# Lexical and Philological Notes on the Qatabanic Inscription CSAI I, 206=Thah

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[In this article, a new interpretation of the Qatabanic inscription CSAI I, 206=Thah is proposed. Particular emphasis is placed on the lexical material.]

Keywords: Qatabanic, Ancient South Arabian, Lexicography, Semitic.

## 1. Introduction

The inscription Thah is a Qatabanic document listing the private properties which had been put under divine protection by the owner.

This inscription was published in 1994,<sup>1</sup> hence it contains some lexical items that are not included in Ricks's dictionary.<sup>2</sup> In this article, the new lexical material will be discussed in the light of Ancient South Arabian (thereafter ASA) sources and comparative data. Furthermore, other philological and lexical issues about the inscription will be analysed and the inscription retranslated.

The text of the inscription runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> 'şdm bn 'm'ns<sup>1</sup> bn '[.....] 'şdm rtd rb'-s<sup>1</sup>
<sup>2</sup> dt Zrhn w-dt (.)[.....] 'ttr bytn Yf'n w-'<sup>3</sup> ttr d-Mqwlm kl 'rdm zrbm w- 'bytm s<sup>2</sup> 'm w-qny
<sup>4</sup> w-bny w-hwtl 'şdm 'tr 'bh-s<sup>1</sup>ww l-s<sup>1</sup> w-l wld-s<sup>1</sup> [w-]
<sup>5</sup> d- '[d]r-hw nhln d- 'hrm w-nhln d-Dy'm w-nhln d-S<sup>1</sup>yln w<sup>6</sup> nhln d-S<sup>2</sup>ms<sup>1</sup>n w-nhln d-Sfw w-nhln d-Mdrhn Wynn w-n[h]]<sup>7</sup> n d-S<sup>2</sup> 'zm w- 's<sup>1</sup>yln dty Hbbm w-nhlnyhn dwy Mlh w<sup>8</sup> nhln d-Mrymm w-tny nhlmyw b-rb 'n Hryt w-bytn S<sup>2</sup>b 'n
<sup>9</sup> d-bn Mdrrn w-bytn d-bn S<sup>2</sup>hlm w-hşrn d-'m Wynm w-d-s<sup>2</sup>[....]
<sup>10</sup> [....](Y)f'n kwn 'hh-s<sup>1</sup>ww w-htb-hw wgd(r)
<sup>11</sup> kl '[....]b-s<sup>1</sup> w-l ys<sup>2</sup>rh 'm w-'lh<sup>12</sup> w byt-s<sup>1</sup> dn qnyn

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<sup>1.</sup> Avanzini 1994. Avanzini 2004, 290-291 has proposed a new translation of this inscription. 2. Ricks 1989.

The expression  $rb'-s^1$  in lines 1-2

The term *rb* ' in the expression *rb* '-*s*<sup>1</sup> dt Zhrn in lines 1-2 was erroneously read by Avanzini as rb'-s<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> w-dt Zhrn and rendered as "to his Rb'<sup>2</sup> and dt Zhrn".<sup>3</sup> Both the reading and interpretation of the passage need a revision. Recently, Robin<sup>4</sup> has proposed the new reading  $rb' - s^{1/2} dt Zhrn$ without the coordination w between  $rb' \cdot s^1$  and dt Zhrn. This implies that  $rb' \cdot s^1$  refers to dt Zhrn, which is consistent with the meaning of the term rb'. The latter term describes a deity in the category of "les divinités non institutionelles"<sup>5</sup> who had a personal relationship with an individual, and can be rendered as a "Protector, Defender".<sup>6</sup> The rb<sup>4</sup> often characterises a specific deity,<sup>7</sup> as is the case of the passage under examination where rb' is associated with the deity <u>dt</u> Zhrn.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, it bears the suffix pronoun  $-s^{1}$  which refers to the dedicator of the inscription. The correct interpretation of the expression rb'- $s^{1/2}$  dt Zhrn is "his Defender <sup>2</sup> dt Zhrn". The dedicator 'sdm bn 'm'ns<sup>1</sup> bn '[...,] 'sdm puts his properties under the protection of his own private deity dt Zhrn with whom he appears to have a special relationship (his defender, protector). Significantly, two more deities are included in the dedication <u>dt</u> (.)[... ']<u>ttr bytn Yf</u>'n<sup>9</sup> and '<u>ttr <u>d</u>-Mqwl. Notably,</u> the proper noun Yf'n occurs again in line 10 [.....]Yf'n. Although the lacuna makes this part of the text unclear, the hypothesis that such name may refer to the temple bytn Yf'n in the expression dt (.)[... ']*ttr bytn Yf*'n cannot be ruled out. This could further confirm the personal relationship between the dedicator and the deities invoked in the inscription.

Avanzini<sup>10</sup> drew the parallel with  $rb' s^2hr$  occurring in the edicts of Labah.<sup>11</sup> Here,  $rb' s^2hr$  refers to a special deity, possibly a minor deity having a close and protective relationship with the Qatabanian King.<sup>12</sup> It should be noted, however, that the expression  $rb' s^2hr$  might indicate a deity, with rb' being part of the proper noun of this deity.<sup>13</sup> By contrast, rb' in the inscription under consideration defines a divine category and specifies the role of the goddess <u>dt</u> <u>Zhrn</u> as the private defender, protector of the dedicator.

The fact that rb' as a designation of a minor private deity occurs in this inscription proves that such a divine category also played a role in the Qatabanian religion, while so far it has been considered as an unique feature of the Sabaean religion instead.<sup>14</sup>

The term *htwl* in line 4

The form *htwl* is a *-t-* infixed stem infinitive from the root *hwl* correctly rendered by Avanzini as "*administrated*".<sup>15</sup> This is also indicated by the use of the verb forms from the root *hwl* in Sabaic

<sup>3.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; similarly Avanzini 1994, 14 "del il suo Quarto<sup>2</sup> e di dat Zahrān". The same reading and interpretation are accepted by Sima 2000, 254.

<sup>4.</sup> Robin 2012a, 354.

<sup>5.</sup> Robin 2012b, 15.

<sup>6.</sup> Robin 2012b, 17; 2000, 135-136.

<sup>7.</sup> Robin 2012b, 17.

<sup>8.</sup> Here, rb ' can hardly be considered as "anonyme", as suggested by Robin 2012b, ftn 41.

<sup>9.</sup> According to Robin 2012a, 354; 2012b, 339, the lacuna before ... ']*ttr* should be restored as *Zrhn* and the name of the deity would be  $\underline{dt}$  (*Z*)[*rhn* ']*ttr* bytn Yf'n with the rendering " $\underline{dh}at$  Zahrān la 'ithtar du temple Yf'n".

<sup>10.</sup> Avanzini 1994, 15.

<sup>11.</sup> See CSAI I, 198=R 3689, 3; CSAI I, 200=R 3692, 2; CSAI I, 199=R 3691, 2.

<sup>12.</sup> Mazzini 2020a, 179-181.

<sup>13.</sup> Mazzini 2020a, 179-181.

<sup>14.</sup> Robin 2012b, 17.

<sup>15.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; see also Avanzini 1994, 14 "aveva amministrato".

with the same meaning of "*to administer, to manage*".<sup>16</sup> The *-t-* infix verb form occurring in the inscription Thah, 4 is a hapax in Qatabanic and only has a possible parallel in the verb form *yhtln* occurring in the Sabaic minuscule text X.BSB 110=Mon.script.sab. 314, 2-4, although the interpretation of this form is controversial.<sup>17</sup> The passive-reflexive connotation of the *-t-* infix stem can be more specifically rendered as "*to be in charge of the administration*".

Notably, in Qatabanic the root *hwl* was already known in CSAI I, 203=R 3858, 3, as a verb pattern *hwl*, rendered by Rhodokanakis as "*verwalten*",<sup>18</sup> and in CSAI I, 45=Ja 119, 7, as a nominal pattern *hwl*, rendered by Jamme as "*regent*".<sup>19</sup>

In addition to this, new records of the root hwl occur in the Qatabanic inscriptions Āl Ṣabāḥ LNS 1756 M, 6-7, as a nominal pattern hwlt, and Waddingham 1, 4, as a nominal pattern hwl. The passage in Waddingham 1, 4 *b-ṣdq b-rs<sup>2</sup>wt-s<sup>1</sup>m w-hwlt qny-s<sup>1</sup>m* is most noteworthy. Here, the root *hwl* refers to *qny* and stands for the management of properties, as in the inscription under examination.<sup>20</sup>

Interestingly, the root *hwl* can also be used as a designation of a specific title. The passage in CSAI I, 45=Ja 119, 7 *Fr* '*krb d*-*Drhn dd w-hwl S*<sup>2</sup>*hr* has a significant parallel in the new inscription  $\overline{AI}$  Sabāh LNS 1756 M, 6-7 *Yd* '*'b Ygl mlk Qtbn w-hwl-s*<sup>1</sup> *Ydmrmlk* <sup>7</sup> *d*-*Dr* '*n bn S*<sup>2</sup>*hr* where the term *hwl* characterises a high-ranking individual and may indicate an administrative or political role related to the king (see the observations below).<sup>21</sup> This is also confirmed by the parallel term *hwly* in Sabaic with a similar meaning,<sup>22</sup> the term *hwl* in the Hadramitic inscription Ja 973=R 4917, 2,

<sup>16.</sup> See the rendering by SW "verwalten" and similarly Stein 2010a, 726. This connection disproves the statement by Stein 2010a 389 in relation to the Qatabanic verb form htwl according to which "die genaue Bedeutung im unklaren bleibt". Here, the root hwl is also attested in Minaic but its meaning is controversial. In the inscription M 356=R 3695, 5, 6, the terms hwlny and hwlnhn are rendered by Beeston 1978, 142, 143 respectively as "authorized persons" in view of Classical Arabic muhawwal. However, the attestation of the term hwl in the recently published inscription MSM 3634, 9 seems to refer to the "propriété", as suggested by Prioletta 2014, 192, 193. Accordingly, the aforementioned terms in M 356=R 3695, 5, 6 might be interpreted as "owners", which could fit in with the context in the passage of line 6 dn mhrn 'n ys<sup>1</sup>'l-s<sup>1</sup> hwlnhn "this edict, whenever the two owners require (to resort to) it". The possibility of the root hwl having the sense of "possession" in Minaic is further justified by the same meaning of the root hwl in Classical Arabic.

<sup>17.</sup> The passage is the following w-'bd-h<sup>3</sup>w S<sup>1</sup>'d'l bn S<sup>1</sup>ydm Lqdn f-blt-hw k-yhtln bn Rşn<sup>4</sup>m Ns<sup>2</sup>nyn 'bd d-Grfm which is rendered by Stein 2010a, 389 as " (Was nun) seinen Diener <sup>3</sup> S'D'L, den Sohn des SYDM (aus der Sippe) LQDN (betrifft), so hat er (sc. Der Absender) ihn geschickt, auf daß er eine Aufgabe erhalte von RŞNM <sup>4</sup> aus (der Stadt) NŠN, dem Diener der (Sippe) D-GRFM" and by SW "sein (?) Diener Sa 'ad'il, der Sohn des Sayyidum, (aus der Sippe) Laqdān aber hat ihm (?) geschickt, daß (?) er von Raşnum, dem Naššāniter, dem Diener (der Sippe) dū-Girāfim, behandelt wird (oder: seinen Diener ... aber hat er geschickt, auf daß ... ?)".

<sup>18.</sup> Rhodokanakis 1922, 42; see also Ricks 1989, 71 "to direct, administer" and Avanzini 2004, 279, "was administrator".

<sup>19.</sup> Jamme 1958, 188; see also Ricks 1989, 71 "regent, administrator" and Avanzini 2004, 86 "regent". In this connection, it should be noted that the rendering "regent" implies the idea of a person appointed to administer the state on behalf of a king, if the latter is incapacitated or under age. The inscription CSAI I, 45=Ja 119 only reports the following statement Fr 'krb <u>d</u>-<u>D</u>rhn dd w hwl S<sup>2</sup>hr, which does not provide any specific information on Fr 'krb <u>d</u>-<u>D</u>rhn being "the regent" of S<sup>2</sup>hr. It may simply be an administrative title related to the king (see the observations below).

<sup>20.</sup> Robin 2005-2006, 286 "administration". In connection with the term *hwlt*, the author also states that it is "première attestation de ce substantif avec la graphie pleine".

<sup>21.</sup> See the translations of hwl in  $\overline{A}l$  Sabāh LNS 1756 M, 6-7 by Robin 2016, 70, ftn 185 "son régent" and Alhajj 2019, 22 "the leader" (this interpretation is generic and does not convey the specific connotation of the root hwl). On the translation of hwl in CSAI I, 45=Ja 119, 7 as "régent", see the observations in footnote 19 above.

<sup>22.</sup> See the rendering by SW "ein Funktionsträger, Verwalter, Sachwalter" with the attestations and bibliography; see also Robin 2005-2006, 286 "gestionnaire, administrateur" and Stein 2010a, 425, 726 "ein Funktionstitel".

meaning the "administrator of a water system",<sup>23</sup> and the Classical Arabic terms  $hawl\bar{i}$ ,  $hawl\bar{i}y$  indicating a "good manager and orderer of the affairs of men".<sup>24</sup>

This specific connotation of hwl as a title seems also to apply to the verb hwl in CSAI I, 203=R 3858, 3  $hw[1 \text{ w-hrg Y}]dmrmlk d-Dr'n bn S^2hr b-hrg w-hlt Yd''b.$  Here, the verbs hwl and hrg define the role of Ydmrmlk d-Dr'n bn S^2hr who officially exercises the authority on behalf of the king of Qataban Yd''b Ygl (the name Ygl is mentioned in the same line). Significantly, Ydmrmlk d-Dr'n bn S^2hr is likely to be the same figure as the one bearing the title hwl in the aforementioned inscription Ål Sabāh LNS 1756 M, 6-7 (see the passage above).<sup>25</sup>

The nominal pattern hlt occurring in CSAI I, 203=R 3858, 3 demands attention. According to Rhodokanakis,<sup>26</sup> this form is a nominal pattern deriving from the root *hwl* with the meaning "Verwaltung". However, the form hwlt (with the radical w) for the root hwl in the aforementioned inscription Waddingham 1, 4 makes the derivation of *hlt* from *hwl* problematic. In this connection, attention should be paid to the noun *hwllt* occurring in CSAI I, 208=R 3566, 5, 14, 16. This is a broken plural, following the pattern fw'lt, and derives from the root hll with the meaning of "*directives*".<sup>27</sup> This might indicate that the form *hlt* derives from the root *hll* as a nominal pattern, such as /hVllat-/. Notably, the context of CSAI I, 203=R 3858, 2- 3 ywm<sup>3</sup> hw[l w-hrg Y]dmrmlk d-Dr'n b-hrg w-hlt Yd'b shows that the two nouns hrg and hlt play the syntactic role of the internal object of the preceding verbs *hwl* and *hrg*. If the noun *hlt* derives from the root *hll*, the latter seems to be associated with hwl. A similar phenomenon occurs in CSAI I, 208=R 3566, 14-15 kl 'fthm wmhrtm w- <u>if</u>tm w-hwlltm fthw <sup>15</sup> w-s<sup>1</sup>hr w-<u>t</u>ft w-s<sup>1</sup>tb w-s<sup>1</sup>hl Qtbn ms<sup>3</sup>wdn w-Fqdtn w-Btln<sup>28</sup> where the noun *hwlltm* is the internal object of the verb  $s^{i}hl$  with the latter clearly deriving from the root hwl.<sup>29</sup> These data seem to indicate that the two roots hwl and hll can overlap, which points to an original root hwl / hll conveying a broader semantic idea where the principle of administering and that of ordering are associated.<sup>30</sup> Such association is also confirmed by the fact that the root hwloccurs in CSAI I, 203=R 3858 in parallel with the root hrg meaning "to command". Therefore, the hypothesis that *hlt* in CSAI I, 203=R 3858, 3 derives from the root *hll* and not from the root *hwl* 

<sup>23.</sup> The context of this inscription suggests the form *hwl* to be a noun, despite the rendering as a verb by Jamme 1963, 55 "*was in charge of*" and Pirenne 1990, 104 "*a arrange*".

<sup>24.</sup> As suggested by Lane 1863, 825. Note also in Ge<sup>e</sup>ez the roots hlw "to watch, to guard" and hly "to consider, to think", in particular  $hall\bar{a}wi$  "custodian" (Leslau 1987<sup>1</sup>(1991<sup>2</sup>), 262), which seem to lend further support to the interpretation suggested above.

<sup>25.</sup> The historical figure of  $Y_dmrmlk d_Dr'n bn S^2hr$  is interesting. He belongs to the family  $d_Dr'n$  one of the most important families in Timna' and his patronymic  $bn S^2hr$ , typical of royal onomastics, points to an individual having connections with the royal family. In the inscription CSAI I, 203=R 3858,  $Y_dmrmlk d_Dr'n bn S^2hr$  seems to play a significant role in supporting the Qatabanian king Yd'b' Ygl in a war against Saba' and its allies (lines 3-4; this information is confirmed by Ål Şabāh LNS 1756 M, 5-7). Furthermore, he is the owner of substantial land properties (lines 5-14). This proves the term hwl to be a title borne by high-ranking royal subjects dealing with important matters related to the king.

<sup>26.</sup> Rhodokanakis 1922, 42; this interpretation is accepted by Ricks 1989, 71 "direction, management, administration", Avanzini 2004, 279 "administration"; Robin 2005-2006, 286 "direction, administration".

<sup>27.</sup> Mazzini 2020a, 263; see the discussion on pages 302-303.

<sup>28.</sup> See the translation by Mazzini 2020a, 265 "all the judicial decisions and edicts and orders and directives that Qataban the Council and Fqdtn and Btln had handed down (as judicial decision)<sup>15</sup> and decreed and ordered and established and ordained".

<sup>29.</sup> This form has been rendered as "ordained" by Mazzini 2020a, 265; see the discussion on page 324.

<sup>30.</sup> This may be further confirmed by the root *hll* in Safaitic with the meaning "to watch, to keep watch" (Al-Jallad - Jaworska 2019, 80).

cannot be ruled out. The two terms hwl and hlt might have been perceived as having a very similar meaning.

The expression 'tr 'bh-s<sup>1</sup>ww in line 4

In the expression '<u>tr</u> 'bh-s<sup>1</sup>ww, the term '<u>tr</u> has a prepositional value. The rendering by Avanzini "as an inheritance of his fathers"<sup>31</sup> cannot be accepted, as the term '<u>tr</u> is never attested in the specific sense of "inheritance". Although in ASA this term indicates the concrete idea of "something that follows",<sup>32</sup> here the context suggests a more abstract connotation such as "following (the custom of)" that is "in accordance", as it implies the idea of continuity within the family in the administration and maintenance of the properties. The preposition '<u>tr</u> followed by the noun 'b "father" may be idiomatic, as it is also found in the Minaic inscription YM 11191, 5 '<u>tr</u> 'b-s<sup>1</sup>m.<sup>33</sup>

A special use of the root  $\underline{tr}$  can be observed in the Qatabanic inscription CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 10 and CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12, two sections of the market stela of Timna'

CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 10 w-<sup>10</sup>'<u>t</u>rm Qtbn b-ms<sup>2</sup>tm...

CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12 w-<sup>11</sup>mlk-mw Qtbn <sup>12</sup> '<u>t</u>rm b-kl s<sup>213</sup>[y]<u>t</u>m...

The two passages are similar, and the term '*trm* refers both to Qataban (the tribe as a whole) and the to king of Qataban. Given the context, '*trm* should be regarded as a noun playing the syntactic role of a nominal predicate. This is confirmed by the suffix -*m* attached to '*tr* which characterises a noun as a nominal predicate in a nominal clause.<sup>34</sup> The form '*trm*, therefore, describes the function or role of both the tribe of Qataban and the king of Qataban in the administration of the trading activities in  $S^2mr$ , the market of the city of Timna' (see the observations below). Most of the interpretations of the term '*trm* proposed thus far are unsatisfactory, as they are not based on any convincing lexical data.<sup>35</sup> In contrast, the rendering offered by Beeston for '*trm* in CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12 "*has supervisory*"<sup>36</sup> is corroborated by the use of the root *ašāru* in Akkadian. The verb deriving from this root often occurs in the royal correspondence to describe a specific role of the royal governors or superintendents. This consisted in checking and reviewing a variety of material goods (such as prisoners, booty, tributes, animals,

<sup>31.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 290.

<sup>32.</sup> For this meaning, see in Sabaic SW and in Minaic Mazzini 2022a, 137. Note that Avanzini 1994, 14 had proposed the literal rendering "dopo i suoi padri".

<sup>33.</sup> See the context w-kwn<sup>5</sup> 's<sup>1</sup>d '<u>t</u>r' 'b-s<sup>1</sup>m<sup>6</sup> Nbt'l which is rendered by Avanzini 2000, 1241 as "and he was the one who came after their father Nabatīl" and Arbach 2007, 8 "<sup>5</sup> pass one men on their father <sup>6</sup> Nabat'îl". The passage, however, is unclear due to the fragmentary context and the exact meaning of '<u>t</u>r remains uncertain.

<sup>34.</sup> On this construction, see Mazzini 2020a, 145.

<sup>35.</sup> See the rendering of the passage in CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 10 by Höfner 1935, 55 "und wählt er Qataban als Handelsplatz"; Beeston 1959, 12 "and one who travels to Qataban with merchandise"; Müller 1983, 279 "wer in Qataban einen Handel aufnimmt"; Ricks 1989, 18 "one who goes to Qataban with merchandise"; Avanzini 2004, 285 "given that Qataban has authority over the merchandise", and the rendering of the passage in CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12 by Höfner 1935, 59 "denn der König von Kataban wählt (als erster) bei jedem Handel"; Avanzini 2004, 290 "And the king of Qataban in person has authority over all transactions".

<sup>36.</sup> Beeston 1959, 13 "The king has supervisory in respect of every transaction and every commodity"; this interpretation was accepted by Ricks 1989, 18 and Garbini 2006, 315.

military equipment, soldiers etc...) in accordance with the king's order. It can be associated with the verb *mahāru*, "*to receive*", and the expression "*to check and review*" seems to be formulaic and a recurrent motif in the letters exchanged between the kings and his subjects. Note the following examples. ND 2644 (IM 64092), 3-5 is a letter from the governor of Arad to the king Tiglath-Pileser III dealing with the delivery of camels

<sup>3</sup> ANŠE.gam-[ma]l.MEŠ am-mar <sup>4</sup> ša  $L\dot{U}^*$ .tur-t[a]-nu <sup>5</sup> e-da-na-kan-ni a-šur mu-hur "check and receive all the ca[me]ls that the commander-in-chief will give to you".<sup>37</sup>

K 1925+K 4724, 5-10 is a letter from the royal superintendent to Sargon II dealing with the arrival of a number of prisoners

<sup>5</sup> ina UGU LÚ.šag-lu-u-te <sup>6</sup> [š]a LUGAL EN ina UGU LÚ\*.ARAD-šú<sup>7</sup> <sup>'</sup>iš'-pur-an-ni 1-me-60 ZI.MEŠ<sup>8</sup> [š]al-mu-te ša TA\* URU.si-'i-me-e<sup>9</sup> il-li-ku-ni-ni a-ta-<sup>'</sup>aš'**-**ra <sup>10</sup> at-ta-har

"As to the deportees about whom the king my lord wrote to his servant, 160 healthy persons have come to me from the city of Si'immê. I have checked and received them".<sup>38</sup>

The specific meaning of "supervision, review, check" concerning the management and administration of material goods<sup>39</sup> seems to fit in with the general context of the Qatabanic stela. The latter specifies that Qataban and the king supervise the way every trading activity is carried out within the market  $S^2mr$ . In fact, the document lays down the trading rules to be applicable to such market and the penalties delivered to transgressors. The use of <u>'trm</u> in this context may have a technical connotation that is specific to the legal language.

The two passages, therefore, can be rendered as follows:

CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 10 w-<sup>10</sup>'<u>t</u>rm Qtbn b-ms<sup>2</sup>tm... "indeed <sup>10</sup> supervisor is Qataban on the trading (... and the rest of the trading activities ...)"

CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12 w-<sup>11</sup>mlk-mw Qtbn <sup>12</sup> '<u>t</u>rm b-kl s<sup>213</sup>[y]tm... "indeed <sup>11</sup> the king of Qataban himself <sup>12</sup> is the supervisor of all the trade <sup>13</sup> activities (... and the rest of the trading activities ...)"<sup>40</sup>

Notably, these two similar statements frame the entire document as they are mentioned at the beginning (CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 10) and at the end of the stela (CSAI I, 205C=R 4337C, 12). This indicates that the duty of general supervison carried out by both the king and Qataban on all the trading activities played a crucial role in the administration of trading. The idea of a general supervision is consistent with the first clause reported in the stela (CSAI I, 205A=R 4337A, 8-10)

<sup>37.</sup> Translation and edition of the document by Luukko 2012, 5

<sup>38.</sup> Translation and edition of the document by Parpola 1987, 199.

<sup>39.</sup> This is a semantic development that is consistent with the basic sense of the root ' $\underline{t}r$  "to follow" and finds a further parallel in the Classical Arabic expression ' $\underline{a}\underline{t}ira$  ' $al\bar{a}$  'l-'amri meaning "he applied his whole attention to the thing or affair, he decided upon the thing, or affair" (see Lane 1863, 18), as also suggested by Beeston 1959, 11.

<sup>40.</sup> On the two terms  $ms^2 tm$  and  $s^2 yt$ , see Mazzini 2011, 157.

according to which any trading activity had to be carried out within the city of Timna' and specifically in the area called  $S^2mr$ .<sup>41</sup> Recent archaeological investigations<sup>42</sup> have further confirmed this principle. Indeed, the  $S^2mr$  area was an enclosed square situated within Timna', which must have enabled the tribe Qataban and the king to successfully supervise and keep control over the ordinary course of business.<sup>43</sup>

The form 'bh is a plural in the construct state from the term 'b "father". The pattern with the -h- suffix also occurs in Sabaic,<sup>44</sup> and is considered by Stein<sup>45</sup> as an internal plural. The parallels with Northwest Semitic and Classical Arabic, however, point to an external plural with a -h-enlargement, which is typical of the last weak nominal roots.<sup>46</sup> The attestation of the form ''bw in Sabaic, a typically ASA 'f'l internal plural, further corroborates that 'bh is an external plural.

# The term ' $s^1$ yln in line 7

This term is a hapax in Qatabanic and in the rest of ASA. The form 's<sup>1</sup>yl can be regarded as a 'f'l internal plural pattern from the root s<sup>1</sup>yl, and it was rendered by Avanzini as "water-courses".<sup>47</sup> This interpretation, however, needs to be revised. The term occurs within a list of properties that are defined as *nhl*, a typically ASA term indicating a cultivated area, usually rendered as "palmgrove". All these palmgroves have a specific name and the 's<sup>1</sup>yl too have their proper noun dty Hbbm (with dty being the plural determinative pronoun). This context suggests that the term 's<sup>1</sup>yl might refer to a kind of area, as much as the *nhl* defines a kind of area (the palmgrove). Interestingly, the fact that the area 's<sup>1</sup>yl in the plural is called with the single toponym dty Hbbm strengthens the hypothesis of 's<sup>1</sup>yl designating one single area. In this connection, it should be noted that in Classical Arabic and Yemeni Arabic the term sayl indicates "the surface run off from the rains in short-lived spates".<sup>48</sup> This term is a technicality specific to the flood irrigation system

45. Stein 2003, 50.

47. Avanzini 2004, 291; see also Avanzini 1994, 14 "corsi d'acqua".

48. Hehmeyer 2014, 43. In the Qur'ān, the term *sayl* occurs twice in Qur 13, 17 and Qur 34, 16 where the context clearly describes the heavy flood caused by rain. Note the term *masīl* in Classical Arabic meaning "*the place in which a torrent flows*", in Yemeni Arabic more specifically "*wādī*" (Behnstedt 1996, 604) and similarly *məsyōl* in Mehri "*valley bottom, bottom of a watercourse*" (Johnstone 1987, 355). These terms are *mafʿīl* nominal patterns indicating the place

<sup>41.</sup> See the first clause followed by the statement on supervision mn l- $(ys^2)t Tmn' w$ - $Brm s^2ytm w$ - $l y'rb ^9 Tmn' w$ -hrd b- $S^2mr w$ - $^{10}trm Qtbn b$ - $ms^2tm...$  "whoever will trade  $^9$  in (the area of) Timna' and Brm, then let him enter Timna' and have a trading-stall in  $S^2mr$ , indeed  $^{10}$  supervisor is Qataban on the merchandise... (and the rest of the trading activities...)".

<sup>42.</sup> See in general De Maigret 2003, 264-268; 2005; Loreto 2011, 59-61.

<sup>43.</sup> The form '*trm* also occurs in CSAI I, 192=TT1 C(238+fragments), 2 but the context is fragmentary and no interpretation can be provided.

<sup>44.</sup> See C 37, 6; Gl 1533, 5; X.BSB 100, 7. In Minaic, the pattern 'bh is attested in Ma'īn 7=M 27, 8 and Ma'īn 75=M 90, 2 (but this is an uncertain fragment, which is only based on a copy by Halévy). It should be noted, however, that many Minaic nouns in the singular often add a non-etymological -h- in the construct state (see Beeston 1962, 37 33:2; 1984, 61 M 12:1). In Ma'īn 7=M 27, 8, 'bh occurs in the context of a sequence of nouns in the plural which might suggest 'bh to be a plural, but this interpretation remains uncertain. Also note the form 'bhty occurring in the Hadramitic inscription R 2687, 3. The exact meaning of this term is unclear, although it might be similar to Sabaic 'bwt (as suggested by Beeston 1984, 68 H 12:5, who considered both forms as external plurals; according to Stein 2003, 50, however, this form "ist nicht als Plural, sondern als Kollektivum zu verstehen, dessen Ableitung von 'b nicht völlig sicher ist"; see also Mazzini 2004a, 192) which might indicate a group of kinsmen. Interestingly, the Hadramitic term 'bhty seems to have added the collective suffix -t (Beeston 1984, 68 H 12:5 also suggested a parallel with Classical Hebrew ' $\bar{a}b\bar{o}t$ ; note, however, that the ending - $\bar{o}t$  is regarded by Bauer - Leander 1922, 515 as a potential analogy with \*'imm $\bar{o}t$ ), also used in Sabaic, to the form 'bht; it might, therefore, reflect the same plural pattern enlarged with -h-.

<sup>46.</sup> See the discussion in Mazzini 2020a, 183.

which was practiced in ancient (and modern) South Arabia.<sup>49</sup> This system depended on the collection of the water generated by rain fall. This *sayl*-water was trapped by a number of barrages and then directed onto the cultivated áreas,<sup>50</sup> such as the *nhl*. Here, the water was supplied by special types of canals and then used for irrigation.<sup>51</sup> In view of these observations, the expression *'s'yln dty Hbbm* is likely to designate the area that commodated the barrages for diversion and delivery of the *sayl*-water. The term *'s'yl* might, therefore, be rendered as the *"sayl-water barrage areas"*.

#### The expression *tny nhlmyw b-rb* ' *Hryt* in line 14

According to Avanzini,<sup>52</sup> the expression <u>tny nhlmyw b-rb</u> can be rendered as "the two land properties in the region of". This interpretation is consistent with the context, and is further confirmed by the term *mnhl*, "land property", in the Minaic inscription Haram 2, 16.<sup>53</sup> In Qatabanic, the root *nhl* for land property is attested only in this inscription but was already known with the legal value of "a concession granted by royal authority to the subjects".<sup>54</sup> This legal meaning is also attested in Minaic and Sabaic.<sup>55</sup> It is, therefore, reasonable that the two land properties mentioned in this inscription were originally a royal grant. Such interpretation is further supported by the similar meaning of the root *nhl* "land property granted by the king" in Northwest Semitic, as already emphasised by Edzard.<sup>56</sup> This lexical parallel is also interesting as in Northwest Semitic a land property granted by the king implies the legal principle of "inheritance that could be extended to descendants".<sup>57</sup> As previously pointed out, line 2 of the inscription under examination emphasises the link with the owner's predecessors '<u>tr</u> 'bh-s<sup>1</sup>ww "in accordance (with the tradition of) his fathers". This seems to indicate that the dedicator of the inscription may have inherited these two land properties, if they had been originally granted by royal authority.

where the sayl flows. The same meaning applies to Sabaic  $ms^{l}lt$  (see the rendering by SW as "Bett eines  $W\bar{a}d\bar{l}s$ , Talsohle"); notably, the noun  $s^{l}yl$  is unattested in Sabaic.

49. See in general Hehmeyer 2019.

50. Hehmeyer 2019, 23; see also Varisco 1983.

51. On the organisation and management of water resources in cultivable areas, see Mazzini - Porter 2009; Stein 2010b; Mazzini 2011, 129-132; Maraqten 2017.

52. Avanzini 2004, 291; see also Avanzini 1994, 14 "le due concessioni nella frazione di Hryt".

53. The text deals with a royal grant (verb *nhl*, see the footnotes below) of a land called *mnhl*; see Robin 1992, 63, 64-65 "*la concession*".

54. Note the use of the verb nhl in the inscription CSAI I, 196=Ja 2361, 1 and the noun nhl in the inscription CSAI I, 207=CIAS 47.82/j 1, 8. These two occurrences are also included in Ricks 1989, 103, although the author renders them as "to grant lease, to give a part of, share, to distribute", which is inaccurate. In both cases, the root nhl refers to a royal grant; see Mazzini 2020b and Mazzini 2020a, 214, ftn 13. Note that the term nhl[?] also occurs in CSAI I, 120=R 311, 3-4 but its interpretation is controversial. Epigraphically, Robin 1997, 197 reads nhlw, while Avanzini 2004, 169 proposes nhl[.]; the presence of the w is problematic. According to Robin 1997, 197, this term means "les deux responsables", while Avanzini 2004, 169 renders it as "the temenos". Both interpretations, however, are not consistent with the context and the meaning of the term nhl[?] remains obscure.

55. The verb form *nhl* in Al-Jawf 04.28, 2 and Haram 2, 11-12 clearly designates the royal grant, although in Al-Jawf 04.28, 2 it refers to the concession of a tomb (for Haram 2, see the observations above). As for Sabaic, see SW which renders it as *"schenken, Schenkungsurkunde"*.

56. Edzard 1964, 146.

57. As for the use of the term *nihlatum* in Mari see the observations by Batto 1980, 225-230; Malamat 1962, 147-150; 1998, 109, 112-114; 2008; Dossin 1978, 137-138; Lafont 1984. See also Dietrich - Loretz 2002; Del Olmo Lete 2012; Arnaud 1995, 23. As to the use of the root *nhl* in the Bible, see Lipiński 1986, 342-360; Levine 1993, 449-450; 2000, 325; Lewis 1991 and the relevant passages in Nm 26, 53; 32, 19; 34, 14; Dt 4, 21; Jos 11, 23; 13, 6; Jd 20, 6; Ezk 47, 14; 48, 29; Ps 105, 11 (granted by God to Israel); Dt 12, 9; 15, 4; 24, 4; Jr 12, 14; 17, 4.

The term rb' is rendered by Avanzini as "*region*".<sup>58</sup> This interpretation appears to fit in with the context which refers to an area called *Hryt*. In Qatabanic, the term rb' with this meaning is a hapax and only has a parallel in the Minaic inscription Ma'īn 1, 2. Here, the passage *b-qlḥ rb' Rms<sup>3</sup>w* can be rendered as "*qui domine le quartier Ramasaw*",<sup>59</sup> although the term rb' refers to a section, a "*quarter*" of the city, and not to an independent area. By contrast, in Sabaic, the term rb' indicates a group of individuals within a tribe, namely a "*fraction of the tribe*".<sup>60</sup> Robin<sup>61</sup> maintains that the term rb' "est passé de la notion de 'quart' à celle de 'fraction', évolution comparable à celle du français 'quartier' qui n'implique plus une divisione par quatre". Furthermore, it should be noted that these two meanings, "*region*" and "*tribal fraction*", imply the idea of a settled and inhabited place so that the physical place where people live and the people itself coincide. This is confirmed by the same term *rab* 'u in Classical Arabic which is equated in the Lisān al-'Arab<sup>62</sup> to manzil / waṭan and to ǧamā 'tu 'l-nās. The definition al-rab 'u yakūna al-manzil wa-ahlu 'l-manzil is particularly noteworthy.<sup>63</sup>

In the inscription under examination, the rendering of rb' as "district" seems to be more appropriate than "region" due to the context suggesting that this area must be a part of all the properties of the inscription's dedicator.

## The expression *hsrn d'm Wynm* in line 9

The term hsr is a hapax in Qatabanic, and is rendered by Avanzini as "*enclosed land*",<sup>64</sup> in view of the Semitic root HSR designating "*something enclosed*".<sup>65</sup> The nature of this enclosure, however, remains obscure. In this connection, it is noteworthy that the term hsr is symmetrical to *gdr* in line 10, which seems to designate an agricultural area.<sup>66</sup> This points to *hsr* being an area linked with agricultural activities.<sup>67</sup> Significantly, the term *hswr* (plural of *hsr*) occurs in the Sabaic inscription Gl 1537, 6-7

# w-l-s<sup>1</sup> 'd-hmw b-brwl-hmw w-hswr-hmw tmr s<sup>1</sup>qym w- 'klm

"and to bestow on them in their properties and in their enclosed areas watered crops and cereals"

Here, the term *hşwr* clearly designates agricultural areas where "*crops*" (*tmr*) and "*cereals*" (*'kl*) grow.<sup>68</sup> A further confirmation of this interpretation is provided by the term *haşāru* in Akkadian indicating an "*agricultural enclosure*". A significant parallel is the late Babylonian inscription 9. Sm. 1.7.1., 7-11.<sup>69</sup>

59. This is the rendering by Bron 1998, 39. The term *qll*<sub>i</sub> is unclear; see the observations by Bron 1998, 39.

67. Mazzini 2022b, 37.

68. This confirms the interpretation of *hsr* already proposed by SD, 73 "*enclosed cultivated land*"; see also SW "*frei verfügbarer Landbesitz*  $\neq$  *abgegrenztes Land*".

69. See the edition of the tablet by Strassmaier 1889, 152.

<sup>58.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; 1994, 15 "frazione".

<sup>60.</sup> See the rendering by SW "Viertelstamm".

<sup>61.</sup> Robin 1987, 118.

<sup>62.</sup> See Lisān al-'Arab XIX, 24.

<sup>63.</sup> See Lisān al-'Arab XIX, 24.

<sup>64.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; see also Avanzini 1994, 15 "terreno recinto". Similarly, Sima 2000, 254 renders this term as "das eingesäumte Feld".

<sup>65.</sup> See in general Cohen 2010, 911.

<sup>66.</sup> On the meaning of the term gdr, see the recent treatment by Mazzini 2022b, 34-37.

ina ZÚ.LUM.MA ina ha-za-ru<sup>8</sup> ina ma-ši-hu 1 šá PI ... ...<sup>10</sup> ..... ina-ad-(din) "the dates in the enclosed area <sup>8</sup> according to the measure of one PI ... ...<sup>10</sup> ..... he will deliver"

A reasonable rendering of the Qatabanic term *hsr* can, therefore, can be "*enclosed farmland*".

The expression hsrn d'm Wynm is interpreted by Avanzini as "the enclosed land of a *vineyard*",<sup>70</sup> given that the term *wyn* indicates the "*vineyard*" (see the observations below). Avanzini<sup>71</sup> suggests the "genitive being rendered in Qatabanic by the determinative pronoun" and assumes that in the pronominal form <u>d</u>'m "the '(.....) would signify the vowel". It should be noted, however, that the syntactic structure of the periphrastic genitive is absent in Qatabanic.<sup>72</sup> An alternative interpretation would have wynm to be the proper noun of hsr which fits in with the structure of the list of properties, where the name of each property is introduced by a determinative pronoun. Note that Wynn is used as a proper noun in line 6 nhl d-Mdrhn Wynn and the name Wynn also occurs in R 3958, 11<sup>73</sup> as the proper noun of an altar<sup>74</sup> and in DJE 17, 3-4, 5<sup>75</sup> as the proper noun of a temple, possibly connected with an area.<sup>76</sup> In view of this, the pronominal pattern d'mshould be taken as a determinative introducing the proper noun Wynm.<sup>77</sup> However, the pattern <u>d</u>'m remains unclear as it is unattested in the Qatabanic pronominal system.<sup>78</sup> A possible option might be <u>d'm</u> consisting of the determinative <u>d</u>- and an additional element 'm, containing the two enclitic particles - 'y and -m. The latter particles are often used as emphasising particles and can also be attached to a pronoun,<sup>79</sup> as in the form dn-mw (dn + mw demonstrative pronoun + particle -mw) in the Qatabanic inscription CSAI I, 207=CIAS 47.82/j 1, 6. The combination of the two particles, however, is unattested elsewhere in Qatabanic and can only be compared with potential parallels in Minaic, bm'v (b + particles m and 'v) in as-Sawdā' 37=M 293, 1, bnm'v (preposition bn + particles m and 'y) in as-Sawdā' 37=M 293, 5,<sup>80</sup> 'dm'y (preposition 'd + particles m and 'y) in al-Jawf 04.23

<sup>70.</sup> As also suggested by Avanzini 2004, 291 and recently accepted by Mazzini 2022b, 37.

<sup>71.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; note also the rendering by Avanzini 1994, 14, "*il terreno recinto quello davanti a (?) un vigneto*", where the pattern *d'm* would be composed of the relative pronoun *d* and the preposition *'m* meaning "*in front of*" on the basis of Classical Arabic *'amāma* and the ASA root *'mm "guidare, essere alla testa di*" (pg 17). However, the ASA root *'mm* is never attested in ASA as the preposition meaning "*in front of*", which occurs instead as *qbl*. This interpretation is accepted by Sima 2000, 254 "*das eingesäumte Feld, das vor*<sup>2</sup> (*den Grundstücken namens*) Wynm".

<sup>72.</sup> Mazzini 2006, 479. In the recently published inscription FB-al-'Ādi 2 (Bron 2010, 173-175), the pronoun *dty* (determinative plural) is used in line 7 within a genitival construction. This exceptional case, however, can be explained by the particular syntactic context in which it occurs (lines 6-7)  $s^l qnyt$  (....) *w-'s<sup>l</sup>tr* <sup>7</sup> *hwrtn dty dhbm "dedicated* (... ...) *and the inscriptions of the column those (inscriptions that are) in bronze*". Here, the term *dhbm* refers to 's<sup>l</sup>tr which is in the construct state with *hwrtn* (the inscriptions of the column). The pronoun in the plural makes clear it that *dhbm* is related to 's<sup>l</sup>tr in the plural and not to *hwrtn*; without the determinative, the term *dhbm* would refer to *hwrtn* (the column which is not in bronze). The interpretation of this passage by Bron 2010, 174 "*et l'inscription* <sup>7</sup> *du pilier qui est en bronze*" is misleading as it does not convey the syntactic connection between 's<sup>l</sup>tr and *dhbm*.

<sup>73.</sup> On this inscription, see Müller 2010, 14-15.

<sup>74.</sup> Müller 2010, 232.

<sup>75.</sup> On this inscription, see Müller 1972, 104-111 and Müller - von Wissmann 1976, 121-124.

<sup>76.</sup> As also suggested by Müller 1972, 109 and Müller - von Wissmann 1976, 122, 124; see also Nebes 2011, 374.

<sup>77.</sup> The interpretation of Wynm as a proper noun was also suggested by Sima 2000, 254; see above the footnote 71.

<sup>78.</sup> Mazzini 2006, 480-483.

<sup>79.</sup> On the use of these particles in Qatabanic, see Nebes 1991, 140-141 and Mazzini 2020a, 292, 295.

<sup>80.</sup> Note the unclear forms 'hlym'y in as-Sawdā' 40=M 302, 3 and wfym'y in as-Sawdā' 40=M 302, 5, although the assumption these might be nouns with the mimation enlarged by the enclitic particle - 'y cannot be ruled out. In as-Sawdā' 40=M 302, 4, the form 'hlym[...] remains uncertain due to the lacuna.

A, 3, and in Hadramitic, *bnm'y* (preposition bn + particles *m* and 'y) in RbI/84 n. 196a-d+201a-b,  $4^{81}$  and EPSY 708 a-f, 4, although the sequence of particles in these parallels is -m + -y instead of -y + -m. These observations, therefore, suggest the rendering of the expression *hsrn d'm wynm* as *"the enclosed farmland of Wynm"*.

The proper noun *Wynm* clearly derives from the noun *wyn* meaning "*vineyard*"<sup>82</sup> which is largely attested in Sabaic.<sup>83</sup> According to Ricks,<sup>84</sup> this term is attested in Qatabanic in the two inscriptions Ja 1093, 10 and Ja 1819=Van Lessen 18, 1-2.<sup>85</sup> It should be noted, however, that the two inscriptions are not Qatabanic, hence these attestations of *wyn* cannot be taken into account. In contrast, the term *wyn* occurs in the (Marginal) Qatabanic inscriptions BaBa al-Hadd 7, 1,<sup>86</sup> CSAI II, 10=YMN 15, 2<sup>87</sup> and MQ-dhū-Wayn 1, 2.<sup>88</sup> This term is the ASA variant of what can be considered a *Kulturwort* in the ancient Near East and in the Mediterranean area from a very early historical period.<sup>89</sup> The presence of the term *wyn* in ASA is important as it indicates that Ancient Arabia was part of the broader viniculture system of the Ancient Near East.<sup>90</sup>

The term  $ys^2rh$  in line 11

The term  $ys^2rh$  is a verb with jussive value (as indicated by the preceding particle *l*-) which has been interpreted by Avanzini as "*to protect*".<sup>91</sup> This root is also attested in Sabaic with the same meaning "*to protect*" and conveys both the (concrete) physical and the (abstract) legal connotations.<sup>92</sup>

In Qatabanic, this root was already known with a legal value in the royal edict CSAI I, 207=CIAS 47.82/j 1, 1. This edict records the concession of some unknown goods (the beginning of the text is lost and the kind of concession is obscure) to certain subjects by the royal authority. The text uses the expression *tzrbn w-gdytn "transfer of ownership and (its) right of renewal"* to indicate the royal grant, and the term  $s^2 rhm$  is used as an apposition to this expression, namely *tzrbn w-gdytn s*<sup>2</sup>rhm "transfer of property and (its) renewal as a protection (protective right)". The principle of protection is assumedly mentioned here to hint at any potential threat which might legally (such as objections or other claims)<sup>93</sup> or physical (such as aggressions, robbery,

<sup>81.</sup> On this form, see the discussion in Mazzini 2020a, 295.

<sup>82.</sup> On the relationship between the proper noun *Wynn* in Sabaic and an area connected to viniculture, see the observations by Müller 1972, 109.

<sup>83.</sup> See all the attestations in SW and Sima 2000, 250-254. The term *wyn* is also attested in Minaic in the inscription as-Sawdā' 31=M 116, 2 but the context is fragmentary and the sense of the term remains obscure; see Avanzini 1995, 130-131. This term is unattested in Hadramitic.

<sup>84.</sup> Ricks 1989, 51.

<sup>85.</sup> On the two inscriptions, see Jamme 1971, 91-92 and 84-85 respectively; on Ja 1093 see also Beeston 1962, 51-52 and Maraqten 2010, 440.

<sup>86.</sup> This document was published by Bāfaqīh - Bātāyi' 1994, hence it could not be included in the Ricks's Lexicon.

<sup>87.</sup> This document was published by 'Abdallāh 1988 but was not included in the Ricks's Lexicon.

<sup>88.</sup> Here, the term occurs in the broken plural '*ywn*, as in Arbach - Gajda 2002, 299 and Müller 2010, 4 (in Robin 1998, 134, ftn 72 and Sima 2000, 255 it is mistakenly transcribed as *wyn*).

<sup>89.</sup> See in general Kogan 2011, 241; note that a similar root is also attested in Indo-European languages, see Gorton 2017. 90. For the role of viniculture in Ancient Arabia, see Sima 2000, 250-263, Maraqten 2010 and generally in the

Ancient Near Eastern, see Badler 2008.

<sup>91.</sup> Avanzini 2004, 291; 1994, 15 "proteggere".

<sup>92.</sup> See SW, which renders it as "schützen, behüten".

<sup>93.</sup> For a discussion on this passage, see Mazzini 2020a, 214, ftn 13.

destruction)<sup>94</sup> damage this concession.<sup>95</sup> The concrete/legal meaning of the root  $s^2rh$  seems to fit in with the context of line 11 of CSAI I, 206=Thah where divine protection is invoked to defend the dedicator's properties. Interestingly, in the aforementioned royal edict protection is provided by the main political authority, the king, while in the context under examination the inscription's dedicator asks the main religious authority, the god '*m* for protection. This confirms that the root  $s^2rh$  conveys the idea of power bestowed by the highest authorities. The fact that here the text specifically refers to divine protection is consistent with the textual typology the document belongs to. Indeed, the inscription CSAI I, 206=Thah cannot be considered a legal text but it seems to be a sort of dedication. This is clearly signified by the key term, the verb  $rtd^{96}$  in line 1, which is an ASA lexical technicality indicating the action of "*entrusting something / someone to certain gods through a dedication*". Plenty of ASA documents use this verb and can be classified as a specific category within the dedicatory genre. Here, the intention is more religious than legal, with both verbs rtd and  $ys^2rh$  referring to deities. Hence, the verb  $ys^2rh$ , located at the end (in line 7), purposely matches the verb rtd at the beginning (in line 1) of the inscription.

## 2. Conclusions and translation

A syntactic and stylistic analysis of the inscription shows that the content of the document is arranged in four main Units. Unit 1 tells about the identity of the dedicator, the owner of the properties, and states that his properties are entrusted to certain (personal) deities. Unit 2 establishes the legal status of the properties and states that their ownership is ancestral and will be passed down to the descendants. Unit 3 is a detailed list of all the properties, which essentially consist of land properties and real estates. Unit 4 is a final invocation where all the properties are put under the direct protection of the god 'm.

On the basis of the above lexical and philological observations, the following translation of the inscription can be proposed

Unit1

<sup>1</sup> 'şdm bn 'm'ns<sup>1</sup> bn '[... ...] 'şdm r<u>t</u>d rb'-s<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <u>d</u>t Zrhn w-<u>d</u>t (.)[... ...] '<u>t</u>tr bytn Yf'n w-'<sup>3</sup><u>t</u>tr <u>d</u>-Mqwlm

Unit 2

kl 'rdm zrbm w- 'bytm s<sup>2</sup>'m w-qny<sup>4</sup> w-bny w-hwtl 'sdm 'tr 'bh-s<sup>1</sup>ww l-s<sup>1</sup> w-l wld-s<sup>1</sup> [w-]

5 d- (d)r-hw

Unit 3

nhln <u>d</u>-'hrm w-nhln <u>d</u>-Dy'm w-nhln <u>d</u>-S'yln w-<sup>6</sup>nhln <u>d</u>-S<sup>2</sup>ms'n w-nhln <u>d</u>-Sfw w-nhln <u>d</u>-Mdrhn Wynn w-n[hl]<sup>7</sup>n <u>d</u>-S<sup>2</sup>'zm w-'s'yln <u>d</u>ty Hbbm w-nhlnyhn <u>d</u>wy Mlh w-<sup>8</sup>nhln <u>d</u>-Mrymm w-<u>t</u>ny nhlmyw b-rb'n Hryt w-bytn S<sup>2</sup>b'n <sup>9</sup> <u>d</u>-bn Mdrrn w-bytn <u>d</u>-bn S<sup>2</sup>hlm w-hşrn <u>d</u>-'m Wynm w-<u>d</u>-s<sup>2</sup>[....] <sup>10</sup> [... ...](Y)f'n kwn 'hh-s<sup>1</sup>ww w-htb-hw w-gd(r) <sup>11</sup> kl '[....]b-s<sup>1</sup>

<sup>94.</sup> Note the case of people who trespass and commit crimes in private buildings (physical destruction of private property) which are mentioned in the Qatabanic royal edict ATH 866, 13-15 (see Mazzini 2020c, 113-118). The latter edict concerns a donation of buildings (real estate) to some subjects. Here, a clause punishes such crimes, implying that the royal authority is in charge of protecting the donated goods.

<sup>95.</sup> The interpretation as "Versicherung, Garantie" by Höfner 1987 42, accepted by Avanzini 2004, 292 "guarantee" and Mazzini 2004b, 74, and that by Ricks 1989, 171 "safety, prosperity", do not convey the specific connotation of the root  $s^2rh$  in this context.

<sup>96.</sup> See in general SW which renders it as "anvertrauen".

Unit 4

w-l ys<sup>2</sup>rh 'm w-'lh<sup>12</sup>w byt-s<sup>1</sup> dn qnyn

Unit 1

<sup>1</sup> 'sdm son of 'm'ns<sup>1</sup> bn '[... ...] 'sdm put under the protection of his Defender <sup>2</sup>  $\underline{d}t$  Zrhn and of  $\underline{d}t$  (.)[... ...] ' $\underline{t}tr$  of the temple Yf'n and of ' $\underline{^{3}t}tr \underline{d}$ -Mqwlm

Unit 2

all the lands as a fully legal property<sup>97</sup> and the palaces which 'sdm had bought and acquired <sup>4</sup> and built and administered in accordance (with the tradition of) his fathers for himself and for his child [and] <sup>5</sup> his de[scen]dants,

Unit 3

(namely) the palmgrove  $\underline{d}$ -'hrm and the palmgrove of Dy'm and the palmgrove of  $S^1$ yln and <sup>6</sup> the palmgrove of  $S^2ms^1n$  and the palmgrove of Sfw and the palmgrove of Mdrhn Wynn and the pal[mgro]<sup>7</sup>ve of  $S^2$ 'zm and the (seasonal) water barrage areas of Hbbm and the two palmgroves of Mlh and <sup>8</sup> the palmgrove of Mrymm and the two land properties in the district of Hryt and the palace  $S^2b$ 'n <sup>9</sup> of the family Mdrrn and the palace of the family  $S^2hlm$  and the enclosed farmland of Wynm and  $\underline{d}$ - $s^2[\dots \dots]^{10}[\dots \dots](Y)f$ 'n (which) were their equal buildings<sup>98</sup> and its lower rooms<sup>99</sup> and the walled enclosure <sup>11</sup> of the whole '[\dots \dots]b-s^1

Unit 4

and let 'm and the deities <sup>12</sup> of his temple protect this property

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<sup>97.</sup> On the meaning of the root zrb in ASA, see Mazzini 2020a, 238 and SW under the root zrb.

<sup>98.</sup> On the final section of line 10 and the beginning of line 11, see Mazzini 2022b 36-37 and in particular ftn 19.

<sup>99.</sup> On the meaning of the controversial term htb, see Loreto 2011, 61-65.

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