

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES

ARABIA ANTICA 11

SOUTH ARABIAN FUNERARY STELAE
FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM COLLECTION

ALESSANDRA LOMBARDI



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Alessandra Avanzini

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- 2 - A. Avanzini, *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions I - III. Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic, Awsanite Inscriptions*, 2004, pp. 606.
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South Arabian funerary stelae
from the British Museum collection

ALESSANDRA LOMBARDI

with contributions

by

FABIO EUGENIO BETTI

«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

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South Arabian funerary stelae, from the British Museum collection.
(with contributions by Fabio Eugenio Betti)

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Preface

From November 2006 to November 2008 I coordinated the two year project MENCAWAR (*Mediterranean Network for Cataloguing and Web Fruition of Ancient Artworks and Inscriptions*) funded by the European Community within the Sixth Framework programme.

Before this, in collaboration with the IT centre of the *Scuola Normale Superiore* (Pisa), a tool was created for the cataloguing as well as lexical and metalinguistic research (chronology, provenance, text typology etc.) of ancient South Arabian inscriptions. A website for these inscriptions was already consultable on-line (<http://csai.humnet.unipi.it>).

One of the aims of the MENCAWAR project consisted in the possible applications of this IT tool for epigraphic *corpora* in other Semitic languages. Participants in the project included the Museum of Beirut and the University of Irbid for Phoenician inscriptions and Aramaic, in particular Nabataean inscriptions, respectively. The epigraphic cards have been reformulated and extended with new functional fields applied to new epigraphic material.

The aim of the project was also that of rendering possible, by using an instrument initially conceived exclusively for inscriptions, the insertion of anepigraphic finds. New fields were necessary: definition of the object, stylistic and iconographic elements etc.

The study of a museum collection with such aims in mind, I believe, is of fundamental importance.

The British Museum is in possession of the most varied collection of ancient South Arabian finds preserved in Europe. Almost all the characteristics belonging to the culture and artistic style of South Arabian kingdoms are present here.

The history of the collection and of its artificers (military men of the Empire appreciative of the location and the cultural environment it provides) has in St John Simpson one of its most esteemed experts.

The participants of this project included Giovanni Mazzini and Federica Matteini from Pisa, and Alexandra Porter from the British Museum.

Also from a philological-epigraphic perspective the British Museum collection possesses inscriptions of great linguistic and cultural interest. A few legal inscriptions translated by Giovanni Mazzini (like, for example, CIH 611 and as-Sawdā' 37) has shed light on the role of religious and political power in ancient Southern Arabia.

An on-line catalogue consultable within DASI (<http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it>) of the epigraphic and anepigraphic British Museum collection was one of the aims of the project.

However the creation of a complete catalogue in paper form alongside the on-line version remains one of the most important developments of this project to bring about.

In the absence of certain deadlines for a complete catalogue I felt it opportune to publish this book by Alessandra Lombardi with some contributions by Fabio Eugenio Betti.

An on-line catalogue per se cannot contain an in-depth study on the history of art.

At least two important aspects for a study of the history of South Arabian art are tackled in this book.

Firstly the study by Alessandra Lombardi on funerary stelae of the British Museum, which in some cases do not consist merely of simple works by artisans, but are true artistic masterpieces, has allowed us to test (from a general artistic standpoint) a trait present in ancient South Arabian culture, i.e: elements common to all South Arabian culture (which define such a culture) with respect to those present only in one specific kingdom of pre-Islamic Southern Arabia. Also within the realisations of funerary stelae there are elements of cultural homogeneity present in all Southern Arabia kingdoms. However, alongside these, certain traits specific to a certain region have been found by Alessandra Lombardi. These are important results not easy to reach considering the absence of linguistic elements able to reference with certitude individual South Arabian regions.

The second aspect concerns the influence of external styles on South Arabian art. While this art maintains its characteristic traits for entire long history, from a certain period it has been found to incorporate and adapt external elements originating from the classical world. Therefore certain features (only quoted in an on-line catalogue) need to be clarified both stylistically and chronologically. Fabio Betti found not merely generic suggestions, but rather precise comparisons for the analysed objects and their iconographic elements.

Alessandra Avanzini

FOREWORD

It is a great opportunity, and a privileged perspective, to approach the study of South Arabian art through the collection in the British Museum. The museum houses one of the richest and most varied collections of artefacts belonging to pre-Islamic South Arabian civilization; after Yemen of course, which represents its home country.

Yemen, which has always been the theatre of intestine conflicts, is going through a particularly difficult period. The country – probably the poorest of the Arabian Peninsula and at the same time the richest in historical, artistic and cultural resources – since March 2015 has been the target of an international military operation that threatens to destroy once and for all the evidence of its ancient and glorious past. The numerous air raids and the violent battles on land, as well as terrorist attacks and the political instability of the region, all contribute to humanitarian disaster. Together with the population, also the historical, artistic and archaeological heritage of the country is in danger, and it has already gone through heavy damages and destruction.¹ Apart from the beautiful historical palaces of the capital Ṣan‘ā’, already part of the UNESCO *World Heritage List*, numerous archaeological sites have been bombarded: to name but a few there is Barāqish, an important centre in the ancient kingdom of Ma‘īn, then Marib, capital of the kingdom of Saba’, and Ṣirwāḥ, another important Sabaeen city. The Regional Museum of Dhamār, which preserved a rich collection of South Arabian inscriptions, was completely razed to the ground.² The same happened to minor, but not less important, archaeological museums on Yemenite ground, such as the one in Zingibar (about 50 km east of Aden).

The impossibility of reacting to these attacks, which may destroy the historical memory of a civilisation, spurred us to offer a contribution, even a small one, to the study and in-depth analysis of the art, thought and culture of pre-Islamic South Arabia by means of one of the most important museum collections in the world.

¹ For an overview of the destructive raids that targeted Yemen over the first six months of war, see the reportage «Yemen in guerra» by Sabina Antonini de Maigret and Iris Gerlach, in the magazine *Archeo, attualità del passato* (September 2015, no. 367). On this subject, see also SIMPSON 2015: 1-2, where the destruction of cultural heritage in Yemen is inserted in a wider general historical analysis.

² The cataloguing of epigraphs in the Regional Museum of Dhamār, which was already part of the CASIS project (*Cataloguing and Fruition of South Arabian Inscriptions through an IT Support*) of the University of Pisa, coordinated by Alessandra Avanzini, produced, among other results, a section of the volume by Alessia Prioletta *Inscriptions from the southern highlands of Yemen* (Arabia Antica, 8), Rome: «L’Erma» di Bretschneider 2013, pp. 179-318 and is available in full in the *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions* (<http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/>).

The vast collection of South Arabian artefacts in the British Museum was initiated in the 19th century when the port of Aden entered the British orbit, and continued to grow thanks to acquisitions on the international antique trade, and donations by private collectors and scholars.

The categories of artefacts that compose the collection are numerous and varied: from inscriptions on stone to bronze sculptures, from cultic objects to those related to everyday activities, jewels, seals, and coins. Some of these artefacts, real masterpieces, are indeed well-known by specialists in the field, and over the last few years they have become very popular thanks to the numerous initiatives of scientific dissemination promoted by several countries in Europe. Among these, it is worth mentioning the beautiful exhibition *Queen of Sheba: Treasures of ancient Yemen*, organised by St John Simpson, hosted by the British Museum in 2002, where the most fascinating and significant artefacts of the collection were on show. To name but a few, which will be mentioned again here, we wish to cite the Qatabanian funerary stela with a female figure in relief (cat. 81), the alabaster slab with a double register and a music scene (cat. 88), and the extraordinary alabaster female sculptures with elaborate hairstyles (cat. 126-127).

Each group of artefacts deserves special attention for a number of reasons. Nevertheless, in consideration of the vastness and diversity of the collection, it was deemed necessary to limit our study to the group that offered the highest number of elements that characterised South Arabian art, and also the thought that stood at its basis. The choice fell in the first place to the finds that represented the richest and most interesting *corpus* of the collection: a *corpus* within which all typologies of South Arabian funerary stelae known today are represented by one or more artefacts.

The study of funerary stelae, so rich and stimulating for various reasons, is actually the ideal starting point for further research into other categories of artefacts from the collection, which are often concrete elements within the representations of some stelae or – more generally – show some contact point with them. For example, the small *corpus* of architectural elements in the collection, whose decoration points to a Mediterranean influence (cat. 121-124), recalls the one present on some narrative stelae of Sabeian origins. In a similar way, the appearance of ornaments and jewels in funerary figures stimulates further investigations into the art of goldworking in the South Arabian area. Moreover, the study of female funerary heads paves the way for an analysis of the most diffused female hairstyles, often neglected in the studies of South Arabian art.

The production of funerary stelae (through the numerous and diverse typologies) covers the whole chronological period of the South Arabian civilization. They bear witness to traditions and styles related to the various regional areas, which can be identified by specific traits: from extremely stylized archaic stelae from the valley of the Jawf that simply represented eyes, to the Sabaeian alabaster slabs with complex narrative scenes that witness, for example, contacts with the Hellenistic-Roman world.

Moreover, funerary stelae – precisely for their use – are rich in allusions and symbols that may shed some light on the thought of the peoples of South Arabia in relation to the cult of the dead, funerary rituals, and beliefs in life beyond death. From this point of view, and without any literary data inherent in these topics (completely lacking in South Arabian epigraphic documentation), an iconological approach may prove illuminating.

The main difficulty in studying South Arabian antiquities is that the majority of finds are studied out of context. As a matter of fact, they were almost all acquired from international antique markets, which do not supply reliable information on where these finds come from, nor do they provide any reference to the archaeological or stratigraphic context. Such limits imply quite a few problems in the identification of the production region and dating of finds.

Despite such difficulties, it has been possible by isolating and analysing the constitutive elements of each stela – such as structure, iconography, size and material used –, to elaborate sufficiently detailed typologies that,

when compared with reliable documentation,³ produced satisfying results. In some cases it has been possible to hypothesise, with a high degree of probability, the geographical-cultural context of reference, in others it has been possible to suggest a dating hypothesis.

On the other hand, the epigraphic data – in this category of finds only limited to the anthroponym – were considered only marginally. Inscriptions are too short to allow a useful palaeographic analysis to define a chronological dating, whereas onomastics – strongly conservative and common to all linguistic components of South Arabia, as repeatedly suggested by Alessandra Avanzini – is only partially useful for the identification of the source area of the stelae.⁴

The large number and variety of figurative subjects attested in funerary stelae make this category of finds one of the most interesting for the study of iconography and, more generally, for the history of South Arabian art, with its most traditional and conservative traits or its evolution and opening to stimuli from other cultures. In line with this last aspect, numerous finds still need to be studied further, clarified or re-discussed,⁵ although there is no total lack of important studies dedicated to this field or presenting more general issues.⁶ Some of these gaps derive from the fact that the study of South Arabian civilization has been, from the beginning, an exclusive prerogative of linguists and epigraphists, where epigraphy was the main source of interest. On the contrary, the support on which the epigraphy was written (be it a statue or an illustrated stela) was not taken into consideration or, in some cases, even ignored. Only in the last decades did the scholars' attention shift over to artistic aspects of the documentation: an example of this recent tendency is indeed the *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions*, where each object was carefully catalogued and offers the possibility of carrying out specific queries from different points of view.⁷

Nevertheless, the studies in art history for this disciplinary sector still show, on the one hand, an approach limited to excessive attention on the definition of possible dates (at times quite impossible) and, on the other hand, some obsessive research for influences from other cultures, relegating the typical and distinctive characters of South Arabian art to a secondary level.

Research on an external precise reference model does not often come up with productive results. The presence of influences from the Near East⁸ especially in the archaic phase, and from the Hellenistic-Roman world in more recent times, is indeed strong and undisputable. Nevertheless, in the South Arabian artistic production we can see

³ In particular, the reference point is the documentation from the necropolises of Timna' and Marib, and more generally from the Jawf region. Even more important for the Qatabanian area is the publication of the objects from the necropolis of Hayd Ibn 'Aqīl (CLEVELAND 1965); whereas for the Sabaeian area the results from the German excavation survey in the Marib necropolis are unavoidable (GERLACH 2002 and 2005b; RÖRING 2002 and 2005; BESSAC AND BRETON 2002; JAPP 2002 and 2005). Finally, for the Minaean sphere, a mention must be made of the recent publication of the collection of funerary stelae from the Jawf preserved in the National Museum of Ṣan'ā' (ARBACH AND SCHIETTECATTE 2006, and ARBACH, SCHIETTECATTE AND AL-HĀDĪ 2008).

⁴ Last but not least, see AVANZINI 2015: 32. According to her, ASA onomastics does not present distinctive regional characters, but dates back to a common proto-historic phase.

⁵ Alessandra Avanzini a few years ago outlined the state of the art of South Arabia art history studies (AVANZINI 2006: 714-719). She complained in particular about the lack of repertory for numerous categories of artefacts.

⁶ It is worth mentioning especially Sabina Antonini's works: on stone human sculpture (ANTONINI 2001), on figurative motifs from the so called Banāt 'Ād in the temples of the Jawf (ANTONINI 2004), on bronze objects ('ALI 'AQĪL AND ANTONINI 2007) and the recent summary of her research in the field (ANTONINI DE MAIGRET 2012). Together with these works a reference must be made to the important contributions on South Arabian art given by Iris Gerlach (GERLACH 2000, 2003, 2005a, 2005c and 2013) and Holger Hitgen (HITGEN 2005 and 2013).

⁷ See <http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/>.

⁸ For trade contacts between Mesopotamia and Arabia, see BYRNE 2003.

a general inspiration taken from the cultural *koiné* of the time, rather than a rigorous and passive acquisition of external themes. It is worth mentioning that the themes and decorative motifs, even when they clearly come from other traditions, went through a thorough re-elaboration in the hands of local artists who often decontextualised and altered them to make them their own. As a result, the sources of inspiration can no longer be identified, and it becomes impossible to trace back their origins. At last, a unique product is born, and even though it absorbed different suggestions from the external world, it is still able to dominate them and embrace them together with its tradition in a harmonious, though still peculiar, blend.⁹

A clear example of this is the funerary stela BM 125344 (cat. 119), where the decorative motif of the vine scroll with grapes developing on a sinuous line typical of the Hellenistic tradition, is mixed with the rigorously geometric motif of dentils typical of the archaic South Arabian tradition. Similarly, in the Corinthian-type capital fragment BM 1985,0223.108 (cat. 124), which recalls some capitals present in some Sabaean stelae from the collection (cat. 88-90), the leaf wreaths typical of Classical art are blended together with a continuous metope frieze interrupted by protomes and recumbent figures of ibexes, the South Arabian traditional animal par excellence.

The use of Western themes in the iconographic local context, and the creation of genuinely South Arabian themes according to figurative models that partially recall Hellenistic-Roman traditions characterised the cultural context of South Arabia, especially over the centuries leading to our era. It was a complex culture that gathered inspiration from different traditions in order to re-elaborate them by local standards expressed both in the great artistic production as well as in the work of artisans.

The present research does not wish to provide conclusive evidence on such a complex issue. Nevertheless, the analysis of specific categories of objects together with figurative subjects/motifs diffused at the time may provide a more precise approach to the real data we have at our disposal, and we hope to overcome the typical limits of research identified in this field, even if it involves risking achieving results that show it is impossible to find definite answers.

First of all, it is hoped that by following a procedure that allows the identification of specific and original traits of this art it will be possible to describe its diffusion and development on a regional basis, with special attention to reciprocal contacts and exchanges. Finally, this research may show the transformation that this art went through as it absorbed the Hellenistic-Roman tradition.

This research is divided in two parts: the first, by myself, deals specifically with the funerary stelae of the British Museum, with appropriate reference to other museum collections whenever necessary for the discussion. The presentation of stelae develops mainly on a typological basis, organized in two main sections, and is introduced by a general overview of funerary traditions in South Arabia.

This main part is followed by several contributions edited by Fabio Eugenio Betti, presenting some follow-up readings suggested by the iconographic analysis of the images engraved in the funerary stelae from the first part of this volume and enlarging the discussion to some aspects of history of art of ancient South Arabia.

Each section ends with a catalogue of the objects analysed – those belonging to the British Museum collection – with concise descriptive technical files.

As regards the historical and geographical background of South Arabia we refer to the recent book by Alessandra Avanzini, *By land and by sea. A history of South Arabia before Islam recounted from inscriptions*, published in this series as number 10.

⁹ Similar conclusions were reached by S. Japp (JAPP 2013: 313).

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I wish to thank Alessandra Avanzini who gave me the opportunity to study this beautiful collection and for her continuous suggestions and encouragement during my work.

I would also like to thank Geoffrey Phillips for his careful revision of this english text and for his patience and willingness to answer all my questions.

Finally, I am grateful to all my friends and colleagues, in particular Annamaria De Santis and Fabio Eugenio Betti, who have confidence in a positive outcome of this work.

Alessandra Lombardi

INTRODUCTION

THE CITY OF DEAD

South Arabian society, as well as other civilisations in the ancient world, devoted great attention to the dead to keep their memory alive. This aspect is testified by the complex organisation of some of its necropoli (especially those of Marib and Timna'), and also from the large amount of funerary finds that reached us.

The building of a tomb needed a large amount of means and resources, as shown by all the typologies of South Arabian burials. Its construction was mentioned in the texts, like other important building works, and, in addition, also the tomb can be designated with a specific name.

From the epigraphic documentation we know that the construction of tombs is always an initiative of private people or family groups.¹ The short texts belonging to this sphere, besides information about the builders (with their names, patronymic and/or family names) and about the building work itself (often described in its various structural components), emphasise the importance of the 'ownership' of the graves, more so than the ownership of the houses of the living.² There is also evidence which can be interpreted as a statement of tomb restoration and renovation.³ It is important also to mention a Minaic text, which witnesses the assignment, by a king, of a tomb section to a precise family group.⁴

But most of the information about this subject came from the inscriptions recently found in Marib cemetery by the mission of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI). These texts were discovered, still *in situ*, engraved on the façades of the tombs itself. The inscriptions usually concerned the building of the tombs,⁵ with the names of builders and owners and their genealogy. They were very detailed documents, which reported precise indications

¹ AVANZINI 2004a: 99.

² In this regard A. Avanzini writes: «Even more than for the texts of the construction of a house, it was crucial for these [i.e. tombs] to decree the ownership of the grave and establish who had the right to be buried there» (AVANZINI 2004a: 99).

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ ROSSI 2009.

⁵ NEBES 2002: 161.

about the specific portions of tombs built and/or acquired by a particular individual for his family.⁶ So, the same mausoleum could belong to more than one person, each of them having acquired a portion of the building, or the building was erected by many persons or families because of the high costs of construction for this kind of tomb.

The British Museum collection houses two texts related to the construction of tombs: BM 103059 (fig. 1), a Qatabanic inscription, where the tomb, designed *Mrd'm*, was built by three people from the same family, and BM 125136 (fig. 2), a Sabaic text, datable to the 1st century AD, that mentions a tomb built by two men and their sons altogether. This tomb was designated *Rbhm* 'abode of rest'.⁷

Both these texts show clearly that the building of a tomb was a noteworthy and onerous task, which could involve many persons, not necessarily belonging to the same family.



FIGURE 1 - The Qatabanic inscription CSAI I, 71.
London, The British Museum, BM 103059.
Limestone; H 26.5, W 65.0, TH 9.0 cm.



FIGURE 2 - The Sabaic inscription CIH 286.
London, The British Museum, BM 125136.
Limestone; H 34.2, W 118.0, TH 13 cm.

The epigraphic documentation is certainly indicative of the importance attributed to the funerary sphere (with the construction, ownership rights and maintenance of tombs) in the social life of pre-Islamic South Arabia. On the whole, we can observe close attention comparable only to other spheres of daily life, such as house building, channel digging, delimiting cultivable fields, etc.

But the real information and tangible elements about this subject are certainly supplied by archaeology, information that allows us to define some important standpoints, even though in this sphere there are still several aspects to explore, publish and study.

We know that in South Arabia the necropoli were always placed outside the town walls, a factor which suggests a precise will of 'separation' of the living world from the dead world, which, however, constitutes a 'parallel universe'.

The most important South Arabian necropoli were connected with cult places.

In Marib the cemetery is joined to the oval enclosure of the Awwām temple, the great *extra-moenia* sanctuary dedicated to the national Sabaeen god Almaqah, which had been for over a thousand years the interregional pilgrimage destination.⁸

⁶ See, for example, the Early Sabaic boustrophedon inscription, DAI FH 'Awām 1997-6, engraved on the south wall of Grave 1 in Area A, that refers to the building of an eighth of a tomb and an eighth of all its annexes (NEBES 2002: 161-162). About this topic see also GERLACH 2005b: 92-93.

⁷ For further information about these inscriptions see *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions*: <http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/>.

⁸ The Marib necropolis, already located by the AFSM expedition in the 1950s (see ALBRIGHT 1958: 238), has been investigated, in recent years, by the mission of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI), under the direction of I. Gerlach and H. Hitgen (see the various contributions published in *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen* 9 [2002] and 10 [2003]). The necropolis covered a very large area (1.7 hectares), within which some sectors were excavated for a total of 1/20 of the whole size of the site (see RÖRING 2005: 153).

The necropolis of Timna^ʿ, Ḥayd ibn ʿAqīl, placed at circa 1 km from the city, was in close relation with cult buildings as well,⁹ among which the so-called Complex III that assumes a particular significance. This edifice, built on a terrace and equipped with a pillared portico, is interpreted as the funerary temple *Riṣāf* dedicated to the god ʿAnbay,¹⁰ one of the main divinities of the Qatabanian kingdom. From this point of view, it is interesting to remember that the god ʿAnbay, in many Qatabanic construction texts, is mentioned as the deity who supervises the property of either a grave or a house.¹¹

The integrity of the grave, and the peace and eternal rest of the dead, had to be safeguarded from possible violations, as shown by numerous funerary epigraphs which contain requests of protection to the supreme god ʿAthtar followed by curse formulae against the violators.¹² From this point of view, the connection of the necropoli with temples appears to strengthen this divine protection over the burials, showing a close relation and a particular proximity of the dead with the divine world.¹³

Pre-Islamic South Arabia documents a large variety of tombs, which suggests deeply different origins and conceptual spheres.¹⁴ The typology of tombs changes from one site to the other (even within the same site: for example, in Raybūn different typologies coexist), and probably from one period to another, although the chronology is not always decisive: as a matter of fact, different typologies are attested during the same period.

We can affirm that all the main known grave typologies are documented in South Arabia: from turret tombs, built far away from the settlements and spread out in the desert (similar in their structure to those of South-East Arabia during the Bronze Age); to rock tombs, cut on vertical rock walls (Yarim, Ṣan ʿāʿ, al-Mahwīt, Jabal Kawkaban, Shibām al-Ghirās); to cave tombs, excavated into sloping sedimentary hills and documented especially in the Ḥaḍramawt region (Shabwa, Raybūn, Ḥurayḍa, and probably Sumhuram); to hypogea, constituting circular or rectangular subterranean chambers, which were accessible from a shaft or a *dromos*-like entrance (as-Sawdāʿ, Kharibat al-Ahjar near Dhamār, Qāniʿ); to the simple pit graves, dug into the wadi sediments and sometimes marked on the ground with a stone alignment (Wadi Ḍuraʿ, Madīnat al-Ahjur, Shukaʿ, Hajar Ṭalīb in the Wadi Markha, but also Raybūn); and finally the multi-storeyed mausolea of the necropoli of Marib and Timna^ʿ, which represent the real cities of the dead.¹⁵

The necropoli of Marib and Timna^ʿ, from which most of the objects here examined originated, show numerous and important meeting points,¹⁶ together with considerable differences.

In addition to the already mentioned link with important religious buildings, both these necropoli show an ʿurbanʼ arrangement, which gives an idea of the structure of the living cities. Moreover, the funerary architecture itself shows a tripartite structure, just like the religious buildings and private houses in South Arabia.¹⁷

⁹ The cultic structures, designed as Complex I, II and III, were uncovered in the sector A of Ḥayd ibn ʿAqīl necropolis (CLEVELAND 1965: 173-175). For the recent French-Italian archaeological investigations in the necropolis see ANTONINI 2005a.

¹⁰ GLANZMAN 2000.

¹¹ See, for example, AM 60.1284 and ATM 868 (<http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/>). I would like to thank Alessandra Avanzini for this suggestion.

¹² MARAQTEN 1998; LOMBARDI 2014: 153.

¹³ For this suggestion see ROBIN 2102: 98 and VOGT 2002: 180.

¹⁴ DE MAIGRET 1996: 305.

¹⁵ For a review of the major burial typologies in pre-Islamic South Arabia, see DE MAIGRET 1996: 305-321; VOGT, DE MAIGRET AND ROUX 2000; VOGT 2002.

¹⁶ See GERLACH 2005a: 33-34.

¹⁷ See DE MAIGRET 2005: 106-107, who identified these meeting points especially as regards the mausolea of Ḥayd ibn ʿAqīl.