

**Some aspects about stelae, grave stones and bust stelae  
In ancient South Arabia**

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## **Introduction**

Artworks in ancient South Arabia had flourished, particularly the art of sculpture and engraving. The models found from these artifacts reflected the civilization of the society in which it emerged in terms of environmental, social and political conditions, as well as religious beliefs. The views of researchers differed as to the purpose for which works of art were carried out, especially in the early ages, among the following:

- They were carried out with a purely aesthetic purpose, in order to satisfy the aesthetic sense of its perpetrators, which is unlikely, as most of the arts of ancient peoples linked to specific purpose, especially religious beliefs.
- They were associated - in the early stages - with magical and ritual purposes only, which can be taken into consideration, but not in its entirety.

Art in South Arabia often associated –like other civilizations- with many other religious purposes, as well as the daily life, which can include the aesthetic, creative and intellectual aspects, and self-expression, especially in the works that represent people, such as statues and stelae.

The early South Arabians were active in many fields and their contributions are worthy of study as evidence of their history, religion and way of life.

The sculpture<sup>1</sup>, in particular, has an underlying archaic simplicity of design, combined with a high standard of

workmanship, in materials of natural beauty: gold, bronze, alabaster and stone<sup>2</sup>.

The statues<sup>3</sup> of various types, conditions and sizes, which were dominated by small size and inconsistencies in the proportions are the most left behind by the old Yemeni artist, where most of the implementation of a short body and inconsistent in detail, and the artist exaggerated in focusing on facial features, appeared in particular in increasing the size of the eyes for the rest of the details of the face (Fig. 1 a,b).

The statues were often standing on a base engraved with the name of its owner, or dedicatory inscription referring to the statue itself<sup>4</sup>; and surviving examples are chiefly votive pieces made in honor of the gods and presented to their temples<sup>5</sup>.

The most common word repeated in old Southern Arabia texts means statue was, **šlm**, which means statue of man, or image and **šlmt**, which means statue of a woman, the plural of each was **ʿšlm** and **šlmt**<sup>6</sup>. There was a rare form of the word come as **zlm**, means statue of man<sup>7</sup>.

The word **šwr** and its plural **šwrn** also mean statue or statues<sup>8</sup>.

There were also separate heads (Fig.2a) that may have been substitutes for statues of the figures represented, some of which were meticulously crafted in revealing the details of the face. Some were women, others were men, and they were made of different materials, most notably alabaster<sup>9</sup>. Some models were characterized by a long neck in order to install on a base

carried out often of the same material which the head made of and was bearing the name of the head owner.

Some of these heads were very primitive<sup>10</sup> and roughly both in material and details.

Some were carried out with a full turn top of the head, while others were flat head, so as to facilitate the placement inside a niche<sup>11</sup>. This niche was often within a relatively small stela made mostly of different types of stones, especially alabaster<sup>12</sup>.

Most of these heads reflect a fossilized tradition of the sculptor's art (Fig.2b), conservative, because it was associated with an immemorial commemoration of the dead<sup>13</sup>. On the other side, some of them were very perfect in details such as the head known as the "head of Mariam"<sup>14</sup>(Fig.3).

This type of heads was common in the ancient southern Arabian kingdoms; many of the Sabaean heads were similar to the Qatabanian in some details and in the way of implementation<sup>15</sup>. Some similar Minaean heads were found<sup>16</sup>.

The name of the head owner was engraved on the base that it carried in most cases; some models of the heads were found with the name of the owner engraved on the neck<sup>17</sup>.

There was a common element in many of these heads, which was the attention to the refinement of the face and upper part of the neck, leaving the side and background without refinement, and also the lower part of the long neck, perhaps because it was hidden in the gap used for the installation at the

base<sup>18</sup>, where it was affixed with gypsum<sup>19</sup>. The eyes of most of these heads were originally inlaid<sup>20</sup>.

The niche where the head was often placed was mostly in a rectangular stela, in the upper part of this stela, as the simplest way to preserve the memory of the deceased was to erect a monument on the tomb, a four corners stela, on the front is the name of the deceased, and underneath it is a square space usually dedicated to represent the deceased - or laying a head - many of them were found in Marib, most of them headless<sup>21</sup>.

Small holes in the side of the niches give evidence that the niches could be closed off with doors made of bronze or wood. The doors were probably opened for certain cult rituals in order to pay tribute to the deceased<sup>22</sup>.

This kind of stelae, can be known as funerary stelae, the production of them (through the numerous and diverse typologies) covers the whole chronological period of the South Arabian Civilization<sup>23</sup> and shed light on beliefs in life after death.

The stelae have been found in three areas: The Jawf valley, which was the ancient region of Ma<sup>c</sup>n; the site of Ma'rib, the capital of Saba, and the site of Hayd bn <sup>c</sup>Aqil, the cemetery of Tamn<sup>c</sup> capital of Qataban<sup>24</sup>.

### **Four types of stelae can be distinguished:**

- **The first** is the former mentioned which the head of the owner represented in the stela was placed inside a niche (Fig.4a). It was of various heights and also the niche incised in it.

- **The second** in which the head was formed as part of the stela (Fig.4b) and not inside the niche<sup>25</sup>. It was what appeared to be as a head inside a niche<sup>26</sup>.

- **The third** in which were the features of the face fully incised on the stela<sup>27</sup> (Fig.4c), and the implementation of the features in these stelae ranged from the perfect and good to the primitive. The shape of the face ranged between elongation, rotation and triangle.

- **The fourth** was known as Eye Stelae (Fig.4d), in which the artist only focused on the eyes<sup>28</sup>, which is the most important characteristic of the face and identifies its owner. The eye and the eyebrows were depicted in a realistic way<sup>29</sup> in some of them. In others, the expression is unrealistic; it was confined to express the eye pupil either circularly, or semi-circle opened from above and surrounded by the eye pupil or nothing inside<sup>30</sup> (Fig.5). Most of them bore the name of their owner.

### **Terms:**

Ancient Southern Arabian inscriptions pointed words related to these stelae, through which we can determine their purposes, which are as follows:

### **nšb:**

A noun means image of person; memorial stone<sup>31</sup> or funerary Stela<sup>32</sup> as in Aramic and Nabataean<sup>33</sup>. The verb **nšb** means in Sabaeen, set up, place a monument<sup>34</sup>, **nafs** in Arabic.

### **Nfs:**

A Feminine noun means, soul; person; self; life, and the plural is **ʾnfs**; **ʾfs**<sup>35</sup>.

It means also, funerary monument<sup>36</sup>; funerary Stela or grave stone<sup>37</sup>. The word appeared in Phoenician **npš**<sup>38</sup>, and in most of the Semitic languages, such as Akkadian, Nabataean<sup>39</sup> and Syriac<sup>40</sup>.

### **Npš:**

Frequently used to describe a monument set up over a grave and perhaps conveyed the idea of personality<sup>41</sup>.

It seems that the monument that represented the person in his life was known as **šwr**<sup>42</sup>, but when the owner of this **šwr** dies, it becomes a grave stone. The Sabaeans or all the South Arabians in general called it **nfs** that have the same meaning in Classic Arabic, and it also means "soul". This means that the function of the monument is transformed from a votive function (associated with the temple) to a funerary function (associated with the tomb)<sup>43</sup>. That means transforming from a votive to a memorial to commemorate and become immortal.

### **m<sup>c</sup>mr:**

Occurs in Qatabanian Inscriptions and usually regarded as type of funerary monument<sup>44</sup>.

However, the researchers differed on this meaning and their views were as follows:

**m<sup>c</sup>mr** means memorial; memorial monument<sup>45</sup>; live long; inhabit<sup>46</sup>; Jamme interpreted it sometimes as votive offering<sup>47</sup>, and this was not accepted by Beeston who translated **m<sup>c</sup>mr** as memorial monument, saying man didn't set up votive offering in a grave<sup>48</sup>. Perhaps one of the accepted views is what J. Ryckmans says that **m<sup>c</sup>mr** means " memorial" such as monuments, small statues and stelae - that he did not limit them to stelae only – and it was offered without a specific occasion to the temple of the protecting God to symbolize the continuous presence of the worshiper in the temple, and to commemorate the dedication of himself to the god<sup>49</sup>. Others said that **m<sup>c</sup>mr** seems to have been used as an expression to protect against evildoers<sup>50</sup>.

It seems that the **m<sup>c</sup>mr** served as a monument allowing the deceased to reside and live among the living, thus it differs from the grave stones which were evidence of the deceased's burial. The **m<sup>c</sup>mr** in the temple was evidence on the life of the deceased among the people<sup>51</sup>.

It is worth mentioning that it was found in the temple of **Rsf** (Rasaf) of the god (Anbi) in Tamna<sup>c</sup>, some bases with inscriptions starting with the word **m<sup>c</sup>mr**, which can be translated (the last place), (the Hereafter) or (Heaven), which led some researchers to say that The Temple of Rasaf may have been a

tomb temple and perhaps the place where these bases were found is where the deceaseds' relatives prayed for them<sup>52</sup>.

Perhaps this view echoed Hofner's assertion that the monuments and small statues in Qataban were in relation with the funerary cults and were not a memorial to the deceased, but were witnesses to survival and permanence, that is, a dwelling for the deceased or his soul, in which he could live<sup>53</sup>.

So, may be **m<sup>c</sup>mr** in Qataban was related to the cult of the dead, appeared in a temple near from the grave or the tomb.

It can be said that the rulers' **m<sup>c</sup>mr** was more dignified than that of the people<sup>54</sup>, but it was for the same purpose.

Many of the above stelae have been found in different places, in graves, such as those of Haid bin <sup>c</sup>qil in Tamna<sup>c</sup>, and also in the habitation areas<sup>55</sup>.

Therefore, it can be said that it was for various purposes<sup>56</sup>, either vows offered by the worshipers to the temples of their Gods in fulfillment of a vow, or a memorial placed by their owners in the temples to represent their permanent presence in the relics of these temples, or funerary placed on their graves or entrances to indicate the location of these graves.

Sometimes they were placed inside the mass graves to determine the location of the body of the owner, perhaps not to be mixed with other convents or perhaps symbolize the idea associated with post-mortal beliefs. The finding of some of these stelae in the vicinity of residential areas suggests that the owners had kept them in their homes until their death and moved with

them to the graves, but for some unknown reasons were not transferred<sup>57</sup>.

### **Bust stelae:**

Another type of stelae was found, and described by the researchers as "bust stelae", these were stelae for a single female represented as a bust in high relief against a rectangular stele.

More than 20 stelae of this type have been found in Qataban, all of which represent bust relief for females in the same style<sup>58</sup>. Most of them are characterized by high technic in the implementation of features and details, most of which were executed on alabaster plates.

Most of the human forms on the stelae were depicted in a half-to-mid-abdominal position (Fig. 6), but there are other models in which the human form - or the woman in particular - appeared in a longer form(Fig.7), possibly reaching the lower abdomen<sup>59</sup>.

There has been a dispute among researchers about the history of these stelae, possibly from the 5th to the 1st century BC<sup>60</sup>, which means the last centuries BC<sup>61</sup>.

The Basic character of these stelae is similarity - except in some details sometimes - the woman raises her right arm in a form similar to greeting<sup>62</sup>, worship or prayer<sup>63</sup>, and the palm was conceived in a flat position that sometimes rises from the shoulder level<sup>64</sup>.

Some interpreted this as the position of the raised arm and the flat palm in the position of blessing<sup>65</sup>. The left arm of the woman is attached to the chest area on top of the abdomen, holding wheat spikes<sup>66</sup> or ears of corn almost in all stelae.

Sometimes they hold a piece of textile (tissue), a cup<sup>67</sup> or an unidentified instrument, or a small bird<sup>68</sup> (Fig.8).

The features of the face were finely executed in most of these figures, most of which were made of alabaster, where the faces were depicted with wide eyes and small lips relatively full, harmonious nose with the rest of the details of the face, full cheeks and ears consistent, looking forward, and the visible part of the woman's body, as well as the face, tends to fill up, which is evident in the abdomen (Fig.9).

The sketchily formed upper part of the body, made from one piece and with a slightly swelling breast<sup>69</sup>.

The woman was depicted in full dress, jewelry and hairstyle. Where women's clothing appears very thin attached to the body and a wide neck opening, short sleeves, and usually surrounded with something like a tape.

In most of them, the women wore different types of jewelry in their neck, especially necklaces and bracelets in their wrists. The hairstyle came embellished, like those in Hellenistic art. Some researchers considered the performance of these hairstyles in those busts one of the most beautiful artifacts made by the ancient Yemeni artist. It shows how he dealt with hair pleats and how he showed hairstyles where the rowing hair from

the beginning of the head to the sides of the top of the ears<sup>70</sup> in some (Figs.6, 8).

The lower part of the woman ends with a round so that the figure ends round or oval. In general these stelae were not large but were small and ranged in dimensions from 17cm to 30cm or less.

The stelae were not thick; some of them were between 5-6<sup>71</sup> and sometimes 7 cm.

The bottom of the stele was a little protruding from it, and often the name of the owner<sup>72</sup> was engraved on it.

Another return to the luxurious appearance of the woman, and the symbol that stuck to her left palm, which was in most models wheat ears or plant sticks in general or cornstalks.

While the right hand raised in an attitude of blessing, thus some researchers believed that these busts were representation of goddesses, especially goddess Dt Hmym<sup>73</sup>.

This confirms from their point of view those ears of corn that refer to fertility as well as the full abdomen and high chest - reminiscent of maternal statues known in most ancient civilizations - all these features led to the belief that there is a worship associated with a goddess that protects life, fertility or agriculture<sup>74</sup>. That means providing a permanent source for food which is considered an important element of human life.

Pirenne was the one to claim that opinion, which was accepted by some and rejected by others and based in her opinion on the above elements of the characteristics of women depicted

on these stelae, and in particular on the way the implementation of the hair, and linked the method of implementation with what was known in goddess Isis. She suggested a similarity between the shape of the woman and Venus or ʿAthtar (ʿIshtart), and therefore indicated a significant impact of neighboring civilizations<sup>75</sup>.

For example, the terracotta plaques from Dura Europos<sup>76</sup> (Fig.10) featuring female figure which her right hand raised in exactly the same pose of the woman also seen in Palmyra<sup>77</sup> (Fig.11). The existence of multiple examples from Dura and Palmyra may suggest that the figure should be identified as a goddess<sup>78</sup>.

Perhaps Pirenne's linking between the shape of women on the stelae with bust relief and its models of neighboring civilizations from a late period, in addition to the follow-up of the development of written signs on these stelae, led her to date them beyond the first<sup>79</sup> and the second century AD.

Pirenne generally follows the concept of late history of Southern Arabia according to the development of written signs (paleography)<sup>80</sup>.

Some researchers repeated this link between these stelae and gods, through studying the clothes worn by the women depicted on these stelae, describing them as thin and appear adhering to the body, and this type of dresses confined to female bust relief stelae, which they believe they were representing the goddesses of beauty<sup>81</sup>. However, it cannot be ascertained as there are similar statues and stelae of common people. Also rely on the

form of clothing only or on hairstyle only to link between the Qatabanian women and the goddesses is difficult to accept.

This was not the only time that Pirenne attempted to link the shapes of women in South Arabia with the goddess Dt Hmym (Zt Hamym). This relationship was also mentioned between the famous bronze statue of lady Br<sup>ʔ</sup>t (Bara<sup>ʔ</sup>t) kept in the Museum of Aden (Fig.12), and goddess Dt Hmym, and to understand Pirenne's point of view, we have to talk about this statue:

**Bar<sup>ʔ</sup>t<sup>82</sup> statue:**

The Statue of lady Br<sup>ʔ</sup>t (Bara<sup>ʔ</sup>t) preserved in the Museum of Aden Nr: Nam56. It was found in Tamna<sup>c</sup> the capital of Qataban, it is 52 cm<sup>83</sup> high.

The statue made of bronze, the woman seated on a stone seat fitted on stone base inscribed with incised script. It is dated about the second century BC<sup>84</sup>.

The statue is finely executed in the details of the face that appears full and smoothed, the distinctive hairstyle, the clothes showing the details of its features and the ornaments that adorn it, which in its entirety bears Greco Roman influences<sup>85</sup>.

The inscription on the stone base was<sup>86</sup>:

**Text:**

- 1- Br<sup>ʔ</sup>t/ dt/byt/rṭd 'l/bn/ šḥz/sq
- 2- Nyt/ dt/ hmym/cṭtr/yhl/šlmt/d
- 3- Hbn/hgn/tkrbts/lwfys/wwf
- 4- y/<sup>ʔ</sup>dns/wmqms/wqnys/qzrt

- 5- °m/ḏrbḥw/r wt/°m/ḏḏ[ymy]
- 6- bwrw°l/ḥyln/yhn°m/

**Translation:**

- 1- Bara°t, from the family of Rathad il the son of Shahaz
- 2- Offered Dt Hamim °Atḥter Yaghul a female statue
- 3- From bronze (a bronze female statue), as she vowed, for her safty, and the safty of...
- 4- Her properties, position and possessions, the administrator of money offerings (for)
- 5- °Amm ḏu Rabḥw, priestess of °Amm ḏu Daymet
- 6- with the power of Warw IL Ghylan Yuhanem<sup>87</sup>

Pirenne tends to say that the statue was a gift from the lady, who wrote the text, and she was a priestess – perhaps in Dt Hamym temple – and that the statue represented the goddess Dt Hamym<sup>88</sup>. It is the sun goddess in Qataban, and this title has been interpreted as related to heat, rain, fertility or protection<sup>89</sup>.

In her opinion, Pirenne relied on very few models, in which the researchers differed as to whether they were actually embodiments of the ancient Yemenite gods in human form. Some totally rejected the idea<sup>90</sup>; others consider it under study and discussion based on some of the results of recent archaeological discoveries, such as that ritual scene in which two people sitting opposite each other in front of a sacrificial table written above their two names which are: °Rn Yd° (Aran Yada°) and °Lmqh (Ilmuqah)<sup>91</sup>.

The Antiquities Department in Sana'a also found two stelae, showing a figure with a winged body, and its name was written in letters as "Shams" šms, meaning the sun goddess<sup>92</sup>.

Therefore, the assumption that she was goddess Dt Hamym is weak, and even considering the analysis of the text, it is not different from the other texts of the offerings. No one has mentioned that the human statues presented, or the stelae that included a human figure were goddesses.

Bara<sup>3</sup>t was often one of the prominent women in society and was a priestess<sup>93</sup> in the temple (Temple Dt Hamym) – and she gave the goddess Dt Hamym a statue for herself and representing her, like all the familiar offerings in South Arabia.

The state of welfare that characterizes its appearance can be explained by the fact that she was not only a priestess of religious functions **ršwt**, but also a **Qzrt** which means, the administrator of money, which was a job in the temple<sup>94</sup> that might gave her some financial advantages.

The same can be accepted in some of the above-mentioned stelae busts, that is, the distinguished ones, which show the aspects of luxury and welfare, as well as the symbols that can distinguish those with status, especially those related to the religious tasks or the role carried out in the temples, so it is acceptable to assume that some of these distinctive stelae are belonging to the priestesses of the temples<sup>95</sup>, and this does not preclude that some primitive or rough-made (Fig.13) models, belongs to women from common people.

The researchers focused on the plant sticks held by women in these stelae and their symbolic meanings of fertility and development, so perhaps the purpose of these stelae busts in general is to pray for fertility and abundance in everything.

It is sometimes seen as clear ears of wheat, sometimes appearing closer to ears of corn, and times that appear in a comprehensive form, in which it is not possible to determine whether a plant or something else.

Therefore, it may be intended to show the fertility when these grains or plants show up, but when the woman holding a tool, it may indicate that in this case tools for rituals performed in the temples. The stela bust in most models do not contain a detailed text to infer this view, this is only an assumption, which may be used to suggest that in similar stelae in nearby areas, sometimes women would hold a tool like a spindle or a spindle stick, and the researchers pointed out that they were referring to their status<sup>96</sup>.

### **Dating:**

Later on – most likely – replaced what the woman holds from sticks of plants to a bird, and therefore used what women hold as one of the two methods to date the history of these stelae, where the first method is based on the style of writing on them, so researchers have taken two or three methods to date the stelae, which are:

1 –Dating by tracking the development of written signs-  
Paleography.

2 –Dating through the symbol that the woman held in her palm.

3- Dating through clothes and ornaments worn by women.

### **1- The written signs on the stelae:**

What is meant by writing on "stela with bust" or "the bust stela" was this short text that was often written on the prominent lower part of the stela, with a brief incised text. In lesser other times the text became longer.

- The incised text at the end of relatively old "stela with bust" was very concise, bearing only the name of the female stela's owner, like other stelae that depicted women in whole bodies, not half<sup>97</sup>.

The names of the women in these stelae were simple personal names<sup>98</sup>, and were confined to the personal name of the statue owner and her family name. The overall shape of women in this type was more like half circle<sup>99</sup>, and the stela on which the woman based on contained her completely, that the head was at the same level of stela or slightly less.

In general, they were full of luxury and perfection, perhaps as a reflection for the economic and political revival of the Kingdom of Qataban during its periods of prosperity<sup>100</sup>, which was characterized by openness to the neighboring civilizations, some of which appeared in the execution of such stelae.

These stelae are dated between the second and first centuries BC<sup>101</sup>, bearing in mind that some researchers object to this late dating of these stelae in general.

- Another group of female stelae with bust were discerned. The incised text at the bottom became slightly longer than

the previous one. The name of the stela's owner was followed by a short text, a prayer for those who attacks the stela. The woman's head is taller than the stela on which she is based. The general appearance of women is more like half a circle, in addition to the appearance of some of the stelae that draw her closer to the oval shape. The plant sticks that she holds in her palm have disappeared and replaced by a small bird, as will be explained in the next part. Among these stelae, there was a less subtle group in its implementation, dating back to the first century AD<sup>102</sup> and beyond.

## **2- The symbol that the woman has held:**

The woman in these stelae was conceived and her left arm was based on the area above the abdomen. The palm was holding a bundle of plants, perhaps the corn or wheat according to most opinions. Other models of these stelae, with women holding something different from plants, looked like a tissue<sup>103</sup>, and sometimes the woman reappeared holding her left palm on a small bird<sup>104</sup> (Fig.8) described as a pigeon<sup>105</sup>.

Some researchers have linked the appearance of the pigeon on female stelae with bust to fertility and reproduction<sup>106</sup>, which is the same meaning as the plant sticks that were held in the older stelae. However, researchers who considered the pigeon here a symbol of fertility may have linked what the pigeon symbolizes to Aphrodite's idol of love and fertility among the Phoenicians<sup>107</sup>. It was common for the Phoenicians to put the pigeon in the hands of their statues in the performance of saluting their gods. So some assumed that the stelae with bust that represent women

holding a pigeon in their hands, but the purpose of giving greetings and peace to the gods in a situation filled with peace and show love. And also placed in the temples as a pending for their owners and they were belonging to the priestesses of the temples, where most of these stelae were found in temples<sup>108</sup>.

Despite the apparent accuracy in the implementation of the stelae of this group, some of them were focusing on the head in detail, while the body is executed in an irregular manner<sup>109</sup>. The portion of the woman's body was relatively longer in some. This group is dated from the first to the second century AD, many of which show classic influences<sup>110</sup>.

### **3- Clothes and Ornaments:**

The woman represented in these stelae carved with a Roman stylized wide-necked dress with a necklace, bracelet and beads<sup>111</sup>.

The women's dress in general was narrow, highlighting the details of the body, making some describe it as transparent, the sleeves were short and decorated mostly at the end with a strip, and sometimes the wide chest opening was decorated with the same ribbon. The study of clothes in ancient Yemen distinguished among three types of this dress worn by women in the stelae with bust:

- A short-sleeved dress with a prominent strip around the top of the elbows.
- A transparent dress stuck to the body with a wide neck opening, pitted with a prominent curved strip, the dress with short sleeves pitted in the same way

- A simple transparent dress<sup>112</sup> with no strips.

In addition to the previous types the dress in which the strips appeared on both sides of the dress also and dated in the first and second centuries AD.

Ornaments seem to have been in the older stelae of simple ornaments that decorate the neck, a collection of simple beads<sup>113</sup>, or what can be called hoops or simple necklaces.

The stelae dated in the first and the second centuries A.D, the woman wore a necklace with round and elongated beads along with figurative elements in the shape of small animals<sup>114</sup>, perhaps symbols of gods.

There was a rare pose appeared in these stelae for the woman, she has her hands joined over her belly (Fig. 14), and she's holding the ears of corn<sup>115</sup>.

As for the common position, the lifting of the right arm, despite what was said about lifting the hand, this way may refer to the greeting or swear or prayer to the god in his temple. There is another opinion that this position was intended to admit guilt.

The position suits the confession of the culprit in front of the god or his representative, i.e. the priest who acts as a mediator between the worshiper and the god. The hand raised in this way may be closer to swear than the salute. Confession of guilt requires swear not to return to it again<sup>116</sup>.

Everything related to the symbolism of these stelae of views can be accepted, the status of women is likely to be

interpreted as a greeting, prayer, swear or surrender to submission of god.

Mostly the stelae were dedicated to the gods in its temples, as vows, as a kind of confession of the worshiper's presence in the house of the god, and in a situation in which proves his submission. This may be reinforced by the discovery of these stelae in the temples of ancient South Arabia.

## **Conclusion**

- The forms of stelae that represented a part of a human (the face, eyes, upper part) – and not a human in a full- in ancient South Arabia had varied.

- Perhaps the most famous of these stelae were that a human head was placed inside a niche in the stela. Small holes in the side of the niches give evidence that the niches could be closed off with doors made of bronze or wood.

- The heads may have been sculpted separately at the beginning, and then evolved to be a part of the stela with niches.

- There is no evidence of this development or combination between heads and stelae, and there is nothing in the texts to indicate which was earlier.

- The separate heads varied in their manufacture, which were well-made, good and rough-made.

- The shapes of the stelae with niche and their lengths, as well as the length of the niche in them had varied.

- The stelae bearing the face carving appeared as part of the stela and not in a niche. The faces in some of the stelae were noticeably prominent, others were not, and others were deeply incised or slightly incised.
- The faces were represented on some stelae either in full details, or only some of them. They were either round or tend to elongate or triangular.
- Some of the stelae were known as eye stelae, which were limited to portraying the features of the face on the eyes only, and carried out in several ways, as realistic representation for the eyes, or exaggerated in roundness or prominence.
- These rectangular stelae were mostly funerary objects whose purpose was to prove their identity. Some of these stelae may have been made when their owners were alive and then carried with them after the death as a grave stone.
- The female bust stelae were marked by women who raised their hands and grabbed one another on special sticks of plants especially in Qataban.
- The researchers differed about the shape of the woman depicted on these stelae in the said form, whether she is a goddess or a priestess.
- It is difficult to recognize that female stelae busts represent goddess, since this was not common in South Arabia, and there is no evidence of this in the few examples still under discussion.
- The imperfect models may belong to women of the commoners.

- These bust stelae can be dated from the second century BC to the second century AD through written inscriptions; the date of them depends on, the symbol of the woman portrayed in the stela, and the clothes and ornaments she wears.

- The aim of portraying a woman with a raised arm with a conceived palm in a flat position may refer to salutation, prayer, begging, and confession or swear. All these assumptions are acceptable, since the inscriptions do not explain this clearly.

## Figures

Fig. 1



a

b

Katalogteil Im land der Konigen Von Saba, p.298

Fig. 2



a

Schiettecatte, J., death and burial, p.196.



b

Katalogteil Im land der Konigen Von Saba, p.297.

Fig. 3



Avanzini, A., *South Arabian Kingdoms*, p.54.

Fig. 4



a



b

a: Avanzini, A., *"The Steles a la Deesse"*, p.146.

b: Arbach, M.& Others, Ṣan‘ā’ National Museum Collection of Funerary Stelae from the Jawf valley , III, Sana, 2008, p.171.

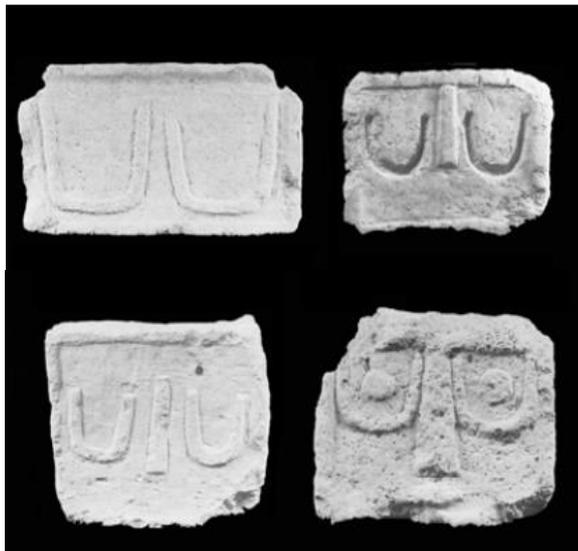


C

d

Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age, p.192.

Fig. 5



Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age, p.197.

Fig. 6



<https://art.thewalters.org/detail/76512/stele-with-a-female-bust/>

Fig. 7



Avanzini, A., "CASIS", p.21.

Fig. 8



Pirenne, J., "Notes D'Archeologie Sud-Arabe", 1, p.328.

Fig. 9



Barnet, R., "South Arabian Sculptures", Xxa

Fig. 10



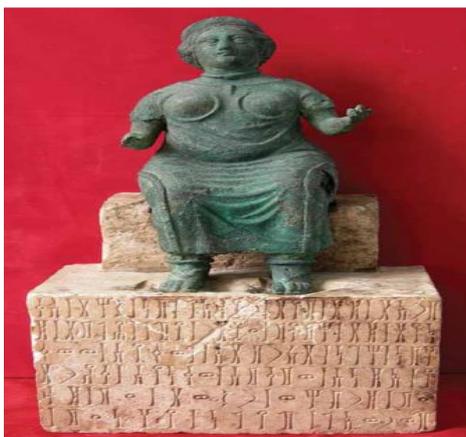
Avanzini, A., "The Steles a la Deesse, p.146.

Fig. 11



Erdemir, H., "Mystery of the Funerary Reliefs of Palmyra (Tadmor)  
In the Desert Of Syria", Turkish Studies, 2013, p.516.

Fig. 12



Avanzini, A., "CASIS", p.21.

Fig. 13



Pirenne, J., "Notes D'Archeologie Sud-Arabe", 1, Pl.XIV.

Fig. 14



Avanzini, A., "The Steles a la Deesse, p.149.

### **Abbreviations**

**AAE** : Arabian archaeology and epigraphy, Singapore.

**BSOAS** : Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,  
Cambridge Uni. Press, London.

**CASIS** : Cataloguing and Fruition of South Arabian Inscriptions  
through an Informatic Support.

**CIAS** : Corpus des inscriptions et antiquites Sud-Arabes,  
Louvain.

**CSAI** : Corpus of Central Middle Sabaic Inscriptions.

**EVO** : Egitto E Vicino Oriente Pisa.

**Ja, MB** :Jamme, A., Sabaean Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis (Maribe), Baltimore, 1962.

**Le Museon**: Revue d'Etudes Orientales, Louvain.

**PSAS** : Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, Oxford.

**Raydan**: Journal of Ancient Yemeni Antiquities and Epigraphy, the Yemeni Center for Cultural & Archaeological Research, Aden.

**RES** : Repertoire d'epigraphie Semitique.

**Semitica**: Chaiers Publes par L'institut d'etudes Semitiques avec le concours du Centre national de la Recherche Scientifique.

## Footnotes:

- 1- Rogers, L., "Sculpture", <https://www.britanica>
- 2- Doe, B., Southern Arabia, Cambridge, 1971, p.101.
- 3- They are meant to be sculpted in complete sculpture, separate, not walled, or so-called: Three dimensional representative forms.
- 4- Avanzini, A., "For a Study of the Formutory of Construction Inscriptions", Sayhadica, La Arabie Preislamique, 1, Paris, 1987, p.20.
- 5- Doe, B., Southern Arabia, p.106.
- 6- Beeston, A. & others, Sabaic Dictionary (English, French, Arabic), Louvain, 1982, p.143.
- 7- Beeston, A. & others, Sabaic Dictionary, p.172; Ja, MB, 688/3, p.184, p1.24:

### Text:

- 1) [ʔ] Iqdm / gr] (b) [n/hq]
- 2) Ny / ʔimqh / [lb] [nh]
- 3) [w / ʔlšrh / **zlm** /
- 4) ḏḏhbn

### Translation:

- 1) ʔilqadam Gar(b) [an] has [de-]
- 2) [di] cated to ʔilmoquh for [h] is s[on],
- 3) ʔilšarah, this statue
- 4) which [is] in bronze.

The word **zlm** used instead of the usual form **šlm** : Ja, MB, p.184-185.

- 8- Beilla, J., Dictionary of Old Sabaean Dialect, Harvard, 1982, p419; Fakhry, A., An archeological Journey to Yemen, II, Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte, Cairo, 1952, p.68.

A limited group of South Arabian stelae bears the word **šwr**, which means (image) in the text inscribed on them.: Lombardi, A., "Le Stelle Sudarabiche denominate **šwr**": Monumenti Votivi o Funerari Evo, 37, Pisa University Press, Pisa, 2014, p.149.

It also has a meaning (to separate or to be left):

Beilla, J., Dictionary of Old Sabaean, p.419.

The statue is another image or a separate copy of the person, perhaps the word was used to express the statue for matching of the meaning.

9- الجرو, أسمهان: "المدافن اليمنية القديمة مصدر هام لدراسة تاريخ اليمن القديم", دراسات  
يمنية, ع38, صنعاء, 1989, ص159.

10- جرومان, أ.: "الناحية الأثرية لبلاد العرب الجنوبية", التاريخ العربي القديم, مكتبة  
النهضة المصرية, القاهرة, 1958, ص165.

11- F. Bron, "Antiquites sud. Arabes dans les collections Suisses",  
Annali, 30, Instituto Orientale di Napoli, Fasc. 4, Napoli, 1970,  
p.552.

12- While one researcher points out that some of these stelea were:  
Carved Wooden Stele: Mallowan, M., "An Alabaster Head from  
Timna", South Arabia, Iraq, Vol.28, No.2. British Institute for the  
study of Iraq, 1966., p.104.

13- Mallowan, M., "An Alabaster Head", p.104.

14- ر, ج: تنوع القبور, اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, معهد العالم العربي,  
باريس ودار الأهالي, دمشق, 1999, ص171, و

Avanzini, A., "The South Arabian Kingdoms, An Introduction to  
their history, Art and technique in Yemen", The bronzes from the  
museum of Baynun, Piza, 2009, p. 54.

15- Gerlach, I., "What is Sabaean Art, Problems in Distinguishing  
ancient South Arabian Art using Saba and Qataban as examples",  
Archaologische Berichte aus dem Yemen, X, Mainz, 2005, p.36.

The examples from the Sabaean and Qatabanian sculptures prove  
that at certain times both in Qataban and in Saba very similar expressions of  
art must have existed: Gerlach, I., "What is Sabaean Art", p.41.

16- أنطونيوني, س: الصور, الآلهة والبشر والحيوانات, اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, معهد العالم  
العربي, باريس ودار الأهالي, دمشق, 1999, ص152.

17- فخري, أحمد: رحلة أثرية إلى اليمن, وزارة الإعلام والثقافة, صنعاء, 1988, ص130.

سيد, عبد المنعم عبد الحليم: "دراسة مقارنة لآثار العربية القديمة المحفوظة في متحف كلية -18 الآداب بجامعة الملك عبد العزيز بجدة, ج2, البحر الأحمر وظهيره في العصور القديمة, ج1, دار المعرفة الجامعية, الاسكندرية, 1993, ص316-317.

In addition to the roughness of most of these heads and inconsistencies in detail, sometimes overlooked details such as the ears, which were sometimes depicted carefully and sometimes very small and do not mimic nature, and were not seen at all as mentioned in some heads. Residues colors appeared on some heads made of limestone indicate that the hair was painted in black, and the face is dark red:

فخري أحمد: رحلة أثرية, ص149-150.

Some small and executed heads were also found in the aforementioned technique, especially in the Haid bin Aqil cemetery in Timna. However, they were found in tombs that were not intact, that were exposed to tampering. Some of them were not marked. It is not known whether they were designated for children's graves, other symbolic functions:

غلانزمان, و: "مقبرة تمنع", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, معهد العالم العربي, باريس ودار الأهالي.

دمشق, 1999, ص172.

19- Gerlach, I., "The Cemetry of the Awam Temple in the Oasis of Marib, 25 Years Excavations and Research in Yemen, 1978-2003", Hafte Zur Kulturgeschichte des Yemen, Band 1, Deutsches Archaologisches Institut, Sanaa, 2003, p.93.

20- Barnet, R., "South Arabian Sculptures", the British Museum Quarterly, Vol. 17, No.3, 1952, p.48.

21- جرومان, أ.: "الناحية الأثرية لبلاد العرب", ص164.

22- Gerlach, I., "The Cemetry of the Awam", p.9.

- 23- Lombardi, A., "Some Arabian Funerary Stelae from the British Museum Collection", *Arabica Antica*, II, Roma, 2016, p.12.
- 24- Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age, funerary stelae and the issue of cross-cultural contacts, Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond, Multi disciplinary perspectives", *Society for Arabian studies monographs*, 10, Oxford, 2010, p.191.
- 25- Antonini, S., "South Arabian antiquities in private collection in Ar-Riyad (Saudi Arabia)", *Arb. Arch. Epig.*, 1998, fig2, p.262; Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age", p.191.
- 26- Gerlach, I., "Die Graben des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts Sana'a in Sabaischen Friedhof des Awam-tempels in Marib", *Im land der Konigin Von Saba*, Munchen, 2000, Abb.16, p.120.
- 27- Bron, F., "Nouvelle antiquites qatabanite du British Museum", *Arab. Arch. Epig.*, 17, 2006, p.192.
- 28- Pavan, A., *The Art of Ancient South Arabia, Insights into Ancient South Arabia, The Collection of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale "G. Tucci" in Rome*, Pisa, 2015, p.33-34; Gerlach, I., "What is Sabaeen Art", p.37.
- 29- Doe, B., *Southern Arabia*, pl.23, p.42.
- 30- Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age", fig.6, p.197.
- 31- Beeston, A. & others, "Sabaic Dictionary", p.99.
- 32- Beilla, J., "Dictionary of Old Sabaeen", p.113, C443 /1.
- 33- **Nṣby'** , a masculine, plural noun with emphatic ending, "stela": Al-Theeb, S., *Aramic and Nabataean Inscription from North-West Arabia*, Riyadh, 1993, p.92.  
The singular is **nṣb'** ; Donner, R., *Kanaanische und Aramische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1964, 201/1.;
- الذبيب, سليمان: معجم المفردات الأرامية القديمة, دراسة مقارنة, الرياض, 2006, ص191.
- 34- Beeston & Others, *Sabaeen Dictionary*, p.99.
- 35- Beeston & Others, *Sabaeen Dictionary*, p.93.
- 36- Beeston & Others, *Sabaeen Dictionary*, p.93; Ricks, S., *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian*, Roma, 1981, p.109.
- 37- Beilla, J., "Dictionary of Old Sabaeen", p.310.
- 38- Beilla, J., "Dictionary of Old Sabaeen", p.310.

- 39- Al-Theeb,S., "Aramic and Nabataean Inscription", p.258; Cantineau, J., Le Nabateen, II, Paris, 1973, p.121.
- 40- Costaz, L., Dictionnaire Syriac-Francais, Syriac-English Dictionary, قاموس سرياني-عربي, Beirut, 1963, p.210.
- 41- Al-Theeb,S., "Aramic and Nabataean Inscription", p.258.
- 42- It has already been mentioned that one of the meanings of **šwr** is a statue, image or shape: Ricks, S., Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian, Roma,1981, p.134., it also means separate one's self: Beilla, J., "Dictionary of Old Sabaeen", p.420, and there is no contradiction in its meaning as the statue is a separate image of man in the same form and shape: Pirenne, J., Corpus des Inscriptions et Antiquites Sud-Arabes, Tom1, Section2, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Louvain, 1977, p.1.542.
- 43- سيد, عبد المنعم عبد الحليم: دراسة مقارنة للآثار العربية القديمة المحفوظة في متحف كلية الآداب بجامعة الملك عبد العزيز بجدة, ج2, ص307.
- 44- Maraqtan, M., "Curse formulae in South Arabian Inscriptions and some of their Semitic parallels", PSAS, 28, 1997, p.192.
- 45- Beeston & Others, Sabaeen Dictionary, p.17; Ricks, S., "Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian", p.121.
- 46- Beilla, J., "Dictionary of Old Sabaeen", p.372.
- 47- Ricks, S., "Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian", p.121.
- 48- Beeston, A., "Notes on Old South Arabian Lexicography, V", Le Museon, 66, 1953, p.112.
- 49- Garbini, G., "Encore Quleques Mots sur le **m<sup>c</sup>mr**", Raydan,3, Louvain,1980, p55; Ryckmans, J., A propos du **m<sup>c</sup>mr** Sud-Arabe, RES 3884 bis, Le Museon, 1953, p.343-369.
- 50- Maraqtan, M., Curse formulae, p.192.
- 51- Garbini mentioned in the same these that **m<sup>c</sup>mr** means all kinds of stelae: Garbini, G., Encore Quleques Mots sur le **m<sup>c</sup>mr**, p.56.
- 52- غلانزمان, و: "مقبرة تمنع", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص171.
- 53- Garbini, G., Encore Quleques Mots sur le **m<sup>c</sup>mr**, p.55.
- 54- Garbini, G., Encore Quleques Mots sur le **m<sup>c</sup>mr**, p.59.
- 55- Doe, B., Southern Arabia, p.106.

- 56- Stelae were much appreciated objects by the South Arabians, who used them very often: Pavan, A., The Art of Ancient South Arabia, p.34.
- 57- سيد, عبد المنعم عبد الحليم: دراسة مقارنة للآثار العربية القديمة, ص306.
- 58- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse: Problems of interpreting and dating", EVO, 27, 2004, p.145.
- 59- Bron, F., " Deux Statuettes Qatabanites", Planche IX, Semitica, 35, Paris, 1985, p.98; large number of full statues were resembling these of half bust stelae, in the body-based stelae: Honeyman, A., "Epigraphic South Arabian Antiquities", JNES, 21, No1, Chicago, 1962, PL. 4.
- 60- Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age", p.198.
- 61- غلانزمان, و: " مقبرة تمنع", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص155.
- 62- باعليان, محمد عوض: الملابس في اليمن القديم, دراسة من خلال التماثيل والآثار, دار جامعة عدن للطباعة والنشر, عدن, 2013, ص155.
- 63- غلانزمان, و: " مقبرة تمنع", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص155.
- 64- الحداد, فتحي: الأشكال الأدمية في فنون جنوب شبه الجزيرة العربية قبل الإسلام, رسالة دكتوراه غير منشورة, المعهد العالي لحضارات الشرق الأدنى القديم, جامعة الزقازيق, 1996, ص143.
- 65- غلانزمان, و: " مقبرة تمنع", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص155.
- 66- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.145.
- 67- بركات, أبو العيون: "الفن اليمني القديم", الإكليل, ع 1, صنعاء, 1988, ص86.
- 68- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.149.
- 69- Gerlach, I., "What is Sabaean Art", p.40.
- 70- باسلامة, محمد: النحت والنقش في اليمن القديمو دراسة أثرية مقارنة, رسالة دكتوراه غير منشورة, كلية الآداب, جامعة بغداد, 1995, ص153.
- 71- The thickness of these bust stelae was about 5-7cm, more or less, especially the alabaster ones.

72- Bron, F., " Deux Statuettes Qatabanites", p98. Sometimes the end of the bust stela bear line or more of inscriptions.

73- Doe, B., Southern Arabia, p.109.

74- غلانزمان, و: مقبرة تمنع, اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص155.

Some examples of these stelae represented the woman with wide belly and large breasts, therefore many researchers connected between the woman and the Goddess of fertility, for example: Pirenne, J., "Notes D'Archeologie Sud-Arabe", 1, Syria, 37, Fasc. 3/4, 1960, p.332.

75- Pirenne, J., "Notes D'Archeologie Sud-Arabe", I, p.343, 347.

76- Dura Europos: one of the Old civilizations in Ancient Syria, which had resembled those of Qataban specially in eyes, which represented staring firmly to the front:

Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.146; Barnet, R., "South Arabian Sculptures", p.48.

77- Palmyra: The main city of the Kingdom of Tadmur, was famous with funerary stelae represented a woman alone, or with her child, or children, sometimes with her husband:

البنبي, عدنان: الفن التدمري, المجلس الأعلى لرعاية الفنون والآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية, سلسلة تاريخ الفن في سورية, 1972, ص 49 و51 و43.

They were known in Palmyra with funerary relief busts, they gathered between the bust and the prominent inscription. The back section consisted of a rectangular panel; its height was more than its width. It was erected in the facades of the tombs, i.e. it is specific to the tombs. It was a witness to the deceased's presence with his family in eternal encounter:

البنبي, عدنان: الفن التدمري, ص42.

78- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.146

79- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.148; Barnet, R., "South Arabian Sculptures", p.48.

80- روبان , كريستيان: "التسلسل التاريخي ومشكلاته", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص61.

For more: Pirenne, J., "Chronique d'archeologie sud-arabe, 1955-1956", Annales d'Ethiopie, Vol.2, 1957, p.37-73.

81- باعليان, محمد عوض: الملابس في اليمن القديم, ص155.

82- Br<sup>o</sup>t (Bara<sup>o</sup>t) is a singular female name known in Qataban:

Hayajeneh, H., "Die Personennamen in den Qatabainschen Inscripten, Lexikolische und grammatische Analyse in kontex der Semitischen Anthroponomastik", Texte und Studien Fur Orientalistik, 10, Hildeshein, 1998,94;

مكياش, عبدالله وحيزان الزبيدي: نقش أوساني جديد من وادي مرخة (اليمن), دراسة تحليلية لغوية, المجلة الأردنية للتاريخ والآثار, مج7, ع1, 2013, ص183.

83- "Katalogteil", Im land der Konigen Von Saba, 63M, Munchen,2000, p.292.

84- ويل, ارنست: "الفنون في مدرسة اليونان وروما", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص402.

85- ويل, ارنست: "الفنون في مدرسة اليونان وروما", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص199.

86- CIAS 47. 11/01/f72.

87- الحكيمي, شوقي: ملامح من الحضارة الكلاسيكية في حضارة اليمن القديم, رسالة ماجستير - غير منشورة, كلية الآداب, جامعة صنعاء, 2010, ص 100-101 و

Avanzini, A., Corpus of Ancient South Arabian Incriptions, 1-111, Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic, Awsanite Incriptions, Universite de Pisa, 2004, p.174.

88- Pirenne, J., "Notes D'Archeologie Sud-Arabe", Syria, 49, 1972, p.204. About Dt Hmym the Sun goddess: Maraqtan, M., "Die Gottin Sonne im Vorislamischen Jemen", Im Land der Konigin Von Saba, Munchen, 2000, p.95.

89- باخشوين, فاطمة: الحياة الدينية في ممالك معين وقتبان حضرموت, الرياض, 2002, ص242-243.

The circle or small adjacent circles to form a circle was a symbol of Dt Hmym, and the circle shape is likely to symbolize the surround and protection. For more:

باخشوين , فاطمة: الحياة الدينية , ص339.

- Grohman, A., Gotter Symboltiere auf Sudarabischen Denkmolern, Wien, 1914, p.35.
- Jamme, A., Le Pantheon Sudarabe Pre-Islamique, Le Museon, 60, 1-4, 1947, p14.

90- Ryckmans, J., "Old South Arabian Religion", Yemen, 3000 Years of Art and Civilization in Arabia Felix, 1988, p.108.

91- Arbach, M. & R. Audouin, La Decouverte du timple d'Arnudac a Nashshan d'une Operation de Sauvetage Franco-Yemenite, Academie de Inscriptions & Belles-Lettries, Paris, 2004, Fig.3; 4, p. 1291.

The view of the two seated persons comes within a group of human incarnations depicted in the position of standing on a pillar of the Sawda temple (previously called Nshan) in Jawf. Some assumed that the view is of Gods, similar to the hierarchical order of the kingdoms of the Jawf:

Audouin, R. & M.Arabach, Une Pantheon de L'Arabie du Sud en images, Le temple Pd'as-Sawda', Yemen, Sanaa, 2004, Fig. 12-13;

عربش, منير وريمي أودوان: معطيات جديدة حول تاريخ مملكة السودان من خلال اكتشافات البعثة اليمنية-الفرنسية للآثار في الجوف, صنعاء الحضارة والتاريخ, المؤتمر الدولي الخاص للحضارة اليمنية, مج1, صنعاء, 2005, ص1 و12.

92- الحكيمي, شوقي: ملامح من الحضارة الكلاسيكية في حضارة اليمن القديم, ص100.

93- Glanzman, W., " Tamna<sup>c</sup> : Glanz Und Untergang einer Hauptstadt", Im Land der Konigen Von Saba, Munchen,2000. p.191; ويل, ارنست: "الفنون في مدرسة اليونان القديمة", اليمن في بلاد ملكة سبأ, ص204.

94- **Ršwt** is a female religious title means a priestess of the temple, for more discussion about the title:

Pirenne, J., "Rshw, Rshwt, Fdy, Fdyt and the Priesthood in Ancient South Arabia", PSAS, 6, 1976, p.137.

Al-Ghul, M., "New Qatabani Inscriptions", BSOAS, 22, 1959, p.5.

Beeston, A., "The Qatabanic text VL1", PSAS, 16, 1986, p.9.

As for **qzrt**, it is a female administrator of money offering:

Ricks, S., Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian, p.146.

Most researchers explain that it is based on the offerings and tithes of the temple:

بافقيه , عبد القادر: "نقش قتاباني يذكر ملك عم وإبني", ريدان, ع6, 1994, ص28.

لوندين, أ: النقش القتاباني في اللوفر (A021.124), ريدان, ع2, 1979, ص36-37.

95- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.147.

96- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.147,

They mean with this opinion the stelae from Palmyra.

97- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.148.

98- Where the personal names varied in South Arabia, there were simple, compound and sentence:

Tairan, S., Die Personenamen in den altarabischen Inschriften, Ein Beitrag Zur altsudarabischen Namengebung, Hiedsheim, 1992.

99- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.148;

باسلامة , محمد, النحت والنقوش في اليمن القديم, ص121.

100- Albright, W., "The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the light of the first Campaign Excavation in Qataban", BASOR, 119, 1950, p.6.

101- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.148;

Schittecatte, J., "The Arabian Iron Age", p.198.

102- Avanzini, A., The "Steles a la Deesse", p.149.

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- 107- نجيم, أدهم: أشكال الطيور في الفن اليمني القديم, ص101.
- There were other female stelae with bust, showing the woman holding a pigeon in one hand and holding an olive branch in the other:
- نجيم, أدهم: أشكال الطيور في الفن اليمني القديم, ص99.
- And this is the symbolic meaning known as the symbol of peace, pigeon and olive branch.
- Some said that what the woman carried was the pigeon in the hand, and a Wheat spike in the other, perhaps a reference to peace and food. This form was limited to the position of Bynun (Dhamār):
- العميسي, فضل: التجسيديات الحيوانية, ص452.
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- 110- Avanzini, A., The "Stelae a la Deesse", p.149.
- 111- Doe, B., Southern Arabia, p.109.
- 112- باعليان, محمد عوض: الملابس في اليمن القديم, ص155-156.
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