to be ascribed to a restoration made in ancient times. The woman wears a rich pleated long dress, tight to the body, with elaborated jewels. Two big necklaces are visible on the chest. One is made of big grains and presents a squared pendant similar to the traditional Yemeni necklaces. Another pendant was placed on the back, between the shoulders, probably as counterbalance. Below the naked feet, the name of the woman is written: Kanan. The statue shows many similarities with artefacts found in Ethiopia, where settlements of Sabaeans are attested in the first half of the 1st millennium BC.
Female statuette in stone | H. 18 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.

Statuette of a woman standing on a low base. She wears a long skirt, held around the waist by a cloth with fringes. These clothes were usually dressed by men. The upper part of the dress is very simple, but adorned with a necklace with pendant. Wrist and arm are decorated with bracelets. The cavities on the eyes suggest the presence of inlays of different materials.
This fragment is probably part of a funerary stela. It depicts a couple of warriors with a long pleated skirt, a spear and a second weapon to be interpreted as a short curved dagger or a bow. Despite the frequent wars among the kingdoms of ancient Yemen, both the texts and the representations supply very few information about the art of war in southern Arabia. Representations of battles lack, and information about weapons and military techniques usually comes from funerary representations and scanty archaeological evidence.

This bronze foot belongs to a human statue of considerable dimensions. Thong sandals are typical South Arabian footwear represented in metal and stone statues. Representations of men or animals, big in dimension, are frequent in South Arabian art. They adorned temples or palaces. Evidence of their presence is the spoors carved on the stone basements supporting the statues.
Animals are frequently represented in South Arabian art. They often appear in form of statuettes, mostly in bronze, dedicated to the gods, but they are also employed as decorations in funerary or narrative stelae. Ibex were also prey of the sacred hunts, ritually practiced by the South Arabian sovereigns.

Ibex, camels and bulls are mostly represented. Images of eagles are rare (MNAO 13054). The ibex had an interesting style evolution in the South Arabian art. In the beginning animals appeared static, blocked on the plinths or closed in geometric squares, while from the late centuries BC / early AD, they appear more plastic and, from a crouched position, become alive, rampant, sometimes in relation with vegetal elements (MNAO 10323). The Museum hosts also an unusual representation of a ram (MNAO 13043).

Camels, instead, are always depicted with a very standard style with plain representations, often lacking of details. Linked with the god of traders ďū-Samāwī, camels were often buried with their owners or placed in separate tombs but in the same cemetery.

Bulls appear in form of statuettes or just as protomes. Connected with different gods of the various panthea of southern Arabia, they occur in temples as images of the deities and as offerings to them. But bulls, in form of protomes, appear also as part of friezes decorating the upper part of stelae (MNAO 10324, 12964) or decorate, sculptured in round, the funerary slabs typical of the kingdom of Qataban.
Fragment of stela. Notwithstanding the small dimensions of the fragment, it is easy to recognize the overall shape of the complete object. It is a stela with framework, a common artefact at the beginning of South Arabian art, in the northern part of the country (Jawf and Saba). These stelae, usually in alabaster, were characterized by the presence of a framework placed around the inscription, which occupied the central part of the object. The framework consisted in a series of crouched ibex in profile, placed at the sides, and in a frieze made of bull’s or ibex’s heads on the top.

Fragmentary slab depicting a so-called “peopled scroll”, made of the forepart of an ibex emerging from a leaf, and a bunch of grape above. The representation is clearly influenced by the Hellenistic taste which liked very much these particular compositions. The slab has been found in Zafar, the capital of the kingdom of Ḥimyar.
MNAO 13043 | Ram in limestone | H. 40, w. 60 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.
Ram in full relief. The slab visible between the paws of the statue suggests the animal was part of a different object (a throne?). The fur is rendered by means of short elements, very accurately made, in form of tongues. The representations of rams are very unusual in South Arabian art and, sometimes, they decorated the termination of handles.

MNAO 13054 | Fragment of relief in alabaster | H. 9, w. 25 | Rossi collection.
Fragment of relief where only part of an eagle and a snake is recognizable. Representations of eagles grabbing heads of snakes occur in a certain number in South Arabian art, but the meaning is, however, not clear. Spread eagles occur also in some coins of the ancient Yemen and in the seals of the Himyarite period. The provenance of the slab is Ṣan‘ā.’
Through the archeological remains and the representations on artworks we are informed about the architecture of the main buildings, sacral and secular, and their internal furnishing. Moreover, thanks to the objects, we can also reconstruct the rituals and the activities performed in the temples. The collection of Museo Nazionale d’Arte Orientale offers an interesting insight on the interior of religious and secular buildings in ancient Yemen.

Libations with liquids (like oil, wine, and milk) are attested by offering tables (MNAO 12999); mortars and various vessels (MNAO 14283) were used for the preparation and the consumption of cereals and other products. Common meals, cooked in the kitchens of the religious buildings, were an essential part of the rituals. Incense burners, different in shape and size, have been recovered in great number (MNAO 14284, 13000). Frankincense had a prominent role during the ceremonies, but also in every-day life, as confirmed by the finding of burners in private houses.

A large amount of architectural decorations has been moreover discovered, giving a general idea about the internal arrangement of the buildings. Also if the surrounding walls are scanty preserved and coverings or roofs are never attested, thanks to altars or objects in shape of buildings, mostly religious, we can figure out their general external lay-out.

Columns, wooden made but with bases and capitals in stone, divided the interior space, antefixes helped in supporting the weight of the roof. Façades and parapets protecting the stairways were decorated with slabs adorned with “false windows”, a kind of stepped niches visible also in the miniaturist door MNAO 12965. Dentils, rectangles and zig-zagging lines were among the favorite motifs for the decoration of blocks or masonry stones. Friezes in shape of head of ibex have been discovered as well as massive lintels (MNAO 13053). In the temples, benches dividing the internal space or leaning to the surrounding walls were occupied by the worshippers during rituals. Usually a podium, squared in shape, represented the fulcrum of the sacral space.
Elongated bowl decorated, on the flattened top, with a small gutter. The bowl is made in alabaster, a quality stone easy to work and largely employed in Yemen because of the numerous quarries around the country. Alabaster was one of the goods exported from the South Arabian ports according to the classical sources, and it is already mentioned among the imports brought by caravans to the Assyrian empire as early as the first half of the 1st millennium BC.

Offering table with gutter in shape of a bull head. The representation of bulls was related to the cult of some of the main gods of the South Arabian pantheon. These objects have been discovered in great number in the temples of ancient Yemen.
Incense burners – of different shapes, decorations and dimensions – are a typical artefact from South Arabia. The two objects preserved in the Museum belong to the category of burners placed above a truncated-pyramidal base. The frontal face is decorated with a recessed panel, containing the symbol of the crescent moon with disc on a base, engraved in low relief. This object is offered “To Autumn” (Ḫarfan). The epithet of the divinity, spelled ʾhlḥywt, is of uncertain interpretation. In fact, it literally means “god of life”, but this would be the first attestation of such a divine qualification, while Ḥywt is also a well attested name of individual.

This object belongs to the same category of incense burners as MNAO 14284, placed on a truncated pyramidal base and with decoration of a crescent moon with disc on triangular base. The front side of the object’s base is engraved with a Sabaic fragmentary text indicating the divine beneficiary of the offer “To the lord of …”. Besides its extensive use in ceremonies, incense played a fundamental role in the South Arabian economy thanks to its huge production and export towards Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean basin.

Frieze decorated with a series of ibex heads, highly stylized, probably part of an architectural element. The ibex is one of the most important iconographic elements used in South Arabian art. It had a symbolic value, because of its connection with some of the gods worshipped in Yemen. Ibex were mostly represented at the beginning of South Arabian art, in the first half of the 1st millennium BC, when they were characterized by a strong linearity and geometry.
MNAO 12965 | Miniaturist door in limestone | H. 37, w. 26, th. 6 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.
This object in the form of a door has been interpreted as an architectural element. The original position of the artifact is uncertain: the door could be used to close a niche or a burial recess or to ornate a small opening in a wall as suggested by the decoration placed on both sides. The object combines some of the typical South Arabian motifs (false windows, heads of bull) with element of different inspiration (bunches of grapes). The composition, strictly symmetrical, is typically South Arabian.
Fragmentary slab depicting a luxuriant date palm. Despite these trees were frequent in Yemen, in ancient time and now, and represent the main feature of many city-oasis, palm dates are not so frequent in South Arabian representations. Bunches of grapes, ears of corn, vine scrolls and trees of life occur more often because of their symbolic meaning and their iconographic value.

This object has been interpreted as part of a throne. The fragment was standing on a bull paw – now missing – as suggested by the stylized fur visible above the breakage. The front of the leg was decorated with the false windows motif, typical of South Arabian architectural elements. Hoofs and paws were commonly used as furniture feet (seats, beds and tables), made in bronze or in stone.
The South Arabians were great builders. Impressive edifices made of large blocks of stone and high monolithic columns, enclosure walls with imposing towers, long dams across the valleys are still standing in testimony of their ability as stonemasons and architects. These activities were always commemorated by texts engraved on the very buildings, so it is not surprising that the construction inscriptions are one of the most widespread typologies of South Arabian texts.

The construction and restoration of public structures such as walls, temples, palaces, roads and dams was usually a royal prerogative. However, the majority of construction inscriptions were commissioned by individuals and families when they built their houses (MNAO 13005+13006) or the irrigation devices for their own territories (MNAO 13013). A legal and votive character of the text often emerges from the final lines of some texts, which record the commitment of the building to the protection of the gods.

The texts were engraved on the building blocks, so that anyone could read them. Nowadays, people in Yemen still use the ancient inscriptions to decorate the façades of their houses.
This long Sabaeic inscription of the first centuries AD, beautifully carved in relief, celebrates the construction works commissioned by a family belonging to a tribe of the northern highlands of Yemen, west of Sana’a.

The text follows the typical pattern of the construction inscriptions. Firstly, the text enumerates the many interventions achieved on different buildings – each one identified with its proper name – and lists the architectural parts which compose them. The exact meaning of these structures often remains obscure, but it seems that the houses had a porch and sacred rooms, and were paved. Secondly, the text evokes the gods that supported the authors and mentions political authorities (king and princes). Finally, the edifices are committed to the protection of the deities against any damage.

Besides the major gods like the Sabaean Almaqah and the pan-South Arabian Wadd and Attar, minor deities of individuals and families are mentioned in this text: the “sun, fortune” and the “quarter moon, protector”.
Few pieces of information are known regarding the beliefs and the cultic activities of the South Arabian people, but the textual evidence proves that their main devotional practice was the dedication to the gods. The dedicatory inscriptions are the main source of information on the concerns of people and on the relationship with the divine world.

The offerings made were commemorated in inscriptions written on the objects donated to the temple. Sometimes the inscription itself constituted the offer (MNAO 14285), especially in the cases of plaquettes and stelae made from precious materials like bronze or alabaster, often finely decorated. The most ancient texts are usually very concise.

They recorded the identity of the authors of the dedication and the beneficiary god. In many cases the offering was a person, so it has been supposed that the "dedication" consisted in committing him/her to the protection of the deities.

Later, mainly bronze statues of men and animals were dedicated as ex votos for a favour received (MNAO 13008). Given the preciousness of the metal, the statues are almost always lost; however, an incredible amount of the inscribed stone bases on which the statues were fixed has been preserved. The texts began to be enriched with the request of protection and goodwill over relatives, properties and rulers, and sometimes with the accounts of the circumstances that solicited the dedication (MNAO 13007).
This Sabaic dedicatory inscription of the first half of the 2nd century AD probably comes from Shibām al-Ghirās, in the northern highlands of Yemen. It was written by members of the family Suḫaymum, which belonged to the important tribe of Samʿī. It commemorates the dedication of five statues to their patron god Taʾlab Riyām in one of his sanctuaries. The dedication of a high number of statues might be the sign of the importance of the family.

The dedication is made for the safety of the dedicants, the dedicants' house, their lords and princes, but firstly for the safety of Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍub, king of Sabaʾ and dū-Raydān, and his son Watarum. The text ends with the request that Taʾlab Riyām “may grant them what was and will be favourable”.

Although this Sabaic inscription is only a fragment, the request of the goodwill of the god Wadd and the mention of his oracle suggest that this is a dedicatory text. However, this is not merely a dedication: the reference to an “act of concession” attests that it also has a legal value. As usual in the South Arabian inscriptions, the date of the act is recorded referring to a year’s eponym. His name is fragmentary in the text and might be reconstructed as Ḥayum son of Abikarib. Unfortunately, we are not able to set this date in an absolute chronological framework, but according to the writing style the text may go back to the first centuries AD.
Legal inscriptions are a very interesting source on the civil life of the South Arabians. They are rarer than the dedicatory or construction texts, but deal with more various topics of the private and public life and display a wide variety of lexicon that covers different domains. The monumental legal inscriptions were mainly of public interest: they were placed in the temples or written on public structures like the gates of the towns, or stood in the squares. They could be issued by the king, especially those regarding economic and civil regulations, or by the priestly class on religious matters. In this case, the law often followed a divine oracle. Other inscriptions were instead legal or administrative acts regarding private individuals or families and used to deal with property issues (MNAO 13010). Administrative acts and private contracts were also recorded on wooden sticks in minuscule writing.

MNAO 13010 | Stone block with legal inscription | H. 34.3, w. 67.4, th. 9.2, l.h. about 3 | Zoli-Ansaldi collection.

The comprehension of this Minaic legal text, which dates back to the second half of the 1st millennium BC, is very uncertain because of its fragmentary state of preservation and the presence of many words of difficult interpretation. Like many legal inscriptions, it seems to deal with property matters of a family, whose kabīr is mentioned. This title designated the office of "supervisor, chief", in charge of the administration of a town, of a professional or social category, of a tribe, or of a family; the mention of an eponymous kabīr was used to date the Minean texts.

This inscription is interesting for the attestation of numbers. The ciphers in South Arabian are written between two signs of a rectangle with oblique traits inside. The units are expressed by vertical lines, like here in line 3, while numbers 5, 10, 100 and 1000 are recorded by means of the initial letter of the corresponding noun: ū for 5 (ḫms¹); ʿ for 10 (ʿṣr); m for 100 (mʾt); ʾ for 1000 (ʾlf).

E.g. 1200: ʾmm. According to some scholars, the value of the letter t, might be determined by the location of the letter in the South Arabian alphabetic order, where it appears in the tenth position.
The relation between text and decoration is fundamental in the South Arabian culture. Many artefacts were inscribed: funerary stelae and statuettes with the name of the deceased (MNAO 13022), decorated plaques placed in the temples as ex votos, which account for the offering (MNAO 10322), but also objects of cult with dedications to the gods or personal furniture recording the name of the owner.

The writing itself could be an element of decoration, thanks to the elegant shape of the South Arabian letters in all stages of the evolution of the script, as far as the writing in relief with its impressive effect of light and shade (MNAO 13047).

An interesting expression of this taste is the abundance of monograms written on the objects and next to the texts. They usually refer to proper names mentioned in the inscription: the name of the author, of his/her family or tribe, of the building commemorated (MNAO 13015).

Also the symbols of the royal authority or, in some cases, of the gods were elaborated in a combination of letters. The royal monograms referred to the name of the king or the name of the royal palace and were represented on the coinage series (MNAO 17767).
The object is a fine example of the taste of the South Arabs in decorating the inscriptions with animal representations. Both the scene and the text are carved in low relief. Below the text, a register depicts an ibex and a bull in profile, with a raised forepaw. On the right of the bull, part of the head of a feline and its forepaw are preserved. The ibex and the bull were sacred animals, widely portrayed on a huge variety of South Arabian objects. The vegetal decoration between the bull’s horns is found in many representations of this animal and was especially spread in the Ḥimyarite southern highlands of Yemen. The habit of harnessing the bulls for ceremonies is illustrated here also by the exceptional representation of a caparison on the animal’s back. The monogram incised on its loins (h. 1.6, w. 1) is probably a tribal or lineage variant of the symbol of the Ḥimyarite regality. The text records the names of two clans of the southern highlands. In fact, the object comes from Ẓafār, the Ḥimyarite capital, or from the near site of Yarīm and may be dated between the 2nd and the 4th centuries AD. Part of an upper register, probably decorated with the lower part of a podium or throne, is visible above the inscription.
The authors of this Sabaic text written in relief belong to the tribe of Ḥumlan. This was a fraction (in the inscription: “the third”) of the confederation of Samʿī, living on the Yemeni highlands north of Ṣanʿāʾ. The inscription dates back to the 2nd half of the 3rd century AD, during the reign of Nashakarib Yuḥaʾmin Yuḥarḥib, king of Sanaʾ and ḏū-Raydān, whose last name is preserved in the text. The inscription is beautifully carved in relief and accompanied by a monogram composed by the letters w, l, k and m.

Coins have been found in great amount in South Arabia and references to their names are attested in the inscriptions. Sabaean, Himyarite, Qatabanian and Hadramitic coinage is known, while a Minaean production cannot be ascertained. Representations varied over time and by reign. The most common type was the Athenian imitation, bearing the bust of Athena on the obverse and the owl on the reverse. The deep political changes of the 1st century BC/AD were reflected in the coinage, representing human heads, bucrania, royal and divine symbols, and king names.

This Sabaean coin belongs to the so-called “buccranium” series, minted around the beginning of the Current Era. On the obverse, the king’s head is depicted, flanked by the symbols of the gods. The reverse represents the muzzle of a horned animal between the symbol of Almaqah and a monogram. Almaqah and ‘Aṯtar. These representations were aimed to attest the value of money because of the coinage main purpose of exchange and treasury, but also for political propaganda.
INDEX OF OBJECTS WITH SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

MNAO 12998
Jamme 1956: 81-83, pl. X (Ja 468); D’Amore, Jung and Messineo 2010: 60, fig. 28 (left); Catalogue 2012: 249, cat. 86.
[A.P., I.R.]

MNAO 12994
RES 4722; Ansaldi 1933: fig. 78; Ryckmans, G. 1937: 260-261 (Ry 193); Jamme 1956: 80-81, pl. X (Ja 467); Antonini 2012: 247, cat. 81.
[I.R.]

MNAO 12996
Ansaldi 1933: fig. 76.2; Jamme 1956: 60-61, pl. VI (Ja 439); Catalogue 2012: 248, cat. 83.
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MNAO 14282
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MNAO 13055
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[A.P., I.R.]

MNAO 12985
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MNAO 12977
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[A.P., I.R.]

MNAO 13024
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[A.P., I.R.]
MNAO 12966
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MNAO 12963
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[A.P.]

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[A.P.]

MNAO 10323
[A.P.]

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RES 4723; Ansaldi 1933: fig. 81; Ryckmans, G. 1937: 260-261 (Ry 194); Jamme 1956: 49-52, pl. V (Ja 428); Messineo 2003: 68, fig. 35; D’Amore, Jung and Messineo 2010: 60, fig. 28; Catalogue 2012: 256, cat. 103.
[I.R.]

MNAO 13053
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[I.R.]

MNAO 12965
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[A.P.]

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[A.P.]

MNAO 10321
[A.P.]

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[I.R.]

MNAO 13005+13006
CIH 660+CIH 587; RES 4705; Mordtmann and Mittwoch 1931: 165-166, figs 146a-b; Ansaldi 1933: figs 88, 97; Höfner 1935: 37-40; Pallottino 1938: 655, fig. 3; Jamme 1956: 8-18, pl. I (Ja 411 A/B); D’Amore, Jung and Messineo 2010: 71, fig. 35; Catalogue 2012: 233, cat. 45.
[I.R.]

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[I.R.]

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[I.R.]

MNAO 13022
Jamme 1956: 83-84, pl. XI (Ja 469); Catalogue 2012: 259, cat. 111.
[I.R.]

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