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by Alessandro Bausi
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Vignette:

Gold coin of King Aphilas, early third century CE, as drawn by A. Luegmeyer after the coin in Rennau collection. Weight 2.48 grams, diameter 17 mm.

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Editorial

The present twenty-sixth issue of AETHIOPICA marks yet another turn in the history of the journal. This is the last issue which I have the responsibility of editing as chief-editor, since I leave Universität Hamburg in the course of 2023, after over fourteen years of service in which AETHIOPICA has remained one of my ever-present tasks—I can literally say—since 1 September 2009, the day of my appointment coinciding with the day of my first editorial meeting.

Aaron Michael Butts, newly appointed Professor für Semitistik insbesondere Äthiopistik at the Asien-Afrika-Institut of Universität Hamburg, and already member of the editorial board for the present issue, among his many tasks will also take over for the next issue as editor-in-chief of the journal, of the supplement series, as well as, all in all, of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian and Eritrean Studies. This, however, is not the only change with the editorial board and editorial team. Hewan Semon Marye, newly appointed Juniorprofessorin für Äthiopistik, insbesondere Gegenwartsfragen Nordostafrikas at the Asien-Afrika-Institut of Universität Hamburg, joined the editorial board in May. In addition, Karin Ghion-Hamadu has succeeded with competence and full dedication Francesca Panini—in service on the team since issue 20 of 2017 in a period marked by great efforts, challenges, but also success—for the preparation of the present issue of AETHIOPICA.

The new editor-in-chief together with the new members of the editorial board and editorial team will definitely bring in additional competences and fresh ideas that will reinvigorate and renew the journal. To the to-be editor-in-chief, and to all the members of the editorial board and of the editorial team, I wish all success in a task that is as heavy and delicate as it is rewarding.

The printing as well as part of the editorial costs of AETHIOPICA are not regularly supported by any *ad hoc* funding body, and these are covered exclusively thanks to research projects and foundations. In this connection, I am happy to acknowledge the support of the Langzeitvorhaben im Akademienprogramm (long-term project in the program of The Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities), through a project of the Academy of Hamburg, ‘Beta maṣāḥəft: Die Schriftkultur des christlichen Äthiopiens und Eritreas: eine multimediale Forschungsumgebung’, at Universität Hamburg (2016–2040), which has covered the costs of the present as well as of the last issues, as indicated on the cover. Also my pleasant duty is to acknowledge the substantial support of the DeutschÄthiopischeStiftung for the present as well as for the previous three issues. It cannot remain unnoticed that the DeutschÄthiopischeStiftung, founded

and still managed by Siegbert Uhlig, has also supported the newly-established endowed Juniorprofessur für Äthiopistik, insbesondere Gegenwartsfragen Nord-ostafrikas, now held by Hewan Semon Marye, fundamentally contributing to the development of Ethiopian and Eritrean studies at Universität Hamburg.

Alessandro Bausi

A Hitherto Unattested Ethio-Sabaeen King in a Woman's Altar Dedication from Šərḥan (Təgray/Ethiopia) —Edition, Translation and Commentary*

NORBERT NEBES, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Introduction

Since the publication of the *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Éthiopie des périodes pré-axoumite et axoumite* in 1991, which includes 179 inscriptions written in the Old South Arabian alphabet,¹ more textual evidence has been discovered, which, in combination with the monumental buildings and numerous other archaeological testimonies, document the presence of Sabaeen immigrants in the Ethiopian highlands.² These texts are all from Təgray and, like the majority of other inscriptions from this region,³ are distributed between Yəḥa, the religious and administrative centre of the Ethio-Sabaeans,⁴ and the surrounding area,⁵ the region of Hawəlti / Mälazo to the west⁶ and 'Addi Akawəḥ near Wuqro to the south.⁷

* The following analysis is based on the photo and the report by Gidey Gebreegziabher with the caveat that the currently available photo is only a thumbnail of the original photo documentation which was lost during the recent conflict in Təgray. An autopsy of the inscription in situ has not yet been possible. The paper was written in the context of the DFG funded long term project 'Cultural Contacts between South Arabia and Ethiopia. Reconstruction of the ancient cultural area of Yəḥa (Təgray/Ethiopia)' which is being carried out by the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the Research Centre Ancient South Arabia and Northeast Africa of the Friedrich Schiller University (FSU) Jena. I am indebted to Wolbert Smidt and Helen Wiegleb, both of Jena, for their valuable comments, as well as to Tobias Gerbothe, Jena, for his support with the technical details of the manuscript.

¹ RIÉ 1–179.

² On the state of research, see most recently Gerlach 2023 and Nebes 2023.

³ Cf. the map in Nebes 2023, 136.

⁴ DAI Grat 2019-1 = Yeh 19 B 102, Henze 1, Afše 1–2. For the term 'Ethio-Sabaeen' see Gerlach 2023, 22 and Nebes 2021, 318–319.

⁵ HG Färäs May 1 from Guldam, 'Addi Ba'ekel 1 (see also the map in Dugast and Gajda 2014, 181).

⁶ Manzo 2002, joined to RIÉ 28 from Gobo Čela (kind reference Helen Wiegleb), see also Nebes 2021.

⁷ DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3, DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-2 = MG 4, DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-3 = MG 2, DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-4 = MG 1, DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-5 = MG 5; Addi Akaweh 1.

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Among the newly discovered inscriptions, two are of particular historical relevance. The altar inscription of Waʿrān of Mäqabər Gaʿəwa in ʿAddi Akawəḥ⁸ identifies this king as a central political figure in the first half of the seventh century BCE, noted for his capacity as a temple builder. Sabaeen stonemasons fulfilled an important role here, leaving inscriptions connecting them with the temples' construction.⁹ An inscription on the recently discovered bronze bowl¹⁰ from the monumental administrative building of Grat Bä'al Gəbri again documents the presence of Sabaeen stonemasons, who were not only from Mārib, as previously understood, but also from Širwāḥ, 40 km away, the area that supplied the alabaster required for the cult installations.

The inscription, that was made known thanks to the communication of Gidey Gebreegziabher and therefore can be discussed below, adds one more significant detail to our fragmented knowledge of the history of Ethiopia in the first half of the first millennium BCE. It mentions a hitherto unknown Ethio-Sabaeen king who can be linked genealogically to one of the known royal lines.

GE Šərḥan 1

Object: Altar block, probably limestone, dimensions unknown.

Provenance: Šərḥan, 17 km north-east of Əntəččo.

Description: Inscription of five lines enclosed in slightly recessed register on one side of an altar. The black letters shown in the photo are not traced, but are due to the soot deposits in the letter depressions; see Gidey Gebreegziabher in this volume.

Special features: The letter N in (correct) right-to-left direction in *hqn* (l. 1), *mlkn* (l. 5), but from left-to-right in (*hmn* (l. 2), *bn* (l. 4) and *lmn* (l. 5)), similarly, the K in *lkn*, *mlkn* (l. 4); oversized ʿ in *tʿtrt* (l. 1).

Transliteration

1. [Symbol] / *tʿtrt* / *hqn*
2. *yt* / *l-dt* / *hmn* /
3. *mslmm* / *b-ql* / *d-*
4. *lkn* / *mlkn* / *bn* / *bn*
5. / *lmn* / *mlkn*

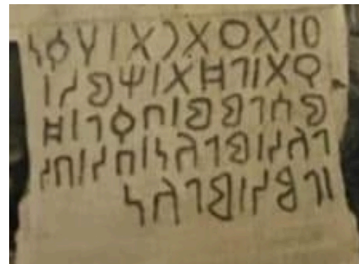


Fig. 1 The inscription stone

⁸ DAI ʿAddi ʿAkawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3.

⁹ See, most recently, Nebes 2021, 323–324.

¹⁰ DAI Grat 2019-1 = Yeh 19 B 102.

Translation

(1) Ta'attarat, has dedicat- (2) ed to *ḏāt Ḥamēn* (3) a Maslam altar by instruction of *ḏū* (4) Lakkān, the king, the son of the son of (5) Lāmān, the king.

Comment

Line 1: The symbol separated by a divider at the beginning of the line is to be identified as a form of the letter F, whereas it has its classical rhombic shape, for example in RIÉ 12 and RIÉ 19. The oval form, however, is far more common and seems to be used especially in the graffiti from Akkälä Guzay, see for example RIÉ 73, RIÉ 76, RIÉ 79, RIÉ 89, etc. As far as I know, this symbol is not attested in Old South Arabian. The two examples given by Adolf Grohmann¹¹ cannot be taken as evidence, as Helen Wiegleb has kindly pointed out to me: Gl 1757 = R 3655 belongs to the 'eponym list' of the Bāb al-Falaḡ in the oasis of Mārib¹² and the terracotta stone from the Kaiserlich Königliches Hofmuseum zu Wien is of unknown origin. For the interpretation of the F in our text, reference is made to the letter symbols *Ḑ* and *B*, which are associated to the 'amāritic deity *ḏū Samāwī* and the Naššānite city god 'Aranyada', respectively.¹³ To which deity, however, the F of our inscription refers to is unclear. It may be related to the Ethio-Sabaeen manifestation of *ḏāt Ḥamēn*, to whom the altar is dedicated. That *t'rt* is a female dedicant is obvious from the verbal predicate *hqnyt*. The personal name is not yet known from Ethiopic, Old South Arabian, Arabic, or other neighbouring languages. In a letter communication dated 2 June 2022, Walter W. Müller, Marburg, suggests interpreting the female name according to northern Ethiopian, referring to Təgre 'attārä 'greifen, packen', T₂ pass. *ta'attārä*,¹⁴ Təgrəñña 'attārä 'to hold back, detain, etc.',¹⁵ Gə'əz 'atarä 'to seize, grasp, etc.'¹⁶ Accordingly, the name would be translated 'She (sc. the name bearer) has been seized (by the deity)' and would have a Hebrew parallel in the proper name formed by the verb 'āḥaz such as 'Aḥazyāh(ū) 'Yāh(ū) has seized'. The meaning would therefore be that the deity seizes the name bearer 'um ihn zu leiten und ihn festzuhalten in allen Nöten und Gefahren'.¹⁷ Apart from the unusual name, it is noticeable that the female dedicant is listed without a filiation, at least if we take the standard form of Old South Arabian as a basis.

¹¹ Grohmann 1914, 51.

¹² See Lundin 1965, 43 under Gl 1757a and Gl 1757b, and Robin 1996, 1091–1095.

¹³ See Gajda 2012, 457–458, 449.

¹⁴ Littmann and Höfner 1962, 471.

¹⁵ Kane 2000, II, 1881.

¹⁶ Leslau 1987, 76.

¹⁷ Noth 1980, 179. See also Frank and Rechenmacher 2020, 130, § 0352.

Line 2: For *hqny* with the preposition *l-* preceding the indirect object compare, for example, RIÉ 51, RIÉ 47, but without a preposition RIÉ 24 + RIÉ 26, RIÉ 23 + RIÉ 27 (written by Sabaeen stonemasons). — The name *ḏāt Ḥamēn* (*ḏt / ḥmn*) derives from the ancient South Arabian deity *ḏāt Ḥamyim/Ḥimyam* (*ḏt / ḥmym*), which is commonly understood to be a manifestation of the sun goddess. The deity belongs to the official Sabaeen pantheon,¹⁸ but is also found in the other South Arabian polities. At the Ḥaḏramite site of Raybūn in the Wadi Daw‘an, the two large temple complexes of Raḥbān and Kafas/Na‘mān are dedicated to her.¹⁹ Dedications to *ḏāt Ḥamēn* or mentions of the deity—in so far as she does not appear as *ḏāt Ḥamyim* along with the other Sabaeen deities in the final invocations of the Ethio-Sabaeen ruler inscriptions, as in RIÉ 1, RIÉ 5, RIÉ 10—have come to date from Akkälä Guzay, i.e. from the north of the Ethio-Sabaeen cultural area.²⁰ The altar dedication RIÉ 53, in which a person called Ha‘ḏab‘il, the son of ‘Ilmata‘, dedicated (an altar) to *ḏāt Ḥamyim*, also comes from this region, namely from ‘Addi Kramatən.²¹

Line 3: The object of the dedication is the altar called Maslam (*mslm-m*). It is the first mention of this type of altar within the Ethio-Sabaeen corpus. In contrast to the Old South Arabian texts, from which we know a number of different names for altars,²² only the Maqṭar (*mqṭr*) and Maṭrī (*mṭry*) altars are attested as such by name in the Ethio-Sabaeen inscriptions,²³ although the latter, in turn, cannot be traced in Old South Arabian. While the use of Maqṭar altars as incense altars is evident from their proper designation²⁴ such a connection is not apparent for the Maslam altars. It is assumed that a certain type of sacrificial act was performed,

¹⁸ See, for example, Robin 1996, 1162.

¹⁹ See Sedov 2005, 24.

²⁰ See, for example, RIÉ 71–75.

²¹ The short inscription is of particular idiomatic interest, since the main text (RIÉ 53/Text I) is palaeographically and grammatically clearly written in Sabaeen with the name of the goddess *ḏt / ḥmym*, while an accompanying inscription (Text II) in smaller letters above the dental frieze shows instead the Ethio-Sabaeen variant *l-ḏt / ḥmñ*, i.e. with the preposition *l-* and the local spelling of the deity. The person of Ha‘ḏab‘il is almost certainly a Sabaeen stonemason. The graph *WR‘N* of Text III is a misspelling of (the king) Wa‘rān, who may have commissioned Sabaeen stonemasons to erect a local sanctuary of *ḏāt Ḥamyim*, from which the altar originates; for further information see Nebes 2021, especially 324 with the inscriptions of the stonemasons listed there.

²² Cf. Stähle 2022 pass.

²³ See, e.g. RIÉ 9, RIÉ 10 and RIÉ 37, RIÉ 47, respectively.

²⁴ See *Sabäisches Wörterbuch* s.v.

which is not necessarily related to the sacrificial object being offered.²⁵ Maslam altars are dedicated to different deities, as in Sabaeen, with the most evidence, to 'Attar and 'Almaqah,²⁶ and in one case also to ḡāt Ḥamyim.²⁷ In terms of form, the large number of Maslam altars, unlike the Maqṭar altars, cannot be clearly distinguished from one another or from altar forms with different names. They are often rectangular table altars with one or two outlets, rarely without outlets or cubic stone blocks on a truncated pyramidal base.²⁸ According to the photograph, our altar is represented by a rectangular altar block with more width than height, with a stepped base and a protruding table top. — The noun *ql* attested for the first time is to be placed under the root *QWL*, which is well known from Arabic. It is also common in Sabaeen, where its verbal derivation from *Ḡ₁* means 'to command, to order',²⁹ which is also the appropriate translation here. For the prepositional expression *b-ql* 'by order, by instruction' we otherwise find the phrase *b-nḥ(y)* with a similar meaning.³⁰

Line 3–4.: DLKN is the name of a king who has not yet been attested. The graph can be segmented into ḡ-LKN and ḡ-LK-n, whereby in both cases the initial ḡ can be interpreted as the determinative /ḡū/. The following letters may be assigned to a root LKN or resolved into a root LKK with the affirmative /-ān/. The latter seems more plausible, since derivations from a root LKK—in contrast to *Ḡə'əz*—are well attested in Təgre. Compare LKK for the verbal derivatives of *Ḡ₁* meaning 'dumm sein; vermischen, kneten; die Zähne zubeißen'³¹ with reference to Təgrəñña *läkko* 'Zaum'.³² It is possible that behind the graph LKN is a family or clan name, 'the one (from) the Lakkān clan', meaning the head of that family or clan. Quite similar compounds of ḡū + clan name (without a preceding personal name) are known from Sabaeen and are attested from early times, such as *ḡ-m 'nm* (DAI Ṣirwāḥ 2005-1A) 'the (leader) of Ma 'inum'. They occur more frequently in later times, for instance *ḡ-rydn* Ja 576/15 'the (leader, i.e. Ṣammar) of Rayḡān'

²⁵ Cf. the translations and literature given in *Sabäisches Wörterbuch* in the section 'Etymologische Hinweise'.

²⁶ See *Sabäisches Wörterbuch*.

²⁷ See *DASI* under the siglum MṢM 4511.

²⁸ See Stähle 2022, 452.

²⁹ See *Sabäisches Wörterbuch* s.r.

³⁰ Thus, for example, in the dedications of the (Sabaeen) stonemasons in RIÉ 24 + RIÉ 26, RIÉ 23 + RIÉ 27, DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-2 = MG 4, and RIÉ 63.

³¹ Littmann and Höfner 1962, 43 s.r.

³² See also Kane 2000, I, 109 s.v.

q-m frm Mi‘ sāl 5/10 ‘the (tribal leader) of Ma‘āfirum’, or *q-hmdn* (CIH 541/85) ‘the (tribal leader) of Hamdān’.³³ Also to be compared in this context are the royal names formed in the Aksumite Gə‘əz with ‘*alla’əlle*.³⁴

Line 4: In the filiations of some royal inscriptions, *bin / bin* ‘son of the son’ refers by name to the second ancestral generation with omission of the father’s name as in the inscriptions of Wa‘rān Ḥaywat (RIÉ 1, RIÉ 7, RIÉ 11), Rādi‘um (RIÉ 9, Addi Akaweh 1), and Rabāḥ (RIÉ 8), while both the father and grandfather of an unknown king are named in RIÉ 36. On the other hand, according to the South Arabian tradition, Wa‘rān (without epithet) (DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3)³⁵ and Lāmān (RIÉ 5, RIÉ 10, RIÉ 13) give only the patronymic in their filiations.³⁶

Line 5: With Wa‘rān Ḥaywat, Rādi‘um, Rabāḥ and Wa‘rān (without epithet), LMN is one of the inscription-setting kings attested by name. He dedicated a large incense burner in a temple of ‘Almaqah at ‘Addi Akawəḥ that has not yet been located (RIÉ 10) and also an altar to ‘Astar from a sanctuary of unknown provenance (RIÉ 13). He also built and renovated the pillared forecourt of his royal residence at Ēnda Čərqos (RIÉ 5) and is named together with the Sabaeen (ruler) Sumuhū‘alī in a fragmentary inscription on an altar slab from Mätära (RIÉ 61). His filiation consistently identifies him as the son (*bn*) of Rabāḥ, who in turn traces his lineage in the form of *bn / bn* ‘the son of the son’ back to Wa‘rān Raydān.³⁷ The graph LMN is open to several interpretations. For example, a vocalisation Lāmān could be placed as a derivative of LWM to the classical Arabic personal name Lām³⁸ which, as in Wa‘rān, is suffixed with the affirmative /-ān/. A vocalisation Lammān, on the other hand, would be derived from a root LMM. Whereas the names Wa‘rān, Rabāḥ, or Rādi‘um are found in the Old South Arabian and Arabic onomastics in some form, be it as a personal name, a clan name, or a place name, and at least their roots are found in Gə‘əz, Təgre, and Təgrəñña, a name Lām-ān derived from the root LWM can only be linked to the Arabic onomasticon. The root itself, however, is not productive in Gə‘əz, Təgre, or

³³ Other examples from the great ‘Abraha inscription are given in Gajda 2009, 132–133, 207–208.

³⁴ See also Nebes 2017, 361–362, and Nebes 2018 for additional references.

³⁵ This Wa‘rān without epithet is to be distinguished from Wa‘rān Ḥaywat, the son of the son of Sālimum Faṭrān, for various reasons.

³⁶ See Tables 1 and 2.

³⁷ See also Table 2.

³⁸ See Caskeel 1966, 376.

Təgrāñña according to the relevant dictionaries.³⁹ On the other hand, a root LMM is well attested in these languages, but derivatives formed from it as proper names are unknown in Arabic or Old South Arabian. To my knowledge, there are also none in any of the Ethiopian languages mentioned above.

Significance of the inscription

(1) The text is written in the South Arabian-Sabaeen tradition and follows the Sabaeen standard in form and grammar. Thus, nunation and mimation in *mlk-n* and *mšlm-m* respectively, are attached according to the rules for determination and indetermination. Likewise, the Status constructus in *b-ql / lmn* is observed with the 0-morpheme at the regens. In contrast, Ethio-Sabaeen influence is evident in the lack of filiation of the dedicant which is unusual for dedications of South Arabian provenience. The spelling of the name of the goddess *ḏāt Ḥamēn* (*ḏt / ḥmn*) instead of *ḏāt Ḥamyim* (*ḏt / ḥmym*) is also to be considered as a local peculiarity. It is introduced with the preposition *l-* as is the rule in dedications from the Ethiopian region, unless they are aligned by Sabaeans. The palaeography differs markedly from the Sabaeen standard. The N is mostly, the K is always written in reverse direction, as can be seen in some royal inscriptions⁴⁰ and may be attributed to a local tradition of writing.

(2) Not only does this inscription represent the first known dedication of a Maslam altar, but also represents one of the rare examples of an Ethio-Sabaeen dedication by a woman.⁴¹ This is not particularly unusual when one considers that throughout the Old South Arabian cultural area, dedications can be commissioned also by women—although less frequently than by men. A first examination of the Old South Arabian corpus reveals about 60 dedications by women. In Sabaeen, most of them are addressed to 'Almaqah, the main god of the Sabaeans,⁴² but also to other deities, such as 'Aṭṭar (CIH 422), Wadd (SAM 5), or Ta'lab (CIH 575). Significantly represented are dedications by women in Qatabānic, with female deities being addressed in a conspicuously preferential manner, such as *ḏāt Ṣanatim* (e.g. RES 4273), 'Aṭīrat (e.g. Ḥāḡḡ-al'Ādi 88), or *ḏāt Ḥamyim* (Ja 122). Finally, in the Ḥaḏramite Raybūn, the two temple complexes of Raḥbān and Kafas/Na'mān are dedicated to *ḏāt Ḥamyim*, the latter being the source of many

³⁹ See Leslau 1987, Littmann and Höfner 1962, Kane 2000 s.r.

⁴⁰ Thus, the letter forms N and K, but also the Alif, appear against the direction of writing, e.g. in RIÉ 1 the N in l. 2, 6 (*fṛn, b'dn*), the K in l. 2, 4 (*'rk, hmlk*), or the Alif in l. 5 (*'lmqh*).

⁴¹ Helen Wiegleb draws my attention to another example, RIÉ 69, where the deity Hōbas is addressed by a woman called FŠT.

⁴² The majority of the female dedications comes from the temple of 'Awām in the oasis of Mārib, see e.g. Maraqtan 2005.

female dedications.⁴³ However, they are kept so brief that the ‘sphere of responsibility’ of this deity can only be guessed at.⁴⁴ Although, apart from the two examples just mentioned, women have not yet been documented as dedicating inscriptions, they nevertheless played an important role in the Ethio-Sabaeen community, as can be deduced from their mention in the filiations of the royal inscriptions. There they are called ‘female companions’ (*rkytn*) after the king in question in the first degree (*bn*) or second-degree (*bn / bn*) of descent. Such female companions are, for example, Samī‘atum (RIÉ 1: *sm'tm*), Šaḥḥatum (DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3: *šḥtm*), Bašāmat (RIÉ 36: *bšmt*), and ‘Addatum (RIÉ 36: *ḏtm*).⁴⁵ The female figure which is depicted on one side of the throne of Ḥawəlti⁴⁶ and is inscribed with the name Rafaš (RIÉ 14: *rfs*) may also belong in this context.⁴⁷

(3) With *dū* Lakkān, another royal name is now attested that can be clearly assigned genealogically. According to the findings made so far, two genealogical lines can be distinguished on the basis of the first- and second-degree filiations.⁴⁸

At the head of these lines are Sālimum Faṭrān and Wa‘rān Raydān, but no inscriptions are known of them to date.⁴⁹ The lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān starts with Wa‘rān Ḥaywat and Rādi‘um. Both of them were referred to as ‘the son of the son (*bn / bn*) of Sālimum Faṭrān’. Wa‘rān (without epithet), who, according to the altar inscription at Māqabər Ga‘əwa in ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ, is the builder of the Great ‘Almaqah sanctuary at Yəḥa, calls himself the son (*bn*) of Rādi‘um, followed by ‘Aqnay as the son of Wa‘rān and an unknown king who is identified as the son of ‘Aqnay, the son of Wa‘rān.

The second genealogical line is headed by Wa‘rān Raydān, to whom Rabāḥ refers with his *bin / bin* filiation. Lāmān describes himself as the son (*bin*) of Rabāḥ. Lāmān, in turn, is referred to by *dū* Lakkān with his *bin / bin* filiation.

⁴³ See Frantsouzoff 2007.

⁴⁴ See ‘Dāt Ḥimyam’, *EAE*, II (2005), 107b–108b (S. Frantsouzoff) on a possible function.

⁴⁵ See also Table 1.

⁴⁶ See, most recently, Gerlach 2023, 34–36.

⁴⁷ YMNT in the short inscription on the base of the two seated female statuettes RIÉ 52 and DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-3 = MG 2 is to be interpreted less as a proper name than as a feminine noun meaning ‘happiness, prosperity’. The fact that such a female name is not attested in the Ethio-Sabaeen and Aksumite corpus or in the onomasticon of neighbouring languages would not be a convincing counterargument. However, it would be an extremely prosopographical coincidence that in YMNT it is the same epigraphically unknown woman who made two almost identical dedications in two ‘Almaqah sanctuaries, far apart from each other, namely in ‘Addi Gälāmo and ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ. The text is unusual in its writing direction and syntax, for details see Nebes 2010, 227–228.

⁴⁸ This was already stated by Schneider 1973, 389, who speaks of two different families.

⁴⁹ For this and the following compare Tables 1 and 2.

How the two lineages relate to each other, how they are to be placed chronologically, and what relationship lies behind the second-degree filiations is currently the subject of further research which is being prepared for publication. It seems that the line of Sālimum Faṭrān is the older one. One indication of this may be that in the filiations of the kings of this line, the women are always listed as well, and are also given the indigenous term of ‘female companions’ (*rk(y)t-n*). On the other hand, the matrilineal line is thus far absent from the lineage of Wa‘rān Raydān. In its place, however, we find the gentilicium Yag‘aḏiyān (*yg‘ḏy-n*), which in turn is absent from the lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān. Formulated as a working hypothesis, *dū* Lakkān would thus be the last Ethio-Sabaeen king to date assuming that the Ethio-Sabaeen culture came to an end around the middle of the sixth century BCE.⁵⁰

Sigla of Inscriptions

For CIH, Ja, Mi‘sāl 5 and RES see Kitchen 2000.

Other sigla used are:

Addi Akaweh 1: Gajda and Yohannes Gebre Selassie 2009, 51–52.

‘Addi Ba‘ekel 1: Dugast and Gajda 2014, 184–186.

Afṣe 1–2: Weninger 2007, 55–57.

DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3: Nebes 2010, 216–226; Gajda et al. 2009, 37–39.

DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-2 = MG 4: Nebes 2010, 226–227; Gajda et al. 2009, 40–41.

DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-3 = MG 2: Nebes 2010, 227–228; Gajda et al. 2009, 36–37.

DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-4 = MG 1: Nebes 2010, 229; Gajda et al. 2009, 36.

DAI ‘Addi ‘Akawəḥ 2008-5 = MG 5: Nebes 2010, 229; Gajda et al. 2009, 41.

DAI Grat 2019-1 = Yeh 19 B 102: Nebes 2021, 318–320.

DAI Ṣirwāḥ 2005-1A: Nebes 2016, 73–74.

Ḥāḡḡ-al-‘Āḏī 88: al-Ḥāḡḡ, Muḥammad ‘Alī 2020, 137–139.

⁵⁰ This is also indicated by the destruction by fire of all the administrative and sacral monumental buildings in the region known to date, see most recently Gerlach 2023, 17 with footnote 7.

Henze 1: Weninger 2007, 52–55.

HG Fārās May 2010: Nebes 2011, 158–159.

Manzo 2002: Manzo 2002, Fig. 3.

RIÉ: Bernard et al. 1991, Drewes 2019.

SAM 5: Müller 2007, 19–20.

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Summary

An altar block found not far from ʿEntäḫčo bears an Ethio-Sabaeen inscription which documents the dedication of the altar to the goddess dāt Ḥamēn by a female. This new find is of particular historical significance as it gives the name of a previously unattested king, who can be assigned genealogically to one of the known lines of rulers.

Siglum	King name	King titulary	Gentilicium	Mukarrrib Title	Paternal lineage	Maternal lineage
RIÉ 1	w'rn ḥywt* Wa rān Ḥaywat	<i>mlkn šr'n</i> the king who overthrows (the enemies)	—	—	<i>bn bn slmm frn</i> the son of the son of Sālimum Faṭrān	<i>w-sm'im r'ktn bnt šbḥn</i> and of Sami'atum, 'the female companion', the daughter of Šubḥān
RIÉ 7	[w'rn] ḥywt	<i>mlkn</i>	—	—	<i>bn bn slmm frn</i>	<i>w-[.]m[.]t [r]k'ytm</i>
RIÉ 11	[w'rn] ḥywt	<i>mlkn</i>	—	—	<i>bn b[n s]lmm frn</i>	—
RIÉ 9	<i>rd'm</i> Rādi'um	<i>[mlkn š]r'n</i> [the king] who overthrows [(the enemies)]	<i>sr'yt</i> [of the clan?] SRYT	<i>m[krb] d'mt</i> the Mu[karrīb] of Di'amat	<i>bn bn slmm frn</i> the son of the son of Sālimum Faṭrān	<i>w-šr't r'k'm</i> and of ŠR'T, 'the female comp[anion]'
Addi Akaweh 1	<i>rd'm</i>	<i>mlkn [š]r'n</i>	<i>s[ryt]</i>	<i>mkrb d'mt</i>	<i>[bn bn s]lmm frn</i>	<i>w-šr't r'ktn</i>
DAI 'Addi 'Akawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3	w'rn Wa rān	<i>mlkn šr'n</i> the king who overthrows (the enemies)	—	—	<i>bn rd'm</i> the son of Rādi'um and of Saḥḥatum, 'the female companion'	<i>w-š'ytm r'k[yr]n</i> and of Saḥḥatum, 'the female companion'
RIÉ 37	['qny] 'Aqny	[...]	—	—	<i>[bn w]rn</i> [the son of Wa]rān and Bašāmat	<i>w-bšmt</i> and Bašāmat
RIÉ 36	[...]	<i>[mlkn šr]n</i> [the king who] over[throws (the enemies)]	—	—	<i>bn 'qny bn w'rn</i> the son of 'Aqny, the son of Wa rān	<i>w-bšmt w-ḡtm r'k'ytm</i> and of Bašāmat and 'Adḡatum, 'the female companions'

Table 1: The Lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān

Siglum	King name	King titulary	Gentilicium	Mukarrib Title	Paternal lineage	Maternal lineage
RIÉ 8	[rb]h [Rab]āḥ	<i>mlkn šr'n</i> the king who overthrows (the enemies)	<i>yg'ḏyn</i> of (the clan) Yag'ad	<i>mkrb d'mt w-sb'</i> the Mukarrib of Di'amat and Saba'	<i>bn bn w'rn rydn</i> the son of the son of Wa'rān Raydān	—
RIÉ 5	<i>lmm</i> Lāmān	<i>mlkn šr'n</i> the king who overthrows (the enemies)	<i>yg'ḏyn</i> of (the clan) Yag'ad	<i>mkrb d'mt w-sb'</i> the Mukarrib of Di'amat and Saba'	<i>bn rbḥ mlkn</i> the son of Rabāḥ, the king	—
RIÉ 13	[lm]n	<i>mlkn</i>	—	—	<i>bn rbḥ</i>	—
RIÉ 10	[lmm]	[<i>mlkn šr'n</i>]	[y]g'ḏ[y]n	<i>mkrb d'mt w-sb'</i>	<i>bn rbḥ</i>	—
GE Šərḥan 1	<i>ḏ-lkn</i> ḏū Lakkān	<i>mlkn</i> the king	—	—	<i>bn bn lmm mlkn</i> the son of the son of Lāmān, the king	—

* The sequence Wa'rān Ḥaywat-Rādi'um is based on palaeographic evidence and does not necessarily imply the chronological sequence Wa'rān Ḥaywat-Rādi'um.

Table 2: The Lineage of Wa'rān Raydān