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GHUL M.A
Early Southern Arabian Languages and Classical Arabic Sources.

A Critical Examination

of

Literary and Lexicographical Sources

by

Comparison with the Inscriptions.

Thesis Submitted

for

the Ph.D. Degree

in

South Arabic Inscriptions

to

The University of London

by

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School of Oriental and African Studies

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This is a study of the material which is stated or claimed to be of South Arabian origin or directly associated with South Arabia as attested in the lexica of classical Arabic and in other sources of classical Arabic which treat of usages attested in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, traditions or texts. The purpose is to examine this material by comparison with the linguistic and lexicographical information now available from Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) material.

The material attested in the Arabic sources for this purpose has been divided into four categories: Abyssinian, Ḥimyarī, and Yemenī according to the language or dialect of origin claimed for them, and then usages occurring in South Arabian contexts. The material under the first three categories has been investigated thoroughly, while the material under the last category, that of the South Arabian context, has been left out from the detailed examination, except for a brief discussion and for few usages selected as specimen and because they are related to usages discussed elsewhere in this study.

Much of this material proved to be incomparable with ESA material, either because the usages in the Arabic sources derive from roots not attested in ESA, which is the majority of the cases, or because the usage from comparable roots in ESA are completely different. But in over eighty cases, discussed here in articles by roots, the material in the Arabic sources shows varying degree of resemblance. In a considerable number of cases the corresponding usages in both materials proved to be exact equivalents.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is my duty, privilege and pleasure to thank here the scholars and friends who willingly and kindly helped me with my work in the past seven years. My deep gratitude is due to Professor Sidney Smith, who first envisaged and planned this study. He helped me with much valued and needed guidance in my work, in spite of his retirement from his teaching duties at the School of Oriental and African Studies in the summer of 1955, and my subsequent move to the University of St. Andrews in the summer of 1959. His kind and fatherly interest in all that concerned me and my family during these many years has been both touching and encouraging.

To Professor R.B. Serjeant goes also my sincere thanks and gratitude for all the kind help he gave in personal and academic matters. It was a privilege for me to work on this study in close touch with him and to draw on his vast knowledge of South Arabia, and to benefit from his comments, criticism and guidance. He also kindly made available to me two manuscripts of Arabic works in his possession, acknowledgement for which favour is given in the text and the bibliography.

It has been my good fortune to work in the University of St. Andrews with Professor A.M. Konsyman. He has been most helpful with guidance and comment, whenever approached, and his help is specifically acknowledged in two places of this study. He also has most kindly made available to me much needed works and sources from his rich library.

My thanks also go to Frau Professor M. Höfner, who kindly answered an inquiry concerning Cl. 1342, to Mr. Nazar Achoury, for allowing me to publish a South Arabian inscription in his possession, to Major M.C. Van Lessen, M.C., for his great help and for allowing me to publish here two of his inscriptions, and to the authorities of the British Museum for allowing me to check on one of their inscriptions.

There remains for me the pleasant task of rendering my deepest and tenderest thanks to my wife, to whom this study owes a great deal, both materially and morally. Specifically I would like to thank her for her great, and very often indispensable, help with German texts, and for her admirable patience and care in typing out the bulk of this study so elegantly.
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A) Systems of Transliteration

1. Arabic

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Hamzat al-waql: not written or indicated.

ِta: marbuṭa: (1) after a short vowel: -a, as in hamza, in the absolute state or in the pausal form; -at, as in hamzat al-waql, in the construct.

(2) after a long vowel: -ah, as in qanah, in the absolute state or pausal form; -at, as in qanatu al-mā', in the construct.

The articles: al-, as in al-kitāb, when not preceded by an attached
particle; and -l-, as in bi-l-kitab, when preceded by an attached particle.

Diphthongs: $(\varepsilon = qawm$

$(\varepsilon^\prime = bayn$

Tanwin: hyphenated to the noun or adjective as in kitab-un, kitab-an, kitab-in.

Pronominal suffixes of the accusative or the genitives hyphenated to the verb of noun, as kataba-hu, kitabu-ha, with the exception of 1st person singular genitive, e.g., kitabî.

2. Epigraphic South Arabian

(in Arabic alphabetical order)

The separation lines / as in b'1/\"wm/

Emended readings in brackets, as (\textbackslash s)tr/
Restored Reading: between square brackets, as [\textit{str}].
Partly restored reading: between square corners on the top, as \textit{str}, or on the bottom, as \textit{str}.
Doubtful reading: a small circle over the letter in question, as \textit{str}.

3. Ethiopic

The basic sounds as for the corresponding sounds in ESA.
The vowels as in the list given in Dillmann, \textit{Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae}, p. xxxii, but substituting the macron \textit{ä} for the circumflex \textit{å}.

(3) Arrangement of Articles

"Article" is used for any word or usage discussed here under a separate entry indicated by its root. Articles are always considered as Arabic and the roots by which they are identified are written in the system for transliterating Arabic. Under each chapter articles are given in different groups or categories, and within each such group or category they are given in Arabic alphabetical order. The "separate" articles, always given last in the chapter in which they belong, are units in themselves. Their pages are numbered separately and individually, apart from the unified pagination of the whole text. Each article can have two series of pagination, one for its own text, and another for its own footnotes. This system was
made necessary by the need to make cross references to places in articles before the unified pagination could be done. Where the article is short, seven pages or less, reference is made to it without pagination, but where it is long, the exact page or pages in that article are indicated. When "article" is used it means an article in this study; this is meant to distinguish it from "art.," used for a root in an Arabic lexicon under which usages deriving therefrom are entered.

(c) Footnotes, notes and foot-remarks

Footnotes are used with the articles, but are given on separate sheets after the last sheet of the article. Each article is followed by its own footnotes. Footnotes are mainly used to amplify discussion or to clarify re-interpretations of EBA usages arising in the text of the article; they can often be read separately, if the point in question is accepted for the time being.

Notes are used as subdivisions of footnotes, and they are usually found in the footnotes section. Sometimes when a text or a passage is translated and documented in the text of the article, "notes" is used for the separate discussion of words or usages within that part.

Footremarks are given at the foot of a page, whether in the text or the footnotes of an article. Footremarks are often secondary points arising from the argument or discussion.

All footnotes, notes within the text of an article and foot-remarks are written in narrower spacing and are a few spaces further from the left hand side of the page than the ordinary text of the article.
(D) References

1. Qur'anic passages are derived from the Egyptian Royal Edition of the Qur'an, and the numbers of verses are according to that edition.

2. Biblical Hebrew passages are derived from Kittel and Kahle's _Biblia Hebraica_ (1952).


Biblical Hebrew usages are derived from R. Grossman and M. H. Segal, _Compendious Hebrew-English Dictionary_, Tel-Aviv, 1946.

4. Ethiopic usages are taken from Dillmann, _Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae_, usually in the Latin of the Lexicon, and sometimes in English as translated by me.

(E) Abbreviations for General Works and Periodicals

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Bi. Or. = Bibliotheca Orientalis.


CH = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, pars quarta, Paris 1889-


JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JSS = Journal of Semitic Studies.
Mus. = Le Musée.
OLZ = Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
RES = Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémithique.
RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
CHAPTER I

SUBJECT and PLAN

of the THESIS
Chapter I

Subject and Plan of the Thesis

This subject has been undertaken with the purpose of examining the material in the Arabic lexicographical and literary sources which is stated or claimed to be of South Arabian origin or which is directly associated with South Arabia by comparison with the linguistic and lexicographical information now available from Epigraphic South Arabian (ESA) material. The sources from which this material has been drawn have been restricted to the lexic of classical Arabic and to other sources of classical Arabic which treat of usages attested in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, traditions or texts.

The scholars who have worked on the decipherment and interpretation of ESA have extensively used the lexicographical and linguistic sources of Arabic, but mainly for the purpose of ascertaining and/or documenting the meanings of ESA usages. And although they must have been familiar with much of the material collected and examined in this study, no thorough investigation of such information as a whole seems to have been published. The only attempt worthy of mention here has been that of 'Aṣīmuddīn Aḥmad in his "Die auf Südarabien Bezüglichen Angaben Naṣāwān im ŠAMS AL-"ULŪM", here referred to as Naṣāwān, AA-Š'U.

The collector here did not restrict himself to vocabulary but included historical and even anecdotal material associated with South Arabia and the so-called Yamānī tribes whose homelands already before Islam were in the north. And although the collector collated the information
thus collected with Lisān and Tāj, it still falls short of covering the whole field of available information. Besides, no attempt was made to examine that material, as a whole, by comparison with ESA.

As explained in the following chapter, the words and usages collected for the purpose of this study fall into four main categories:

(A) of Abyssinian origin; (B) stated to be Ḥimyarī; (C) stated to be Yamanī; (D) occurring in South Arabian contexts. This last category has been left out from the detailed examination undertaken in this study, except for a brief discussion and for few usages selected as specimen for examination.

The rest of the material contains a considerably big number of usages with no attested etymological parallels in ESA. I am giving a list of such usages at the end of this study in Appendix II. This leaves us with three other categories:

(1) Usages from roots attested in ESA, but where the respective usage from the corresponding roots are not comparable. A selection of such usages are given and briefly examined in the respective chapters under which they fall, while the rest are given in Appendix II to this study.

(2) Usages whose equivalence to etymologically comparable ESA usages has either been recognised or can be pointed out and established. These are given in articles by roots in alphabetical order (according to the Arabic alphabet) irrespective of their respective lengths.

(3) Usages whose etymological equivalents are attested in ESA, but they or their ESA equivalents demand further examination. This is either because the contexts in which they are attested in Arabic have to be
examined and the claims or assertions concerning them scrutinised, or because the meanings that have been assigned to the comparable ESA usages have to be re-examined, or both. Such usages have been discussed in separate articles which form the bulk of this study.

Each article is indicated by the Arabic root from which the usage in question derives, a system adopted because the procedure is to examine the Arabic usage by comparison with ESA, and because more than one usage from the same root are sometimes attested and have to be compared or examined. Besides, this identification by root rather than by specific usage facilitates identification with the corresponding ESA and other Semitic roots.

Strictly speaking the re-interpretation of ESA usages is not within the direct purpose of this study, and no attempt has been made in general to re-interpret the inscriptions. Yet it has in some cases been necessary to re-examine the meaning of an ESA usage, with a consequent change in the translation or interpretation previously accepted. In some of the articles the examination of a number of passages forming crucial contexts of the words in question has entailed a chain of examinations of other ESA usages and passages, with the consequent that certain articles have grown to considerable lengths. Some of the usages and contexts thus re-examined bear on more than one word or one article, and it has been necessary to arrange their places in the different articles in such a way as to include a re-examined usage or passage where it is more immediately relevant and to make a cross reference to it in any other place or article where it is relevant.
The SSA material consulted and examined covers all the texts published until recently. Texts which have been included in CIH or RES are identified by their numbers in either of the two collections. Other texts are identified by the names or series given to them by the scholars who published them for the first time.

Three hitherto unpublished texts are published here. One is Van Lessen 18, an inscription in the wall of a house in the town of 'Aryab near Mukeiras. A very poor text thereof has been recently published by Professor Beeston in "Epigraphic and archaeological gleanings from South Arabia", Oriens Antiquus, I (1962), 51 f. from "a rough tracing made from a photograph, which is obviously not fully reliable", as he says. It is given as a PS to footnote 5 (e) to article srh in connection with hgh, line 1 therein. The second is Van Lessen 34, a short text reading m]slm/mwgln; it is cited under article wjl ('jl). The third is Nasar Achoory, a Sabaeen boustrophedon inscription. It is published here in connection with the use of hy' in l. 2 therein in a context relevant to the re-interpretation of mhy*, CIH 338 (= G1. 1209), 3, a usage which has had to be re-examined in connection with my interpretation of ESA srh, in whose context it occurs in the same line. This inscription is given as Appendix I to this thesis.

On the whole I have refrained from restoring defective or damaged texts, unless with good reason, like the restoration of Van Lessen 34 as m]slm/mwgln. My attitude to restored texts and readings has in general been that restoration is no evidence; and where the restoration has no well attested parallels which make it obviously
justifiable I have generally discarded it. I have also discarded a number of emended and generally accepted readings, where it could be shown with good reason that the original reading yields reasonable sense and therefore should be retained. In certain cases fresh evidence about the emended texts have become available through photographs or through new hand-copies made by modern travellers and archaeologists. Such evidence has been referred to where relevant.

The ESA material has been treated, more or less, as one whole and not according to its component dialects of Sabaean, Minaean, Qitbānī Ḥadramī or 'Awṣānī. But reference to the dialect to which a certain usage belongs is often made, where relevant or instructive. However, no analysis of the whole field discussed in this study or of the results achieved thereby has been undertaken in order to relate particular Arabic usages to particular dialects of ESA. No attempt was either made to discuss or arrange the ESA usages examined here by their subjects, since such an arrangement and the discussion thereof would have made it necessary to examine a wider field of vocabulary than is strictly within the scope of this study. Where a certain subject recurred in the examination of more than one relevant ESA usage, cross reference has been made to the different articles or places where the same subject is treated.

This form has been adopted here in preference to the hitherto accepted form Qatabahī. Cf. Taj, supplement to art. qtb, where qitbān is given as the name of a tribe of Ḥimyar branching from Ruʿayn or from Ṣadām both of Ḥimyar, and as the name of a place near Ḥadīn called after the same Qitbān. Cf. "Citibaina" of Theophrastus. Cf. also Ṣmlk/ṣnn/ wrʾnn, RES 3858,4 (Qitbānī); and cf. RNP, 315, 317. The inclusion of Qitbān by the Arab sources under Ruʿayn or under Ṣadām must reflect their fallen fortunes in later times.
Many points of ESA grammar are discussed and re-examined in this study in connection with the re-interpretation of ESA usages and their contexts. Where comparable cases or views could be referred to in other works, especially Höfner, *ASG*, the relevant reference to such a work is only made. But where a new or different view is put forward by me a comprehensive discussion of the point or phenomenon in question is made, normally in a footnote to the article where the point arises. A considerable part of the grammatical discussions in this study are in one article, *drr*.

The material which the Arabic sources offer about the phonetics, grammar and syntax of South Arabian dialects of pre-literary Arabic has not been included here. For one reason it does not strictly come into the scope of this study; and for another it hardly bears any resemblance to what we know about ESA. Besides, most of it has been collected and studied by C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, with occasional reference to, and comparison with, ESA. The one significant omission he makes is the Yamanî Form IV with the prefix ha—; cf. *Lisan*, art. *ryq*, ad ḫa-raqa = ḫa-raqa: "to pour out, to shed", asserted by Liḥyanî to be lugha yamaniyya, "a Yamanî dialectal usage", which later spread among Muḍar (and not *fi mir*: "in Egypt", according to the printed text of *Lisan*).

The original works of modern scholars have been referred to in most cases. But in a number of instances the translation of a given passage and even the comments thereupon are taken either from *CIH* or *RES*. The translation and comments in *CIH* are assumed to be those of
its editors and are, therefore, referred to as "according to CIH" or in some other terms to the same effect. The translations given in RES are normally those of the scholars whose works are indicated at the head of the text in question, and when such a translation is quoted next to a passage from RES, either without indication of the specific work after the name of the authority, if named, the details of reference are assumed to be the same as indicated in RES.

As the "Glossarium" published with Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*, (here referred to briefly as CRGl.), is the fullest glossary of ESA published to date, reference is primarily made to it when the ESA usage in question is given a meaning I agree with. In other cases I refer for recognised meanings of ESA usages to other works, particularly Beeston, *Sabaean Inscriptions* (= SI). This procedure is meant to save direct quotations from the texts when no new view is held and no re-interpretation is called for.
CHAPTER II

THE ARABIC MATERIAL

and its SOURCES
CHAPTER II

THE ARABIC MATERIAL and its SOURCES

The Arabic material used in this study falls into two main categories: (1) the material stated or claimed to be of South Arabian origin or associated with South Arabia, hereafter called the South Arabian material; (2) the lexicographical and literary material used for the documentation of the discussion and interpretation of ESA usages, hereafter referred to as the documentation material.

(1) The South Arabian material:

The material has been divided into four main categories:

(A): Words or usages stated to be Abyssinian origin. These words occur almost exclusively in Qur'an and hadith. The examination thereof shows that in certain cases no comparable usages are attested in Ethiopic, although such comparable usages are attested in ESA. In other cases there is evidence that the usages might have come into Arabic through South Arabia or through South Arabians who had been in direct contact with Abyssinia, and in this case comparable usages can be found both in Ethiopic and ESA. In yet other cases comparable usages are shown to be attested, although hitherto unrecognised.

(B): Words or usages claimed to be Ḫimyarī. This term is used here to indicate words originating from the dialect of Ḫimyar, almost exclusively of Islamic times, and not usages claimed to be gained from direct knowledge of the language of the inscriptions, such as we find in the musnad cited in Hamdānī's works; cf. RES 3181 bis - 3194.
(C) Words or usages asserted to be Yamani. A few words are also indicated as in the dialects of Ḥaḍramawt, Saba', Najran, or in the dialects of tribes whose homelands in Islamic times are known to have been in South Arabia.

(D) Words or usages attested in a number of traditions whose main merit seems to be the amount of peculiar usages they contain. Most of them are reports of discoursed between Muḥammad and certain leaders of envoys or embassies from South Arabia, who delivered speeches or held dialogue with Muḥammad using a reportedly South Arabian vocabulary which the latter is reported to have both understood and replied to, sometimes in equally South Arabian vocabulary.

The period to which this material belongs, either as to when it was first mentioned or recorded, or as to when it was in current use does not go beyond the end of the fourth century A. H., the tenth century of the Common Era (C. E.). By that time all the great and to some extent original compilations of lexicographical material had been written. This period goes beyond the limit which the linguists and the grammarians set for "their" classical Arabic, somewhere around the middle of the third century A. H., 9th century C. E., at the latest. The discrepancy of a century and a half between the two limits is not difficult to explain. The linguists and grammarians were mainly concerned with forms of morphology and syntax, which could develop and change from one generation to another in the circumstances of Arabic speakers of these days. But usages of words tend to continue unchanged for considerably longer periods.
The sources from which the South Arabian material has been drawn are:

(a) Glossaries and exegetical literature of Qur'an.
(b) Glossaries and collections of hadith.
(c) Lexica of classical Arabic.
(d) Other early literary, legal and historical works.

The type and amount of material drawn from each of these categories of sources vary considerably. An individual examination of each of them is given here.

(a) Glossaries and exegetical literature of Qur'an

It is a most commonly held view that we owe to the Muslims' desire to ascertain the meaning of Qur'an their subsequent interest in the literature of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabs, an interest which was destined to lead to the vast volume of collections of works on the poetry, 'akhbār and 'aḥādīth of these Arabs. The fruit of this interest showed in the form of studies of the grammar, syntax and lexicography of Arabic, often with the immediate object of explaining, or even, supporting, a certain form or usage in Qur'an. This situation can be better understood when we remember the relevant facts about the history of the text of Qur'an.

The history of the text of the Qur'an, before it was edited at the order of the third Caliph 'Uthman in the canonical text we have, is still far from clear. But the comparatively little information we have has been enough for modern scholars to show that a much wider difference existed between the codices of other "collectors" of Qur'an
and 'Uthman's canonical text than the mere qira'at, or readings, which arose in the different Islamic centres which received copies of that text from variations in the reading of the unpointed and unvocalised copies. Some additional light may be thrown on the situation by the way Tabari interprets the vexed tradition, related from Muhammad, which says that Qur'an was delivered or revealed in seven ḥarfs, 'unsila al-qur'ānu 'ala sab'ati 'aḥruf. Tabari, who discusses this tradition in the introduction to his commentary, Tafsīr, (NB), I, 21-67, holds that the seven ḥarfs were seven ways or forms of reading the text, by using different words for the same meaning, and that was possible because these seven ḥarfs belonged to seven dialects of the Arabs. He holds that the present text represents only one such ḥarf, the others having been suppressed by 'Uthman, who did not err in doing so, since Qur'an was after all preserved, which was what mattered.

This tradition, like a great many traditions, is perhaps spurious. But it reflects the undoubted memory on the part of later Muslims of a variety of forms of texts of the Qur'an, and of the knowledge that this variety was due to a variety of dialectal words, and not only of forms of vocalisation or even decipherment of 'Uthman's canonical text. The number seven might be dismissed as fictitious, but it might be taken as indicating an undefined number. Tabari's contention that the ḥarfs were dialects helps to throw light on the efforts of some lexicographers and exegetes of Qur'an who either compiled glossaries of dialectal words in Qur'an, or sought to explain difficult or controversial words by attributing them to usages from other dialects than
that of Quraysh, allegedly the dialect of the canonical text.

It is to such a glossary that we owe most of our knowledge of the dialectal usages in the Qur'an. It is a small work called al-risāla fī waḍaʿī al-qur'ānī al-karīmi min lughātī al-qabā'il, published on the margin of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, Cairo, 1924, from p. 123 of vol. I onwards and ascribed there to Abū al-Qāsim b. Sallām. Babin, Ancient West—Arabian, 7, mentions two other editions of this work, one on the margin of the lithographed edition of Mīrīnī's al-Tafsīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr, Cairo, 1310 A.H., and another on the margin of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, Cairo, 1356 A.H. (1937/8). Babin gives the name of the author as Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawi (d. 223/838). He also says that "Suyūṭī, in his 'Itqān (p. 310), quotes extensively from a monograph (ta'llif mufrad) of 'Abū 'Ubayd on this subject".

Unfortunately I have not been able to see either of these two editions. But according to Brockelmann, GAL, S I, 167, Abū 'Ubayd's work printed on the margin of Mīrīnī's tafsīr is called Gharīb al-qur'ān, and it is said there that the work treats of the dialects of Qur'ān. Husayn Naqqār, al-mu'jam al-'arabī, 74, mentions only Abū al-Qāsim b. Sallām as the author of this treatise "printed on the margin of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn" and says that he could not trace any author by such a name among the lexicographers of Qur'ān or among Arab authors at all.

Babin's assertion that Suyūṭī, in his Itqān, quotes extensively from a monograph (ta'llif mufrad) of Abū 'Ubayd on this subject
is not correct. The text of Itqān reads: ‘التح الحد والثالاثين لما وقع
فيه بغير لغة العجز تقدم الخلاف في ذلك 3000 ونهر ومن امثلة ذلك رفيعه
وابتع فيه تأليفنا مرفوعاً أخري أبو عبيد من طريق مكراة من ابن عباس في قوله “الخ”.

There should be a full stop after ta‘līf-an mufrad-an. Rabin, op. cit.,
16, adds in a footnote, “I correct in the text of the ‘Itqān ‘akhrajahu
for ‘akhraja. Without this emendation the text seems to make little
sense. By this emendation Rabin means to indicate that the monograph
was written by Abū ‘Ubayd. But then the text should have read ‘akhraja
fī-hū and not ‘akhraja-hu. Actually only three quotations from Abū
‘Ubayd are given there, and then the authorities change until Suyūṭī
quotes from Abū al-Qāsim, fī al-kitāb alladḥī ‘allafa-hu fī hādhā
al-naw’; Itqān, I, 135. Under this heading or section Suyūṭī gives
most of the entries in the aforesaid Risāla.

However, the only person who could possibly be identified
with Suyūṭī’s Abū al-Qāsim or with Abū al-Qāsim b. Sallām is Abū ‘Ubayd
al-Qāsim b. Sallām. It seems, therefore, fairly justifiable to consider
these two names as mistakes for Abū ‘Ubayd’s. The mistakes could have
originated in more than one way, the most probable being a copyist’s
mistake. Even the authority of Suyūṭī need not weigh against this
argument, for it is a well known fact that much of Suyūṭī’s compilation
work was made by his students and he acted as editor. It is for these
reasons that in this study I have ascribed the authorship of this
Risāla to Abū ‘Ubayd and have identified Suyūṭī’s Abū al-Qāsim with
him.”
Among the commentaries on the Qur‘an the most important for the purpose of this study proved to be Tabari, Tafsir, fully called Jam‘ al-bayan ‘an ta‘wil al-qur‘an. This is the greatest surviving tafsir which draws on the traditions rather than al-ra‘y, personal interpretation; cf. Goldziher, Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koran- auslegung, Leiden, 1952, 93. Tabari himself maintains that next to the knowledge of the traditions concerning the meaning and interpretation of the different verses of Qur‘an, the most important equipment or qualification of the exegete or commentator was his sound knowledge of the “language”, either by the knowledge of citations or quotations from the poetry of the Arabs, or of their ways of speech and their prevalent well known dialects, ‘imma bi-l-shawahidi min ‘ash‘ri-him al-sā‘ira, wa-‘imma min mut‘qi-him wa-lughati-him al-mustafijati al-ma‘rufa; Tafsir (NE), I, 93. Tabari, therefore, dwells long on the linguistic and lexicographical aspects of the text of Qur‘an, and because of his traditional approach, he quotes different authorities often giving more than one meaning to a given word, and quite often denoting the dialectal origin of usages. One of his important sources, and indeed one of the important sources of traditional exegesis, is ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, the cousin of Muḥammad.

Ibn ‘Abbās is accredited with a huge volume of traditions touching on the exegesis of Qur‘an, including the dialectal usages in it. Much of what we have now attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās is probably falsely attributed to him, for, in the words of Goldziher, op. cit., 73, in “allen exegetischen Schwierigkeiten erscheint Ibn ‘Abbās als Orakel,
zuweilen als deus ex machina". Examples of this deus ex machina treatment of Ibn 'Abbas can be seen under article ftth. However, even if doubt may be cast on Ibn 'Abbas's being the authority for much of what is attributed to him, there is no reason to doubt that he had much to do with the encouragement of the attitude which sought to explain the Qur'an through comparing usages from Arabic poetry. The most well known specimen of this attitude of Ibn 'Abbas is to be found in his "answers", 'ajwiba, to the "questions", mas' il, put to him by the Ḥarıjī leader Ḥafi' b. al-'Asraq in which Ibn 'Abbas cited a line of poetry in support of every meaning he asserted for a word in Qur'an. These "answers", or a report of them, have come down to us in Suyūtī, Itqān, I, pp. 121 - 134; cf. also Goldsiner, op. cit., 70 f.

Dialectal usages in Qur'an are also mentioned in other Qur'an commentaries, but only occasionally. And in point of time many of the later exegetes or authors and compilers of commentaries were too late to add information not already given in Tabari, Tafsīr. Examples of such cases are given under the different articles when available.

(b) Glossaries and collections of hadīth

As the claimed oral reports of the sayings and acts of Muhammad and his contemporaries, and even of men of the following one or two generations, hadīth offers much material for the purpose of this study. The association of a certain usage with Yaman or Ḥimyar or al-Yabasha can be ascertained from the circumstances of the incident or encounter reported. The usages derived from this source fall into two main categories; usages that have been specified by the sources
as Abyssinian, cf. articles ṣyuμ (sym), ḥjr and ḥrj, or as Ḥimyarī, cf. article bll, or as Yamanī, cf. article bt'; and usages which are given in a clearly "South Arabian" context where the particular, or even peculiar, usage has to be understood as pertaining to the dialect of al-Yaman, cf. articles ṣyuμ. To this latter category belongs the bulk of usages classified under (D) above.

The fullest surviving glossary or lexicon of ḥadīth usage is Nihāya, fully called al-Nihāya fī ḥarīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-‘athār, of Majd al-Dīn Mubārak b. al-‘Athīr (d. 606/1210), which he compiled by fusing together two of the greatest lexica of ḥadīth written up to his time, the ḥadīth material of Kitāb al-ḥarībayn (ḥadīth and Qur‘ān) of Abū ‘Ubayd Ahmad b. Muhammed al-Harawi (d. 401/1010) and of the parallel work of Abū Musa Muḥ. b. Abī Bakr al-Madīnī (d. 581/1185) which was mainly a supplement to Abū ‘Ubayd’s compilation. Nihāya has another significance to lexicography, for Ibn Manṣūr included it among his sources for Līsān, and so did Zabīdī later in Taj, so that the ḥadīth material has become an integral part of "lexical Arabic".

The system followed by Ibn al-‘Athīr in Nihāya makes it easy to identify the original context of the usage. For he normally begins by saying, e.g., wa-ṣī ḥadīth wā’il b. Ḥujr ‘anna wā’il-an yustas‘ā etc. and then goes on to explain the usage in question; cf. Nihāya, art. s‘y and cf. article s‘y here.

The collections of ḥadīth normally give a full circumstantial account of the tradition, and thus of the usage, in question. In certain cases they also specify that a certain usage was Abyssinian, Ḥimyarī
or Yamani. In this study I have mainly depended on the Sahih of Muḥ. b. Isma'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), commonly held to be the most discriminating and thus most trustworthy collection. The collections in general take a stricter view of hadith than is shown by the lexicographers, as represented in the material of Nihayat. Thus most of the traditions to which we owe the material under (d) above are completely left out from the collections. This particularly applies to the accounts of the encounters between Muhammad and the heads of South Arabian embassies.

Under this category of sources come the books of sira or biographies of Muhammad. They provide much of the material under (d). They fall into roughly two kinds: the narrative accounts of the life of the Prophet, like Ibn Ishaq’s, Ibn Sa’d’s, al-Sira al-Malabiyya etc., and the works of manaqib, "excellences", of the Prophet, such as Abu Nu’aym, Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa, and al-Qadī ʿIyād b. Mūsa, al-Shīfā fī ṭaqqīl al-muṣṭafā, where the Prophet’s ability to understand the different dialects of the Arabs and to use them is dwelled upon as a manifestation of his "excellences".

An important source for material under (d) is al-ʿIqd al-farīḍ of Ṭahā al-Ṣāliḥī. The author includes there, vol. II, pp. 23 - 65, much of the material that can be found anywhere else. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī’s interest is purely literary and historical, but one cannot fail to see in his choice the interest in the lexical variety offered by these accounts of wufūd or embassies.
Lexica of classical Arabic

The story and history of Arabic lexicography have been recently the subject of a number of studies and monographs that it is hardly necessary here to re-state the basic facts of that story or history. Interest in the dialectal usages of the Arabs must have started among the lexicographers from the earliest stages since interest in these usages had marked the efforts of the earliest exegetes of Qur'ān. Another source of interest must have been the collections, or, diwans, in which the poetry of different tribes were gathered together and often studied with a view to ascertaining the peculiarities of the various dialects.

But when Arabic sources speak of lughāt al-ʿarab or lughāt al-qabā'il they always include, and more often than not give most importance to, the dialectal variants or irregularities in morphology and syntax. Dialectal variants of usage, in the lexicographical sense, receive a considerable degree of attention as well, but mainly in the lexica and not in the general works on language. Thus we find the earliest lexicographer to try writing a complete compilation of the lexicographical material of classical Arabic, al-Khalīl b. Ahmad (d. 175/778) pay attention in his al-ʿAyn to these dialectal usages. The later lexicographers who quoted from this work, but who followed the line that it was not written by al-Khalīl himself, refer normally to al-Leith b. al-Muṣaffar. Yamani usages derived from this source are attested in the later lexica; cf. Taj, art. dṣṣ, and Līsan, art. _paint.

The single lexicographical work to which we owe most of the
"South Arabian" material in the lexica is al-Jamhara of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933). Ibn Durayd was from 'Asd of 'Uman, who were considered among the so-called Yamani tribes. He was born and brought up in Basra and after travelling extensively in the Eastern provinces, he settled in Baghdad, where he after a long life of reportedly over 95 years. In his Jamhara he gives hundreds of usages as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Most of these usages could not be traced to earlier authorities or sources, and many of them are of a very dubious character, either because they are phonetically ugly, or because they pertain to departments of usage of shady nature. Examples of these Yamani usages given by him abound in this study, both in the articles studied and in the usages given in the Appendix II. Ibn Durayd gives also some usages in the dialect of Himyar, although many usages which in other sources are given as Himyarī are given by him as Yamani. He also gives usages in the dialect of al-'Asd, his own tribe, some of which are given by other sources as Yamani.

Ibn Durayd sometimes introduces a Yamani usage by saying sa'āmū: "It is asserted", or sometimes comments on such usages as: lā 'adī mā gībbatu-hu: "I cannot tell how correct it is", or even wa-layṣa bi-thahāt: "but it is not certain"; cf. in Appendix II the Yamani usages under ḥs, ħnīth, ṣḥṣ and ḡḥd. Ibn Durayd was severely criticised by his contemporaries and by later scholars for his indiscriminating attitude towards much of the Yamani dialect stuff he included. Most critical of him was his contemporary al-'Ashari (282/895-370/980), who not only expressed disapproval of some of the material in Jamhara, but spread malicious talk about Ibn Durayd trying to throw doubt on his personal integrity of a man over ninety, as Ibn Durayd was when Ashari attended his lectures at the former's house in Baghdad; cf. the preface.
to *Jamhara*, vol. I, 7; cf. also Ḥusayn Naẓar, *Mu'jam al-'Arabī*, pp. 395-400. However, *Jamhara* was destined to become one of the "primary" sources of Arabic lexicography.

The century that followed the death of Ibn Durayd witnessed the appearance of a strikingly big number of lexicographical compilations. There were *al-Bāri' fi al-luḥa* of Abū 'Alī Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim al-Qādī, a pupil of Ibn Durayd's who emigrated to Spain where he wrote his dictionary, *al-Tahdhib* of al-'Ashari, mentioned above, *al-Muhīt* of the famous Buyid secretary and wasīr al-Ṣāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995), *al-Mujmal* and *Mu'jam maqālis al-luḥa*, both of Ḥamīd b. Faris (d. 395/1004), *al-Saḥāb*, or *Taj al-luḥa wa-Saḥāb al-'Arabiyya* of Ismā'il b. Ḥammād al-Jawhari (d. c. 400/1010) and finally *al-muhīkam* of 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Ṣīda of Spain, (d. 458/1065).

None of these works exercised greater influence on later generations and authors than *Saḥāb* of Jawhari, both because of its easier system of arrangement, alphabetically according to the ultimate letter of the root, and because of the very strict standards he set to himself in selecting the material for his compilation. Naturally he left out a considerably vast volume of Yamanī and other dialectal usages which previous authors either freely included or quoted cautiously. It is only or mainly where a usage is associated with a Yamanī context that he makes reference to a dialectal usage; cf. articles *rym* and *drw* in this study. Occasionally, but very rarely, he refers to a Ḥimyarī usage, like the use of *muballat* = *maḍmūn*, said to be in the dialect of Ḥimyar; cf. *Saḥāb*, art. *blt*, and cf. article *blt* in this
thesis. On the other hand, Jawhari accepted as of good standard and included in his work many usages which other authors, especially Ibn Durayd in Jamhara, designated as Yemeni or as pertaining to dialectal usage.

This is in general outline the situation in Arabic lexicography at the end of the great epoch of the "primary" compilations, Sahih dominated the scene for almost three centuries after that, and it is in line with this importance of Sahih that the two greatest contributions during those two to three centuries were "supplements" to Sahih. The first was a collections of Hawashi, "annotations", to Sahih, started in Cairo by the Sicilian émigré Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' al-Siqillī (d. 515/1121) and then carried on by his pupil ʿAbdallāh b. Barri, who re-edited his master's contributions; and when the latter died in 576/1180 the work was left unpublished until it was finally edited and published by the Andalusī émigré al-Basī in the year 622/1225. This work is commonly known as Hawashi Ibn Barri. In it the authors supplement usages which Jawhari had left out, correct wrong statements and citations and follow him up over points of grammar, a subject in which both Ibn al-Qaṭṭā' and Ibn Barri were greatly interested; cf. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī, 485 ff. The second work was by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥ. al-Saghānī (d. 650/1252), called al-takmilah wa-l-dhayl wa-l-gilah to Jawhari's Sahih. This work paid more attention than Ibn Barri's to supplementing usages which had been left out by Jawhari and less attention to questions of grammar. Saghānī tried in the last seven years of his life (he died 73 years old) to shake off
the influence of Jawhari's جاَلَح on his life work and started writing his own compilation called al-ʿUbāb, which was left unfinished. The part which was finished impressed Suyūṭī so much that he classed it the greatest lexicon since Jawhari's جاَلَح after Ibn ʿĪdā's al-Muhkam, cf. Suyūṭī, Mushir, I, 50. The importance of جاَلَح's works for us lies in the fact that he was for sometime in Yemen and that ʻTaj quotes from him Yamiṇī usages which are not attested elsewhere, cf. ʻTaj, arts. ḥ̣, ḥn', ḥys, rst, khfš. But most of our knowledge of what many of these early sources contain comes from two great compilations, Līsān and ʻTaj. Līsān al-ʿArāl of Muḥ. b. Mukarram b. Maṇṣūr al-Ifriqī (d. 711/1311) was compiled by putting together the material contained in Asharī's Tahdhib, Ibn ʿĪdā's Muhkam, Jawhari's جاَلَح, Ibn Barri's Hawāshi and Ibn al-Athīr's Nihāya, as the author or compiler himself states in the preface to his monumental work, cf. vol. I, 2 f. He included all the dialectal usages which these sources indicated, among which were many usages of Yamiṇī, Ḥimyarī and other South Arabian dialects. Many of these usages were originally given by Ibn Durayd and came to Līsān via other sources which had quoted Jambhāra, particularly from Ibn ʿĪdā's Muhkam.

ʻTaj, as its full name ʻTaj al-ʿArūs min Jawahir al-Qāmūs, is a commentary on Qāmūs of FIRūsābādī. This latter work needs some special mention here. The author, Majd al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Yaʿqūb al-FIRūsābādī was born in Persia in 729/1329 and lived and studied and taught in a variety of places in Persia, ʿIraq and Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and India and was in many places favoured with the attention and bounty of kings and
prominent men. In the year 796/1394, at the advanced age of sixty five or more, he came to Zabīd in Yaman, where he was treated by the Basūlid king al-ʿAshraf Ismāʿīl with great deference and attention. He stayed in Yaman for the rest of his days holding high office as Qādī in Zabīd. It was during the first seven of his stay in Yaman that he undertook the writing of his dictionary al-Qāmūs al-Muhīt, whose short name Qāmūs has become the ordinary word for "dictionary" or "lexicon" in Arabic. As he indicates in the introduction to this work, he wanted to write a lexicon which embraced more usages than there were in Sahāb, then the most popular work of Arabic lexicography. His enthusiasm for adding material to augment his work led him to include a considerable volume of usages that had been left out not only by Jawhari but even by other authors. His two main sources, as he declares in the introduction, were al-Muhkam of Ibn Sīda and al-ʿUbāb of al-Saghānī, to which he says that he added other material which he does not specify or for which he does not indicate the sources.

It is on this huge collection of usages, presented in a most brief manner, that Taj is based. The author of Taj is Muḥammad Murtaḍa al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī from Zabīd in Yaman in the year 1145/1732 where he grew up and studied until he moved to Egypt in 1167/1753 where he remained for the rest of his days except for sometime when he journeyed in the neighbouring countries and in Asia Minor. He died in 1205/1791. Zabīdī set himself the task of enlarging Qāmūs by adding in between the entries given there the information available in the sources which Hīrūzābādī had left out. But Zabīdī did more than simply fill the gaps,
if this is the correct expression. According to his statement in the preface to *Taj*, vol. I, 3 ff., he referred directly to the original works of the earlier authorities and to tens of other works on linguistic, literary, historical, geographical and scientific subjects. Among the sources he mentions are *Jamhara* of Ibn Durayd and *Ubab* and *al-Takmila* to *Shahab*, both of *Saghani*.\(^{(2)}\) Apart from adding the comments on the *Qamus* material, he very often, almost regularly, adds a "mustadrak" "supplementary", section at the end of articles, some of them running to considerable length. He shows interest in dialectal usages, but one notices that he pays special attention *Yamani* usages. Most of the usage he includes are found in the earlier sources, especially in Ibn Durayd, *Yamani Jamhara* and in *Saghani*’s works. When the same usage is found in both *Lisan* and *Taj*, the latter very often indicates the source, while *Lisan* normally gives the usage without indicating the source, and this is specially the case when the ultimate authority for the usage is Ibn Durayd; cf. *Lisan* and *Taj*, art. *sh*, where *insaha* = *Immala* *fa-saqal* is given in *Lisan* simply as *yamaniyya*, while in *Taj* it is mentioned that Ibn Durayd was the authority for that. Sometimes *Taj*, quoting Ibn Durayd, gives a usage in the dialect of *Yamani*, while *Lisan* either does not enter the usage at all, cf. *jans* = *al-bayt al-saghir*, or gives the usage without indicating its *Yamani* dialect, cf. art. *khnith* in *Lisan* and *Taj*, and *Jamhara*, III, 316. But sometimes both lexica give a *Yamani* usage given in *Jamhara* but do not refer to Ibn Durayd, cf. *Lisan* and *Taj*, art. *hqab* and *Jamhara*, I, 227, for *huqba* = *sukun al-rāh*, and sometimes both lexica do not refer to the fact that
a certain usage is attested as Yamanī, although given as such by Ibn Durayd; cf. Lisan and Taj, art. khrbsh, and Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, III, 302, for khrbsh = ichtilat wa-qakhab: "confusion and noise".

But apart from these Yamanī and other South Arabian usages drawn from the earlier sources, Zabīdī, as a Yamanī, sometimes adds usages for which he is the authority, as he himself often indicates; cf. article kēš in this study. Other examples can be found in Taj, arts. ḥwyy, ṣyd, ṣtt, ḏwr, ḏt and Ḵhū.

Another source of South Arabian usages which comes under this category but which has not been mentioned so far is Nasīwān b. Saʿīd al-Ḥimyarī, Shams al-ʿulūm wa-dīwān kalam al-ʿArab min al-kulūm. The author (d. 573/117) included in this lexicon a lot of information about South Arabia and a considerable number of usages given either as in the dialect of Ḥimyar or the dialect of Yaman. This material has been collected by Aṣīmuddīn Aḥmad, Die auf Sudarabien beschränkten Angaben Nasīwān's im Ṣams al-ʿUlūm, here referred to briefly as Nasīwān, AA-Ṣ-U. These usages have been included in this study and treated in like manner as the rest of the material collected from other sources. Some of the Yamanī and Ḥimyarī usages given by him are not paralleled in other sources, either in the sense that they are not given at all elsewhere, or are given but without indication of their Yamanī or Ḥimyarī usages. The detailed references given by the collector to other lexical sources show how far these usages are comparable with the material of such sources; cf. the German section of the work, pp. 1–44. The usages from this source entered under Appendix II here that are not attested
elsewhere as Yamani number about 20, although some of them are attested elsewhere but without specification of dialect. They are given in Appendix II to this study under the roots bsn, hndq, djr, dhn, dkhsh, zlk, zlf, s'y, tyr, 'sw, 'kb, 'wd, 'yl, fhs, fysh, qbb, qfsh, mnh, m'q, nff, nwd, hsf. Some, if not all, of such usages should probably have been treated like the Yamani usages given in Taj on the personal authority of Zabidi and have been left out from this study. But the difference in time between Nashwan and Zabidi had to be taken into consideration. For whereas it is reasonable to consider the usages given on Zabidi's authority as belonging to the recent or "modern" records of South Arabian usages, Nashwan preceded in time Saghani, who also, although not Yamani, recorded some Yamani usages which he himself heard used in Yaman, cf. Taj, art. khfsh.

(d) Other early literary, legal and historical works

These sources offer very few usages which are not included in the lexica. The sources themselves fall into two main categories: those of a South Arabian origin, like Hamdani's works and like Ibn Hisham, Tijan, and those of a North Arabian origin, like Asraqi, 'Akbar Makka, and Abū 'Ubayd, 'Amwal. The last two works offer one word each; Asraqi gives a description of jurub blocks of stone in Yaman which is referred to here under article wjl (*jl) in connection with g`rbm, CIH 325,1; Abū 'Ubayd, op. cit., 188, after giving the text of the covenant given by Muhammad to the Christians of Najran in which it is said, according to Abū 'Ubayd, wa-alā 'an la yughayyiru 'usquf-an min siqqIfa-hu wa-lā waqih-an min wiqqIhā-hu wa-lā rahib-an min rahbāniyyata-ti-hi adds the comment or gloss: al-waqihu waliyyu al-'ahdi bi-lughati-
him, where waliyy al-‘ahd is either to be understood in the commonly accepted sense of "heir apparent" or "designated successor"; or, less probably but not wrongly as "the one in charge of allegiances", in the sense of a holder of an office which gives the incumbent power over members of a federation or confederation; cf. my NQI, 9 n. 1. In the latter sense it would be possible to compare it with ESA wqf: "to command, to order"; cf. CB-Gl., 140. Elsewhere this term is given as wāfiḥ, wāḥif or wāqif, and is explained as "the servant, or, the keeper, of a church"; cf. Nihāya, arts. wkh, whf and wqf respectively. Actually Nihāya enters it as wāqih under art. wqf but dismisses this form as a mistake for wāfiḥ and offers no further explanation.

Usages given by Hamdānī have been entered here and cited where they happen to agree with entries given by other sources. Otherwise, except for the usage wathan = ‘alam: "landmark, boundary mark"; such usages as given by Hamdānī have been left out. This especially applies to Ḥimyarī usages given in the explanation of the musnads in Hamdānī's works, as stated in the previous chapter. The usages given in Ibn Hishām, Tājan, mainly concern the explanation of the names of different kings of Saba' and Ḥimyar. These have been left out and excluded from this study.

(2) The sources of the documentation material:

This material has been freely drawn from all categories of sources given under the preceding part, where available. In addition to that three other kinds of sources have been used.

(a) Sources for Middle Arabic, or post classical Arabic.
The most important source for this material that I have used is R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leiden, 1927, in two volumes. Besides its copiousness, this work has a vast body of Andalusian and Maghribi Arabic usages. These usages, very many of which must have been introduced in Spain and Maghrib by the conquering Arabs and not only developed after their settlement there, have very often not been recorded in the usages of the Arabic speaking East, whereas parallel usages used by those in the East have been recorded, either in the works of the earlier authors or in the works of authors and compilers after the end of the fourth century of Islam, 10th century C.E. Another point which makes these usages worth being referred to in documenting interpretations of ESA material is the fact that the more civilised and civilising elements among the conquering and immigrant Arabs of the earlier times were those from South Arabia, very often of Ḫimyarī stock, who had come to Syria with the conquests and were then posted or dispatched to Maghrib and Spain. This influence shows in the existence of a number of administrative and agricultural usages attested in ESA and in the local usage of South Arabia in the Islamic times, sometimes up till now, while they are neither on record nor in current use elsewhere in the Arabic speaking countries.

Another source of this material is *al-Munjid* of the Catholic press of Beirut. It includes post classical usage that has survived into modern literary usage. It has been referred to in this study once

(b) South Arabian works of later times

These include works on the history of South Arabia which
normally use local terms when describing local practices of life and administration. The earliest such work I referred to is Khazrajî, al-'Uqūd al-lu'lu'iyya fi tārīkh al-dawla al-Basūliyya, finished after 803/1400. Then come two modern works: Wāsī'ī, Tārīkh al-Yaman and Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī al-Yafī'I, Tārīkh Ḥadramawt al-siyāsī. The latter has also a book of travel, Ḥī janūb jasīrat al-'Arab, which has also been referred to here. Under this category come two works which I have referred to in manuscript form. They are: Ibrāhīm b. Ju'mān (10th/16th century), Fatāwā, referred to under article knāl and article qm, and Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī, mulakhkhaṣ al-fīṭān wa-l-ḥaṣāb wa-miṣbāḥ al-hudā li-l-kuttāb, written at the beginning of the 9th/15th century as a manual on the trade and customs regulations of Yaman, with a description of the administrative and fiscal rules involved; it is referred to under article ḵb. (3)

(c) Modern studies and collections of South Arabian dialects

The biggest contribution in this field is that of C. Landberg in the works listed under his name in the "Bibliography". Articles and contributions by R. B. Serjeant, as given in the "Bibliography", have also been referred to. Reference is also made to Glaser in Reise nach Marib and Rhedokanakis in Dialekt Ḫurāf, cf. the "Bibliography".

In all these categories of sources for the "documentation material" no attempt has been made at covering all the possible sources or at exhausting the available material in any source referred to. The usages referred to here in this study were mainly come across in course of reading for other purposes as well and have been used for comparison
only when necessary.

Footnotes to Chapter II

(1) Cf., the following works:


(b) Ḥusayn Ma‘ṣūr, al-Mu‘jam al-‘Arabī, nash‘atū-hu wa-ta‘jāwwuru-hu, Cairo, 1956. This work of 748 pages of text is the Thesis which the author originally submitted to the University of Cairo for the degree of D. Litt. in 1953.

(c) Ahmad ‘Abd al-Ghafūr al-‘Atṭār, Muqaddimāt al-Sābah, Cairo, 1956. This muqaddima is published as a separate introductory volume to the author’s new edition of Jawḥār, Sābah. It gives a clear and fairly accurate account of the history of Arabic lexicography down to the time of Sābah and then traces the efforts of later scholars to comment on, supplement or criticise Sābah.

(d) J. A. Haywood, Arabic Lexicography, its history and its place in the general history of lexicography, Leiden, 1960. This is a sketchy and poorly account of the subject, with many mistakes of facts, quotations and translations and too many misprints.

Cf., also:


(2) In Taj, I, p. 4, Zāhīdī says that he referred to ‘Ubab and Takmilā of Saghānī, manuscript copies of which he found at the library of al-‘amīr Sarghatumūsh in Cairo. But in his sharh, “expansion”, of Fīrūzabādī’s preface to al-Qāmūs, he says when ‘Ubab is mentioned, wa-hādhā al-kitabu lam ‘aṭūla‘ ‘alay-hi ma‘ katharatī baḥthī ‘an-hus: “This work I have not seen in spite of my persistent search for it”; Taj, vol. I, 23. The copy of Takmilā which he
used is now in the Egyptian Library in Cairo, with personal notes on it written by Zabīdī himself; cf. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, al-Muʿjam al-ʿArabī, 477.

(3) Professor R. B. Serjeant has kindly allowed me to consult his two manuscript copies of these two works. For further details cf. the "Bibliography".
CHAPTER III

ABYSSINIAN WORDS and USAGES
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Abyssinian Words and Usages

Eleven usages asserted by the Arabic sources to be loanwords from Abyssinian are discussed here. Seven of them are usages occurring in Qur'ān; cf. articles hrm, hwr, drr, skr, kfl, nsh and wrk. The other four are attested in hadith and Shīra; cf. articles snw (sn′), shym (sym), njr and hrj. Two of the usages have Abū Mūsā al-`Ash'arī, a South Arabian who had emigrated to Abyssinia and then came to Madīna with the Muslims who returned there from Abyssinia, as one of the authorities therefor; cf. articles kfl and hrj. In all the cases, with the exception of the usage discussed under article wrk, corresponding usages in ESA are either recognised or have been shown here to be attested therein. In three cases no usages which could correspond to the claimed Abyssinian loanwords are attested in Ethiopic; cf. articles hrj, hrm and wrk. In two of these three cases a South Arabian origin for the given usages seems more probable; cf. articles hrm and hrj. In three cases a direct Abyssinian source seems to be more probable or definite; cf. articles snw (sn′), shym (sym) and njr.

Under Chapter IV it will be seen that כראים "dam" is claimed to be an Abyssinian loanword, but no corresponding usage is attested in Ethiopic; cf. article ʿrm. Also there it will be seen that the usages qarr = bayt: "house, or, temple (?)", and quwāʾ: "drinking cup or vessel", claimed to be of Himyarī origin are more probably of Abyssinian origin.
Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 139, and Mutawakkilī, 19, on the ultimate authority of *Ikrima, states that the Qur'ānic usage \( \text{wajāba} \) "to be binding" is Abyssinian. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 36–37, includes this claim in the category which "consists of those few words where a little linguistic learning has led the Muslim philologers into sad error", and says, "(he does not vowel the word), a very common word, cognate with Heb. \( \text{ḥārām} \) was by some taken to be Abyssinian, doubtless because (Eth.) ḥārām was commonly used in the technical sense of to consecrate or dedicate to God."

The Cairo edition of Mutawakkilī, referred to above, gives the vowelling as wa-ḥārūma, but this is wrong, as it is clear from other sources that the reference is to Qur'ān xxi,95: wa-ḥārām-un ʿālā qaryat-in ʿahlakān-hā ʿanna-hum lā yarjiʿun. Two variant readings of wa-ḥārām-un, at the beginning of the verse, are given: (1) wa-ḥirm-un; (2) wa-ḥaruma. Both readings are on the ultimate authority of Ibn ʿAbbas; cf. Līsān, art. ḥrm; cf. also Baiqāwī, Tafsīr, ad. loc.

The meaning and the syntax of this verse have been a problem for the grammarians and exegetes, irrespective of which reading was adopted for the first word in the verse. If wa-ḥārām-un was taken in the "normal" sense of "forbidden, prohibited", then the verse would mean: "And it is forbidden (or, ruled out) concerning (the people) of a town we destroy that they shall not come back (or, be restored)". The sense inevitably seemed paradoxical and two courses
out of the difficulty or absurdity were adopted. The first was to claim that *wa-*hara*m-un* did not mean "forbidden, prohibited", but, on the contrary, it meant "binding", *wa*jib-un*. It is in this connexion that the variant readings seem to have been invoked or resorted to. For although citations from pre-Islamic poetry were given to support this sense of haram, it seems that it was felt that less common forms might be more acceptable for the unconventional sense that was being ascribed to the word here. Hence hirm-un, positively interpreted as wajib-un, and the verbal variant haruma = wajaba: "to be binding". The claim that haruma = wajaba is Abyssinian may have been an attempt to give outside support to a meaning which the grammarians and the exegetes favoured but which seemed to run against the established usages of Arabic. The other course adopted was to claim that la of la yarji'un was otiose or redundant, sa'ida. Cf. the full exposition of the claims and the examination of the authority behind each of them in Lis'an, art. hrm. Other interpretations, mainly theological, were given by a number of exegetes, but they need not concern us here.

Ethiopic has no attested usage which could support the claim that haruma = wajaba or hirm-un = wajib-un is Abyssinian. A. Jeffery, 1. cit., does not seem to have been aware of which sense of haram was meant or which place in Qur'ān it occurred in. This is apparently why he makes the sweeping remark "doubtless because (Eth.) haram was commonly used in the technical sense of to consecrate or dedicate to God."
ESA hróm, however, has attested usages comparable to the claimed hrúmə = wajaba or hrüm-un = wajib-un. Cf. RES 3566, 21:

krm/kyrm/mlkn, rendered by Rhodokanakis renders: "so wie es befehlt der König", Cf. also RES 3879, 1: hgr/wshrm/hrm/, rendered by Rhodokanakis as: "hat als unverbrüchlich und unverletzlich verkündet das Gesetz", and ibid., 5: dn/hgrm/wshrmn: "diesem unverletzlichen und unverbrüchlichen Gesetze". It is clear that Rhodokanakis is trying to retain in his translation of the passages from RES 3879 the supposed basic sense of "prohibition" of hgr and hrüm, and yet hrüm in line 1 had to be rendered "das Gesetz". Cf. also RES 4233, 5: bn/hrım/hhrm: "de la loi intangible qu’il a édictée", according to G. Ryckmans; and RES 4931, 1: hgr/wshrm/hrmː "a ordonné et promulgué irrevocablement", also according to G. Ryckmans, where hrmː "the law, the statute" is not accounted for in the translation.

It may be unquestionable that the sense of "to decree" or the sense of "law, decree, statute" that hrım or hrım has or the sense of "to order" that byhrım, RES 3566, 21, has, developed from the basic and original sense of prohibition, a basic sense underlying many of the terms and ideas of ruling and government in ESA; cf. my NQI, 10-13. But it is clear from these usages of ESA hrım that the sense had already developed to denote specifically and positively decreeing or making a binding order.

In the absence of an attested Abyssinian usage from hrım specifically comparable to hrúmə = wajaba or hrüm-un = wajib-un it is
feasible to suggest that what might have been a Ḥimyarī usage, ultimately related to ḤA, seems to have mistaken for Abyssinian.
It is generally accepted that the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbās, states that *yafrūr* = *yarjīj*; "to return, to come back", Qur'ān lxxxiv, 14, is a loanword from Abyssinian. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., classes this word among "cases where the Arabic word is rare", p. 32, and which were "collected by as-Suyūṭī from earlier authorities as foreign borrowings, but which are all obviously Arabic"; p. 34. In a footnote on p. 35 he adds, "(Eth.) *yaḥūr* from *ḥāra* is perhaps in mind here, or may be *yaḥūr*.

Qur'ān lxxxiv 10–14 reads: wa-jannū man *ḥāliya kitāba-hu warū ṭa *ṣahrī-hi (10) fa-sawfa yadū thubūr-an (11) wa-yaqūl sa ṭīra-an (12) *inna-hu kāna fi-ṣahli-hi masīrūr-an (13) *inna-hu ḍaňna fann lan yahūrā (14). Qur'ān lxxxiv is a short Makki sūra wholly concerned with the day of judgement. The exegetes interpreted verse 14: *inna-hu ḍaňna* fann lan yahūrā as referring to the "bad man's" belief that he would not "come back, return" to God for judgement, hence they explain *yāḥūr = yarjīj*, cf. Tabārī, Taṣfīr, XXX, 75, Zamakhshārī, Kashfī, II, 533, cites a verse of Labīd: *yāḥūru ramādan*: "turns, changes, to ashes" to support *yāḥūr = yarjīj* and then adds a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās that the latter had not known what *yāḥūr* meant until he heard a bedouin woman saying to a girl of hers *ḥūrī = irjīj*. *Yaḥūr* in Labīd's verse does not mean "return, go back", because a thing which burns to ashes does not "return" to ashes. The tradition from Ibn 'Abbās follows an all too familiar pattern; cf. under article *frāy.*
I think that the sense of yahūr in verse 14 is directly linked with the preceding verse: "He was happy among his people", and hence "He thought he would never change".

The Arabic lexica give bāra = raṣaٌa as the basic sense of many other usages from the same root, e.g., taḥāwaru; taṣrāṣaٌa al-kalma bayna-hum: "they argued, they exchanged conversation"; yahūra: radda al-jawāba: "to return an answer, to reply", and bār = nuqṣān: "decreasing, diminishing", explained li-ṣanna-hu rujūٌ from one state to another"; and also = halal: "perishal, passing away". But the last two senses are also explained, as deriving from the sense dāḥāb: "to go"; cf. Lisān and Tāj. art. bār. Other usages which are linked with bāra = raṣaٌa can be better explained from bāra = dhahaba; cf., e.g., bārat al-ghusqa: "the lump in the throat, the choking morsel, went down, or, went away". Bārat here is explained as inḥādarat "went down" and then interpreted as ka-ṣanna-ha raṣaٌat min mawjadiٌ-ha: "as if it went back from its place"; cf. Lisān, art. bār. The forced nature of the argument is self-evident. It is possible to say that Arabic bāra has the basic sense of "to go" rather than that of "to return", and that the lexicographers gave bāra = raṣaٌa predominance in the semantic range of these usages because of the sense it was assumed to have in Qur'ān lxxxiv,14.

The root bār and its derivative usages are well attested in ESA. Both Arabic bāra = raṣaٌa and Eth. bōra: "to go"
have been compared with usages of ESA ḫwr. Rhodokanakis, Grundr., 22, twice compares Arabic ḫīra = raja’a. (1) With CIH 601,13: ḫwr/ḥmr: "to settle and to take ownership", where he says, with (Arabic) ḫīra: "to return" can be associated the sense of "to enter, to stop at"; cf. (Arabic) ḫmr ("to return") and maḥāb ("place of return, place of settling down"). (2) With CIH 601,14 ḫmr/ḥmr: "the decree which there promulgated", where he says, "ḥmr (and ḫmr as well) in the sense of "to issue, to promulgate, "erlassen", a decree, 'Erlass', an ordinance, 'Befehl'", can either be linked to (Arabic) ḫīra = raja’a where the development of the sense points to the synonymous (ESA) ḥtb = (Hebrew) ḥaṭṭāb, or it pertains to the sense of (Eth.:) ḫīra: "to go"; cf. (Arabic) madḥab. Cf. also ibid., 45 f., ad ḧmr: "ordinances", RES 3566,10, where semantically compares ESA ḥmr and Eth. ḫīra. Rhodokanakis also, St., I, 57, renders CIH 546,8-9: ḫwr/khr/ḥmr/zqdm/dm/ (9) ḥmr/ ḫmr/ḥmr/zqdm/dm/ as: "as was imposed (or, pledged) before this confession", and in the note, ibid., 59, he indicates that he takes ḫwr here as Form II, compares it with Eth. ḫīra and ḫīra = raja’a.

Cr.-Gl., 146, compares Arabic ḫīra and Eth. ḫīra and assigns to ESA ḫwr the basic sense of "to go", and renders CIH 601,13: ḫwr/ ḫmr/ḥmr/dm/ as: "ut eat et stet in urbe Ǧirwāh".

Neither Ethiopic nor ESA has an attested usage deriving from ḫwr which indicates "to return". Rhodokanakis's comparison of Arabic ḫīra = raja’a and the correct sense that the comparison seemed
semantically to yield need not establish that either Arabic Ṣara nor ESA ḫwr had the sense of "to return, to come back". It seems that the sense of yahūr = yarjī', favoured by the exegetes for Qur’ān lxxxiv, 14, was not a well attested usage in Arabic, and that in the search for support for this sense a claim that yahūr meant yarjī' in Abyssinian was made.

Besides, Arabic has usages deriving from ḫwr or ḥyr which are directly comparable with usages of ESA ḫwr. Cf. ṣamarā' = kūṭtā, which in its turn explained as: ʿamādī' al-ḥāyā: "the place of a settlement", and al-jarq al-lātīt tansilū-hā wa-lam yansil-hā nāsil-um qablā-ka: "land which you settle in and was not settled before"; Lisān and Tāj, arts. ḫwr and kūṭṭa (Cf. also ikhtatta al-madinata: "to survey, to allot, the site of a town for settlement".). Cf. also istabār: ṻāzala: "to stay, to settle" in a place; Lisān, art. ḥyr. Both usages can be compared with ESA ḫwr in ḫwr/whk1/bhgrn/qrrū, CIH 601, 13; cf. above.
Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 139, and Ḥutawakkilī, 22, on the authority of Abū (‘Ubayd) al-Qāsim and Shaydala, gives durri, Qur’ān xxiv, 35, as of Abyssinian origin meaning muddī: “luminous, radiant with light”. The verse reads: allāhu nūru al-samawāt wa-l-‘ardī mathalu nūri-hi ka-mishkāt-in fīhā miṣbāḥ-un al-miṣbāḥu fī zujājat-in al-zujājatu ka-‘anna-hā kawkab-un durriy-un: “God is the light of the heavens and the earth: the likeness of his light is like a niche in a wall in which there is a lamp, the lamp being in a glass, and the glass looks as if it is luminous, or, radiant, star”. mishkāt: “a niche in a wall” was recognised by Arabic sources as of Abyssinian origin and is accepted as such by modern scholars; cf. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 266. As for durri here, Jeffery, ibid., 36–37, says: “So also durri of (Qur’ān) xxiv, 35, which Shaidala and Abū‘l-Qāsim said was of Abyssinian origin, cannot be other than Arabic, the Eth. darara providing a possibility of solution for philologers who found some difficulty in deriving durri from darra: to flow abundantly”. He includes this example under the “group (which) consists of those few words where a little linguistic learning has led the Muslim philologers into sad error.”; ibid., 36.

In ESA drr is attested in RES 3306 A, 3 and 5; RES 4760 A, 5; and CIH 615, 8. Of these three texts RES 3306 A is the most important, being the longest and the most intact, at least in the part which we have of it. This inscription is of a religious nature. Two full translations of it were made by H. Grimme, "Internes aus der minäischen

According to Grimme, l. cit., 59, the central point of the text is
"the nature of the personal manifestation of a god in his temple";
but Rhodokanakis, op. cit., 62, maintains that the text prescribes
the days of sacrifice and the sacrifices themselves. The time or fixed
day for this is to be found out through the inspection of the victims,
"Opferschau". The purpose for which the manifestations are sought
and the favourable times looked for is the ceremony of offering or
giving a "wife" to the god *ATTAR. In these two translations of Grimme
and Rhodokanakis *ndrr, lines 3 and 5, plays a most important part.
In my view both Grimme and Rhodokanakis fail to translate the text
correctly. The crucial part of the text, as we have it, is:

2. /wynkr/hnlhm/bht/bn/dbhhy/ys*rb/m*n
3. wbhntsm*/ndrr/ywm/hl'y/bnm*/ntthn*/n/wrdt/b*nts/mtym/tr
4. d*/tr/wmny/abbs/l'y/stmg*/hn/ysqn/wbht/b*trr/bn/*dbh/m
5. *n/wbhntsm*/hl/ys*rbn/*tr/*ndrr/

Grimme, l. cit., 60, renders this: "und beratschlagten, ob man schicken
solle (einen Anteil) von den Schlachtopfern, die als Pflichtabgabe
entrichteten Mann (3) und seine Töchter(-städe), damit sie ihr Blut
liessen. Als dann entschieden war, wer von den Weibern herabsteigen
sollte als sein (d. i. Attars) Weib und wann sie (4) herabsteigen
sollte als Opfergegenstand und vermehren (oder: gelingen machen) sollte
sein (d. i. Attars) Opfers, so dass er (d. i. Attar) sich dann zur
Zeugung entschloß: da wurden zusammengebracht und hingefickt zu
Attar (als Anteil) von Schlachtopfern (5) Maan's und seiner Töchter (-städe) diejenigen, welche als Pflichtabgabe dargebracht wurden, um als Opfer ihr Blut zu lassen.

Rhodokarakis, St. I, 61, translates: "Und ist es unbekannt — wenn nicht offenbart ist aus den Opfern, welche darbringen die Minaer (3) und Minaerinnen, ob wiedergekommen ist (sich gejährt hat) der Tag (der bestimmt war) für jene von den Frauen, die (damals) herabgestiegen ist als sein (Attars) Weib — (ist es also unbekannt) wann sie (jetzt) herabsteigen (4) soll; (dann besagt die Vorschrift:) dass reicher seien und vermehrt werden seine Opfer, bis (der Zeitpunkt) offenbart worden ist. Wenn aber (die Minaer Opfer) darbringen und Attar durch die Opfer (5) der Minaer und Minaerinnen, die sie in Füll darbringen, offenbart, dass wieder gekommen ist der Tag" etc. Rhodokanakis emended the text here in two places: b'ttr, l. 4, as 'tr, dropping the b, and 'tr, l. 5, as 't'tr; cf. ibid., 61, notes 1 and 2. Both emendations are unwarranted; cf. infra.

I translate this passage as: "And it shall be objected to (or, rejected) if there vis not declared (or, manifested) from the sacrificial victims which Ma'in (3) and their daughters bring (or, offer) a clear (or, favourable) demonstration (or, sign). On the day when (or, for) such one of the women — if she goes down as his wife, — when she goes down (4) her sacrificial victim shall thrive and flourish (i. e. be propitious) so that there will be delivered what is carried (or, conceived) and there shall be declared (or,}
manifested) through (or, by) " prer from the sacrificial victims of Ma'In (5) and their daughters which they offer as a tribute a clear (or, favourable) demonstration (or, sign)."

Notes:

L. 2: wynk: Grimme: "und beratschlagten", comparing Eth. makara: "to deliberate"; l. cit., 61. Rhodokanakis: "Und ist es unbekannt", equating the sense of wynk with that of Arabic juhila, passive; St. I, 63. For wynk: "And it shall be objected to, rejected", cf. RES 5094#4; wynk/br/mtf'm, rendered by me as: "or objection from anyone in authority"; cf. the discussion thereof under article sfh; cf. also under article nkr.

L. 3: *ndrr, also in l. 5. Grimme, l. cit., 61, compares Arabic darra: "to flow, to pour", and dirra: "blood", hence "to pour out blood" of victims. Rhodokanakis, St. I, 64, splits *ndrr into *n: "that", the conjunction, and drr, which is according to him a qawtala > qotala form. He compares drr with Arabic dar = *ada: "to come back in a full circle". (Actually Arabic darra = darr: "to turn round, to go in a circle" is attested; cf. Taj, art. darr.) For *ndrr: "clear demonstration or sign", I compare Arabic darr = *ada'a: "to shine, to illuminate", and Eth. darara: "clare luxit, radiavit". Cf. for a semantic parallel Arabic burhan, particularly in Qur'an xii, 24: law-laa 'an ra'aa burhana rabbi-hi: "had he not seen the (evident) demonstration of his Lord", where burhān is considered a loan word from Eth. berhān = "lux, lumen"; cf. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 77-8. As for *ndrr: "favourable demonstration or sign", cf. Arabic darra (verb) and darr (noun) in the imprecation la darra darru-hu and its opposite li-illahi darru-hu. In both expressions darru-hu is explained as *amalu-hu: "his acts, his deeds", khayru-hu: "his

Beeston, NOSAL, V, 120, n. 31, links Arabic burhān with ESM brh,
RES 2948 A, 4; B, 3.
bounty, his good deeds", and ǧaliḥu 'amali-hi: "his good deeds".
The imprecation lā darra darru-hu is explained as lā zaka 'amalu-hu.
The use of zaka = nāma: "to grow, to increase, to flourish", and =
galuḥa: "to thrive, to be propitious" (cf. Qamus, art. zkw) to
explain darra in the imprecation is instructive, for in Arabic
zaka is usually used to denote the favourable acceptance by God
of acts of piety or worship. One also says darra darru-hu, which
is equivalent in sense to li-llahi darru-hu. Cf. Taj, Lisan and
Qamus, art. drr. drr is also attested in CII 615: b(8)s/dnt/
wdrrhm; the text is damaged and the context is relatively obscure,
yet drr seems to have a sense of "bounty, favour". Also in
RES 4760 A,5; dšhrm/wdrrhm, where the text is too obscure.

Wordtmann, BME, 96, maintained that 'ndrr, l. 3 and 5 of
this text, was in place of 'n/drr, the same like 'n/wrdt, l. 3,
and 'n/t'ntnn, l. 6 of the same text; and he added "keinesfalls
= indarra VII Form", giving reference to Hommel, Chrestomathie.
Rhodokanakis takes the same view about 'ndrr; cf. supra. But
I do not think that this view is easily justifiable. First,
'n, followed by wrdt, l. 3, and t'ntnn, l. 6, is not a conjunction
meaning "that" but is a particle of condition, "if"; cf. the note
to 'n in this article, below. Secondly, the fact that in the
same text 'n with both wrdt and t'ntnn is written separately
while 'ndrr is in both cases written one word without separation
makes one hesitate a great deal in accepting 'n drr for 'ndrr.

In my translation 'ndrr, l. 3, is the subject of bht, l. 2,
and 'ndrr, l. 5, is the subject of wbht, l. 4. If I were to
accept Rhodokanakis's syntax of'm drr, then bht/. . ./. 'ndrr in
both cases would be: "it was declared.....that it was propitious",
which would still be in line with my interpretation of the text.
For 'n "that" would be the equivalent of the infinitival Arabic
'an, "followed by the verb, whether perfect or imperfect. But I
maintain that 'ndrr is the infinitive of an ESA Form VII from drr.
Of the different cases that have so far been claimed to be Form VII in ESA only nfrql seems to be accepted as such. (1) D. H. Müller, "Kritische Beiträge zur südarabischen Epigraphik", WZKM, II, (1888), 8, suggested that ndrr was the equivalent of Arabic indirar, infinitive Form VII from darra, and rendered it: "in reichlicher Fülle". Hommel first hesitantly accepted Müller's suggestion, but later rejected it in favour of identifying it with Bab.-Assyr. *anduraru: "independence, freedom". (2) Mordtmann, BME, 96, while rejecting its being a Form VII, maintained that it was n drr; cf. supra.

nfrql is not an infinitive, but a substantive or a noun. (3)

A parallel to the infinitive ndrr is to be found in Ethiopic Multiliteral Reflexive Stem V, which is considered as corresponding to Arabic Form VII. It is formed by prefixing an-, e.g.,

'angalqala, infinitive 'angalqalō: "to shake, to totter";
'sansōsawa, infinitive 'sansōsawō: "to walk about";
'ankōlala, infinitive 'ankōlalō: "to be giddy";
'angallaga, infinitive 'angallagū: "to band together". Cf. Dillmann, Eth. Gram., 164-5, 271. The discernible similarities between this Ethiopic Stem and ndrr seem to be manifold. Dillmann, op. cit., 165, says, "The language has confined it almost wholly to the roots described in § 71, [i.e. Multilateral roots] and in strictness to reduplicated Stems of such roots, which express movement to and fro of any kind, and also of light and sound." ndrr: "clear demonstration"; as I interpret it, is a verb "of light". drr is a reduplicated root or stem, if one accepts Rhodokanakis's suggestion that it is qawtala > qōtalā form, cf. supra, and ndrr would then be like ankōlala, infinitive ankōlalō, cited above. Or, perhaps, Form II intensive darrara, like Ethiopic gallaga, hence ndrr = 'angallaga, infinitives 'angallagū, cited above. nfrql, as a noun or substantive, can also be explained; for "in nouns which are derived from this Stem, this (prefix) an is simplified into na"; Dillmann, op. cit., 164-5. Cf. nasōsaw: "walking"; naqalqalā;
"commotion"; nakōlāl: "dizziness, giddiness".

'n: First to go back to 'ndrr. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 36, maintains that 'n of 'n-drr is "dass". He renders 'ndrr/ywm, 1. 5, as: "dass wieder gekommen ist der Tag"; but 'ndrr/ywm, 1. 3, as: "ob wiedergekommen is der Tag". He restates this "difficulty" again in ZAIA, I, 177 n. 1: "In derselben Inschrift (RES 3306 A) Z. 5 'n drr (abhängig von bht, Z. 4) liegt deutlich 'n = "dass" vor. In Z. 3 kann wegen der Abhängigkeit von ymkr usw. auch "ob" gesagt werden".

'n/wrđt/, 1. 3, and 'n/t'ntmn/, 1. 6 (not in the passage quoted above, but v. infra): Rhodokanakis, St., I, 35-6; and ZAIA, I, 177, maintains that 'n in these two cases has an adverbial sense, or is a temporal article(?), and equates that with the adverbial or temporal usage of hn. Yet in his translation he does not give 'n in either case an adverbial or temporal sense but renders it as a relative pronoun; cf. 1. 3: 'n/wrđt/: "die (damals) herabgestiegen ist"; and 11. 5-6: 'ndrr/ywm/hl/bnn'y/ntnty/tr(6)dnn/ 'n/t'ntmn/: "dass wieder gekommen ist der Tag, (bestimmt) für jene unter den zu (6) 'Attar herabsteigenden Frauen, mit welcher diese ihn (wieder) beweiben sollen". M. Hofner, who maintains that 'n here means "dass", renders the same passage as: "dass (ob) wiedergekehrt ist der Tag jener von den Frauen, die zu 'Attar hinabsteigen, dass sie (ihn mit ihr) beweiben sollen"; ASG., 171-2. I feel that in place of M. Hofner's "dass sie" at the head of the last clause one would have expected "da sie". This is the sense which Rhodokanakis himself accepted for the adverbial or temporal usage of hn, with which he equated 'n; cf. RES 2814, L sk'y/ywah/hn/fth/, rendered by Grimme, 1. cit., 66, as: "nach dem Tage aber, da sich manifistiert", and quoted by Rhodokanakis with approval to illustrate the adverbial or temporal sense of hn, St. I, 36. Beeston, in his "index of words", enters 'n in RES 3306 A, 3, 5, as "rel. ?"; SI, 93. CR-GI., 107, considers it
a feminine relative pronoun and renders *nthtn/*n/*wrdt (1. 3)
as: "mulieres quae descenderunt"; (but *wrdt is singular and
its subject is hl^y/bmv/*nthtn.) The only other attested *n
in ESA which is a definite reading and/or is in a clear full
context is w-b-n in RES 3910,5, which reads: wb'n/ymnt/b'rm/
b'm/gys'mn/hw/w(6)ygan/sb'm/ywm/fbr'm/mh's'mn/bn/mnthw/wbt/lthw.
Rhodkanakis renders wb'n: "Und im Falle, dass", which is what
one would normally render 'in in Arabic or "if" in English.
In the commentary, ZABA, I, 177-8, he maintains that b-n can
be compared with b-hn in the expiatory inscriptions, "where it
introduces the substance, "Inhalt", of humbling oneself through
confession nhn and vow ndn: "in that", "des Inhalts", "that",
"dass"." Here he adds a note, p. 178 n. 1, he seeks to support
this interpretation by pointing out RES 2980,14 (= Hal 484,14 =
Gl. 1092 = 1235), which he reads as wbhn/ly'tny and renders as:
"dass sich demütigen sollen". But this phrase is now established
as: wbhn/l'ny, Fakhry 14,14, which G. Ryckmans renders as:
"et parce que ne sont pas souciees" etc. bhn in all these texts
means "through (the fact) that, because"; cf. Beeston, NOSAL, V,
p. 113: "bhn 'because'". The obvious sense of b-n in RES 3910,5
is "if". Beeston, in the note to kbm'n, Stanbul 7626, 5, says,
"it is true that b-n in R(ES) 3910,5 has the function of a
conditional particle" and adds that it is the equivalent of
Arabic *in; "Four Sabean Texts", Mus. 65, 1952, 274. As for
kbm'n, I think it should be read kbm'n(4) E.S.Y. Bakr,
"Ph.D. Thesis", when discussing b'n in RES 3910,5, states,
"Professor Sidney Smith reads wbhn instead of wb'n", p. 268.
But bhn means "when" and is normally followed by the perfect,
giving an account of something past; cf. CIH 80,3; 398,11; 407,
15,17,19; cf. also Höfner, ASG, 163. The preposition b before
'n here is dependent on the verbs of "promulgation", wkh/wry'sn/
whkmn/whmrn/, 1. 1. The first legal clause after this is intro-
duced by k-mmnw: "that whosoever", 1. 3, the second by w-b-n,
where b after wgh/" corresponds to Arabic *amara bi, which is what one normally finds in the phraseology of decrees; and the third and last clause of the text, as we have it, is introduced by w-mnw-m: "and whosoever". The conditional nature of what follows wh*n is made further clear by f2 al-jawâb introducing the apodosis, fbrm/". Cf. CR-Gl., 107; b*n: "si". Cf. also s in RES 3695,6: dn/mnrn/n/yu 'lo: "cette grace s'il la lui demande"; and CR-Gl., 107: "hanc gratiam si petiet ab eo". But the text is damaged and the context is obscure. [RES 3017,3 reads: /wystrj/bn/'yts/tr'n/dn/1'n/ywm/whb, where 1'n is most probably, if not definitely, a noun after the demonstrative dn. No translation is given of it in RES. RES 3060,4 reads: 1'n/b'ttr/dqbdm/wwdm/", but the text before 1'n is damaged and perhaps one can restore it as s]1'n, cf. s] /wsqny/ttr/dq(3)bq/wwd/" in the same text.]

To go back to s in RES 3306 A. I rendered n 3-4: ywm/ hly/bnm/'nhtntn/s'n/wrdt/b'nts/mtym/tr(4)d/ttr/wmny/dbhs/ as: "in the day when (or, for) such one of the women —if she goes down as his wife,— when she goes down (4) her sacrificial victim shall thrive and flourish (i.e. be propitious)". The syntax is rather heavy going, but this is caused by the parenthetical s/wrdt/, a style of writing which need not be out of place in a decree. After s = Arabic s, wrdt, perfect, denotes futurity, and this makes the sequence of tenses with the following mtym/trd/ consistent.

For further comment on ttr/wmny, cf. under article ttr.

4 dbhs: "her sacrificial victim"; Rhodokanakis: "seine Opfer", "seine" referring to ttr; Grimme: "sein (d. i. Attars) Opfers". s is the suffix in Minaean for masculine and feminine singular; Cf. Hofner, ASC, 31. dbh is not collective or generic, as is implied in Rhodokanakis’s "seine Opfer" and in his rendering of
"tr/wmnr as: "reicher seien und vermehrt werden", which, according to him, St. I, 62, indicates that the victims have to be continued and increased until the demonstration of the god through them follows or results. In my view such a woman offers a victim of her own which, if she is to go down as a wife of 'Attar, must be propitious and reveal the omen. Cf. the following note.

1. 4 l'y/stmg/hn/y'sgn: "so that there will be delivered what is carried (or, conceived)", i.e. the omen. l'y: Rhodokanakis, St. I, 65, equates l'y with Arabic batta ma and points out that it does not express purpose and that that is why it is followed by the perfect, "nicht final, daher das folgende Perfektum". But cf. RES 2814,5: wmbfdh/qwy/nly/yltn/l'y/ybny/tbn/m'n/, where l'y is followed by the imperfect. G. Ryckmans renders this as: "et de la tour du coté des escaliers de l'étage supérieur, jusqu'à ce que batit le peuple de Ma'In". But "batit", past tense, does not render ybny, imperfect. l'y/ybny/tbn/m'n/ should be rendered: "so that the tennants, or, ra'aya, tbn, of Ma'In may build". (For tbn: "tennants, ra'aya", cf. note 1 of article 27h.) It indicates that a part of the structure was to be built, subsequent to the structures mentioned before, by tbn/m'n. The undertaking of the construction, or the defrayal of the expenses, of parts and sections of public buildings and structures is a well attested feature of Minnaean society; cf. RES 2771 etc., and cf. Tawfik (Ma'In) 5, where the dedicants built thirty cubits in the wall of YTL from the foundation to the top." Hofner, ASG, 57, considers l'y in this text as the conjunction l plus the indefinite pronoun y, which she says, ibid., 56, is used to strengthen and bring out the meaning of the words it is joined to. As for the conjunction l, she points out that infinitives in ESA can take the place of finite verbs, and that in clauses of command or purpose the conjunction l can be followed either by the imperfect or the infinitive, with or without the n ending,"
ibid., 170. *stmg* here can be an infinitive.

*stmg*: cf. RES 3945,5: *d/mg*/bhrm: "until he came to the sea", Beeston, SI, 62; cf. also RES 3864 bis: w:1(6)sn/swhgs/bn/ur(7)ts/ lm:mm/bymg(8)laww/bn/mlk/w(9)sn, which I render: "and it is forbidden to remove (or, "alienate") a m:mm from its place on which it is displayed, bymg, by the kings of Awsan."(5) Grimme: "to decide to beget", comparing Eth. mase'a: "to come out, to be borne"; Rhodokanakis: "to be revealed", comparing Eth. mase'a: "to become known, to arrive"; I render: "to be delivered", in a rather literal sense; cf. Eth. mase'a: "to be borne", and *amse'a: "nasoci vel oriri facere". Cf. further below in the note to *yšn.*

*hn*: Grimme: "da"; Rhodokanakis: "wenn aber"; but I render: "that which, what". The relative usage of *hn* is discernible in Minaean hnmh; cf. RES 2771,8: kl/qnym/hn/mh/kšdqs, which I render: "every possession, whatever (it is), for his self acquittance". Rhodokanakis, who considers k of kšdqs demonstrative, renders: "jeglichen Besitz, was immer er bestimmt (zugewiesen) hat", St. I, 35. But hnmh still comes out in his translation as "was immer" = "whatever". The context of hnmh in RES 3318,1,3 and 2895,1 is too defective for a clear interpretation. hnmhm or hn/mhm occurs in a number of texts, but with no clear context, because of the damaged state of the texts. But a relative sense has been assigned to a number of the cases; cf. RES 3342,1: kl/hnmhm/kf... "tout ce qui..."; RES 3282,3: hnmhm/w'z/ *zyh*: "quoi que ce fut..."; RES 3702,3: bhn/mhm: "en quoi que ce soit!". RES 3285,4 reads: whn/hm/gyhtbl, according to Nordtmann, BEB, p. 54, and this is to be rendered: "and whatever (it be) that is ruined"; Rhodokanakis's claim that hnmh here is equal to Hebrew *illū: "if, though", and Syriac *ellū: "if only" implies that either hnm or hm has the meaning of Arabic *law, Hebrew lū or Syriac *q*, which is not attested anywhere in ESA. Probably *hn* is also relative in some other texts, where the context is obscure or incomplete. (6) (It is even possible to see a relation between relative *hn* and
the conjunction **hn** = Arabic **âan** "that"; cf. Arabic **mā**: "what, that which", relative pronoun, and **īnā** (al-masdariyya) = Arabic **âan**. Cf. Reckendorf, Arabische Syntax, p. 394.)

**yšq**: Grimme, 1. cit., 62: "zusammengebracht", by comparing Arabic **wasqa**: "to bring (a herd) together"; Rhodokanakis: "darbringen", by comparing the same Arabic usage; cf. St., I, 65.

I render (a): "carried"; cf. Arabic **wasqa**: "to carry, to load", and RES 3695,4: **wšq/hmr**: "une charge d'âne"; or (b): "conceived"; cf. Arabic **wasqa**: — said of a an animal, — **hamalat**: "conceived, became pregnant", *aghlqat râhiba 'alâ al-mâ*: "closed its womb onto the seed, held the semen in its womb", and **lqâbet**: "conceived, was fertilised"; Līṣan, art. **wšq**. In ESA **wšq** is also attested in RES 2895 A,4; and **yšq** is also attested in RES 2893,5; 2895 A,1(?),4; 2910,4, in all of which texts the context is too obscure because of the poor condition of the texts. In CII 131,3-4, **wšqt** seems to mean "pregnant", or, as a verb, "conceived". (7)

**ḻy/stmg/hn/yšq**: "so that there will be delivered what is carried (or, conceived)" refers to the omen. It is possible that the omen was "revealed or delivered" by the inspection of the entrails of the victim, and "what is carried" would refer to the signs in the entrails. But it is also possible to take the sentence in a literal sense and suggest that the omen was revealed when the young animal was born or delivered and the sex thereof became known. This practice finds echoes in pre-Islamic practices "denounced" in Qurʾān. (8) In relation to a choice of a "wife" for the Qurʾān within what is clearly a fertility cult, this way of finding out the omen is quite feasible. This kind of omen seems to have been limited to the victim, or rather offering, offered by the candidate woman, while a "demonstration", **ndrr**, was "revealed" or "declared", **bht**, through **tTR**, **bīːtr**, from the sacrificial
victims of Mu'in and their daughters which they offer as a tribute. Rhodokanakis's emendation of Hôtel as 'ttr in order to make 'ttr the subject of bht was due to his failure to see that 'ndrr was the subject. The "demonstration or sign" was being declared "through, or, by (the grace of)" TTR. As for 'tr: "tribute", here adverbial accusative to ysr'bn, cf. under article 'thr.

It is thus made clear that ESA 'ndrr derives from a root drr which seems to have the basic sense of "illuminate, make clear", and which can be compared with both Eth, darara: "clare luxit, radiavit", and Arabic darra: "to shine, to illuminate". Arabic durri = mudz', used in Qur'an and claimed to be of Abyssinian origin, v. supra, is, as its form indicates, a nisba form of durr: "large-size pearls", collective or generic. It is also "read" as darrI, which, if accepted, would indicate that it is a nisba form to darr, infinitive of darr, "to illuminate". But other "readings" are cited which give an impression of confusion as to what the Arabs thought the word was pronounced like and what it meant. These other forms are dirri, for which no explanation is given except being a variant form of wither of the two mentioned above, and durri, darrI and dirri: all of which are derived from dara:as "to fend off, to keep off" the darkness. It is probably because of this confusion that Abu ('Ubayd) al-Qasim and Shaydala liked to see in a comparable Abyssinian usage a possible origin of the Qur'an usage.

Whether we accept durri as the most reliable form, being the form in use in the "standard" text of Qur'an, or whether we
admit darrī, the meaning of the word is in both cases derived from the basic sense of "to shine, to illuminate". The derivation of durr: "large-sized pearls" from darra: "shrine, to illuminate" finds a semantic parallel in lu'lu': "pearls", from la'la'a: "to shine, to shimmer". Cf. also Eth. lōlames: "refulgere facere, illuminare", and Eth. lūl: "margarita"; also Eth. darara: "clare luxit, radiavit", and Eth. dōr: "margaritae".

Against darara Dillmann, Lexicon, enters "i.e., ḏū ḏū", and against dōr he enters "n(omen) p(e)r(o)gr(inum) so(ilicet) ḏū ḏū". He gives no citations for darara: "clare luxit, radiavit". The ambiguous remark given against darara seems, in the light of the remark about dōr and in the absence of citations for darara itself, to imply that the word is more original to Arabic than to Ethiopic; and perhaps, along with dōr, it was a loan-word from Arabic. If that could be true then the two words must have come into Ethiopic sometime after Islam. But whether that took place early enough for Abu Ubayd al-Qasim or his sources, by the middle of the 9th century C.E. at the very latest, to have heard of its use in Abyssinian is probably doubtful. And unless one supposes that the words are older in Ethiopic than their recorded usages it is clear that the claimed Abyssinian origin must have been confused with a usage belonging to South Arabian dialects.

A. Jeffery's remark, quoted above, that Eth. darara provided "a possibility of solution for philologists who found some difficulty"
in deriving durri from darra: to flow abundantly" does not seem to be precise enough. Philologists did not try to derive durri from darra: "to flow abundantly", and the claim that they knew definitely and precisely of Eth. darara is hard to substantiate.
M. Höfner, *ASG*, p. 85, says, "Die VII. Form *ŋəl*, kommt in ASA. auch hin und wieder, aber selten vor". On p. 59 she gives *ŋəl* as Form VII infinitive; on p. 61 she gives *ŋəqəl* as the assumed pronunciation of Form VII infinitive. In a table on p. 67 she gives a perfect *ŋəl* and an imperfect *ynqəl*. In none of these cases does she cite any examples from ESA. On p. 92 she says, "Als VII. Form eines Verbnum mediae infirmae findet sich *ŋə* = *ŋəqə*"; and on p. 93 she cites *ŋəm* as Form VII. But in Table 9 on p. 95 she gives only *ŋə* as an example of Form VII from "med. w, y" verbs, and in n. 1 therein she says that in that table she restricted the examples to cases actually attested in the inscriptions.

*ŋəm* is attested in RES 4337 B, 9 and Höfner renders it as: "ist bestimmt". Beeston, *The mercantile code of Qatabān*, 9, says, "*ŋəm*; it seems to me most unlikely that this should be a Hiphil stem from *ŋəm*; the Hiphil stem is extremely rare in the ESA verb, and it is difficult to visualise how a verb like *ŋəm* "be" could form a Hiphil (in Hebrew, where this verb does form a Hiphil, the meaning of the Qal stem is transitive, which is not the case in ESA). I would rather regard it as a noun-formation of the pattern *fəln* from a root *ŋəw*, to be compared with Hebrew *nakah*, Sabaean *nky* "strike, smite" (C 82,10 etc); hence in the present context = "coinage".

*ŋə* is attested in CIH 548,10. Höfner, *ZIAI*, II, 101 n. 11, takes it as Form VII from a root *jəw*, otherwise unattested in ESA. Grimme, "Südarabische Tempelstrafgesetze", *OLZ*, IX, 258-9, maintains that *mŋər*, CIH 548,1, was a Form VII participle from a root *ər*, otherwise unattested in ESA, and that *ynγən*, the same text, 1. 3, was Form VII imperfect from a root *γən*, also otherwise unattested in ESA. Grimme's claims are not accepted by other scholars, including Höfner herself. The examination of the context of these usages will make necessary the examination of most of CIH 548,1-10, and I propose, therefore, to give CIH 548,1-11 here, give my translation thereof and examine these claimed Form VII usages within my commentary on my translation.
The text is given here according to CIL 548. It reads:

1. mn\[\]/grhr/mnm/yrhr/slhm/mr\`d/hlfn
2. w\`m/w/bhm/khd/bmgm\`m/hn
3. lyngn/slhhw/wdmm/b\`s
4. y\`hw[\]/Lyyl\`n/lt/\`ttr
5. w\`rswn/\`sr/ly\`ly/m/w
6. hm/lm/ymn/lyyl\`n/hm
7. s/ly\`yn/dynyn/mr\`m/
8. mn/mhrm/lyyl\`n/hm\`s
9. l\`m/w\`gm/bd\`n/lyfyn/gl
10. n/wdvn/nts/\`m/mhrm/wd
11. wfy/b\`rt/\`wr.

I translate:

1. He who wounds anyone (or, someone) who lays aside arms at the feast of HLFN,
2. going out or coming in, — when he (i.e. the one who wounds) is held to blame through (judicial) oath — if
3. he defiles his arms and there is blood on
4. his mant (or, garment), let him pay a fine to the community of TTR
5. and the priests ten HY\`LY coins; and
6. if he (the injured) is not bleeding let him pay a fine of five
7. ve HY\`LY coins. Whoever drives out a man
8. from the sanctuary, let him pay a fine of five S-
9. L\` coins. And in respect of the first (offence; or, the one who offends for the first time) let him pay (the specified) fine in full,
10. and whoso repeats the disturbing of life at the temple
11. he shall pay at \`RM a bull (etc.).

[Except where pointed out, this translation follows Beeston's translation of the same text, SI, 53.]
Footnotes

Notes:

L. 1: mü[r/un]gh/mnn/. Hal. 152 has mng/r/hmn/. Grimme emended the second word as h[l/y]m and rendered the first two words as:

"Wer den Tempelbezirk betritt", taking mng as "Part.
Niphal von gr "beiwohnen, -Klient sein"." Beeston, SI, 53,
"Whoever visits a sanctuary", following Grimme's text and translation; but in the note thereto he says, "His explanation of the first word as a participle VII of gr = (Arabic) jär is not so convincing as the C(IH) assumption that
mn = (Arabic) man"; then he adds, "C(IH) very ingeniously divide the first two words mn/grh/mnn/". CIIH renders: "Qui vulnerat aliquem", which I follow. H. Höfner, ZIAI,II, 99
n. 5, suggests that hmn should be read mbrmn and renders
the first two words: "Wer sich begibt (als Schützling) in
den Tempel". In n. 4 on p. 100 she equates mngr with Arabic
man jāra, and adds, "vgl. (heb.) gōr". The case for
Grimme's mngr as a participle Form VII seems to be baseless.

yḥr/alhm/: "to lay aside, to go without; arms". Cf. haraq =
man lā yattakhidhu sihār-an wa-lā yuqātil: "one who does
not carry arms and does not fight". Taj, Līsān, art. hrd.
The reference here is to people who, during the feast or
pilgrimage, lay aside their arms in deference to the
"suspension of hostilities" during the feast; cf. the pre-
Islamic practice at 'Uḳāẓ in Wellhausen, Reste, 89. The
tribesmen visiting 'Uḳāẓ and/or performing the pilgrimage
immediately after that used shortly before Islam to deposit
their arms with 'Abdullāh b. Judān, a leading Mācīan, who
gave them back to them when they departed. In one case
he honoured his trust by giving back their arms to Hawāzin
tribesmen, who, because of a grievance, were intent on
attacking his tribe Quraysh immediately they were out of
the sacred territory of Mācca. Cf. S. Afghāni, Āswāq al-
Footnotes

1. al-‘Arab, Damascus, 1960, 169 f. Grimes: "let him lay aside his arms"; he equates yhrt with Arabic taraha by metathesis. GILH: "stringens armæ", by comparing Arabic ikhtarat: "to draw" a sword. Beeston: "bearing arms", by following the sense without an etymology for yhrt. Höfner: "um fegen zu lassen Waffen": "to have arms shaped or polished", by comparing Arabic kharata.

L. 2: wd'm/w/bh'm: "going out or coming in". This hâl refers to the unarmed "pilgrim or visitor", on his way out of the sanctuary or the sacred territory or on his way into it. The sanctity of the visitor's person applies outwith the sacred territory as long as his journey to it or out of it is associated with a ritual visit or pilgrimage. The idea is to insure the safety of the visitors on the roads. Cf. Qur'an v. 2: la tußillû sha'â'ira allâhi wa-lâ al-shahra al-harama wa-lâ al-hadya wa-lâ al-qalâ'ida wa-lâ 'ammâna al-baytâ al-harama: "Do not violate the sanctity of rituals of Allah or the sacred month or the sacrificial victims or (those with) the garlands or those who are proceeding (or, proceed) to the sacrosanct "house" (i.e. Ka'ba)". This verse was revealed when Mâcca was still in the hands of the "polytheists" and when "those who are proceeding" to Mâcca were non-Muslims; cf. Tabârî, Tafsîr, (NE), IX, 472-474. Tabârî mentions that the verse "was revealed" because some Muslims wanted to attack a certain Ḥâtm b. Ḥind of Bakr, who had behaved rudely to Muḥammad, when the former was to leave Mâcca after the pilgrimage. Thus it is clear that in Islamic tradition the sanctity applied both to "going in and coming out" of the sacred territory in association with the pilgrimage.

kâ'hd/bmqsmm: "when he (i.e. the one who wounds) is held to blame through (judicial) oath". k: "when"; cf. GILH 449, 3: kgzmw: "quando statuerunt"; cf. also M. Höfner, ASG, 167-8. 'hâ:
"held to blame"; cf. *hd: "to take captive", CIH 350.5; and *hd: "captive", CIH 407.26. A sense of "to be held to blame" can also be seen in yhd and t'hd in RES 4088, which reads:

1) t'qsw/brm (2) wtmm/wmm/br(3) yb'hw/wl/y'(4) whm/1/t(5) hdl/hl t/6) shw/layhrgnhw: "Gardez-vous de passer! (2) La limite! Et quiconque passe (3) pour y entrer, qu'il soit (4) saisi. Et s'il ne se laisse pas (5) prendre, sa vie est mise à (6) prix; à celui qui le tuera"; according to G. Ryckmans. Instead of wlyh 'hd: "qu'il soit saisi", one can render: "he shall be held to blame"; and instead of whm/1/t'hd: "Et s'il ne se laisse pas prendre", one can render: "And if he does not admit, accept, blame (or, refrain from being blameworthy)".

For a semantic parallel of Arabic *athima: "to sin", and ta'aththama: "to refrain from sin"; also harrja: "to be unlawful", and taharraja: "to refrain from acting unlawfully". Cf. also lama: "to blame", and talawwana: "traiter de manière à ne point offenser"; Dozy, Supplément, II, 559. The same semantic sense is to be found in ESA tnhy, CIH 523 etc., "to confess, to admit, sin", from a possible nhy = Arabic nkẖa "to behave proudly and haughtily"; cf. Qamus, art. nkẖw; hence tnhy: "to admit offence, to confess sin". M. Hartmann, Arab. Frage, 209, deriving tnhy from Arabic nahwa: "Erhebung des Geistes, Hochgesinntheit", rendered it: "sich erheben (aus dem Staube) zum Gotte". The exact equivalent Arabic usage to ESA tnhy is tamakhḵah = tabarraja: "to disown, to renounce", = taharraja (v. supra), = i'tadara: "to apologize"; also immaḵa, Form VII, cf. immaḵa min al-amr: xharaja min-hu ta'aththum-an; and maḵka: "to hold (someone) back (from something)". Cf. Taj and Lisan, art. maḵa: Only these derived forms are attested in Arabic from this root. This absence of Form I might mean that it is a "loan word" in Arabic with m for n, or that a root maḵa = maḵa was dropped.
Cf. Qur'an vii, 96: fa-'akhadhna-hum bi-ma kānu yaksībūn: "And so we brought them to account (or, punished them) for what they had been committing". Cf. also Arabic 'akhadha, Form III, "to hold to blame; to bring to account; to reproach".  

muqṣām = Arabic muqṣām: "oath"; = Arabic qasama, rendered by W.R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage, 64 n. 2, "judicial oath".  

Cf. also Wellhausen, Reste, 187-9. Of the definitions in the different sources the one in Lisan is most instructive, especially in reference to lines 3-7 of this text. It says, "qasama concerning blood (i.e., murder); (It is) that a man should be killed and yet no complete conclusive proof, bayyina, could establish that the murderer had murdered him. Then the kinsmen of the murdered step forward and accuse a certain man that he had killed him and produce a shred (lawth, lit. smear, stain) of evidence which is not complete, such as that the accused should be found stained with the blood of the murdered, when found, and no reliable man or trustworthy woman would testify that such a man killed him ....... So when any of these circumstantial pieces of evidence are produced the hearer harbours the suspicion that the claim of the kinsmen might be true. Then the kinsmen are asked to make fifty oaths (or, according to another version mentioned later, fifty of them should take an oath) to the effect that such a man whom they accuse of the murder killed their man, ʾāhiba-hum, all alone without any accomplice. When they have made the fifty oaths they acquire the right to the blood-money, diya, for their murdered man. If they declined to take the oath in spite of the shreds of evidence which they produced, the accused could then take the oath and his innocence is established. But if the accused refused to take the oath, then the heirs of the murdered have the choice to kill him or to take the blood-money from him." Strictly speaking, qasama applies...
only to the oaths taken by the kinsmen of the murdered. It is a rule that "guilt" based on *qasama* carries no *gawad*, "talion", but only blood-money, *diya*, also called *gharara*: "fine", and *hamala*: "collective fine" paid by the accused's whole kin; cf. *Nihaya*, art. *qasama*. [Because of the close association between *qasama* and the payment of "fines" and indemnities one finds *qasama* sometimes used for "damages" for injuries and even for "damages" for destroyed property; cf. *daftar al-qasama*: "registre sur lequel on écrit les noms des ceux qui ont endommagé les propriétés, et qui sont condamnés par le Wali à réparer ou argent ou dommage qu'ils ont causé"; Dozy, *Supplement*, II, 346.] In view of *grb*: "wounded" at the beginning of the text, one wonders whether *qasama* in this case was made by the injured himself or on his behalf, or whether one should emend the beginning to read m*wa/hrig*. I do not favour the second course of action, although Halevy himself JA, 1872, p. 73, remarked, "la première ligne est difficile à lire". For another possible meaning of *maššalm* here cf. *qasama*: *hudma*: "truce, suspension of hostilities"; *maššalm* would then mean: "during the suspension of hostilities". Cf. what was said above under the note to *yhr*. I favour the former interpretation. Beeston renders k*la/hr*: "in order to obtain (an oracle) at the shrine of oracles"; and adds in the note, "Grimme "oracle by lot", cp. (Heb.) *miqšam*. This is the same form of min *maššalm* a *3700*, 2. The context in the latter passage however shows that it is there the place where oracles were delivered, rather than the oracle itself, and so I tr(anslate) as above. In view of the min passage the C(IH) tr(anslation) "in order to take part in the sharing out" (cp. (Arabic) *qasama* must be rejected." I do not find that RES *3700*, a badly damaged text from both sides, offers a clear enough context to form a definite view about the meaning of *maššalm* there.
Cf., however, 1qšm, RES 4176,13 (Sabaean), which Beeston renders: "as the portion", SI, 77, and adds in the note: "op. (Arabic) qism; evidently nothing to do with oracles here (op C(IH) 548,2).", SI, 82. Höfler: "sobald er ein Losorakel erlangt hat"; and no comment.

L. 3: ḥn/lyngṣn/alḥhw: "if he defiles his arms", after Beeston; or, probably, "if his arms are defiled". This is the first of two "pieces of circumstantial evidence" to "justify", to suspicion or strengthen it; cf. the quotation from Ḵisān above. Grimme: "entdeckt werden": "to be discovered", taking ṣns as nifʿal or Form VII from ḡṣ = Arabic ḥṣṣṣ: "erspähen": "to espy, to descry". Höfler: "that his arms are soiled, defiled, besudelt". CIH: "ita ut polluat arma sua": "so that he defiles his arms". With the exception of Grimme, all the translators mentioned here derive it from ṣns. So also Mordtmann, BM, 7: "wenn seine Waffen besudelt sind". The case against Grimme's ṣns as Form VII from ḡṣ is obviously overwhelming.

ll. 3-4: ḏnmbn/ḥṣyhw: Grimme puts these two words between square brackets and in a footnote says that they are not in Halévy's text. Höfler, l. cit., 100 n. 1, again says,"In Halévy's Text fehlt ḏnmbn b-ḥṣyhw"; and then remarks that the omission is due to the repeated, "doppeltan" ḥw of lines 3 and 4. But these two words definitely appear in Halévy's text in JA (Rapport), 1872, p. 127. What is missing is the separation line between ḥṣyhw and the following word. ḏnmbn/ḥṣyhw: "and there is blood on his man", to account for the soiling of the arms of the "guilty" party. ḥṣyhw: "his man" = Arabic gaḥibih-hi, literally, "his companion, his fellow"; but in this case "the one with whom he is involved"; cf. Hebrew ṯš sḥhw, and Exodus 2,13: ṭmṭ takke(h) rēʾeka. It is also
feasible to render it literally: "his companion", if by that is to be understood that they had been travelling together, in this case on their own, to make qasam necessary or feasible. For سَيَّ "companion", cf. GR-G1, 248, سَّ "socius"; cf. further under article سَ. As for سَ "his garment", cf. Beeston, SI, 547-8, who does not find Grimme's "in his society" and CH "in his company" convincing and adds, "with great hesitation, and in default of anything better, may one op (Eth.) سَ "linen", and tr(anslate) "on his garment"?" With this Eth. سَ one can compare Arabic سَ "a basket in which a woman puts her cotton yarn"; Lisan and Taj, art. سَ. I prefer "his companion", although "his garment", that is the "guilty" man's garment, yields good sense. But the reference here, as is implied by ینم/نِيَم/یَدَمََه، 1. 6, is to a cut or wound that lets blood out, as against a cut that does not let blood out. In Muslim law cuts, شجَاج, are ten kinds or degrees, starting with شجَاج: "that scratches, تاشیر, the skin but does not let blood out from it", and next comes Damiya: "that which lets blood out from a skin or surface cut"; cf. Lisan, art. شجَاج. This interpretation is corroborated by the absence in 1. 6 of "if his arms are defiled", as no soiling would be expected then, and by the verbal form یَدَمََه, whose subject is the "injured" man. It is also corroborated by the difference in the size of the fine in each of the two cases, the bigger, شیُّ/حیّلَم, when there is blood, and the smaller, حم/حیّلَم, when he is not bleeding.

L. 5HY°۝LyM: nisba to HY°۝L = אאLambdaΣ = Hellas (?); cf. HY°۝L "silver drachmae struck by the Nabataean kings", Beeston, SI, 54, quoting CIS II ad 189,9. Cf. also J. Cantinseau, Le Nabataen, Paris, 1932, II, 123. For the h of حیّلَم in place of ح or a possible 이, cf. RES 3427,2: ٥حَر for the Egyptian month
Athyr (Coptic Θωρ, Arabised ḫātūr); and the same text, l. 3: kybk for the Egyptian month Choiak (Coptic ΧΟΙΑΚ, Arabised ḫātīk); cf. CB-GU, 153 and 168 respectively.

II. 10-11: wdkr/nts/ṣṭ/mhrmn/whwfy/b*rτ/twrn/: "And whoso repeats the disturbing of life at the temple he shall pay at 'RTT a bull". Beeston: "but whoso repeats the offence must be expelled (?) from (?) the sanctuary, and pay at 'TRT [sic] a bull". Grimme renders the part up to mhrmn: "Und ein Mann, der Lebensmittel des Tempelrayons entwendet". CIH: "et, si iterat, expellatur a sacramento et offerat 'Arthati taurum". Höfner: "und erwähnt er gar, dass krediert worden sind die Lebensmittel des Tempels, so soll er leisten im (Tempel) 'RTT ein Stier". Following is a detailed examination of these different interpretations:

(a): wdkr: CIH, Beeston and I: w-d-kr, with kr = Arabic karrara "to repeat"; or more probably Arabic karra = ḥādā: "to go back, to repeat". Beeston elaborates it as "to repeat the offence". Beeston and CIH take wdkr as the "protasis" and what follows as the "apodosis". Grimme: "und ein Mann", = Arabic dhakar: "male". Höfner: "to mention", = Arabic dhakara.

(b): nts: CIH: "expellatur", by comparing Hebrew nāṭaš: "abject". Beeston, who finds the comparison of nts with Hebrew nātaš "yields reasonable sense", finds the etymology, with ESA s = Hebrew s not "above doubt"; SI, 54. Grimme: "entwendet": "to embezzle, to alienate", by comparing Arabic nāṭasha: "to take out, to extract". Höfner: "krediert werden"; she adds in n. 11 on p. 101, "nts az tuwawaa 'krediert werden", دبل غيره .... nts VII. Form!" Arabic nāṭala ẓdi rhetoric-hu = sawwafa: "to make false promises to repay a debt; to put off, to delay, the repayment of a debt to one's creditor". I take nts as infinitive and render "disturbing";
or more properly, "to disturb". Cf. Arabic natIsh = haraka: "movement, motion", and quwwa: "strength, power"; and as an adjective in the rajasi ba'da i'timādi al-jazari al-natIshi: "after resting upon (i.e. holding down) the hard struggling sheep that have just been killed (or, when they were being killed)". Cf. also natsh = shidda: "strength, hardness". Cf. Taj and Lisan, art natsh. No verbal usage is attested from the same root in Arabic lexica, and these usages are all that are attested from this root.

(c) *isi: "life", cf. Arabic *Isha. It is perhaps possible to interpret it as "peace, peaceful life"; cf. the proverb: marrat-an 'aysh wa-marrat-an jaysh-un: "one time (peaceful) life and another time (with) an army (i.e. war)". Lisan, and Taj, art. 'aysh. Höfner and Grimm: "Lebensmittel", by comparing Arabic 'aysh. CII: "ab, a": "from", after nIth: "expellatur", by comparing Assyrian ıstu. Beeston, who hesitantly follows CII, remarks, "This yields reasonable sense, though it seems strange that the preposition should not be found elsewhere in the inscriptions"; SI, 54. (cf. article)

(d) whwfy/l: here introduces the apodosis; cf. RES 4088, 2-4: wum/br(3)yb'hw/wl/y'(4)hd, quoted and translated above.

Hommel, Christomathie, 21, dealt with Form VII (or the reflexive-stem n 1, as he called it) in ESA. Apart from the proper nouns nkrfr, nb1l and hntsr, and apart from *ndrr, which will be dealt with in the next footnote, he pointed out eight cases, which are:

Minaean:

(1) hnfr, Hal. 238 = Gl. 283 (= RES 2814), 1.
(2) hnfr, Hal. 237 (= RES 2813), 7.
Footnote 12

(3) *hnlhm*, Gl. 282 (= RES 3306 A), 2.

Sabaean:

(4) *nhql*, Hal. 51 (= CIH 601 = RES 2726 = Fakhry 1), 15.

(5) *nmrt*, Hal. 63 (= CIH 542), 2.

(6) *wlnbr*, Gl. 318 (=Gl. 1210), 34 = RES 4176, 13.

(7) *nmry*, Gl. 618 (= CIH 541), 114.

(8) *ntb*, Arn. 56, 2-3 (= CIH 375, 2).

E.S.Y. Bakr, in his "Ph.D. Thesis", 284-291, examined these eight cases, and also the proper nouns *nkhr*, *nb* 1 and *hntsr*, and came out with the conclusion that "of all the cases mentioned by Hommel, *nhql* is the only one that can be a nif'al form"; ibid., 290-1. Bakr did not mention *nmrt* here; cf. below. It is not my intention to repeat here the full examination which Bakr has already done. But I would like to add the following remarks, as briefly as possible. (The numbers refer to the order of the different cases listed above.)

(2) *hnhs*: Bakr, ibid., 285, says, "The form (a) [i. e. *hnhs*] has not so far been explained and no inference should therefore be drawn from it." Cf., however, Beeston, "The Oracle Sanctuary", Mus., 58, 1949, p. 220 and n. 16, which says, "The whole phrase in RES 2813 could then be rendered "any day of investigation on which they of RD* and MDB, the two priests of KHLN, investigate and make plain". The "phrase" rendered by Beeston there is RES 2813, 4: *sk'y/ywmh/hnhfs/ *hfs/wfrs/dra*/wmb/rswy/khl. Beeston's "any day of investigation", apparently for *sk'y/ywmh/hnhfs* seems to imply that he takes *hnhs* as a noun or infinitive; and one is not sure where "on which", after that, comes from. Cf. RES 2814, 1: *sk'y/ywmh/hn/fth*: "suivant le jour où a décrété", according
to G. Ryckmans in RES; cf. also Grimm, OLZ, IX, 1906, 66: "nach dem Tage aber, da sich mainifistiert hatte"; cf. also Rhodokanakis, St. I, 35-6. It is the second hbs which is the noun or infinitive, and the whole phrase should be rendered: "since the day when there investigated an investigation and made plain Du-Rada and Du-Mada, the two priests of Khiln". ywmh is construct with the following clause; cf. RES 2814,1, cited above, and RES 2814,7: \(\text{wsk'y/ywmh/tyny/bny/b's/bny/wlgn/wgwt}^{1}\), "et ainsi le jour où s'appliqueraient(?) les Banū-Bu's à bâti, et édifier(?) et renouveler", according to G. Ryckmans in RES. Cf. also Höfner, ASG, 128.

(7) nmry: Bakr, 1. cit., 286, says, "nmry in CIH 541,1, 114, is not a nif'al but a plural in the construct". CIH renders \(\text{wnmry/mfllm}^{2}\) as: "et molem ḫflali"; but Sidney Smith, reading \(\text{wnmry/mfggm}^{2}\), renders: "with two channels from the point of divergence"; "Events in Arabia", 440 and n. 9 therein. But Solé Solé, Les dos grandes inscriptions, confirms the reading mfllm, p. 26, and also mfllm in CIH 540, 18, 18-19, p. 9 and the note, p. 13.

Bakr, 1. cit., 291, concludes his examination by saying, "Höfner (p. 59 and 87) assumes an infinitive nqtl, a perfect of the same form and an imperfect yqtl. She may be justified by nhql in assuming the perfect-infinitive form, but where does the imperfect occur?". (But cf. PS to this article.)

(2) Hommel, Aufs. und Abhandl., (1892), p. 39, n. 1, after giving what he considered to be cases of the nif'āl form: nhql, merr, hufš and nfrth — cf. the previous note — added, "und vielleicht auch *ñarr (indirār?) "in reichlicher Fülle" (?) Gl. 282, 3 und 5", obviously referring to Müller's suggestion. He adds immediately after that, "provided that the latter (indirār) is not to be linked with Ass(yrian) andirāru, in which perhaps the equivalent
form is to be found". In Chrestomathie, 39, Hommel held that *ndrr seemed identical with Bab.-Assyr. anduraru and, therefore, it was questionable that *ndrr was changed from an infinitive hndrr, unattested. Dr. H. W. F. Saggs, with whom I discussed this question, made this comment: "The origin of this form, which is very rare in Accadian, is uncertain. Van Soden only attests two words of this form, one of which occurs in an alternate form without an."

(3) ESA nhql is attested in 4 texts, twice in full contexts, CIH 601, 15; RES 3856,3; and twice in incomplete contexts, because of the damaged condition of the texts, RES 3878,12 and 3681,11. Rhodokanakis, KT, I, 84 ff., compared with ESA nhql Arabic haqala, which has a number of meanings falling into two main categories: (1): Repartition of crop, by the tenant paying a certain amount of the product or a certain proportion thereof as rent; (2): Speculative purchase of the crop of grain produce when still in the ears, especially for a certain amount of grain or wheat, which under Muslim law would bring the transaction within riba: "usury". From this comparison he renders nhql as: "to be sold, or, to be assessed, on the stalk". CIH, in dealing with nhql, CIH 601, 15, refers to Rhodokanakis's interpretation and then hesitantly renders it as: "revenue, tax", comparing Hebrew p$n "to be divided, shared" and Arabic haqil: "field", which, according to CIH, corresponds to helqat hassade: "a part of the field". CR-01, 151, also takes nhql as substantive rendering it as: "an annual tribute; the rent of the land", but without offering a specific etymology. E. S. Y. Bakr, "Ph.D. Thesis", examined the use of nhql and the interpretations given to it by Rhodokanakis, CIH, and CR-01., and concluded by saying, "It seems that nhql means 'to cut off, deduct' (as far as field products are concerned)"; and in a footremark, p. 289, suggests that ESA root hql in nhql "corresponds to North Arabic haqal (note the metathesis) which mainly means 'to cut off' (especially the hair of the head). The connection between 'to cut off
the hair' and 'to cut off (from) field-products', which might seem far-fetched, is supported, however, by the fact that when there are many camels or sheep they are called in North Arabic al-nilq, because, according to al-Fairûzâbâdî, they cut off the plants as hair is cut off (li' annahu yahliqu-mnabâta kama yu-ulqu -şsa'ru). Revenues, taxes (Corpus) and land-rents (Conti Rossini) imply of course a cutting off; the views of the Corpus and Conti Rossini are therefore not quite different from ours. They only take nhql for a substantive whereas we take it for a nif'al form with a transitive meaning.".

I compare Arabic ḥakil = muḥammin: "one who makes a guess, an assessor, a valuer"; ākala = ḥadasa: "to guess, to assess" and ḥakil and muʿkil = al-muḥammin alladī yušannu fa-yuqīb: "an assessor who makes a good, a right, guess or assessment". Lisān, ārt. ḥkî and ḥkî. According to Ibn al-ʿAṯâbî, ākala and ḥakala are synonymous; Lisān, ārt. ḥkî. The change between k and q hardly needs comment. I, therefore, render nhql in all the attested cases as "an assessed amount or total". I do not propose here to examine the previous interpretations of nhql, but will only give my own, with the necessary documentation.

Thus, CIR 601: (1)kn/htb/ykrbmlk/.... (4)...lkâsh(5)lm/wnfqm/ bn'ly/dmhw/...(7)...kl/s(8)wlt/w'sm/w'zhd/w'try/w'rzm(5)ṣ'/lmw/ sb'....(15)nhql/bn/s'mtm/w'twbtm/tmrtm/kl(16)ywfyn/s'mtm/w'twbtm/ bg/ṣ'trh(17)my/w'hrthmy/ should be rendered: "so has decreed YK YKRBLMLK....(4)....that there shall be binding (5) and obligatory to pay upon his clients .... (7) all the taxes (8) and the documents (thereof) and the assessed dues (on fruits and crops) and dues (on cattle) and customary tributes (or land, ground taxes) (9) which there have a claim thereto from them Saba' .... (15) an assessed amount (or, total) in lieu of purchases and returns in crops that shall fully meet the purchase money and the land rent in accordance with their written documents and their edict (or
covenant) of protection”.

Notes to this translation:

*zhd* “assessed dues (on fruits and crops)”, cf. under article zhd.

*try* “dues, taxes, on cattle”; cf. under article zhd.

*rzm* “customary tributs; land or ground taxes”; cf. razima;

"custom"; R. B. Serjeant, "Two tribal law cases" II, JRAS, 1951, 168. The Arabic root rzm is etymologically the equivalent of the root lsm. I, therefore, compare Arabic lizmai: "contribution, impot", especially on land and palmgardens; malsam: "impot"; iltizam: "obligation; Fief; Domaine, le domaine de l'Etat"; multazim: "tenancier" and "landed proprietor, who shares in the possession of villages and grounds"; Dozy, Supplement, II, 527 f. Cf. also RES 3951,3: bsg/wsml/wrsz; and lines 4-5: kl/hrsg/wsml/
wm(5)nsz/wmlb/wrsz/wmgr/. Rhodokanakis renders rzm: "Bes-
schlagnahmen, Sicherstellung" by comparing Arabic razama: "to hold"; cf. also Beeston SI, 74.

bn/smtm/wtwbtm/: "in lieu of purchase and returns"; for bn: "in lieu of, in place of", cf. Beeston, NOSAL, I 267 f. smtm: "purchase", either obligatory purchase of crop by the state at fixed prices, or purchase of the state’s share and dues at fixed prices. twbtm: "returns", probably referring to all the kinds of taxation named before in lines 7-8; cf. Rhodokanakis, Grundz. 23.

tmnt: "in crops, agricultural products", accusative to nhql, thus: "an assessed amount in agricultural products."

RES 3856,2-3 reads: wgrb/wbq(3)l/wr*b/bsrl/bsrl/zhgbt/wmlg’s/nhql/
tmnt/"lbf/bqlm/ls/wlnds/", where nhql/htm/tm"lbf/bqlm simply means "an assessed amount (or, total) of eight thousand vegetable plants". RES 3689,11 reads: nhql/....../dntw/wswb/wtmr/"m. Rhodo-
kankakis renders this as "that there shall be sold [......] DTNT the wsb-dates (?) and the crops (fruits) of ‘Amm’. The context is badly broken, and according to Rhodokanakis, KT, II, 100 nothing
can be made out of the space of 6-7 letters on the squeeze between nhq1 and dtnt. Yet I think that in the context of wswb/wtmr/*m it is possible to render nhq1 as: "an assessed amount (or, total)"

RES 3878, 11-12 reads: wd*m/b*yhrg/(12)........../*]rdm/bs/ byhrg/nhq1/bn/*rb*/ywmytm/nl/yntwh/d/(13)......... Rhodokanakis renders this as: "If someone is murdered (12) [so it shall be imposed, when the murderer is not found, on the district, in which he was murdered (where the murder took place, as an atonement): that the crop shall be assessed on the stalk after the lapse of four days, so that it will be waited for(?)) until ..." It is doubtful whether the original context runs in the way Rhodokanakis restores it. I think that in spite of the broken context nhq1/*rb*/ ywmytm can be rendered "up to a total of four days", the sense being that whatever is been imposed there shall be effective for "an approximate, assessed, total" of four days. This is semantically equivalent to Arabic miqdar, literally:"estimated amount, estimated total" but which also can be adverbially used in the sense of "up to the total of, about". Cf. also PS to this article.

(4) Istanbul 7626, 5 reads: m*n/wgsztn/kbmr/*n/strt. The text is damaged on the left hand side, and Beeston restores the first word as s]m*n/. About kbmr/*n Beeston says: "though partly effaced, the first three letters are certain; the fourth letter is more doubtful, but the most probable reading seems to be *". He adds "This unique form is exceptional only in its combination of elements, each of which is well-known in other combinations", and then says "With bm*n should be compared b*n in R 3910,5, from which it differs only in the insertion of the enclitic m, which is particularly frequent after b (op. C. 413,4 etc.); It is true that b*n in R. 3910,5 has the function of a conditional particle, whereas here bm*n is simply deictic, but the same is the case with classical Arabic * in which besides its conditional function is also an asseverative particle". He renders the line above as: "[this]
attestation and definition as it is written..."; "Four Sabaean
texts", 274 f. I think it feasible to restore it as kbm s n/y, and
to render the line as: [this] attestation and definition as is in
(or, in accordance with) the ruling (or, stipulation, provision)
it has recorded (or, of the document?)"; cf. RES 2876,6: snn:
das Gesetz": "the law, the rule", according to Rhodokanakis, St.,
II, 138. msn would be masdar with mlm from the root snn.

(4a) The keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the
British Museum has kindly allowed me to examine this inscription,
BM 104396. The letter in question appears in the inscription like
this K. The sign for k is fully cut, while half of the top part
of the sign for * is only cut until it meets the reclining upper
stroke of the k almost in the middle, and then it stops. I think
this indicates that the k shape was the originally cut one and that
the upper part of the * was a later addition as an attempt to
correct the mistake without defacing the stone.

(5) This text has been the subject of many interpretations and discuss­
tions; cf. Höfner and Rhodokanakis, ZIAI,III, 228–234, and J. Ryck­
mans, "a propos du m'mr sud–arabe", passim. The crucial passage is
the one quoted above: w's(6)sn/swhs/bn/br(7)ts/lm'mrm/bymg'/ (8)
's'wsw/bn/mlk/'w(9)sn. The syntax is peculiar, but not without
parallels, both in ESA and in other Semitic languages; cf. Brockel­
The suffices at the end of swhs and brts refer to mmr, l. 7,
and not to mmr/yadq'l/fr'm/srh't/bn/wdm/mlk/'wsn, lines 1–3. The
lm'mrm is to connect the direct object to the infinitive swhs
which governs it; cf. Höfner, ASG, 150. The syntax of swhs ...
mmr: "to remove a m'mr" is analogous to Eth. re'inahu la'agzi'erm
"We saw our Lord"; cf. Brockelmann, op. cit., 317; cf. also

s sthr: "document", or, perhaps "documents" is not attested else­
where in ESA. But cf. šrht, šryt, gzyt, etc.
Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, 391 ff. The syntax of the passage is made awkward by the placing of *brts* before *lm’mrm*, although this place seems natural after *swhs*. When these relations are elucidated, it becomes easy to render the passage as: "and it is forbidden to remove (or, alienate) a *m’mr* from its place on which it is displayed (or, placed in public) by (or, through) the kings of Awsán." For *bn*: "by, through", cf. Arabic *min* in *hummiltu min ‘asmas* nuṣb-an: "durch A. ist mir Elend auferlegt worden", according to Reckendorf, *op. cit.*, 251.

(6) Cf. RES 3610,2: *hn/hyk/hly/krb*: "qui a méle les épices de l'affrande", cf. also under article *hly*; RES 3458. *hn* is probably used as a relative pronoun in CIH 542, 7: [†][†][†][†]kn/mn/dbmyn/hn/*nn/*. Halévy's text is poor and CIH offers no translation for *hn/*nn. It is feasible to emend *hn/*nn as *hn[/](h)*’nn, which could be rendered either: "because he helped", or, "(is the one) who helped". The context favours the latter, but is is too poor to make a definite choice possible, *hn* is attested as a demonstrative pronoun; cf. CIH 376,14: *dbhw/hghry/hn/bltn/*lfn/: "in which they acknowledge these thousand *blt*"; Beeston, SI, 44; cf. also the note thereto, p. 45. *hn* is probably demonstrative also in RES 2783,3: *hn/mnby/wtswr/mffdttn/*. Relative pronouns are very akin in the sense to demonstrative pronouns, and this is well attested in ESA.

(7) CIH 131,2–5, as restored, reads:

2. *wbkn*/thbr[w]/msq/wqyn/sbm/wk[1]/’n
3. *ttm/b[byt]/qyn/sbm[/Aw...]/wn/w/wldhwm/bnw/rb[n]/wsw
5. *wld/yh

* This demonstrative *hn* is not to be related to *hnt*, feminine plural demonstrative, attested in Fakhry 76,4: *hnt/*ntn: "these women"; and Ry 535,4: *hnt[/]hgrn: "these towns". Both texts are from the time of *LSRH YHDB* the king of Saba' and *du-Raydān,*
Footnotes 20

5. wldn/bnbn/bhgrbmbm.

I translate this as:

2. [and because] there rejoiced ṠšgFQ and the priests of ẞBN and all the wom-

3. en in the [houses of] the priests of ẞBN ... and their children Banū ẞ[N] and the pregnant women (or, and they conceived)

4. .... their husbands, and that their husbands shall give the children they

5. beget from them in the town of ẞBN.

Notes to this translation:
The translation is more or less the same as that of CIH, except for thbr[w]. and wsqt:
thbr[w]: "rejoiced"; cf. Arabic ḥabr and ḥubūr = surūr: "joy, rejoicement"; taḥabbara = tazayyan: "to bedeck, to adorn, oneself"
Taj, art. ḥbr. Cf. also Qurʾan xviii, 70: udkhulū al-jannata 'antum wa-azwāju-kum tuhrān: "Enter ye Paradise; You and your spouses shall rejoice (or, be adorned)"
wsqt: "pregnant women", or "they conceived", fits well with the general context.

(8) Cf. Qurʾan vi, 137-140 and 143-144.

PS
RES 3878, 11-12 reads: wdm/byhrq/(12)............./ṣrām/bṣ/byhrq/
nqml/bm/rrb/ywmymnl/ynwby"d(13).......... This passage is examined under footnote 4 to this article. Rhodokanakis, Kohlan, 16, renders yntwh as: "gewartet werde(?)": "be waited for(?)" and in the note thereto, ibid., says that yntwh cannot be linked to Arabic naba: "to lament the dead", and compares Eth. nōha: "to last long, to be protracted", said of time, and then adds" grammatically it would be possible to be also a Form VII from ʿlayn "to be certain, to be definite". To start with the linking of
yn twr with Arabic naha suits the context well. The lamentation of the dead, apparently of a murdered one here, should be an act appropriate to be associated with the calculation of time after death or murder. In South Arabia the lamentation of the dead, and the manner and duration thereof, seem to have been a matter of ritual and traditional rules; cf. Hamdani, Sifat, 203, under the heading mawādi' al-niyāha. Thus nhql/bm 'rb' ywmym/nl/yn twr 'd... should be rendered: "up to a total of four days so that he shall be lamented until..."; cf. footnote 4 to this article. Rhodokanakis's suggested Form VI from ّـ "to be fixed, to be decided" is not a sense particularly supported by the context. Besides, Form VII comes up against the virtual absence of any reliable nf'1 Form VII in ESA; cf. footnote 1 to this article.
Suyûtî, Itqān, I, 139, Mutawakkilî, 19, on the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbas, states that sakar, Qur'ân xvi, 67, is Abyssinian for khall: "vinegar". Qur'ân xvi, 67 reads: wa-min thamarât al-nakhili wa-l-ja‘abi tattakhdidÎna min-hu sakar-an wa-risq-an ānas-an: "and also from the fruits of palm trees and vines: you make for yourselves therefrom sakar, wine?, and good provisions". sakar in this verse was a puzzle and an irritant to the exegetes and the linguists. Many linguists maintained that it meant khamr: "wine". A number of explanations were put for its mention within this context where it was being enumerated among the benefits bestowed by God on men. (1) That this verse was "revealed" before the prohibition of wine became final by the "revelation" of Qur'ân v, 90 and ii, 219. (2) That the verse has a twofold purpose: to remind men of God's grace in giving risq: "provisions", and to reproach them for abusing them and making wine from them. (3) That it was not khamr proper, but nabîdh, that mysterious word behind which many a jurist hid to give some degree of elasticity to the prohibition of wine. (4) That it was khall: "vinegar". Cf. Qur'ûbî, Jami‘, X, 128; Baidawi, Tafsîr, ad loc.; Zamakhshari, Kashshâf, I, 529; Lisan and Tâj, art. skr. The claim that sakar meant khall is denied by the linguists. It is obviously in the face of these difficulties of interpretations and because of the denial of the linguists that sakar could have meant "vinegar" that the claim that it meant "vinegar" in Abyssinian was made by Ibn 'Abbas or ascribed to him. A Jeffery, For. Voc., 172, who renders
sakar here "intoxicating drink", says, "SuyfI ... tells us that some
early authorities considered it an Ethiopian word", thus missing the
point in SuyfI's specifying the claimed sense as "vinegar". He then
adds, "It is possible that the Eth. sakera ("to get intoxicated, to be
drunk") is the origin of the Arabic word, but the word is widely used
in the Semitic languages" and goes on to give the other Semitic words.

In ESA skr is attested in three texts. RES 4069,9 reads:
...'[mtm/skrm/wbr'w/whq[y]bw/brthw[/].... C. Ryckmans does not translate
skrm here and makes no comments thereon. This text is concerned with
repairs to irrigation works which had been destroyed by a sayl; cf.
p. 29 of article srh. skrm in this text is preceded and followed by
terms of irrigation, and it is possible, therefore, to compare Arabic
sikr: m' sudda bi-bi al-nahru: "thing with which a river or a canal
is stopped up or damned," and musamnh: "a dam with sluices"; Tsl,
art. skr.

RES 2918,1 reads: y...dykrb/narm/wtnmm/bt'/w/skr/wtnrs/
whly/w't. The text of four lines is damaged and no translation is
given in RES. But it is clear from the surviving part that it dealt
with tributes and offerings. I propose restoring the second word as
(h)mrm and translate: "who(ssoever) delivers (or, offers) offerings
or (their) value, (be they) honey-wine or dates-wine and its fruits
and vegetables and ...".

Notes:
(h)mrm: for hnam; the Minaean y is near in shape to Minaean y.
tmnm: "value"; cf. Arabic thaman: "price, cost, value".

bt": "honey-wine"; cf. bit": "wine made from honey" in the dialect of al-Yaman; cf. under article bt'.

skr: "dates-wine"; cf. Arabic sakar: "wine made from dates, or from dates, cuscuts, kushuth, and myrtle, 'Es"; cf. Lisën and Taj, art. skr.

tars: "its fruits"; it is difficult to say to what the suffix -s refers.

fley: "vegetables"; cf. under article fley

CIH 568.4-5, reads: bdt/strthw/(5)yskr/. This is a penitence text, and the interpretation depends on whether bdt/" indicates the sin being confessed or the atonement done. CIH renders: "quia veniam petiit ab eo ut (5) placératur", comparing Arabic sakara = sakara: "to calm down", and this seems a reasonable sense.

There is no evidence in ESA of a usage of skr as "vinegar", and the claim that sakar meant "vinegar" in Abyssinian finds no support in attested usages from the same root in Ethiopic or ESA.
A tradition in Bukhārī, Ṣaḥīḥ, Cairo, 1314 A.H., VII, 148, says that Muḥammad dressed a child, called Umm Khālid, in a garment and then said to her endearingly, ḥādhā ṣanāḥ, which is explained there as ḥasan: "good, beautiful" in Abyssinian. Niḥāya, art. snw, gives the word used by Muḥammad as sanā or sanāh, and adds that it meant ḥasan: "beautiful" in Abyssinian. Cf. also Lisān and Tāj, art. snw. The child by this name was most probably A μ b i n a l K hālid, one of the children who were born to the Muslim emigrants to Abussinia while there and was brought back to Madīna; cf. A. Guillaume (trans) Life of Muḥammad, 530.

Ethiopic sanaya (more commonly ṣanaya) means "pulchrum, bonum esse". saneyä, adj. means "formosus, pulcher; jucundus, suavis". The claim that sanāh or sanā were Abyssinian for "good, beautiful" seems to be well founded.

In ESA a usage from the root sn is attested in RES 3697,4, which reads: ....nkrh/wyqny/wsbsl-bs/wsn'/klj/... Grimme renders wsn'/klj/ as: "and (he) has the usufruct of all". He compares Hebrew śānā: "to live in comfort", and Ethiopic senye: "peace" and hence "to enjoy, to have the usufruct" of something. The inscription is badly damaged from both sides and the context is rather obscure. It may be risky, therefore, to try to improve on Grimme's translation. But one can compare with sn here Eth. saneye, adj., "utilis", and subst., "bona, res". One can also compare Arabic tasannā: "He prospered in his affairs" and Eth. ʿašnaya: "beneficio afficere; prosperum facere".
Abū ʿUbayd, Risāla, also quoted in Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, gives tusīmīna, Qurʾān xvi,10, as a usage in the dialect of Khathʿam meaning taṣawwma: "you pasture, you graze" your sheep or cattle.

In the account of the Muslim immigration to Abyssinia the Negus is reported to have said to the Muslims intum shuṭan un bi-ardī, and shuṭum is explained as ʾĀminūn: "secure, under protection". A variant form, suṣūm, is also given; Ibn Ishāq, Sīra, I, 360; cf. also A. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muḥammad, 152; and my NQI, 13 n. 3.

Ibn al-ʿAthīr, Nihāya, enters it as suṣūm and says, "It is an Abyssinian word". He then explains it as pl. of sāṣīm and adds the gloss: ʾayy taṣūmīna ṡī ṣarīl ʾaṣṣuṣīrīqū-kum ʾaḥad: "you graze (?) (or, you go about ?) in my lands like grazing sheep and no one will disturb you"; Nihāya, art. sūm. No mention is made of shuṭum in Nihāya. Lisān quotes Nihāya verbatim under art. sūm, but under article shuṭum Lisān enters shuṭum: ʾĀminūn and adds that it is Abyssinian and makes reference to the story. A variant form sayum is given in Nihāya and Lisān.

Ethiopic ṣēma means: "praeponere", and ṣeyum means: "praepositus, praefactus". No exact equivalent of the reported shuṭum is attested, but the sense can easily be linked with the attested usages from this root. No corresponding root with ṣu is known in Ethiopic.

sēma - raʾṣ is well attested in Arabic, and the claim that tusīmīna = tarṣawna in Qurʾān xvi,10 is specifically a usage particular to the dialect of Khathʿam is, on the surface of it, peculiar. But the claim is worth being investigated. Khathʿam was one of the
Yaman tribes settled in the north of Yaman. Their homes immediately before Islam were in what is known nowadays as inner 'Asūr, between Bīsha and Turaba. A tradition says that originally they had been settled in al-Sarāḥ-mountains but were pushed to the north east by the Amd tribes when they left Ma'rib and replaced them there; cf. Bakrī, Mu'jam, I, 63. A tradition given by Ibn Ishāq, Sīra, I, 126, says that Muhammad established a tie of brotherhood between Bilāl al-Ḥabashī, his mu'adhdhin, and Abu Ruwayḥa of Khath'am. When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb established the register of pensions, al-dīwān, Bilāl was stationed in Syria and 'Umar asked him with whom he wanted his name to be included. Bilāl asked that it should be included with Abu Ruwayḥa, saying "I shall never leave him", because of the tie of brotherhood that Muhammad had established between them. So 'Umar attached Bilāl to him; and as a result the whole dīwān or list of pensions of the Abyssinians in Syria was attached to that of Khath'am. Balādhurī, 'Ansāb al-ASH-RAF, I, 192 f., gives the same tradition on the authority of "a certain Qurashite", but ibid., 187, gives a tradition on the authority of al-WSqidī in which the latter denies that a tie of brotherhood was established between Bilāl and Abu Ruwayḥa of Khath'am. This question should be seen against the wider question of Arab genealogies and the part that the registration in the dīwān played in it. Apart from some eminent Muslims and immediate relations of Muhammad; all Muslims enrolled in the fighting forces had to be included in unified lists by tribes. Clients were attached to the lists of their masters. Many
smaller or splinter groups were very often forced to enroll in the list of bigger tribes, and very often genealogies were soon produced to show that they were descended from the same ancestors as their masters. Old alliances and covenants were invoked, recalled or, more often, invented. But generally the picture presented was always that people in the same list were one "tribal" unit. Thus the inclusion of al-ḥabasha in the diwān or list of Khath’am might have been a perpetuation of an old association of al-ḥabasha with that tribe. The story about the brotherhood between Bil‘al, the most eminent ḥabashi in early Islām and Abū Ruwayḥa of Khath’am might have been a later invention to give a new and respectable explanation to an older relation.

The land where Khath’am lived before they were forced out from it by the 'Asd tribes was well within the limits of historical South Arabia.

Arabic sāma is an etymological equivalent of Eth. ṣāma and ṣym. This is why it is striking to find this usage of ṭusīmūna: tar‘awma, which is the basic sense of sāma in Arabic, ascribed to the dialect of Khath’am. Khath’am probably used sāma, for pasturing, to the exclusion of ra‘a, the more common word in Arabic usage. But the particular relation of Khath’am with both South Arabia and the ḥabasha might throw some light on this otherwise odd claim.

It was a man from Khath’am who acted as a guide to 'Abraha on his way to Mācqa, although the traditions say he only did so after he had offered resistance to 'Abraha and was defeated in an engagement; cf. A. Guillaume (tr.) Life of Muḥammad, 23.
ESA šym has substantive and verbal usages. The most common substantive usage thereof is šym: "patron", normally used for a certain god; cf. šymhw/tlb/rym; ʼnby/šymn; šymhw/ʻtr. Connected with this usage is šymm in the formula ywm/hwqt/kl/gwm/d'lm/wšymm/wdḥblm/wṛm, RES 3945,1 etc. In my NQI, 13 I maintained that Arabic dhimma was the etymological equivalent of šymm in this formula, and pointed out the parallelism between ESA d'lm/wšymm and Qur'an ix, 8 ۱۰ yarqubû fi-kum ʻill-an wa-lא dhimmat-an; "They would not heed, care for, any covenant or any pledge of (mutual) protection"; cf. also n. 3 ibid. Arabic dhimma has another sense which closely corresponds to a usage of ESA šym; cf. RES 3318, 5: /w̠ ʼl̠̄ym/yšymhy/w̠̄dbn/m̠n/w̠̄r̠k/mlkn/wm̠n/ʻry/gdn/. It is maintained under articles ḫbn and hmr that ḫbn/mn were a protected class, "the subjects, raʻiyya, of Ma‘In", and the šrk/mlkn was or were the king’s tenants, and šymhy here, which goes with ḫdbn/mn, must have indicated an inferior class or group, the dhimma, or, more commonly, ʼahl al-dhimma, of Ma‘In, and the whole line is to be rendered "and the plantations of each (group of) the dhimma and the raʻiyya of Ma‘In and the king’s tenants-in-fee and Ma‘In the tax payers of ?

Notes:

ʻhly: "plantations"; cf. under article ʻhly.
ťbn: "subjects", ra‘iyya; cf. under article ḫbn.
šrk: "tenant-in-fee, vassal", here either plural or collective; cf. under article hmr.
shym (sym)

šym here is passive in sense, and in form it is most probably fa'ill; cf. my NQI,II, 421 n. 2. Cf. also the variant form sayüm for the reported suyüm used by the Negus. When sayüm is corrected to shayüm we get the exact equivalent in sense and form of ESA šym: "protected people, dhimma". As no Ethiopic usage with the exact sense and form of the reported shuyüm or the variant shayüm is attested, one rightly wonders whether a South Arabian word or form was used by the Negus or substituted by the reporter who might have been familiar with South Arabian usages or dialects. Unfortunately in this case the sources of Sīra and Ḥadīth do not give any particular person as authority for the explanation of the usage. But in the case of two claimed Abyssinian usages, harj and kifl, Abū Mūsā al-‘Ash‘arī is given as the ultimate authority. He was from South Arabia and he emigrated to Abyssinia where he remained until the year 7 A.H.; cf. under art. hrj. In any case, the word was not an Arabic usage.

Another substantive usage, mšm, plural, mḵymt: "cultivation land" is discussed in footnote 5 (a) to article ǧrb. It is pointed out there that the Arabic etymological equivalents thereof derive from Arabic šym. It is possible that even ESA mšm, pl. mḵymt, derived from a basic sense different from that of šym: "patron". It could have, however, referred to a kind of land, like the ba‘lī and ṭaththarī: "land watered by rain or by running streams", i.e. by

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Cf. under article ǧbn for Rhodokanakis's ʾnymh: "divine patrons", as against ʾbnh: "landed proprietors, patrons", according to him.
natural, or, in other words, "divine" sources; cf. under arts. b'1 and 'thrb. And it is also possible to suggest that mów, mówut, could have referred to land belonging to the "patron", which the occupier held only in tenancy; cf. ñym: "tenant-in-fee"; RES 3318,5, discussed above. The patron here could have been a deity, if the land belonged to the temple, or a king or any other high person acting as "protector" or patron; CR-31, 249.

Of the verbal usages of ñym I single out for mention here CIH 496,5-6: ywm/ñymhw/yd'ytb(6)b'ly/ktilm/wb'ly/mbyy(7)byt/dhñym/
where ñymhw: "praeposuit eum" can be compared with Eth. ñem: "praepone" and with Arabic sawwamtu-hu ñamri: "I put him in charge of my affairs", and sawwamtu-hu fi mali: hakkantu-hu: "I put him in charge of, I gave him a free hand with, my property"; TEm, article ñwm. The claimed Khath'ami usage of tusīmūna: tar'awa can be etymologically linked with ESA ñym and Eth. ñam in the sense of "to herd, to look after" the sheep or cattle. Cf. Arabic ra'ḏ ā: "to pasture; to protect, to guard". (Cf. also ESA r'wī in Fakhry 74,6: wbn(6)[gr]/wr'yn(7)y(8)wθm/√)

It is in this sense or usage of "protection" over land that the term shāyim in the modern South Arabian expression șāyim wa-laym is meant. R. B. Serjeant, "Two tribal law cases" JRAS, 1951,45, says "the term is commonly applied to shirāḥah, the protection of date-palms against a fee, so that shayim wa-lāyim comes to have the sense of one's rights over palm-plantations, a tangible asset which could be bought and sold". Cf. also under article shirāh.
$shym\ (sym)$

$w\text{`}rth\text{`}m\text{/	ext{`}}, \text{where }\text{r`}y\text{`}n\text{ is rendered by G. Ryckmans as: }\text{"1a garde";}$
apud A. Fakhry, Archaeological Journey to Yemen, II, 47). When this
sense of Arabic $s\text{`}m\text{a}$ is taken in mind, the form $s\text{`}y\text{`}m\text{, given in }Nih\text{`}y\text{`, can be explained as an }\text{"Arabised" form of the original }s\text{`}huy\text{`}m\text{, if.}$
this is to be admitted as possibly correct. It is in this way that
the claimed $K\text{`}h\text{`}h\text{`}"\text{am\`}f t\text{us\`}m\text{`\`}n\text{\`}a$ gains significance. For it becomes
evident that even the Arabic equivalent of ESA $\text{sym}$ and Eth. $s\text{`}m\text{a}$
seems to have predominantly belonged to a dialect of a tribe with
close relations with South Arabia and al-habasha.

The etymological range of ESA $\text{sym}$, when compared with its
corresponding Arabic usages, covers $\text{dimm\`a}$: "protection, covenant of
(mutual) protection"; $s\text{`}m\text{a}$: "to protect, to guard" and $s\text{aww\`m}$: "to
put in charge"; $m\text{ash\`m}$: "placenta", in the sense of "the place of
planting, or, the place of growth", and $s\text{`}h\text{`}y\text{`}m$ and $s\text{hi\`y\`m}$: "land with
soft soil, soil, earth", (cf. article $\text{sr\`h}$, footnote 5 (a)). The case
of one root in ESA corresponding to more than one root in Arabic and
vice versa is well attested. Cf. e.g., ESA $\text{`}y\text{m}$: "to buy" = Arabic $s\text{`}m\text{a}$,
and $\text{`}y\text{m}$: "north, left" = Arabic $s\text{h\`m}$ or $\text{sha\`y\`m}$.
Suyuti, Itqan, I, 140, and Mutawakilli, 20, on the ultimate authority of Abu Musa al-`Ashari, states that kiflayn in Qur'ân lvii, 28, is Abyssinian for Arabic naqibayn: "two shares, two lots". Cf. also Tabari, Tafsîr, XXVII, 141, ad loc., where he says that according to Abu Musa kiflâyân meant di'fân: "twofold, twice the amount". For the connections that Abu Musa had with South Arabia and Abyssinia, cf. under article hrj. The lexica enter kifl = nasib, di'f, without reference to an Abyssinian origin; cf. Libân and Tate, art. kfl.

Ethiopic kiferl means: "pars rata, portio, sors". In ESA kfl is attested in three texts. CIH 292,3 reads: wâ'chîhn/dhgrn/nfûm/kfl. The text is damaged on the right hand side and kfl stands at the end of its line. CIH does not translate, but in the note refers to Hommel's suggestion of linking it with Ethiopic kiferl: "pars, sors". CIH 605,6 reads: bkfl/dhyhln: "sorte eius qui extendet", following Hommel's suggestion and comparing Eth. kiferl: "pars, sors". This text is badly damaged on both sides.

Rhodokanakis, St. II, 141, restores CIH 380,3 as: /lbrktn/ wznkfîln/ and renders this as: "der Teiche [und der Wasserver]teiler": "of the ponds and the water-distributors", ibid., 142. In the note, ibid., 144, he compares Ethiopic kafula: "to divide".

By 539,4 reads /wdrw/mt/`qdn/bn/kfl/`ym/wdâtl: "Et ils disperserent ces (Agad a partir de la ligne de partage (?)) de la forteresse Wadjdat", according to G. Ryckmans, Mus., 69 (1956), 384. In the note thereto, l. cit., 386, he refers to Rhodokanakis's restoration
of CIH 380,3: [mk]fltn: "Wasserverteiler", by comparing Eth. kafala, compares Arabic kifl and then adds, "Ce serait la ligne de partage des eaux commandée par la fortresse?". Apart from the fact that [mk]fltn is a restoration and therefore no evidence, the sense of "Wasserverteiler" can only be warranted by the context of the irrigation works there. By 539,3 is the only authentically attested use of ESA kfl in a clear context. I render bn/kfl/wr/Wd, Ry 539,3, as: "from the side (or, back) of the fortress Wd", kfl: "side"; from the sense of "to divide" of Ethiopian kafala; cf. kafale: "divisio, partitio"; compare semantically Arabic shiqqi: "side", literally, "what is cut off, divided". kfl: "back"; cf. Arabic kafal: "posterior"; cf. LisEn, art. kfl.
It is related in a tradition that when an embassy headed by
'Amr b. al-Âq were received by the Negus the latter said to them
najjiru, explained by the lexica as "speak up"; cf. Nihâya, Lisan
and Taj, art. njr. It is also related as nakhkhiru, with kha',
which the lexicographers and traditionists considered the more
accurate form; cf. Nihâya, Lisan and Taj, art. nkhr. But the form
with jim is the correct one; cf. Eth. nagara: "loqui vel dieere"
and tanagers: "nuntiari, narrari".

Usages deriving from ngr are attested in two ESA texts.
RES 3967,2 reads: *nhr/wfny/w'nqby/wsqy/ngrhms/qry*... Wordtmann
and Mittwoch, Sabsiische Inschr., leave ngrhmw here untranslated,
but in the commentary, ibid., 2l, suggest the possibility of comparing
it with Hebrew nagar: "to pour, to flow". Rhodokanakis, ZIAI,1, 2l,
suggests rendering it "water ditch, water canal" by comparing Akkadian
ugar nangari, and Aramaic neger, nigra. It should be pointed out,
however, that *nhr/wfny/w'nqby/wsqy/ are all construct in the
genitive with ngrhmw; it would be, therefore, reasonable to suppose
that ngrhmw here meant something different from "water ditch, water
canal", a meaning which is shared, one way or another, by the four
preceding construct words. I think that one might compare here Arabic
nijar: "water pulley"(1) and manjur: al-mahalatu allati yusna 'alay-ha:
"the water wheel with which one distributes water, irrigates", "in
a certain dialect", fi ba'di al-lughat, according to Ibn Durayd; cf.
Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 36, and Taj, art. njr. Thus ngrhmw: "their
water wheel, their water machine" would indicate the central point, possibly at the mouth of a well or a reservoir, from which water flowed or poured to "its" $\text{nhr/wfnwy/w*nb/wmsqy/}$. Anyway, this usage does not seem to bear any direct relation to Eth. nagara "to talk, to speak" or its derivatives.

RES 2827 B (= Halévy 253), from Ma'In, reads:

4. /l1z/d[n]
5. fthn/bn/st/bmhn/y
6. stngn/ywnmt/fthbw
7. mtb/t/

Unfortunately no new copy of this damaged inscription has been made or photographed since Halévy's hand made one. The text is very poor, and Rhodokanakis, St., II, 62, extensively emended part A (= Hal. 252), 6-11, and part B (= Hal. 253), 1-3. And it is clear from Rhodokanakis's translation of these lines, ibid., 62 f., that the two texts or parts deal with the public use of some irrigation works.

The lines of RES 2827 B, cited above, are towards the end of the text, and it can be seen from fthn/, 1. 5, fth(/), 1. 6 (see the note to this emendation further below), and mtb/t, 1. 7, that these lines are a part of the legal formula with which "legislative" texts are often concluded; cf. RES 2814, 9-10 and 3306 A, 7. These lines were not emended or examined by Rhodokanakis, op. cit., and I propose to emend them as follows:

4. /l(ɡ)x[z]/d[n]
I translate: "to promulgate th[is] (5) decree with witnessed records (or, documents) in accordance with what is (or, will be) (6) announced. The date of the decree and (7) the edict" etc.

Notes to the text and the translation:

L. 4: l(g)s[s]; cf. Hal. 349,7: *lze/, emended in CIH 610,1 as: wgzzi / Cf. also RES 3306 A,7: lgzzi/dn/thzn.

L. 5: b(*)s[m*]t/, for Halévy's bn/st/. Line 5 in Hal. 253 has 17 signs and separation lines, 2-3 signs or places less than the average for the other full lines in Hal. 252 and Hal. 253. Minaean bn can easily be mistaken for 17. For the full restoration as b(*)s[m*]t/, cf. RES 3689:

12. wtqdm/w'sq/*str/dn/bttn
13. nb't*m/bn/*ls*m'/bn/hybr/b*s
14. m*t/*m/€hbb/w*rhyb

Cf. also RES 3306 A:

9. /wwlw/w'thd/wstqh/sm*y/dn/thzn
10. dgnd/wrfsm/bbhfh/*sm*hsmn/

and RES 3566,22: *sm'm/dm/*tlm/bfthn/. Rhodokanakis, **I, 59, renders RES 3689,13-14 b*[s]m*t/ as: "bei den Protokollen", and in the note thereto, ibid., 112, remarks, "die Originalurkunden im Archiv." He then elaborates on the usages of ESA sm*, and following Hartmann, Arabische Fragd, 184, 442, holds that sm*, e.g., in RES 3566,22, were "Protokollisten": "notaries, recorders", giving the term the status of a public functionary. But it is possible to render it simply as "witnesses", the act of witnessing in this case consisting of listening to the text of the decree or document being read out and bearing testimony to its contents.
This must have been the original, or even the normal, way of witnessing documents in a community where literacy must have been limited and where writing material was bulky. A class or group of publicly recognised or officially appointed "witnesses" might have emerged in ancient South Arabia, similar to the class or group of al-shuhūd al-ʿudūl, literally "reliable witnesses", who later in Islamic times became a class or group of public magistrates. I think that the sense of "witness" and "to witness" must be retained in the interpretation of usages from ESA sm', hence I render b(ṣ)a[m]ṭ here as "with witnessed records".


L. 6 ystngnm: probably passive voice here, hence "is (or, will be) announced". This meaning fits with ʿeth. nagara: "loqui vel dicere", and ṣangara: "nuntiare facere, proclamare jubere", as well as with najjiru in the tradition cited above. The use of ystngnm here recalls to some extent the use of ngw in the final formulae of Minaean edicts; cf. RES 3306 A,6–7: ws′rly/dngw/kum(7)ḥltn/; "Und was er sonst noch ihnen verlautbart hat (7) durch Protokoll", according to Rhodokanakis. But I do not think there is any question of emending ystngnm into ystng(w)n.

fth(/), for Halévy's fth. The b is marked in Halévy's copy as doubtful. Cf. RES 3306 As: ywrnt/fθn/wntθn/; cf. also RES 2814,5

Parallel forms of "witnessing" documents are attested from early Islamic times; cf. wa-ihtajja malik-un bi-l-qawm yuqrā'u ʿala al-qawmi fa-yuqulūna ʿashlāda-na fulan-un: "Malik accepted as valid that a document be read out to (some) people and then they say, "So and So made us bear witness"." Bukhārī, Sahīh, Leiden, 1862, I, 25. Bukhārī, ibid., 28, equates ʿam̲n with shahid when giving a tradition about transmitting knowledge or information.
nljSr obviously means "water-pulley" or "water-wheel" in the proverb kadhā al-nljSrū yahktalif, the original anecdote of which is given in G. W. Freytag, Arabum Proverbia, Bonn, 1839, as follows: "Vulpes, sic narrant, qui, ut biberet, situlam unam conscendens in puteum descenderat, hyaenae insocientia dixit: Descende et bibe! Illa igitur situam alteram conscendens demittebatur, dum situam, in qua vulpes erat, ascendebar. Hyaena autem, vulpen ascendentem videns, interrogavit: Quo abis? Vulpes proverbi verbis respondit." Freytag renders the words of the proverb "Sic origo diversa est", adopting for nljSr the sense that is given to it in the lexica in other contexts; cf. nljSrū kulli'ibil-in nljSrūhā, a proverb originally said of stolen camels which were "of every breed and colour" and then proverbially used for anyone who is "fickle and insistent"; cf. Lisān, art. nljSr. This latter meaning assigned to nljSr is a conjectured one, being mainly derived from the context. Still, even if nljSr did mean "origin, colour, breed", in the latter proverb, this does not weaken the obvious meaning which nljSr has in the former one. And this seems to be supported by the usage of manjūr, "water-wheel", which is attested in the lexica; cf. the text, below.

According to Halevy, Rapport sur une mission archéologique, 78, the stele on which this inscription was found was "devant la porte sud" of Ma'In. But M. Tawfik, who does not report this inscription among those he copied or photographed at Ma'In, points out, MMV, 4 n. 7, that there is no southern gate in Ma'In.
Suyūṭī, Mutwaklī, 21, on the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbās', states that nāshi'at al-layl: "staying up, getting up for (worship) during the night", Qur'ān lxxiii,6 is Abessinian for qiyyām: "staying up, getting up", and that in Abyssinian one says 'ansha'a al-rajulu meaning qāma: "to rise, to get up"; cf. also Idem., Itqān, I, 141, to the same effect on the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Mas'ud. Ţabarī, Tafsīr, XXIX, 80 f. gives the same statement on the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbās.

A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 35, includes this claim among the "cases where the Arabic word is rare or occurs in a context where the usual meaning perhaps does not lie immediately on the surface, but where the word can be easily explained from related words or from the sense of the passage, and so comes to be regarded as a foreign word with that meaning"; ibid., 32. This description does fit the case of nāshi'at al-layl here. The linguists and exegetes recognised that Arabic nasha'a has the well attested sense of qāma: "to rise". The difficulty to them arose from nāshi'a being feminine n. ag. while the sense to them required an infinitive. One given explanation was to assign to nāshi'a the meaning of a. n. ag., and render it as "the rising" hour, i.e. the first hours, of the night. But this would not do for the exegetes, because the sense required staying up late in the night for worship. So it was further specified as "the ever rising", nāshi'a be'da nāshi'a, hours of the night, i. e. every hour of the night, as each one has to rise or take place after the other. Another
explanation was that nāshi'a had an infinitive sense and meant qiyām: "rising, staying up". Parallels were cited to support this claim, e.g., 'aqība: "result, consequence" = 'aqb: "to follow, following"; khatima "end" = khatm: "to end, ending". (But these parallels are really substantive and cannot be claimed to have an infinitive sense.) Cf. Tabarî, op. cit., ibid.; Baydāwī, Tafsîr, ad. loc.; Lisan and Taj, art. nash'.

It is apparently because of these linguistic difficulties that an Abyssinian origin for the word was claimed.

Eth. nāše'āa means: "to raise, to lift"; the nomen actionis nēše'at has the meaning: "undertaking"; and the substantive tenē'ā: "raising, rising (of the stars), resurrection". The claim that nāsh'āa = qiyām was Abyssinian suggests acquaintance on the part of Ibn 'Abbās or whoever put the words in his mouth with Ethiopic usages, although the exact sense of qiyām is not attested for the Eth. nomen actionis nēše'at, the nearest Eth. word in form to the claimed nāsh'āa = qiyām.

In ESA, usages from nā with the basic sense of "rise, raise" are attested. Cf. RES 2646: ldm/bynē's/m'mrn/bn/brts: "for him who lifts, raises, the m'mr from its place of public display"; cf. also RES 3945,2: wynē'/sm/lmt/cnyhw/: "and every man rose up,"sich erhob" for the defence of his possessions", according to Rhodokanakis.
A tradition in **Bukhari**, *Sahih*, Cairo, (1314 A.H.), I, 24, tells that Muhammad mentioned among the signs of the approach of the day of judgement *wa-yaghru al-jahlu wa-l-fitānu wa-yakthur al-harj*. When asked what *al-harj* meant Muhammad made a movement with his hand as if indicating *al-qatl*. The tradition is told again in **Bukhari**, op. cit., IX, 48 f., and Abū Mūsā al-‘Ash’arī is accredited there with the gloss *wa-l-harju al-qatlu bi-līsāni al-ḥabasha*. This gloss is quoted in the lexic: cf. *Nihāya*, *Līsān* and *Taj*, art. *hrj*.

Abū Mūsā al-‘Ash’arī, from *‘Ash’ar*, a Yemeni tribe of Tihāma, was, according to Ibn Ishaq, resident at Makkah, emigrated to Abyssinia with other Muslims when Muhammad was still at Makkah and returned to Madīna about ten years later, in the seventh year A.H.; cf. A. Guillaume (tr.), *Life of Muhammad*, 147, 525. According to another account, given in *al-Sīra al-Malabīyya*, I, 322, Abū Mūsā had left Yemen with about fifty people in a boat to go to Muhammad, but the boat was forced to the Abyssinian shore and there they found the Muslims who had emigrated from Makkah and stayed with them until they all went back to Madīnah.

No root *hrj* is attested in Ethiopic, but there is the root *hrk*, unused, from which the quadriliteral stem *mahraka*: "captivos ducere, praedam agere, manubias facere; despoliare", and the substantive *mehrekat*: "praeda,(manubiae, spolia)" are attested.

In ESA, *hrj* has the basic sense of "to kill", which is assigned to all its derivative usages in ESA. But one wonders whether the constant reference to "killing" in such phrases as *CIH* 349,4-5:
wl/d/t/e'dhm/w/hrg/w/hrgr/t/qdqm/, which occur often in thanksgiving inscriptions after wars and battles, were only meant to denote the killings or also implied an accruing benefit in line with the often accompanying gm, sby, etc.; cf. Ry 533,10: mhrgm/wsbym/wgmm/dhrgwhwmw;

Ry 535,4 reads: wygyw/bn/bnt'hgr/n/mhr/tm/wsbym/wgmm/d'sm; G.Ryckmans, Mus., 69 (1956), 147, renders this as: "et exerçait des sévices aux dépens de ces villes: massacres, et prisonniers, et butin que donnait satisfaction", and in the note thereto, l. cit., he says, "wygyw, arabe gafa(y) "traiter durement"; nous ne pouvons proposer de traduction plus précise que celle-ci: "exercer des sévices", bien que'elle présente l'inconvénient de ne pas mettre en régime direct les mots qui dépendent de ce verbe; nous les mettons en accusatif bāl. — bn, "aux dépens de"." G. Ryckmans picked on the wrong usage of Arabic jafā.

Cf. jafā: ba'uda: "to be away, to be distant", and rafa'a: "to lift, to remove"; ḫajfa: 'ab'ada: "to keep away, to remove", and rafa'a: "to lift, to remove away" ; Lisēn and Qāmūs, art. jfw; (there is no root jfy, as G. Ryckmans takes it.) jafā: "to treat badly, harshly", which G. Ryckmans compares, is derived from the sense of bu'dā: "remoteness, aloofness", and does not imply any brutality or physical harshness. Thus Ry 535,10, cited above, should be rendered: "and they lifted, removed, took away from those towns mhrgm and captives and booty which gave satisfaction". It is hardly possible to render mhrgm here as: "massacres". The same expression occurs in Ry 535,8 as: wygyw/ bhw/mhrgm/wsbym/wmlm/wgmm/d'sm, and G. Ryckmans, l. cit., 148
renders this as "Et ils y exercerent des sévices: massacres" etc.; cf. also lines 12 and 13. But *yaftw, like in line 4, should be rendered: "lifted, removed", the preposition b in bhw being for locality. By 535, 10-11 reads: ft³lw/*dy/hgrn/qn'w/bhwbltm/wmhrgtm/whydtm/wsb(l1)ym/ wgnmm/d'šm: "and they came back to the town Ḡan'šw with" etc. It is obvious that *mhrgtm must have been something that could be removed, lifted, or that could be gone back with.

CIH 407 reads:

23. /w'dww/b'dhmw/whrghw
24. bws't/bhrn/w'adm/b'sdm/hmr/•b
25. dhw/bkrb/hrq/tl't/b'sdm/bq 'm
26. wtny/hdn/wsbym/wgnmm/dhrqhw
27. wlwz*/lmqh/hmr/c'dhw/bkrb/m
28. hrgm/wgnmm/hnmw/ysb'nn

hrq, I. 23, clearly means "killed, slaughtered", and the subject is the whole army, or a part of it, and not only the dedicant *BKRB. hrq, I. 25, infinitive, refers to what *BKRB did and this separate mention of the "killing" he had been favoured with, along with captives in battle, *hdn, and captives from the nonwarriors, *sbym, and booty, *gnmm, is instructive. See also mhrgm/wgnmm, lines 27-28. Under article shrq, I examined the use of hrq in CIH 350, and maintained that the dedicant was the subject of hrq in lines 3, 6, 10, and 12 thereof and that the dedicant is alluding there to the benefits secured from those killings in the way of spoils.
CIH 343 reads:

15. \textit{wbdt/hw\`/bdhw/yhm/htny/}

16. \textit{sn/dhrg/wstbln/b'trb/wm'\lln.}

Beeston, SI, 40, renders \textit{dhrg/wstbln} as: "whom he slew and (buried?)", and in the note thereto, 41, he links this usage with ESA \textit{blwt/}, CIH 715,1 "burial place" and to Arabic \textit{baliyya}: "a camel tied to the grave of its owner and left to starve"; cf. also Idem, NOSAL, I 54, where he confirms this view. I think that \textit{stbln} is Form VIII from \textit{sbl}; cf. Arabic \textit{sabbatl}; \textit{jab\`a}: "rendered free for everyone, de-restricted", \textit{lis\`\i n}, art. \textit{sbl}. Thus \textit{dhrg/wstbln}: "whom he killed and despoiled". It is also possible to take \textit{sbl} as metathetical from \textit{slb} = Arabic \textit{salab}; "to rob, to plunder, to despoil", hence \textit{stbln} = Arabic \textit{istalaba}; "to take spoils, to take salab". In Islamic usage salab indicates the personal belongings of a warrior killed in battle, be they his armour, his clothes or his horse, which are taken by the person who killed him. Salab was given to such a person apart from his share in the general booty; cf. Ab\`U Ubayd, \textit{Am\`\i l}, 308 ff.

It is safe to assume that \textit{mhrgtm} in Ry 535 and Ry 533 indicated "spoils", and that the same sense can be assigned to \textit{mhrgt}, CIH 349,4-5, and to \textit{mhrgm}, CIH 407,27-28. This sense of "spoils" compares well with Ethiopic \textit{mehrek\`a}: "praeda (manubiae, spolia)" But no trilateral stem is attested from the Eth. root \textit{hrk}, and the stock Ethiopic word for "to kill" is \textit{qatala}. \textit{qtl}: "to kill" is also attested in ESA in RES 3945,3 and passim, and RES 3943,1. The reported inability of the people around Muhammad to understand the word, its explanation as \textit{qatl},
and Abū Mūsā's gloss that it meant al-qatl in Abyssinian indicate that the word was alien to Arabic. But it is also not attested in Ethiopic. Two explanations for Abū Mūsā's gloss are possible: (a) That he mistook a South Arabian usage for Abyssinian. (b) That the word was current in Abyssinian although it is not attested in our sources. In the latter case it is feasible to suggest that that Abyssinian usage derived from the root hrk and that its relation to mehrekā was like that of ESA hrg: "to kill" to ESA mhrg, mhrgt: "spoils". The Ethiopic verbal usage mehreka: "captivos ducere, praedam agere, manubias facere; despoliare, expilare, diripere" is apparently denominative from mehrekā.
Suyūṭī, Mutawakkill, 21 and Itq., I, 138, on the authority of Ibn al-Jawzī, states that ʿarārīk, sing. ʿarīka, is Abyssinian for surūr: "couches, beds, thrones"; and in Itq., I, 135, gives a tradition from Abū ʿUbayd "that al-Ḥasan said: We did not use to know what al-ʿarārīk meant until we met a man from al-Yaman, min ʿahl al-yaman, who told us that al-ʿarīka in their usage, ʿindahum, was a pavilion in which there was a couch, sarīr." A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 52-3, quotes these two claims but does not find them etymologically satisfactory. He is also not satisfied with the derivation of the word from Arabic ʿrk, and also rejects Addai Asher's suggestion that it was taken from Persian ʿarīk and ends with the view that "the probabilities are that it is of Iranian origin, especially as we find it used in the verses of the old poets, e.g., al-ʿAshārī, who were in contact with Iranian culture". But he does not indicate this possible Iranian origin.

Arabic lexicographers enter ʿarīka under ʿrk, but do not try to link its meaning with the rest of the usages from that same root. Lisān, art. ʿrk, assigns to ʿarīka two main usages: (1) A couch in a pavilion, (2) A couch or cushion, irrespective of being in a pavilion or not. Lisān indicates that the latter usage is the more correct one, and then adds that "it is anything on which one reclines, or, rests, yattakī, be it a couch, sarīr, or a cushion, firāsah, or a platform, minasga." This last definition fits well the usage of ʿarārīk in Qurʾān, where one reads: muttakiʿIna fī-hā ʿalā
al-`arabicik. xviii, 30; lxxvi, 13; `alm al-arabicik muttaki'Un, xxxvi, 56; and even `alm al-arabicik yangurun, lxxxiii, 23, 35. In all these cases `arabicik is governed by `alm: "on, upon".

I believe that the idea of "a couch in a pavilion", or "a pavilion in which there is a couch" was suggested by Qur'an xxxvi, 56: hum wa-`azwaji-hum fi zilāl-in `alm al-arabiciki muttaki'Un: "They and their spouses are in pavilions, zilāl, reclining on couches", where the association between pavilions, zilāl, and couches, `arabicik, seem to have been given predominance by some exegetes.

I think that `arlik should be derived from wrk. The change of wa`w to hamza in the first letter of the root is well attested in Arabic; cf. `aqqata - waqqata. Its meaning should be linked with warik: "hip, haunch". In this case `arlik seems to have primarily indicated a couch or bed on which one sat resting on his haunches in a reclining position, muttaki', as indicated in the Qur'an. Arabic lexica give a number of denominative usages from warik which might support this; cf. waraka: iṣṭajā'a "He reclined", explained as ka`annahu wada`a warikahu `alm al-arāji: "as if he put his haunch on the ground"; Sahih, art. wrk. Cf. also waraka, tawarraka, tawāraka; i'tamada `alm warikihī: "He supported himself on his haunch or thigh"; and tawarrakat al-marjatu al-ṣabiyya: "The woman seated, rested, the child on her haunches, hips"; Lisān, art. wrk.

Both `rk and wrk are attested in ESA, but neither has a usage corresponding to `arlik. ESA l`rk has been rendered "for ever", 
cf. CR-GL., s.v., and Beeston, SI, 58; but see also art. fr, infra.

ESA wrk is attested in RES 4142: /h·mdm/lqblly/dlyz/wrk/bn/hm

They take lyz, line 6, as being made of l and yz, the latter part being, according to them, an apocope for wz. They also take wrk for an infinitive after their yz, and comparing it with Arabic warik and Hebrew yark, they hesitantly render it "stützen", ibid., 35-6, and hence "behalten (?)" in the text. This rendering of line 6 shows a number of unparalleled forms of syntax and idiom. It is the rule in inscriptions of thanksgiving that h·mdm/ is normally followed by the mention of favours that have been done and not by the mention of favours that are being prayed for. Besides, there is no mention in the preceding part of the text of any other favour that the deity had bestowed on the dedicants and for which they were now thanking him. The text should be rendered: "in thanksgiving for that he has saved the haunch (or, hip) of [their] son [S]LM{T}. Note: lyz: a perfect verb after lqblly/q; cf. RES 4938: lqb(6)ly/dstulw/b·mhw/;"parce qu'ils lui ont demande"; and cf. Höfner, ASQ, 170 f. For lyz: "saved", cf. Arabic mā yalūsu minhu mā yatakhallaṣu (minhu): "He cannot rid himself of, save himself from, him"; TE1, art. lzw, on the authority of Ṣāgḥānī.) The fact that the dedicants were thanking the deity for having saved the body of their son is attested in lines 8-9 of the same text: /bd[t]/m(9)t·/wswf/ṣrb/hwt/[b·hw[n]/s[l[m(10)t: "weil [er gerettet] und erhalten das Leben dieses [K]hab[en] Sala[mat],"
as Mordtmann und Mittwoch, op. cit., 35, render it.

It thus becomes established that wrk: "haunch, hip" is attested in ESA. But whether ESA wrk could have had a specific usage corresponding to Arabic ʿarrīka is something for which we have no evidence.
CHAPTER IV

DEVOTION TO THE HINDU GODS

HINDU WORDS and USAGES
CHAPTER IV

Himyari Words and Usages

Thirty one words or usages given by the Arabic sources as being in the dialect of Himyar are discussed in this chapter. Usages which are given in the sources as in the dialect of Himyar and also in another South Arabian dialect are included here, since it is my view that a claim of Himyari origin has more direct relation to the purpose of this study; cf. articles b'l, khrur, sfh, 'fd and fth; cf. also articles 'rm, where an Abyssinian origin is claimed as well.

Three usages from Arabic roots incomparable with the ESA usages attested from the corresponding roots are given here for illustration; cf. articles snn, qld, wbl. Five partly comparable usages are examined; cf. articles rbw, s'm, shntr, qwd and mrd. Seven cases of equivalent usages are examined, five of them previously recognised, cf. articles bnj, sgy, qrh, wthb and hjr, and two of them shown by the examination to have attested ESA equivalents, cf. articles bs' and mrw.

There follow fifteen separate articles in which usages claimed to be in the dialect of Himyar are examined. One of them, article qrh, runs for over ninety pages. This extraordinary length has been made inevitable by the fact that the meaning generally accepted for qrh and qrh in ESA as "upper chambers, superstructure" has influenced the interpretation of a big group of building terms which occur in the context of either of the two words in a considerably big number of texts. This article is, in a sense, the central point of much of
the re-interpretation of ESA usages undertaken in this study. One usage, that of sayyid = ḫākīm (qurʾān iii,19), in the dialect of Ḫimyar is not given a separate article but is discussed within footnote 8 (a) to article ṣrb in connection with the re-interpretation there of ESA msād.

Of the thirty one usages given here nineteen are in qurʾān, comprising the three incomparable ones, three of the five partly comparable ones, cf. articles ḥaʿal, ʿalām and ṣawd, one of the equivalent usages, cf. article ṣawd, and twelve usages of the sixteen discussed in the separate articles, cf. articles ṣm, ṣl, ṣn, ṣf, ṣsh, ṣrk (including also syd), ṣw, ṣthr, ṣr, ṣf, ṣfkh and ṣkr.

Of the other twelve usages one is attested in a verse of a Ḫimyarī poet, cf. article ṣhntr, two have as citations verses of poets from North Arabia, Ruʿba b. al-ʿAjja, cf. article ṣw, and al-Ṭirimmah b. Ḫakīm al-Ṣaʿīd, cf. article ṣhr. One is attested in a tradition related from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad’s grandfather, cf. article ṣlm, another is supported by a citation from a tradition related from Ṣadḥ b. Jabal, one of the early “governors” of Yaman for Muḥammad, cf. article ṣhr, and a third is attested in a well known story usually told to show the difference between Arabic and Ḫimyarī usages, cf. article ṣthb. Three are given on the authority of Naṣṣān, ʿab ṣn al-Muṣṭafa, cf. articles ṣnb, ṣrb and ṣmr, (the usage given under article ṣmr is also on the authority of al-Qaṣima).
A. Incomparable Usages:

\[ \text{msn}: \text{Abu 'Ubayd, Risala; Suyufi, Itqan, I, 135, ad Qur'an xv, 26: } \text{msnun} = \text{muntin: "stinking, putrid", in the dialect of } \text{Himyar. Cf. ESA roots } \text{msn and } \text{smn}; \text{cf. CR-Cl., 198; 255; Beeston, SI, 80, ad 'l/sn, RES 4176, 6. Cf. also p. 4 of article 'rm, for Glaser 1142, 10+11.} \]

\[ \text{ktn/hw}: \text{"all its boundaries"; and p. 28 of article grh, for RES 2689, 5: } \text{d/snn/tdn}: \text{"until the boundary of } \text{TRDN"}, \text{and cf. footnote 5 (r) there to; cf. also footnote 4 to article drr, ad Istanbul 7626, 5: } \text{kbm} = \text{n/stt, as I read it.} \]

\[ \text{qld: } \text{ibid., ad Qur'an xxxvi, 63; xlii, 12: } \text{maqalid} = \text{mefatihi: } \text{"keys" in the dialect of } \text{Himyar. Cf. ESA mqlatms: "irrigation beds", CIH 338 (= Gl. 1209), 11; cf. the discussion thereof under article kwtr. Cf. also A. Jeffery, For. Voc., who assigns to mqlid here a Persian origin.} \]

\[ \text{wbl: } \text{ibid., ad Qur'an lxxiii, 16: } \text{wabil-an = shadid-an: } \text{"strong, vehement", in the dialect of } \text{Himyar. Cf. ESA wbl, Form V, } \text{"oblationes attulit", and subst. mwbli: } \text{"tributum"; CR-Cl., 134. Cf. also my NQI, II, 420 n. 1, ad RES 3965, 1; and cf. under article blt.} \]

B. Partly Comparable Usages:

\[ \text{rby}: \text{Abu 'Ubayd, Risala; Suyufi, Itqan, I, 135, ad Qur'an lxix, 10: } \text{rbiyat-an = shadidat-an: } \text{"strong, vehement", in the dialect of } \text{Himyar. This sense is developed from rabi: } \text{"to increase, to grow"; cf. also rabbia: } \text{"to bring up, to rear; to look after", and compare ESA rby: } \text{"sustinuit", CR-Cl., 236; and cf. RES 3688, 8: } \text{rbym/byrby/} \]
"m/dlhb: "die *rby, welche versorgt der (Gott) 'Amm von LBH', according to Rhodokanakis, KT, I, 9. Cf. also RES 4932,4-5: (r)bym(5)
wrbytm/byrby/*├tr/nwfn: "die männlichen und weiblichen *rby welche versorgt (der Gott) 'Attar NWFN', according to Höfner in her review of RES, VII, 35 livraison, Bi. Or., 10, 1953, p. 152. Cf. also: dyrbym.
s'm: Abu 'Ubayd, Risâla, ad Qur'anlxiv,7: sa'ama alladhîna kafaru 'an lan yub`athu: "Those who did not believe asserted that they would not be resurrected", says that kullu sa'am-in fi kitab allahi ba'til-in bi-lughati himyar: "Every use of sa'm, assertion, in Allah's Book (for what is) false is in the dialect of Himyar". Cf. CIH 396,7: wr'/khmd/sdm/hyl/wqmu/1mlbh/b'l'wm/ln/sm/s'mhw, where s'mhw is rendered as: "rogationem ipsius"; cf. also Nami 74,4-5: ws'mbh/byst/mhr(5)mm/tlt/s'mm, rendered by Beeston, NOSAL,IV, 146 f., as "and had invoked Her in the sanctuary on three occasions". Semantically the relation between "invoke, call upon" and "assert" is perhaps not difficult to establish; cf. Arabic da'as: "to invoke, to call upon", and da'a 'ila: "to preach, to maintain, to assert". The claim that that the Himyarî usage applied only to sa'm: "assertion", when false seems to reflect an association in South Arabian antiquity of sa'm with religious usage, something like what is attested in ESA, but which under the hostile attitude of Islam to the older religions became, or was assigned by Muslims as, pejorative in sense. Cf. Arabic rashwa: "illicit payment, bribery", also attested as: "the fees or gratuity due to a priest or diviner", which suggests the existence of a link with ESA râ'w: "priest"; cf. my NQI, 5, ad Van Lessen 1,7.
shntr: A few verses, quoted under Ḩjm, Appendix II A, are attributed to a man from Ḥimyar lamenting a woman killed by a wolf, and it is said there that she was devoured except for certain parts including one shuntura. This is explained as 'iqba*: "finger", in the dialect of Ḥimyar or al-Yaman. shuntura is also explained as qurt, pl. qirat*: "earring", in the dialect of al-Yaman. It is said that the Ḥimyari king Dhū al-Shanātir was called so because he had one excessive finger, a case of polydactyly (?), or because of the excessive size of his fingers. It is claimed that his name meant "(the man) with the earrings"; cf. Taj and Lisān, art. shntr. As for the root from which this usage derives there are two viewpoints. _Enter it under shtr, taking the nun as an augmentative infix. Other authorities, followed in Lisān and Taj, enter it under a separate quadrilateral root shntr. Cf. with all this shantara thawba-hu, Taj, art. shntr, and shattara thawba-hu, Lisān, art. shtr, both explained as massaqa-hu: "He tore it (the garment) up". It is perhaps possible to explain shuntura, pl. shanātir, "finger", because fingers look as if they are "torn apart, cut apart". In this sense it is possible to compare ESA shtr: "delevit, subvertit", CR-Cl., 253.


† Another form of shuntura: "finger", is shintīra; Lisān, Taj, art. shntr. Compare with this shantīra: "a splinter", especially of wood, in the modern dialect of central Palestine. Cf. also shutra = ma bayna al-‘iqba*syn: "(the opening) that is between two fingers", according to Ṣaghāni, quoted in Taj, art. shtr.
qwd: Taj, art. qwd, gives qawwad = ‘anf, as himyar, cites a verse of Ru’ba which says: ‘atla’u yasmū bi-tallīn qawwad, and adds that qawwad is also explained as mutaqaddim: “leading, extending forward”; Lisan gives the same information but does not mention any dialect. The reference here and in Ru’ba’s verse is to a mountain or a part thereof. Cf. al-qā’idu min al-jabali = ‘anfu-hu: “the protruding, the extending, part of a mountain”; cf. also al-qā’ida al-akamatu tantaddu ‘ala wajhi al-‘ard: “high ground extending on the surface of the earth”; qawwad: jabal-un ḥawīl-un: “a long mountain”; Lisan, art. qwd. With this Ḥimyar usage one can compare ESA mqd, RES 2869,5, which I render “main duct (or, channel)”; cf. my MQI, 20 and footnote 5 (u) to article qrb, where this translation is discussed and documented. Cf. also qā’id: musannat-un mustaqīlat-un ‘ala wajhi al-‘ard: “a dyke extending on the surface of the ground”, and ‘a’qamū fuljan al-ḥarth: “the largest of the channels for the irrigation of cultivated land”; cf. Lisan, art. qwd. qā’id and other cognate usages, as apply to mountains or to irrigation works, derive from the same basic sense.

mrq: Abu ‘Ubayd, Risāla, ad Qur’ān xxxiii,32: fa-la takhqa’na bi-l-qawwad yatma’a all-adhī fi qalbi-hi maraq, says that maraq here means zina: “adultery, adulterous desire”, in the dialect of Ḥimyar. The prohibition in the verse is against women behaving in a way that might be tempting or seductive, and maraq is explained by Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf, II, 212 as rība wa-fujūr: “ill-thoughts and licentiousness"
Such a usage can be accepted as tropical, or even developed, from the basic sense of marad: "illness, morbidity". It is in this sense that Ḥimyarī marad = sina, if authentic, should be taken. Cf. ESA marad: "to be ill", and the subst. mara: "illness"; cf. CR-GL., 181.

C. Equivalent Usages:

ḫnji Našwan, AA-Š'U, 29, gives ḥnji = mithli in the dialect of Ḥimyar. The authenticity of this Ḥimyarī usage seems to get support from Van Lessen 25,4-5: ḥn(5)gw/wahhw/'mr'hw/: "in accordance with what ordered him his lords", as I render it in my NQI,II, 426. Cf. the note thereto, ibid., 428 f., where this Ḥimyarī usage is compared and where it is pointed out that this ḥnḥn is the equivalent of the more common ESA form ḥhn.

sqyi Abu 'Ubayd, Ḥisālā; Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, ad Qurʾān xii,70:
siqāya = sina: "receptacle", in the dialect of Ḥimyar. Siqāya is the term used in the story for the drinking cup placed in Yusuf's brother's baggage, also referred to there as gwāt, in its turn claimed to be in the dialect of Ḥimyar; cf. under article gwāt.

Usages from the root sqy are well attested in ESA; cf. sqy: "to water, to irrigate", and the subst. sqyt and msqyt or msqti: "canal or duct for irrigation"; cf. CR-GL., 199. But the exact equivalent of this Ḥimyarī siqāya: "receptacle, drinking cup" is not attested.

grbi Nastan, AA-Š'U, 60, gives garraba al-zar'a = garama-hu: "to harvest the seed crops", as in the dialect of "certain people of al-Yaman", fi lughati ba'di 'ahli al-yaman, and also says that Ḥimyar called 'aylūl, September, dhū al-qirāb because it was the month when the
seed crops where harvested. Cf. ESA subst. ḡrb: "harvest, harvesting", and ḍərbn: "m. mensis (mensis messium)"; cf. CB-Gl., 225. Cf. also CIH 174,3: boys/wdt/verb: "in aestate et vere et autumno"; and of. the note thereto, where this Ḥimyarī usage is compared.

KS*: Lisan and Taj, art. KS*, give kusʿum = ḥimār: "ass, domkey", as in the dialect of Ḥimyar. Variant forms are also given as kuṣʿum, ḥukūs and ḥumkūs; of. Taj, art. ḫams. But both Lisan and Taj point out that kusʿum is the authentic form and add that it derives from kasaʿa: "to hit, to drive, with a stick from the back", the waw and mim being augmentative, ṣāʿida. In the "supplement" to art. KS*, Taj adds that kasaʿa is the equivalent of kasaḥa: "to chase, to drive away", and then Zabidī adds his personal remark, introduced by qultu, that it is from this sense that the colloquial expression kasaʿa for "chasing" ships comes and it is said kasaʿa-hā fi-l-bahr: "He chased them, drove them away, in the sea". I presume that the "colloquial expression" referred to here is Yamani, as Zabidī himself was of Yamani origin. Cf. RES 3945,5: ḏ/hkṣḥ/wnn/wmt[η]m/mlkw: "until he altogether spoiled Awsan and MRWm its king", according to Beeston, SI, 62, who, in the note thereto, p. 67, follows Rhodokanakis (AST, I, 72) in comparing iktasaha ṣumwala-hum ṣakhdha-hā kullaha. Cf. also RES 3945,14: ḏ/hkṣḥ/smyf/wnn: "and altogether defeated SMHYF" and NŠN", according to Beeston, SI, 64. I think that a sense of "routed, chased away, drove away", would fit hkṣḥ in both cases. Cf. what was said above and also compare yuqalu li-l-rajulī ʿidha hasama al-gawma fa-marra wa-huma yatrudu-hum; marra fulan-un yaksāʿu-hum wa-yaksāʿu-
hum, "ay yatba' u-hum, Lisan article ka'.

mrw: Našwan, AA-Š'U, 166, gives mariyy = sayyid: "lord, master", as in the dialect of Ḥimyar, but derives it either from māra bi-l-‘aṭā: "to be lavish with giving away", or from al-mirā: "food provisions". In both cases mariyy would be metathetical. Al-Aqma*I, Tarīkh al-‘arab qabla al-islām, Baghdad, 1959, 103, says that mariya in the dialect of Ḥimyar meant sayyida, and then adds wa-isam al-sayyid ‘inda-hum mari'. Al-Aqma*I's forms mariya and mari make it clear beyond doubt that the usages should be derived from a root mrw mry, but I prefer mrw because of murū'a: "nobleness", which although derives from the root mr', is also pronounced muruwwa. The ḤimyarI usages here are to be linked with ESA mr: "master, lord", and its feminine mr't: "lady, mistress"; cf. CR-Gl., 180.

wthb: The story of the Arab from North Arabia who, when in Ṣafār, was told by a ḤimyarI king to sit down but misunderstood the order for jumping down and complied with the order and fell to his death is one of the favourite stories with authors who want to show how the dialect of Ḥimyar differed from Arabic usage. The king is reported to have said thib, which in normal Arabic usage meant "leap, jump". Cf. Našwan, AA-Š'U, 113; HamdānI, Ik̥̄l̥̄l̄, VIII (Baghdād ed.), 39; Freytag, Arabum Proverbia, II, 675; Taj, art. hmr; etc. Thus we have most of the lexica entering wathaba: "to sit down", in the dialect of Ḥimyar; cf. the sources above and cf. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, III, 199. Cf. CR-Gl., 142, where this ḤimyarI usage is compared with ESA wtb, and cf. mwthb: "locus, aedes"; ibid.
hjr: Taj, art. hjr, adds a remark on the name of the two towns in South Arabia called al-Hajara, given in Qamus, in which it is said al-hajaru bi-lughati himyar al-qaryay; and it is clear from the rest of the information added about these two villages that Taj is quoting Yaqût, Mu‘jam al-Buldān (IV, 953), who, in his turn, quoted Ibn al-Hayik (al-Hamdānī), cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifa, 86: al-hajaru al-qaryatu bi-lughati himyam wa-l-‘arabi al-‘ariba.

Cf. CR–01., 131, where this statement from Hamdānī is quoted and compared with ESA hgr: "city, town".
According to Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, quoted in Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, ālim in Qurʾān xvii, 71: is a Ḥāmyarī usage meaning kitāb. The verse reads: yawma nadī kulla 'unās-in bi-ālim-hīm fa-mān 'ūtiya kītāba-hū bi-yamīni-hī fa-jūlāka yaqra'ūna kītāba-hum wa-la 'uqlamūna fatil-an. ālim here has been interpreted in a number of senses: people will be called on the day of judgement according to their leader, ālim, e.g., a prophet; or according to what they were led by, e.g., a scripture, kitāb, or a law, dīn; or according to the record of their deeds, kitāb 'a'māli-hīm; cf. Baidawi, Tafsīr, ad loc. Abū 'Ubayda, Majāz al-Qurʾān, I, 386, takes ālim as "leader" and then says, wa-yajtūn 'an yakūna bi-kitābi-hīm. Ibn Qutayba, Taʾwīl Mushkil al-Qurʾān, 354, says that ālim here is "record of deeds" and then quotes Qurʾān xxxvi, 12: wa-kulla shay' in 'aḥṣaynā-hu fi ālim-in mubīn, where ālim means kitāb, "document, record" or al-lawḥ al-mahfūz, "the preserved tablet". The case for ālim = kitāb is strong in Qurʾān xxxvi, 12, while bi-ālimi-hīm in Qurʾān xvii, 71 makes more sense as "leader", for the idea is that each group of people will be identified, when called for, by their "leader". The claimed sense of bi-ālimi-hīm = bi-kitābi-hīm is either due to the presence of fa-mān 'ūtiya kītāba-hū bi-yamīni-hī etc., immediately after, or to the desire of the exegetes

* A variant reading for َبَيْنَاءِ لأَلْيَامْ is َبَيْنَاءِ لأَلْيَامْ: "by their mothers, for the simple idea "pater incertus, mater certa est"; cf. Baidawi, Tafsīr, ad loc.
to apply here the sense of *imām in Qurʾān xxxvi,12.

Another explanation, and perhaps the real one, is that according to the Codices of Ibn Masʿūd and *Ubayy b. Kaʿb Qurʾān xvii,71 read bi-kitābī-him instead of bi-*imāni-him of the canonical text of Ḫūṭba. And since kitāb was apparently the more common word for "written document", Abu *Ubayd, or his ultimate authority, was pointing out the dialectal origin of this usage accepted in the canonical text instead of the more common kitāb.

An ESA comparable usage is to be found in RES 3566,2 wʾmm/bsʾlm/sʾl/wydʾ/dm/hrg/mlkn/shr, which Rhodokanakis renders as "as direction, "Anweisung", for any one who seeks the law and finds out what there has decreed King ʾSHR". ʾmm here refers to the law enacted in this long text, or more probably, to the inscription which should serve as an "indication" or "reference" for learning the law. In any case, it refers to the enacted law as written down, and in this sense it is possible to see it developing to "written document", which is what Arabic kitāb means.

Cf. A. Jeffery, Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān, Leiden, 1937, 55 and 142; cf. also Sulayman b. al-ʾAshʿath al-Sijistani, kitāb al-maqāṣid, (ed. A. Jeffery), Cairo, 1936, 37, where the term al-*imām is used for the "master copy" of the Codex of Ḫūṭba from which the maqāṣid which were sent to the provinces were copied.
Qur'ān xxxvii,125 reads: 'a-ta'dūna ba'il-an wa-tadharūna

'aḥsana al-khāliqīn: "Do you address yourselves (or, do you offer your
prayer) to Ba'āl and forsake the Best of Creators?" This is said to his
unbelieving people by the prophet 'Ilyas, Elijah of the Old Testament;
cf. I Kings xviii,18 ff. It is obvious that ba'il-an here is a proper
noun, the name of the deity against whose worship 'Ilyas was preaching
to his people. This interpretation was known to the exegetes, and
Tabarī, Tafsīr, XXIII,58, gives traditions which assert that ba'il was
an idol whom they worshipped; cf. also Līsān, art. ba'il. But it seems
that some linguists and exegetes were misled, or tricked, by the
tanwīn of ba'il-an into taking it as a common noun. Abu 'Ubayd, Risāla,
says that ba'il-an meant rabb-an: "lord" and was in the dialect of
Ḥimyar, or, as claimed by some, in that of 'Aṣd Shanū'a. Suyūṭī, Itqān,
I, 135, on the ultimate authority of Ibn 'Abbās, says that this is a
usage in the dialect of the people of al-Yaman, and on the ultimate
authority of Qatāda that it is in the dialect of 'Aṣd Shanū'a. Tabarī,
op. cit., says that some exegetes assigned to ba'il here the sense of
rabb and claimed it to be a usage in the dialect of the people of
al-Yaman. He gives two traditions in support of that, one from Qatāda,
who says that it is lughat-un bi-l-yamāniyya and explains it as rabb-an

But 'a'jamī proper nouns, normally treated as diptote nouns and
therefore not given tanwīn, are treated as triptote nouns if they
are made of three letters with a sukūn on the middle letter; cf.
'arsalnā nūh-an, Qur'ān vii,59.
dūna allāh: "a lord, a deity, other than Allāh", the other from 'Ikrima, who says wa-hiya lughatu 'ahlī al-yaman, and then is added, taqūlūs: man baʾlu hādhā al-thawr, 'ay: man rabbu-hu, where taqūlūs: "You say, or, one says", presumably refers to the usage of the people of al-Yaman.

The use of baʾl with the basic sense of "lord, master, owner" is attested in Arabic, without specification of a dialectal usage; cf. baʾlu al-shayʾi: rabbu-hu wa-maliku-hu: "the owner, the proprietor, of a thing"; and baʾl: "husband", called so "because he is the master and proprietor" of the woman; Lisan, art. bʾl. baʾl-an is explained in Lisan also as rabb-an, but without reference to a Yamanī dialectal usage, Lisan even gives a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās in which it said that he heard a man who claimed that a lost she-camel which had been found was his say: ṣana baʾlu-hā, meaning rabbu-hā: "its owner", and Ibn 'Abbās commented then that that was the same usage as ṣa-tadīna laʾl-an in Qurʾān. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 314, relates that Ibn 'Abbās said that he had not known what al-baʾl in Qurʾān meant until he saw an Arab, 'arabiyy-an, and said to him: li-maḥ hadhihi al-nāqa: "whose is this she-camel?" and he answered ṣana baʾlu-hā, meaning rabbu-hā. This pattern of "encounter" is very familiar, and especially when Ibn 'Abbās is the authority involved; cf. under articles ḥār, ḥār, wrk and khmr. The instructive thing in these two "encounters" here is a bedouin in one case and an Arab (sic) in another are the persons questioned or overheard and not people from al-Yaman.
In ESA b’l is well attested in the sense of "lord", as used from deities, e.g., *lmqh/b’l/wm; *tr/b’l/bn; *nby/b’l/hgn etc. It is also used with humans in the sense of "lord, master"; cf. RES 4169,6: *mr*b’l/slhm: "their lords, the masters of SLhm", and also in other specific usages with the basic sense of "lord, master":

(a) "masters, owners", cf. 3910,2: *dmhw/b’l/hgrn/mrb/ w’srrhw/: "to his servants (or, subjects) the masters (or, owners) of the city Marib and its valley lands"; (b) "owners, inhabitants" in the expression b’l/byt, as against b’l/bytn: "the lord of the house", who is a deity; cf. note in CIH to CIH 322,1 and the foreword to CIH II, chapter XIX, (CIH II, p. 345); (c) "husband"; cf. hws’t/ b’l/hns’kr[b: "honovit maritum suum", according to CIH.

Arabic usages of ba’il can be equated with those of ESA b’l as used for humans. It is the use of ba’il in an explicitly divine context or usage that is not attested in Arabic. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that when ba’il-an in Qur’ān was interpreted as "a lord, a deity" other than God, some of the exegetes recalled the specific use of ba’il in South Arabia as an epithet for deities.
Al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Taʾī, the Kharijite poet of the 1st century A.H., boasts in a poem in which he attacks al-Farazdaq that no one ever had a nuptial night with a virgin woman from his tribe except for a dowry, mahr, described by the poet as muballat, which is explained in Arabic lexica as a Ḥimyari usage meaning madmūn, a word which should be rendered here "secured, delivered beforehand", for the primary sense of al-ḍaman is al-tahsil, "getting hold of (something)"; cf. Lane, Lexicon, art. ḍmn; cf. also Sahāḥ, Lisān, Taj, art. bīl.

Marriage for mahr is stressed here as against marriage through captivity when the captor took the woman into marriage without the consent of her kin and without paying any compensation; cf. W.R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage, 96-6. The description of mahr as muballat, "secured, delivered beforehand", implies a marriage which was pre-arranged with the consent of the woman's kin.

In Arabic one normally speaks of delivering the mahr as sāqa ʿilā al-marʿāti mahrahā, "he drove to the woman her dowry". This is said to originate from the times when dowries given by the Arabs normally consisted of camels and sheep which were driven to the wife-to-be; but it has come to be used in all cases, even when money, darāhīm and danānīr, are used. From this usage of sāqa is derived sīyaq = mahr; cf. Lisān, art. swq. (Al-Jāḥiṣ quotes from al-ʿAsmaʿī this same view about the development of the meaning of sāqa as used with a dowry and then adds the rather facetious though shrewd remark: "On the analogy of al-ʿAsmaʿī's statement the owners of dates,
whose blood money, diy'atuhum, and dowries, muhuruhum, were (paid) in
dates, did not say: sāqa fulūn-un sādūa'ahu"; J. H. I. B., Bukhālī, Cairo,
1957.

It is possible, therefore, to detect in ballata, Form II,
of which muballat is the passive participle, a basic sense of "to
drive, to send away, to despatch". The close parallelism that this
sense bears to the usages of blt in ESA and the close semantic
parallelism between those usages of ESA blt and of Arabic sāqa will
show that the claim that muballat in al-Tirmīzī's verse is a Ḥīmyarī
usage can be valid.

The sense of "to send away, to despatch" is clear and
recognised in the verbal usages of ESA blt; cf. CIH 306:10: bīt/nbl/
wbltn/; "because there did despatch and send"; ibid., 20: bītw/;
"they sent"; Beeston, Sl., 27-28. Cf. also CIH 352,9: bīhms/dqdmahw/
v (9) bīthaw/mr'hamw/; Fakhry, 102,10: wbkl/blttn/blthw/mr'(11)hw/;
Ry 539,2: bkn/blthw/mr'hw/; where a sense of "sent, or, despatched"
has been recognised. (3) Cf. also CIH 531,8: ẉlāỵn/blt/mydīt: "et
pergat mittene officia (?)...", according to CIH, but where one can
compare the Arabic phrase sāqa ilayhi khawr-an, "he caused good
fortune, he brought good fortune, to him"; cf. LL, art. sāq̣, mydīt
here is the exact semantic equivalent of Arabic ṃrūf, "goodness,
favour".

Res 3566,4 reads: hlṃy/wṇhml/wbltn/3dn/mṛsṃ/hhr, rendered
by Rhodokanakis, Grundes., 34, "aufrichtig ergeben und gefügig und folg-
sam dem Befehl ihres Herrn SHE". This same phrase is repeated again in lines 6 and 9 thereof. Although bltn: "folgsam ergeben" is a feasible sense here, yet I think that its sense finds a better expression in the Arabic semantic parallel sāqa al-umāra ḥabsana masʾāq, "He carried on, or prosecuted affairs, or the affairs, in the best manner of doing so"; LI, art. swq. A sense of "carry out, prosecute, despatch", would fit bltn here.

This Himyarī usage of muballat = madmsn was compared by H. Derenbourg, Revue Archéologique, 3ème série, XXXV, (1899), p. 6 n.2, in connection with bithm in CIH 352, 8-9: bţbnw/dqdbnw/w (9) bithm/w bwnbwn, which he rendered: "ou les ont p reposes et (9) se sont portes garants pour eux leur princes" etc. It is obvious that this rendering misses the basic sense of madmsn "secured, delivered", pointed out above, and also misses the significance of the association of this usage with mahr "dowry". Derenbourg later found that he was not satisfied with this rendering and decided to follow Praetorius's comparison of Eth. bannata "muneribus ornavit" and benat "sit us", cf. the note CIH to 352, 4.

The substantive blt is attested in two ESA texts. CIH 290, 4 reads: lydbbn/ktbr/bltn/kl/dwn/, "dass dem 'Attar die Abgabe (den Tribut) opfere (darbringe) jeder Besitzer durch Kauf"; Rhodokanakis, St., II, 153. I have already pointed out that the injunction here is related to the offering or giving of something in exchange for the acquiring or occupying of land; cf. my NG1, II, 424. Rhodokanakis,
op. cit., 152-3, renders bltn: "Abgabe (Tribut)" by comparing Akkadian "Ertrag, Pachtzins, Pachtabgabe"; cf. further below. In the context of lyibmu here, and in the light of Van Lessen 10,2-3, where a camel is specifically mentioned as the price or offering given in exchange for acquiring a burial place, cf. my NQI,II, 423 f.; bltn here possibly indicates "sacrificial victim". A semantic parallel is provided by Arabic sīqa al-hadya, "He brought forward, or drove, the sacrificial victims"; (hady, "sacrificial victims", is in itself a semantic parallel to bltn. It is derived from hadā, "he lead"; cf. also hadīyā, "gift, sacrificial victim".) The other text in which substantive bltn occurs, CIH 291,2 and 4, is too damaged to permit a fairly accurate restoration, and the context therefore cannot be reasonably established.

Rhodokanakis, St. II, 152, suggests that bltn is a secondary formation, "Weiterbildung", from ESA wbl; cf. RES 3688,5, wblm "Pachtzins": "rent". But I do not think that there is enough justification for that claim, especially since verbal usages of bltn are attested, cf. supra.

Cf. Beeston, SI, 30, in the note to CIH 308,10 and o.

Ryckmans, Mus. 69 (1956), 385, in the note to blthw, Ry 539,2, for a discussion and exposition of the different suggestions for the derivation and interpretation of ESA bltn.
A tradition relates that when 'Abd al-Mu'ttaliib, Muḥammad's great grandfather, had dug out and cleared the well of Zamsam in Macca he said: 

لا يجوز له أن يشربه، ولكن لمن يشربه هو البالغ، الإذن، النعم، الطيب، والمباح، المسمى البائع، GUI. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 38. But Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 64, gives the expression as "bill-un bill-un," without the conjunction wa before bill-un, but also without reference to the tradition. The meaning of bill-un in the tradition or the expression is not free from controversy. Two explanations are given: 

1. bill-un is an assonant addition, جبأ, after bill-un; 
2. it is a usage in the dialect of Ḥimyar or al-Yaman meaning مباه-un مطلاع-un: "free, unrestricted"; cf. Lisān, Tāj, art. bill, and Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 38, 64. Naṣāwīn, AA-ŠU, 9, on the ultimate authority of al-'Aqma'I, says that al-bill meant al-mubāh in the dialect of Ḥimyar. But in Lisān, art. bill, al-'Aqma'I is quoted as having said that he had always taken bill-un in the tradition or expression as an assonant addition, جبأ, until he heard al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān claim that bill-un was mubāh-un in the dialect of Ḥimyar. Against the claim that bill-un is an assonant addition Abū 'Ubayda and Ibn al-Sikkāt point out that جبأ, assonant addition, is ruled out because of the presence of the conjunction wa between the two words; Lisān, art. bill. The form given by Ibn Durayd, without the conjunction before bill-un, cf. above, does not seem to have been recognised, and it might well be a misreading or a misprint.
This claimed Himyarî usage of bill-un can be compared with ESA bllm in CIH 255, which reads:

3. /hmdm/b[dt/s'dhmuw/t'tl/wfy
4. m/wnmtm/[w]bllm/llm/t'/srrn.

The inscription is fragmentary, and the text, as edited, is not beyond doubt. CIH renders bllm here "aura", and Beeston, SI, 50, ad bllm/, CIH 532,7, comments on this translation of CIH by saying, "C(IH) there (i.e. in CIH 255,4) tr(anslates) "wind", but this seems very pointless after n'mt/ (if that reading is correct)". I wonder, however, whether "aura" of CIH was not intended as meaning "favour, prosperity". A better rendering is made by Conti Rossini, who by comparing Arabic bulla, pl. bilāl: "bonum, beneficentia" and balāl: "bonum" renders bllm in CIH 255 here as: "bonum"; CR-Gl. 114. Beeston, 1. cit., agrees with this rendering, although he says that he does not find the Arabic usage bulla, pl. balāl [sic] (CR-Gl. has pl. bilāl, see above) which Conti Rossini compares and adds, "but perhaps it is a slip for bālla with its 'altered' form balāli (see Lane), which suits pretty well".

Cf. also bllm: al-khayru wa-l-rizq: "abundance and bounty", and balāl-an min 'aysh: "fertility, abundance"; Lisān, art. bll. Thus: bllm/: "benefit, abundance". This meaning of bllm/ is compatible with the claimed Himyarî usage of bill-un = mubāḥ-un: "free, unrestricted", for it seems that mubāḥ-un should be taken to mean "public, common, benefit or amenity".

A sense of "bountiful, abundant" can be assigned to bllm
in CIH 547, which reads:

8. /[w]\l/hwfyhww/mf\g

9. r/\rghmw/bdt\n\nhr

10. fn/\n/mw\llm/wbl

11. lm/

I render: (8) "And he did not fulfill for them the flowing (9) of their watering channel in spring and autumn (10) with water, little or abundant".

Notes:

(Cf. the examination of CIH 547, 3-7 under article m\g.)

Ll. 8-9: m\g\r: this reading is after CIH, for Halevy's \f\f\g\r, where the first f is marked doubtful. Cf. further under the note to bllm, ll. 10-11.

Ll. 10: mw/mwm: "with water". mn here is for respect, tamyIZ, a sense which is attested for the more common bn.

Ll. 10-11: qllm/wbllm: "little or abundant". This is a merismus expression like bhtm/wqt\nm; orb\m/wr\qm; kbrm/f\w/q\rm in ESA\(1\)

Praetorius, Beitr. zur Erklärung der Himj. Inschr., III, 15 compared with qllm/wbllm here Arabic q\l\l\l-un wa-bal\l\l-un, which, he said, simply meant "little". Praetorius does not indicate his source. According to Q\m\us, art. bll, the Arabic expression is q\l\l\l-un bal\l\l-un, without the intervention of \w, as CR-Gl., 114, correctly quotes it. Q\m\us, art. bll., says that it is itb\f assonant addition, a claim which, from the purely formal point of view, seems to be supported by the absence of the conjunction, cf. above. But I think that the Arabic expression, whether q\l\l\l-un wa-bal\l\l-un, as Praetorius gives it, or q\l\l\l-un bal\l\l-un, as Q\m\us gives it, acquired the sense of "little" from the merismus sense of "nothing at all", in negative contexts, and that both ESA qllm/wbllm and the corresponding Arabic expression or
expressions are really made of two opposite epithets. This sense of merismus becomes very clear after the negation in this period: w³l/hwfyhw/mfgr/ãrghw/bdt³n/whrfn/bn/uwm/qllm/wbllm. Even bdt³n/whrfn/ can be taken as merismus, in a sense. Praetorius's view of qllm/wbllm has been accepted with little or no modification; cf. CIH: "parva et exigua (?)"; Rhodokanakis, St., I, 59: "wenig"; and Beeston, SI, 51: "very little". This assumed sense of "little, small" was used as the basis for interpreting bllm in CIH 532, which reads:

7. /wdbt/h³³t/blm
8. m³³/bhn/s²rt/w³l/1
9. m³³[b³³]

CIH 532 is one of the "penitence" texts in which people make public confessions of their sins. The dedicant here, a woman, after mentioning specific sins, lines 3-7, makes in the lines cited above a comprehensive reference by saying, according to Beeston's translation, SI, 50: "and because she committed small wrongs (?) whether it be that she was aware (of them) or whether she was not aware". Beeston's bllm: "small wrongs (?)", is based on Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Hâmj. Inschr., where in a note ad CIH 411,11: ãdbnhw/d³⁴w/wdbnhw/³l/d³⁴w/, they quote CIH 532,7-9 and render bllm as "kleine Sünden" without explanation or documentation. Beeston, SI, 50, in the note to his translation, above, rejects bllm: "by night", according to CIH, and prefers Mordtmann and Mittwoch's "small wrongs" but then adds: "but it seems rather doubtful whether blm/ can have this sense when not associated with qll/, to which it appears to be only an assonant addition in C(IH) 547,10-11." It is clear from this that Mordtmann and Mittwoch have adopted the sense of bllm: "little, small" and then added "sins, wrongs" as a sense required or warranted by the context. I render bllm here, in CIH 532, 7-9, as "sins, faults"; cf. Arabic bulla, bulula: "vice, fault, evil conduct", and ḫaball (adj.) "vicious, immoral, unrighteous"; (Lane, Lexicon). This sense of
bllm: "sins, faults" does not seem easy to link with bllm: "abundance, bounty, benefit", CIE 255,4, and bllm: "abundant, bountiful", CIE 547,10-11; but so also is the case in Arabic. A possible semantic parallel might be found in the relation between mubah: "free for use, unrestricted" and 'ibāba: "removing restrictions, making free", hence "trespass, laxity, immorality" in later Arabic usage. Mubah is the word by which the claimed ḥimyarī of bill-un in 'Abd al-Muttalib's tradition is explained, cf. above.
(1) I am grateful to Professor A. M. Honeyman, who drew my attention to the name and nature of this idiom or figure of speech. I also drew much guidance and information from his "Merismus in Biblical Hebrew", Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXI, part 1, 1952, 11-18.
A number of usages from the Arabic root *khmr* are given in the lexica and other sources as in the dialect of Ḫimyar and/or al-Yaman.

1. *'akhmara* = *'aṭa*: "to give"; = *mallaka*: "to give someone possession of something"; and *wahaba*: "to give as a gift, to grant". These usages are supported by a quotation from Muhammad b. Kathīr, the Yamanī muḥaddith and faqīh, (died 216 A.H.; cf. Jaʿdī, Ṭabaqāt Fuqahāʾ al-Yaman, 72 and n. 4), in which he says: "This is a usage known with us in Yaman, and we hardly use any other; one says *'akhmir-nī* such and such a thing, meaning *'aṭīnī-hi*: "give it to me", *hab-hu li*: "give it to me as a gift", *malliknī 'iyyā-hu*: "give me possession of it" and the like"; Lisan and Taj, art. *khmr*. And according to the commentary to al-Kalāqī’s *Qasīda*, quoted in CE-Q1., 157, *yakhmuru* = *yabahu* in the dialect of Ḫimyar.

This sense is the basic sense assigned to ESA *ḥmr* and its derivative usages; cf. CE-Q1., 157.

2. *istakhmara* = *istaʿbada*: "to take as a slave, to subdue someone into slavery or servitude". This is attested in a tradition attributed to Muʿādh b. Jabal, one of Muhammad’s governors in Yaman, in which Muʿādh made the injunction: man *'istakhmara qawm-an 'awwalu-hum ahrān-un wa-jārān-un mustardafa fa-la-hu ma qaṣara fī bayti-hi*; "Whosoever has subdued into slavery persons the first state of whom had been that of freeman and protected (i.e. insecure, not arms-bearing) neighbours, to him shall belong those whom he has within his household".

This usage of *istakhmara* is stated to be in the dialect of al-Yaman.
Lisan and Taj, art. khrm.

Taj enters usage (1) separately from (2); Lisan enters (2) first and then (1) follows but without any clear indication that (1) is related to (2). But Sahn enters the tradition from Mu'adhdh, explains istakhmar therein as 'akhadha-hum qahr-an wa-tamallaka-hum: "took them by force and gained possession of them", and then gives the quotation from Muhammad b. Kathir introduced by wa-qala etc., which gives the impression that Ibn Kathir's gloss was meant to explain the meaning of istakhmar in the tradition.

In my Nqi, 15, I compared this usage with Fsa hrm in the well-known formula: ywm/hwqt/kl/gwm/d'lm/wlaymn/wdhblm/wkhrm, assigning to hrm/ here the sense of "protected status", i.e. the status of a non-arms-bearing person or class, that of a da'if in modern South Arabian usage; cf. the use of mustaqafun in the definition of the people as given in the tradition.

(3): Ahmad b. Faris, Mu'jam maqayis al-lugha, Cairo, 1946, II, 216, quotes from al-Khalil that al-mustakhmar in the dialect of Himyar meant al-sharik, which in my Nqi, 15, I suggested rendering as "partner in land, tenant", and compared a tradition also related to Mu'adhdh b. Jabal in which it is said that Mu'adhdh 'ajaza bayna 'ahli al-yamani al-shirk: "He allowed, among the people of El-Yemen, the sharing, one with another, in land [and app. its produce], by its owner giving it to another for the half [app. of its produce], or the like thereof", as Lane, Lexicon, explains it, or, in other words, the repartition of
crops. I also compared Minaean šrk/mlkn, RES 3318,5 assigned to it a similar sense, and commented, "Could it be suggested then that šrk/mlkn denoted a tenant of the king, a person who did not own his land? And if frmrm could be linked to šrk/mlkn through this ūmya'ī usage of mustakhmar, could it be said that frmrm referred to people who held their land in tenancy from the state or sovereign?". I would like to add here the following points:

(a) mustakhmar is obviously to be linked in sense with istakhmara: "to subdue into slavery or servitude".

(b) šrk: "repartition of crops" is attested in RES 3951,3,4, and the verbal šrk: "to partition" in RES 3951,5; cf. Beeston, SI, 72; Rhodokanakis, KT, I, 93–94.

(c) A number of Arabic usages can be compared to throw further light on the meaning of mustakhmar = sharīk and of šrk/mlkn.

I. shuraka' (sing. sharīk) is used in Qur'ān, passim, to mean the divine "patrons, lords" of their worshippers, and not "partners" to God, allāh. Cf. particularly Qur'ān vi, 136: wa-ja'alū li-llāhi min al-harthi wa-l-'an'āmi naqīb-an fa-qalū hadhā li-llāhi bi-sā'ī-him wa-hadhā li-shuraka'i-nā fa-mā kana li-shuraka'i-him fa-lā yaqīlu 'ilā allāhi wa-mā kana li-llāhi fa-huwa yaqīlu 'ilā shuraka'i-him sa'a ma yaqīmu: "And they assign to Allāh of the crop and cattle he has created a portion; and they say, 'This is Allāh's' — in their assertion and this is for our patrons', and what is for their patrons does not reach Allāh, but what is for Allāh goes to their patrons; Evil is their judgement!" According to Ibn Isḥaqq, Sīra, I, 84 (cf. A. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muhammad, 37) this verse referred to the practice of a tribe of Khawlān, who worshipped
'Umayás. In this verse šhurakā' is used in a clear context of crop sharing, or "partitioning", and it inevitably reminds one of the ESA term šym: "patron" on the one hand, and recalls the modern use of māl al-šayyım in South Arabia for the protection fee that is levied by a protecting group or tribe, i.e., patrons, on crops and agricultural products; cf. under articles šyym and šhrh.

II. Cf. šharīk: "colon partiaire, cultivateur qui rend au propriétaire une portion convenue (quatre cinquièmes) des récoltes et des autres produits de sa ferme"; Donz, Supplément, I, 752.

III. dakhil: "garantor, protector", R. B. Serjeant, "A Judeo-Arab House-deed from Ḣabbān", JRAS, 1953, 130, has also the sense of "protégé" elsewhere; cf. Landberg, Gl. Dat., 719. Landberg, Ḥaḍramaut, 571, says that dakhil is the synonym of šharīk, "associé", and adds, "le dakhil des bédouins du Nord est rabī' dans le Sud." The semantic interchange presented here is striking. Dakhil "protégé", in the use of the North, has become in the South to mean šharīk: "associé", while rabī' of the North, "associé", from the original sense of a "share-cropper who gets one quarter", (cf. Landberg, Gl. Dat., 1076), has become to mean in the South "protégé". If this semantic interchange indicates anything, it indicates the definitely protected status of the so-called "partner".

IV. R. B. Serjeant, "Forms of Plea, a Śafi'i Manual from al-Šahr", RSO, XXX, 1955, 11, n. 1, comments on mūṣaqqāh contracts by saying, "This is evidently a typical contract under which the agricultural labourer or miskīn agrees to work for the palmgrove owner or tabīn, the latter word being found in the pre-Islamic inscriptions". This form of contract would come under šhirh, as the labourer gets a third of the crop for his work. The use of miskīn, which denotes a member of the protected classes, for what otherwise could have been termed šharık, "share-cropper", is instructive.
Thus shirk and sharīk did not indicate equal "partnership", but a relation of "patron" to "protégé", or vice versa. For this "Gegensinn", cf. jār, mawla, dakhīl; cf. also under article ḫbn. A protected status fits ērk/mlkn in RES 3318,5, which reads: ṭālīm/y/ṣymb/hbn/mn/wārk/mlkn/wmn/ry/gdn. I render this as "and the plantations of each (group of) the dhimma and the raʿiyya of Māʾin and the king's tenants-in-fee and Māʾin the land-tax payers of . . . ."; cf. under articles ḫlw (hly), shym (sym), and ḫbn. And it is clear, therefore, that the explanation of ḥimyarī mustakhmar by sharīk confirms the sense of subjugation and imposed protection attested in the verb istakhmara, and makes it still feasible to compare istakhmara and mustakhmar with ESA ḥmrn: "protected status", cf. above.

(4) Qurʾān xii, 36, giving an account of the dreams of Yūsuf's two prison companions, says that one of them said: ʿinnī ʿarānī ʿaʿgiru khamr-an: "Verily I saw myself pressing wine". The exegetes and linguists thought that ʿinab: "grapes" should have been used instead of khamr: "wine". A simple explanation was that khamr was used to indicate what ʿinab was to end to, and this is a perfect example of what rhetoricians call majāz mursal, "tropical usage by relation". However, a dialectal source for this usage was cited. Zamakhsharī, Kashshaf, I, gives the explanation mentioned above and then adds, "and it is said that khamr in the dialect of ʿUman is used for ʿinab"; cf. also Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, on the ultimate authority of al-Ḥādhak, who makes the same assertion. Lisān and Taj, art. khamr, give two
statements on the authority of Abū Ḥanīfa: (1) That grapes, ‘inab, are called khamr in Arabic and that this is a Yamani usage, lughat-un yamāniyya; (2) That a certain relater, ṭawī, asserted that he saw a man of Yamān, yamāniyy-an, carrying grapes and he asked him what he was carrying and the man answered "khamr", thus calling grapes khamr. One wonders whether یمانی لغة and یمانی لغة یمانی are not mistakes for یمانی لغة یمانی and یمانی لغة یمانی respectively; but cf. what follows. (3) Našwān, ʿAl-Š‘U, asserts that certain Arabs call ‘inab, "grapes", khamr and that al-ʿAsma‘ī told that a man from Ḥimyar who had grapes was asked what he had and said, "khamr". This type of "encounter" with people from Yamān or with bedouins is an all too familiar device of the linguists and the exegetes; cf. under articles ṣṭṭ, wrk and ḫwr. There is no attested usage in ESA which can be compared with this claimed Yamāni or Ḥimyari dialect.
According to Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, quoted in Buyūṭī, Ittārīn, I, 135, madīnīn, Qurʾān lvi, 86, is a usage in the dialect of Ḥimyar meaning 'brought to reckoning; held responsible'. Qurʾān lvi, 83-87 read: fa-lawlā 'iḥb balaghah al-ḥulqūma (83) wa-antum ḥīna 'iḍhu in tangūrūn (84) wa-naḥnu 'aqrabū ʿilay-hi min-kum wa-lākinā la tubṣīrūn (85) fa-lawlā 'in kuntum ghayra madīnīna (86) tarjīlin-hā 'in kuntum gādiqūn (87). These verses are held to form one period, but the syntax is not straightforward. fa-lawlā in verses 83 and 86 is taken as exhortative, and the second one is repeated for emphasis. The verses can be translated as follows: "If only, when it (the soul) reaches the throat, while you are then looking on and while We are nearer to him than you but you cannot see, if only, if you were not to be brought to reckoning, you would return it (the soul) back, if you are holding the truth." I rendered madīnīn here as: "to be brought to reckoning", according to the sense attributed to it by Abū 'Ubayd. Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, ad. loc., explains madīnīn as: majziyyīn yawma al-qiyāma: "retributed on the day of resurrection", or as: mamlūkīn maqārīnīn: "held under authority and subdued", and this latter sense is said to derive from dāna-hu: 'adhalla-hu wa-istā'bada-hu: "to subdue, to enslave, someone". The former sense given by Bayḍāwī is akin to muḥāṣabīn of Abū 'Ubayd. Cf. also Qurʾān xxxvii, 53: ḥa-ḥidhā mitnā wa-kunnā turāb-an wa-izāma-en ḥa-ḥinā la-madīnīna: "And is it (possible) that when we had been dust and bones that we would be brought to reckoning?". Bayḍāwī, Tafsīr, ad loc., assigns to madīnīn here the sense of majziyyīn: "retributed", 
said to derive from din = jaza': "retribution".

It is perhaps because madinIn in Qur'En lvi,86 was claimed to have the sense of "under authority, subdued", a sense which cannot fit for madinIn in Qur'En xxxvii,53, that the claimed Ḥimyarī madinIn muḥasabīn was cited, obviously in support of madinIn = majziyyīn.

No exact equivalent of this claimed Ḥimyarī usage is attested from the ESA root dyn. But this sense can be linked with that of ydīn in CIH 541,49, which S. Smith, "Events in Arabia", renders "judged good". This is preferable to the rendering of CIH as "to subdue, to subjugate", a sense which, I maintain, is not attested from this root in ESA.

RES 2774,2 reads: bkbwāt/dyns/ttr/dqbg/wb/frhy/k'1ltn/wbd/mā disclose ydīn. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 55-6, renders bkbwāt/dyns/ttr/dqbg as: "out of dues (taxes) which Ḥurar of KBD imposed on him", and in the note thereeto, 65 f., he says, "dyn: "to impose as dues, as debt (دين)"", and then quotes RES 2771,6: wywm/qqm/myd/w̸q̸b̸h̸w̸s̸w̸/kl/ddynrms/, which he translates as: "and when (MYD) and his brothers .... fulfilled all that had been imposed upon them". CR-UL., 126, takes dyn in RES 2771,6 as substantive meaning "debt" and renders kl/ddynms as: "omnia quae crant debitum ipsorum". The way Rhodokanakis quotes RES 2771,6 is misleading. It reads: wywm/qqm/myd/w̸q̸b̸h̸w̸s̸w̸/wb̸h̸n̸m̸s̸/kl/ddynrms/wkl/ddyn..............(7) hsm/bn/kl/m'nm/wd/ytl/h̸r̸m̸s̸/w̸h̸w̸m̸/k̸d̸/wr̸h/ dhdr/kbr/wdl/". Judging from the photographs of the text published by Tawfik, MAY, the same space as occupied by the lacuna at the end
of l. 6 has 11 signs and word-dividers in lines 1, 2, 3, the only three complete lines of the text. I propose, therefore, to restore the end of line 6 as: wkl/ddyn/*bhsm/w':mm](7)hsm/; cf. l. 8: w*bhs/wbhsnm/
w*bhs/w'mmhsam/, cf. also RES 3257 (Minaean), which reads:

2. s[,]da/kl/ddyn/[n,...

3. wkl]d/dyn/'bb[s,...

Thus, the whole passage, lines 6-7, should be rendered: "and when 'MYD' and his brothers and their sons paid back (or, fulfilled to) everyone whom they had owed a debt (or, who had advanced them a credit) and everyone whom [their fathers and their paternal uncles] had owed a debt (or, who had advanced a credit to [their fathers and their paternal uncles]) (7) from among all Ma'in and the people of YTL, their freeman and their bondman, in the month of d-HDR of the KBRT of WDD'L" etc. It is highly improbable that these dedicants here, 'hl/gb'n/mwdtt/*lyf*/rym/wbns/hwf'tt/mlky/m'n/, had to fulfill "all that was imposed on them", according to Rhodokanakis's rendering, by "all Ma'in and the people of YTL, their freeman and their bondman". The clue to the nature or reason of these payments is to be found in the same text, lines 3-4: ywm/rtkl/msr/wgzt/w*(4)sr/wslm/b*mr/'tt/dqbd/wwd/: "when he had made a trading journey to Egypt and Gaza and *SR and was safe by the power of *TR d-QBD and Wadd." These people were caravan leaders who traded with the north. They traded for themselves and for everyone who advanced them credit or gave them wares to trade with. And now after a successful journey they have discharged all obligations and
settled all outstanding claims.

To go back to RES 2774,2: bkbwāt/dyns/ttr/dqbd/: "out of dues (taxes) which 'Attar of ḫbd imposed upon him", according to Rhodokanakis. On p. 22 of article ṣrh I render this as: "out of dues (or, taxes) which 'TTR dqbd had lent (or, gave as a loan) to him", i.e. dues whose payment had been deferred and were considered as a loan from 'TTR. I cite this there in support of my interpretation of RES 2771,4: wywm/sl'/ṭdm/ḥšrm/mšnrq/tyb/: "and when he paid as a tribute to (or, when he discharged his obligation towards) Wadd out of profit a bond for tyb", in the sense that he was repaying an outstanding or due bond. dyn in RES 2771,6 definitely means "to give on credit", and that is also what dyn in RES 2774,2 means. dyn as a substantive meaning "debt, credit" is attested in RES 3566,12: kl/yn/db/wdyn/wtwf/: "jegliche Strafen und Schulden und Exekutionen", and ibid., 20: /dyn/ w'nb/wtlf/wtwq/wtwf/: "Schuld" etc., according to Rhodokanakis.

RES 4337, B, 14-15 has been restored as: wbd/ḏ[y(15)]n/qnys/wmrdš, and was rendered by Höfner as "Strafe": "penalty". But Beeston, Qahtan, I, 10, does not adhere to this restoration and suggests that "the mutilated word d[... ]n is ... probably some form related to Arabic ḏūn" "falling short of, less (in quantity)". Anyway, restoration is no evidence.

dyn also occurs in an inscription of which we have two different copies, Hal 259 (=RES 2833), and Tawfik 8. The former copy is made of 6 lines, and dyn occurs in lines 1 and 5 thereof; the latter
is made of 8 lines and dyn occurs in lines 1 and 7 thereof. No full translation of either text has been made, to my knowledge, but the context seems to be legal, cf. line 1: *wd/dyn/ddmr/ddm*, and it is possible to assume that *dyn* here means either "debt, credit", thus: "a debt (about) which there ruled a judge", or less probably, as "judgement", thus: "a judgement that there ruled a judge". For *ddmr/ddm*: "there ruled a judge", cf. Beeston, NOSAL, II, 266 and NOSAL, V, 119 ff.

A rather peculiar usage of *dyn*, substantive, occurs in Istanbul 7626, a *wtf*-document, which reads:

7. *wd*/*hdt*/dynhmv/

The text is damaged on the left-hand side and there is one more line after this, damaged from the right-hand side as well, and then the text is broken away. The surviving part of the text prior to this line reads like a legal preamble. Beeston, "Four Sab. Texts", Mus., 65, (1952), 275, renders this as: "and by the entire tenour of their obligations", and in the note thereto, ibid., 274 ff., he says, "*hdt*: the form *hdt* is well known as a noun of instrument, "(water)-container = cistern". Here, however, governing *dyn*, the word must have an abstract sense; it is probably the plural of a passive participle, "things contained = sense, meaning, purport." And in the note to *dyn*, ibid., he says, "*dyn*: the verb *dyn* is used in minaean (RES 2771, 6; 2774,2) in the sense "impose an obligation"; the noun in gitanian (R 3566,12; 4337 B, 14-5) refers to a fine or monetary penalty imposed by the law. Here probably it is more generally, as in minaean, "obligations". The literal meaning of the whole phrase is therefore, "by the
entirety of the contents of their obligations." This rendering sounds convincing, yet I think it is both feasible and possible to render it as: "in the property of (i.e. watered by?) the reservoir of their watered-fields".

Notes to this translation:

bgl: "in the property". Beeston: "by the entirety", and in the note there to, l. cit., 274, says: "For gl "entirety" cf. kilm/glm R 3963,4 "all of them in entirety"." In my NQI,II,421, ad glm, Van Lessen 9,3, I maintained that Qibtan glm was a contracted form of Sabaean and Minaean gwlm: "property", and not of a hypothetical glm. This view is supported by the occurrence of gwlm in the Sabaean texts Jamme 540,2 and 541,5 and in the Minaean RES 2791,4 in a context closely similar to that of Qibtan glm; cf. footnote 1 to article srh. Thus, glm: "insgesamt", according to Rhodokanakis, Kt, II, 15 n. 5 can no longer be maintained. Here we seem to have the Sabaean exact equivalent of Qibtan glm, with the same sense of "property".

mhdh: "reservoir", pl. of mhdh; cf. CIH 506,2: mhdh[pl]; cf. Beeston’s note, quoted above. Or, according to Rhodokanakis, ZIAI,1, 43: "Sperrmauer": "barrage".

dyn: "watered-fields"; from a singular dyn wdn: "watered-field" by metathesis? Lisan, arts. dyn and wdn, quotes al-Ashari as saying that al-Layth, the editor of al-Khalif’s kitab al-ayn, claimed that din meant, "rain that falls continually on a place and soaks it with water", and adds that al-Ashari commented thereon that din is not attested in any sense of "rain" and that al-Layth, or whoever added to his book, committed tashif and that the real word was wadin, from wadam: "to soak"; Lisan, arts. wdn and dyn. The root wdn is attested in ESA in verbal usages; cf. RES 3958,2: bql/whyl/wns*/ wwdn/wyrw/wbr*/kl/3rt(3)srm/s/mntn/", where wdn is rendered by Rhodokanakis, St., Ill, 5, as: "hat .. bewässert", and in the note
thereto, ibid., 7, he compares Arabic wudn, given by Hamdanî, Sifat, 199, as the equivalent of Arabic jirba and 'abh: "watered-field", as quoted by Glaser, Reise nach Marib, 142, and in the note 4 explains wudn as "a field at the side of a river which at the time of sowing is covered with water", after Glaser, op. cit., 143. Cf. also Idem, St. II, 123 n. 4, ad stwn, RES 3945,2. Lisan, art. wdn, gives only wâdani, mawâdi’ al-nada wa-l-mâ allati tašluhu li-l-ghiras "places of moisture and water which are good for planting", which suggests that wâdan is plural, but no singular thereof is given. In the Cairo edition of Hamdanî, Sifat, 199, it is vocalised as wâdn. Landberg, Hadramout, 735, gives it as wâdn, while in Cl. Dat. 2918, he gives as both wudn and wâdn. If al-Layth’s dîn: "soaking rain" is to be admitted as correct, then it can be etymologically compared with ESA 'dytn: "watered fields". If dîn in this sense is taken as a separate word then one can semantically compare Arabic m'tar: "rain" and ESA m'tr: "irrigated field", RES 2952,3 and Fakhry 71,8. And if it is taken as metathetical from wâdn, which is more probable, then ESA dîn: "watered field" is most probably also metathetical from an ESA substantive wdn, not attested.

This rendering of Istanbul 7626,7 is feasible. wâf-texts are often concerned with land; cf. J. Ryckmans, "Himyaritica I," 94-98. And it is feasible to suppose that after the legal preamble given in the preceding lines, the text in 1. 7 is already describing the details of the property which is the subject of the wâf-contract or covenant. (1) Cf. CIH 609 and Rhodokanakis, St. II, 134.
Footnote 1

(1) wtf is etymologically the equivalent of Arabic waṣīfa, and not of waqf, as has been sometimes maintained; cf. the foot-remark on p. 16 of Appendix I (Nazar Achoury). Arabic waṣīfa is mainly used as a fiscal term for an impost decided by treaty or by an act of imposition and which is not a standard levy or tax. Cf. waṣīma ma‘lu al-fay‘i fa-ma ijtubiya min ‘ammali ‘ahl al-dhimmati mi-ma‘ gūlihū ‘alay-hi ... wa-min-hu waṣīfatu ‘ardī al-gulh allati manā‘a-hā ‘ahlī-hā ḥatta gūlihū min-hā ‘ala kharaj-in musamma: "The fay‘ revenue is what is levied on the property of ‘ahl al-dhimma which they have surrendered by treaty ... such as the impost, waṣīfa, on land surrendered by treaty whose owners defended it until agreement was peacefully reached with them that they should pay a named revenue, kharaj musamma." Abu ‘Ubayd, ‘Amwāl, 16. On p. 143 Abu ‘Ubayd discusses whether this waṣīfa could be increased or decreased according to the circumstances of the people, and on p. 143 he says, "al-sunnatu fi ‘ardī al-gulhī ‘an la yuṣāda ‘ala waṣīfati-hā allati gūlihū ‘alay-hā, wa-in qawū ‘ala ‘akthara min dhalika: "The accepted rule (or, practice), sunna, land surrendered by treaty is not to add to its impost, waṣīfa, agreed to with them by treaty even if they could afford more than that". Līsān, art. waṣīf, repeating Ẓabīh, says waṣīfā: ma ‘yuqaddaru la-ka fi al-yawmi min ṭa‘am-in ‘aw risq; "what is assigned to you daily of food or payment, risq. Qamus gives this and Taj, art. waṣīf, adds that it also means what is assigned for a year or any given time. But Līsān and Taj use waṣīfā in the sense of "impost" under other articles; cf. art. khrj, where waṣīfā is explained as a share of the crop imposed by treaty of peace and not strictly speaking kharaj; and art. ḥlāb, where it is said: al-ḥlāb min al-jibayati mīthla al-qadaqati wa-nāḥwi-hā min-ma‘ lā yaku‘nu waṣīfat-an ma‘lūmat-an: "al-ḥlāb is levy like the poor-rate and the like such as is not a fixed impost, waṣīfā ma‘alūma." Qamus, art. waṣīf, also adds the senses waṣīfā: ‘ahd: "covenant", "covenant"...
and šarti: "treaty, contract". These two senses, not given in Lisan, are obviously implied in the definition of wajual as an impost on land surrendered by treaty. Cf. also wağafa: "imposer un tribut en argent on en nature" and waği: "tribut, redevance", Dozy, Supplement, II, 820. M. Höfner, ZIAl, II, 86 n. 1, ad mwğftn, CIH 584, 2-3: hrthw/lmsqt/nblh(3)w/mwğftn/, says: "Vgl. dazu Dozy s. v. , und , aus dem Namen kann man darauf schliessen, dass dieser Palmgarten tributpflichtig war". The root wṣf is not otherwise attested in ESA.

Suyūṭī, Itq., 135, relates a tradition from Ibn ʿAbbās that mastur, Qur’ān xvii, 58, = maktūb "written", is a Ḥimyari usage and that Ḥimyar called al-kitāb "written document" ʿustūr. Abu ʿUbayd, Risāla, only gives mastur as Ḥimyari usage for maktūb.

In ESA str "to write" is well attested; and other usages from this root include str, pl. ʿstr "written document"; cf. CR-G1, 194. A. Jefferies, For. Voc., 170, compares ESA str "to write" and ʿstr "inscriptions", and quotes from Suyūṭī the part of the tradition given above about mastur = maktūb as a Ḥimyari usage leaving out the part about Ḥimyari ʿustūr = kitāb, apparently because ʿustūr is not a word in Qur’ān.

The claimed Ḥimyari ʿustūr seems to be on the analogy of ʿumlūk, collective form for malik, reported to have been used by the Prophet in addressing the chieftains of Ragman in South Arabia; cf. Līsān and Tāj, s.v. mlk. This form of the collective noun, but with a fatha in the first syllable, is well attested in South Arabian usage to denote the members of one tribe or clan collectively; e.g., ʿahnum, ʿahruθ, ʿaslūm etc. This form, ʿaqṭūl, has been suggested as a possible full form of the very common ESA broken plural ʿqtl; cf. M. Ḥöfner, ASG, 102. (Ḥöfner's designation of ʿaqṭul, along with ʿaqṭal, as "nord-arab(isch)" is, however, questionable. The form is attested in Arabic sources only in connection with names of clans or tribes of South Arabia, and these sources are normally works of South Arabian authors. It is highly questionable to designate everything for which the source is the Arabic of Islamic times as North Arabic or North Arabian.)
The claim of Ibn 'Abbas, according to the tradition, that 'ustūr was a Ḥimyārī usage for kitāb, "written document", can perhaps be partly accounted for by the fact that in ESA we find 'str, though plural or collective, often used to refer to one document; cf. RES 3688, 10-11.
Abū 'Ubayd, Hisāla, indicates three usages of sfh in Qurʾān as dialectal. They are sufaha" (Qurʾān ii,13), sing. safih = jāhil "ignorant, foolish", in the dialect of Kināna; safīha nafsa-hu (Qurʾān ii,130), = khasira nafsa-hu "to forfeit, to bring doom on, one's soul", in the dialect of Tayyi"; and safāha (Qurʾān vii,66), = jūnūn "madness, loss of reason", in the dialect of Ḥimyar. Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135-6, quotes Abū (‘Ubayd) al-Qāsim on all these three usages.

More usages of sfh occur in the Qurʾān than these above three. With the exception of safīha nafsa-hu, ii,130, the usages of sfh there fall into two categories. (1) Legal, meaning "noncompos mentis", as in ii, 263: fa-in kana alladhl *alay-hi al-ḥaqqu safīh-an *aw qa’īf-an ’aw la yasta-jūn an yumilla huwa fa-l-yumlil waliyyu-hu bi-l-fadl; and in iv,5: wa-la tu’tū al-sufahā’ a ‘amwāla-kum. (2) Moral or ethical, where the basic sense is "ignorance, foolishness, depravity". Cf. ii,13; ii,142; vi,140; vii,66,67,155; lxxii,4. The two usages safīh = jāhil, in the dialect of Kināna, and safāha = jūnūn, in the dialect of Ḥimyar, fall within this category.

The exegetes do not disagree with the two dialectal meanings of safīh and safāha quoted above, although they do not specify them as dialectal; cf. Tabarî, Tafsîr, (NE), I, 293; XII, 503. But the exegetes and the linguists could not easily accept the transitive usage of safīha = khasira "to forfeit", ii,130 and sought to show, by resorting to tortuous forms of syntax and far-fetched figurative usage, that safīha there still
has the basic sense of "to be ignorant, to be depraved", that it is still intransitive and that nafsa-hu after it, although a direct object, is in reality accusative of respect, tamyiz. Others conceded that safiha here was transitive but sought to show that the transitive sense was only accidental or circumstantial. But others accepted it as transitive without reservations or qualifications. Significant among these last is Abu ‘Ubayda, who explains safiha nafsa-hu as ‘ahlaka nafsa-hu wa-tawbaqahab: "He destroyed his soul and doomed it"; cf. Abu ‘Ubayda, Majaz al-Qur'an, I, 56, also quoted in Lisan, art. sfh. Cf. for all these views Tabari, Tafsir (NE), III, 90, and Lisan, art. sfh. (1)

In ESA sfh is attested in RES 5094,5, originally published and translated by F. V. Winnett, BASOR, 83, Oct. 1941, 22-25. Here is the text as edited and translated by him:

1. Sm*m/wbskthw/w'lwdhmw 1. Sm*m and his wife and their child(ren)
2. hys*m/grbw/mqbrtm/bd*nmm 2. Hys*m have walled up a burialground in Du-nmm
3. bhyl/rhmnn/wbhylmw/bly 3. by the power of Ha'mman and by their own power. Let there be no
4. mrd*m/bklm/wnkrm/bn/mtyf* 4. damaging by anyone nor harm on the part of any adult,
5. m/whmw/dkr/sm*/fsfh/hys* 5. such as speaking evil of Sm* or reviling Hys* in the cemetery!

I render, from bly, 1. 3, as: "without (4) help in it all or objection from anyone in authority. (5) And it is forbidden to oppose Sm* and to usurp the right of (or, be iniquitous to) Hys* concerning the burial place.
L.3: bly: "without". Winnett here compares Heb. bal, bēlī, biltī "not without, except", and yet gives the phrase a sense of the optative. One can also compare Arabic bi-lā "without". As is clear from my translation of the following line, what is being said here is that the work was done "by their own power without help in it all" from another person whose could, therefore, claim any right to it. This is perfectly in concord with the purport of this text, which is to establish property rights to the burial-ground or place.

L.4: mrdăm: "help", here as maqṣār with mim from ṭā, probably Form II, "to help". Winnett's "damaging", based on comparing Arabic ṭadaba "to be bad, worthless" and IV "to spoil, ruin, act badly", is without parallel in the known usages of ESA ṭā. mrdăm here could also be nomen agentis of Form II, "helper".

nkrm: "objection"; cf. Arabic nukr "objectionable", and nakara = qatla "to fight, to oppose"; cf. also under article nkr.

mtyfm: "someone in authority"; cf. lsmk/wtyfn/mr'yhmw "ut firmaret et extolleret ambos dominos duos", CIH 314,12; and styf "er erhöht worden ist", RES 4176,1. The person in authority here might have been a public person, or a person who had "higher" right to the land on which the burial place was built. It is possible also to assign to mtyfm here a sense of "objector, opponent"; cf. dyf/whrbqnn/l'1l'lt(7)n&m'l'nsn/ "qui insurrexit et insidias posuit numinibus et hominibus", CIH 429,6-7.

L.5: w(h)mw: "and it is forbidden". Winnet says, ibid., 25, "The reading of the second sign of whmw is a bit uncertain." His whmw "such as" is undocumented, and as far as I know, without parallel in ESA. This meaning which was conjectured to fit the meaning of the preceding sentence as rendered by him becomes less acceptable now in the light of the new translation thereof. In similar texts establishing property rights the "normal" end usually expresses a prohibition on others to encroach upon the
property in question. One of the more common formulae in this connection is **wَٰلِسُّي** "and no one shall make a demand, or a claim"; cf. J. Ryckmans, "À propos du m*ar* sud-arabe", MUSEON, 66, (1953), pp. 344-5. As Winnett himself points out, and as the photograph of the text shows, the letters in the last line are rather squeezed because of the lack of adequate space. Besides, this uncertain second letter is right in the corner of the frame of the first molding running from under line 1 to the bottom, a position which makes lack of space more unaccommodating. A **h** in this very late form of script might, through being squeezed and in a corner, look like a **h**. For **h mw** "forbidden" cf. ESA **h mw** "defendit, protectit"; CR-G1., 149. The interchange of **l** waw with **l** yā is attested in ESA; cf. Beeston, NOSAL, IV, 145, 147. **h mw** here has a passive sense, either in the **fā il** or **fā’il** form; cf. ḥd "captive" and ḏd "wounded", CR-G1., 102, 117; cf. also my NQI-II, 421 n.2.

**d kl**: "oppose". Winnett reads **d kr** and adds in a note, ibid., 25, "The last sign of **d kr** is also not clear. It looks more like a **lām** than a **rāʾ**, but a reading **d kr** can scarcely be in doubt." The photograph shows a rather clear **lām**. Winnett’s **d kr** "speak evil", although found in the lexica is in reality a "contextual" meaning conjectured to fit yāhdkuru-hum, Qurʾān xxi, 60, referring to Ibrāhīm’s “mention” of the idols; cf. Lisan and Taj, art. **dkr**. For **d kl** "oppose", cf. Arabic dākala = **al-gawm alladhīna lā yujūbūna al-sūlān** min ʿizzī-hum: "people who do not obey, or, do not submit, to the representative of public authority, al-sūlān, because of their might, or, power, ʿizz.); and tadakkala = ʿtazzā wa-taraffaʿa: "to behave in a haughty and proud manner". Cf. also Arabic dagala = manaʿa wa-harama "to prevent, to debar". (Cf. Līsān, art. **dkl** and Qamus, art. **dq l**.) For **dh > d**, cf. Arabic dhikr > **dkr** in the dialect of Rabiʿa, and **sh rīd > sharrīd**, Qurʾān viii, 57.
sfh: "to usurp the right of, to be iniquitous to" someone. The last letter of this word is next to a crack in the face of the stone. The photograph shows what must be the right and middle upper strokes of a4. If one is to read sfh, then one can compare sifaḥ: "concubinage by capture, cohabitation by force", as against nikāḥ: "marriage constituted by contract and for mahr"; cf. 'ammā al-nikāḥu fa-'innama yakūnū bi-l-mahri wa-'ammā al-sifāḥu fa-'innama yakūnū bi-l-qahr; Aghānī, Cairo, 1938, XI, 165. Cf. also W.R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage, 93; and cf. under article bīt. Cf. also sifaḥ qītal: "fighting". Hence I render sfh: "to usurp the right, to take away by force". (4) If, however, sfh is to be retained, then it can be rendered: "to be iniquitous", or perhaps, "to defraud". In Arabic safīḥ has the legal sense of noncompos mentis, and in Qur'ān we find it applied in a legal sense to minors as well. Tafṣīr, Tafsīr (NE), VI, 57, ad safīḥ-ān, Qur'ān ii, 282, says, al-safīḥ ... al-tīf al-saghar: "a minor child"; and op. cit., (NE), VII, 560, ad wa-lā tu'tū al-sufāḥā a'samwāla-kum, Qur'ān iv, 5, says, al-sufāḥā ... hum al-nisā'u wa-l-sibāyān: "women and boys (or, children)"; and op. cit., (NE), I, 293, ad al-sufāḥā, Qur'ān ii, 13, explains the basic sense of safīḥ as al-jāhil, al-qa'd al-ra'y, al-qādī al-mārīfa bi-ma-wādī' al-manāfi' wa-l-madārī: "ignorant, feeble of reasoning, poorly versed in what is useful and what is harmful", and then says that thence sufāḥā, Qur'ān iv, 5, was used for "women and boys (or, children)". In this text, RES 5094, 4, dīk: "oppose" is used with SM*, the father, while sfh is used with HYS*, the son. The latter was probably a minor, and sfh in this text might have had the sense of "to treat (someone) as a minor, to be iniquitous (to someone who cannot fend or reason for oneself)", hence "to usurp the right, or, to defraud". (5) Here one can also compare the two traditions in which occur safiha al-ḥaqqa and tasfaha al-ḥaqqa, where safiha has the sense of "to ignore a right, to usurp a right"
cf. footnote 1 (E) to this article.

The Ḫimyarī usage safāha = junūn: "madness, loss of reason" is not incompatible with the usage of sfh here. But the usage of safiha = khasira: "to forfeit, to detriment", in the dialect of Tayyi, is perhaps nearer to the meaning of sfh: "to usurp a right".
The different arguments are given in Lisan, art. sfh. They are:

(A) That safiha nafsa-hu is a secondary form of safihat nafsu-hu: "His soul was, or, became, depraved", and that safiha in the former sentence has acquired the sense of saffaha, II, "to render depraved"; but since the object of safiha is still nafsa-hu the meaning is equivalent in its general purport to safihat nafsu-hu. This argument is given in Tabari, Tafsir, (NB), III, 90, in a slightly different form. It is maintained that safiha in the verse is still intransitive in sense, but that it can only be followed by reflexive objects, such as nafsa-hu, which does not change the fact that it is intransitive in sense.

(B) That verbs of Form I fa'a'ila, like safiha here, have the intensive sense of fa'tala, II. This claim is supported with a quotation from a tradition where safiha al-baqqa occurs. safiha in the tradition is explained as saffaha, II, but how safiha is to be understood is not made clear. But saffaha, II, cannot mean, in connection with al-baqqa in the tradition, "to render depraved" as in the previous argument, and the nearest translation is "to disregard, to ignore"; cf. further under (B). This way argument seems as a way out of the clumsiness of the previous one.

(C) That safiha nafsa-hu = safiha nafs-an. It is claimed here that nafsa-hu, although construct, is doing the function of nafs-an in the latter sentence as an accusative of respect or specification. This argument is refused by opponent grammarians on the ground that an accusative of respect or specification can only be indefinite.

(D) That safiha nafsa-hu is a shortened form for safiha fī nafsi-hi: "He was, or, became, depraved in, or, as to, his soul", and that nafs-hu is in the accusative because of the omission of the preposition, (what grammarians call naz' al-khāfīd, or hadf harf al-jarr; cf. Sibawaihi, Kitāb, I, 16-18, and Reckendorf, Arab. Syn., §170, 4). This objection avoids the need to concede that safiha is a transitive
and also avoids the objection to argument (c), where nafsa-hu was equated with nafs-an.

(B) That safiha = jahila in the sense of lam yufakkir fî nafsi-hi; "not to consider oneself, to disregard oneself, to ignore oneself". With this meaning is linked the meaning of safiha in two traditions: one says al-kibr-ān tasfaha al-haqqa wa-taghmita al-nasa: "Haughtiness (or, highhandedness) is that you ignore (or, be ignorant of?) the right and treat people with iniquity." The other says 'innama al-baghqu man safiha al-haqqa: "Truly tyranny is that one should ignore (or, be ignorant of?) the right." I think that a sense of "to usurp" is more fitting to safiha in these two traditions. This can be adduced from the context, and probably was an already developed sense of safiha.

(2) Cf. also w'l/t'ly, which in Qitbānī inscriptions normally follows bbg/nby/ in property texts; cf. RES 3882; 3962, 3965, 4335, Jamme 118; 343 A and B, Van Lessen 9; 10. In Jamme 540,2 and Jamme 541, 5-6, tow Sabaean boustrophedon inscriptions, w'l/t'ly occurs in a context that makes it necessary to revise the meaning of this formula. I propose rendering it "and let it not be encroached upon". A fuller discussion of the question is given in note 1 to article sfrh.

(3) sifah, according to the lexica, was "concubinage, cohabitation between man and woman without legal marriage", the stress on its opposition to nikāh being put on its illegality. They try to link this sense of sifah with safaa: "to pour out, to shed". Their arguments might have a semblance of validity in the case of sifah = qital, as if what is implied is a reciprocal shedding of blood. But in the case of sifah: "concubinage etc." their argument about "uselessly poured away semen" is forced. The basic characteristic of sifah marriage must have been the forcible taking away of the women against the will of her parents or kinsmen and without a mahr, the mahr originally being a compensation to the wife's people; cf. W.R. Smith, Kinship
and Marriage, 93. The definition given in the lexica reflects the Islamic pre-occupation with legality and morality rather than the more basic and more primary tribal sentiment.

(4) *sfh*: "to usurp a right, to take away by force" might not fit easily with other known usages of *sfh* in ESA, which are: *sfh*: "to make public, to proclaim"; and *msfrt*: "conduit, a distributing channel"; cf. CR-GI. 198-9. But the late period of the text RES 5094 and its monotheistic nature might account for this different sense of *sfh*.

(5) Semantically one can compare istagghara: "to treat (someone) with contempt, to treat (someone) with iniquity"; and istad'afa: "to treat (someone) as a *da'if*, to oppress (someone)". Actually Tabari, Tafsir (NE), ad Qur'an iv, 5, gives a tradition in which *safih*, as applied to women and boys (or, children), is equated with *da'if*, as applied to women and orphans; Tafsir (NE), VII, 561.
Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, quoted also in Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, states that al-sarḥ in Qur'ān xxvii, 44 is a Hīmyārī usage meaning al-bayt: "house, temple(?). This sarḥ occurs in a verse which forms a part of the story of the Queen of Saba' with Sulaymān and which reads:

qīla la-hā udkhulī al-sarḥa fa-lamā ra'at-hu ṣasibat-hu lujjat-an wa-kashafat 'an saqay-hā qāla 'inna-hu sarḥ-un mumarrad-un min qawārīn;

"It was said to her, 'Go into the sarḥ'; and when she saw it she thought that it was rippling water and uncovered her legs. He (Sulaymān) said (to her), 'It is a smoothed sarḥ (made) of glass.' " Sarḥ also occurs in two other places in Qur'ān: xxviii, 38 and xl, 36, where it is used by Fir'awn (Pharaoh) when he asks Hāmān to build him a sarḥ so that he can be near enough to heaven to look at Mūsā's god. It was not difficult for the exegetes and lexicographers to assign to Fir'awn's sarḥ the sense of "a high tower-like building"; cf. Līsān and Tāj, art. sarḥ. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 196, says that sarḥ, according to Tāj, was "the name of a castle". This is a misunderstanding of the statement in Tāj, where it is said that al-sarḥ was a tower, gaṣr, of Bakht Naṣṣar, (Nebuchadnezzar), which he built near Babylon; cf. Tāj, art. sarḥ. This Babylonian sarḥ is not meant in Tāj to be identified with either Sulaymān's sarḥ or Fir'awn's sarḥ. It is true, however, that the introduction of Hāmān, in reality the name of Ahasuerus's favourite in the Book of Esther, into the story of Fir'awn and Mūsā might have brought about the confusion and made people recall the sarḥ, tower, of Babylon.
In the story of the Queen of Saba, the significance of *garb* has been associated with the legend which says that Sulayman wanted to find out whether the Queen, as rumour had it, had in place of feet the hoofs of a donkey, according to one version of the story, or had very hairy legs, according to another version; cf. Ibn Hisham, Tijan, 161-2. More than one meaning were assigned to *garb* in the story, and the difficulties of interpretation arose from the need or the wish to make the suggested meanings fit the legendary background and/or the context and lexical evidence. The important elements of the context are: *udkhill al-garb*, "go into the *garb*"; *hasibat-hu lujjat-an*: "she thought it rippling water"; and *mumarrad-un min qawarir*.

The interpretations given have been: (1) *garb*: "a high and lofty place"; *Lisan* and *Taj*, art. *garb*, Qurtubi, Jami', XIII, 209. This sense is in line with that of *garb* in Fir'awn's story with Musa. *mumarrad* is in this case interpreted as "raised high", or, in line with the more accepted sense of *mumarrad*, as *mumallas* "smoothed", and it is suggested that the inside walls of the *garb* were mad of, or covered with, glass which reflected the water on the floor everywhere; cf. Ibn Hisham, Tijan, 161. (2) *garb* = *sahn* "court or open area of a house". This sense is the most favoured by the exegetes and lexicographers, and *mumarrad* "smoothed", as a description of the "floor" of the court fitted well. Some interpretations give prominence to individual parts of a court
or an open area of a house: (a) srh = balāt: "tiles, tiled floor", in this case made of smooth or polished glass; Līsūn, art. srh; (b) srh = 'ard mumallasā: "smooth and levelled floor or ground"; ibid.; (c) something like a terrace, ka-bhay'at al-sarth, made of glass under which water ran; Tabārī, Tafsīr, XIX, 106. (3) srh = bayt: "house, or, temple (?)", the usage given by Abu 'Ubayd as ḥimyārī; cf. supra.

Two substantive forms or usages of srh are attested in ESA: srh and srht. A detailed examination of the two words was made by Rhodokanakis. In St., II, 30 he renders srh in RES 2869,3 as: "Oberbau" and in the note thereto, ibid., 33, he adds that srh is the top floor, the superstructure, along with the roof terraces, "das oberste Geschoss, der Oberbau, mit der Plattform", of the tower. He also refers to srhm in RES 2771,4, according to him the name of a sacral building, and also to srhm in GEN 338, used for a sacral purpose. He also renders srht in RES 2789,2 as: "Oberbau", ibid., 26, and in the note on p. 33 he says that srht is collective of srh and that it also means the upper chambers, "die Obergänge", of a building which is not solely a fortification — (an exception which is apparently made because srh in RES 2869,3 is, according to him, a part of a tower) — "in respect of their uncovered terraces and platforms", "beziehungsweise ihre ungedeckten Terrassen und Plattformen". Here he points out that srht in this sense also indicates sacral things, and compares Jerem. xix,3: (habbātim 'āser qittērā 'al-gaggōtēhem: "the houses on whose roofs they have made sacrifices of smoke"); and also Eth. 'aseḥā dēdēyāt for Hebrew
II Kings xxiii,8: bamōt hasē'arīm, "the high places of the gates"; and on p. 34 he further compares II Kings xxiii,12, obviously referring to we'et-hammizbē'ot 'aser 'al-haggag 'aliyyat 'Āḥāz: "And the altars that were on the roof (or, top) of the upper chamber of 'Āḥāz". In ZIAI, I, 49-51, Rhodokanakis reiterates his interpretation of srh and srht in almost the same terms. He compares Eth. srh: "conclave superior aedes altiores conspicuae, templum", then repeats the comparisons given above from Ethiopic and the Hebrew Bible, and adds a comparison of II Kings xxiii,8: et-bamōt 'aser qittērū-sēmmāh: "and the high places where they made sacrifices of smoke". He, therefore, renders srh in the Minaean and Sabaean texts where it occurs as: "terrace"; and he draws attention to the Minaean plural srhēt (RES 3340,3), ibid., 51; cf. also KT II, 93.

Qītībānī texts have only srht, which is singular and whose plural is also srht, in a possible -at form; cf. Rhodokanakis, KT II, 93; ZIAI, I, 51; Höfler, ASG, 106. Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 51, observes that srht in Qītībānī texts occurs only in texts concerned with house purchase (cf. RES 3858,6 and passim), or house building (cf. RES 3962,3; 3882,3-4). He assigns to srht in Qītībānī texts the sense of "top storey" of a house, and remarks that in contrast to Minaean and Sabaean usage, srht in Qītībānī texts has nothing to do with altars and offerings on roof-tops.

These interpretations of Rhodokanakis have been the accepted ones. In my NQI, II, 424 n. 1, in connection with the interpretation of
nfs., Van Lessen 10,3, I said, "It is doubtful whether \textit{gahr} in such (i.e. Qitbānī) inscriptions always means "upper chambers, or superstructure". Cf. Arabic \textit{gārhatu al-dār}, \textit{sāhatuḥa wa 'arasatuhā} "the open space, the courtyard, of the house"; Taj, art. gahr. Cf. also \textit{gārhat [sic]} "courtyard", in R.B. Serjeant, "A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabban", JRAS, 1953, 125 f. The mention of open areas and courtyards in house-deeds is quite common in Islamic legal practice; cf. Adolf Grohmann, Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library, I, Cairo, 1934, Text 67,12, p. 238. Verbs denoting construction can govern "courtyards", for according to Arabic lexica, a gahr has to be made level to be called so; cf. Līsān and Taj, art. gahr. Nowadays gahr is the term for a piece of levelled, or terraced, land." I felt then that in a note like that, where I would not have been justified to examine the usages of gahr fully, I could not commit myself to expressing more than doubt. I hold that gahr in all Qitbānī texts should be interpreted as indicating "courtyard, open space", and the same holds true in some, if not all, of the Minaean and Sabaean texts.

\textit{Gahr} is attested in eight Qitbānī texts and is partly restored in one. Following is an examination of these texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Work or action</th>
<th>Parts of structure or property</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RES 3693:</td>
<td>\textit{grbw/wbr'}/ws\textit{wtr/}</td>
<td>bytsm/y'ā/whtbs/wgrhtswv/</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES 4932:</td>
<td>\textit{bny/wshd'[t]/}</td>
<td>bytn/byhn/whtbs/wmswds/wgrhts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ry 463:</td>
<td>\textit{br'w/wstb'/}</td>
<td>bytsmy/[r]b'n/wk(1) grhtswv/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Work or action</td>
<td>Parts of structure or property</td>
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<td>Rx 463: (cont.)</td>
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<td>Jamme 121: br'/ws'w/'</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES 3962: š'm/wqny/wbr'/wr'rb/</td>
<td>byts/mrd'm/w'htbs/ws'hrtsww/w'mt'(s)m/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamme 118: š'm/wqny/w'sy/wr'rb/</td>
<td>by'thwy/fś/w'htbhw/ws'swdhw/ws'sqfthsw/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wbny/ws'htsw/</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jamme 119: š'm/wr'rb/</td>
<td>byts/yfs/ws'htbs/ws'hrtsww/ws'sqfsws/</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES 3882: qny/wr'rb/</td>
<td>byts/(y)'d/w'htbs/ws'hrtsww/</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES 3858: (This text was fully analysed by Rhodokanakis, KT II, 41-95.)</td>
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As many as thirty six houses were involved in the purchase, and in each case one quarter of the property was bought. The purchases were concluded in 10 deals, a varying number of houses being included in each deal. The verbs used are qny/w'sy/w's'm, l.6. In line 6: rb'/by'ty/ddr'/w'htbsww/ ws'hrtsmysw/; in lines 7-8: wrb'/by't/bnw/nhrbt w'htbs/ws'hrts; and srht alone six other times. In two deals of purchase of houses only byt and byt are given without any other parts; line 9.)

Two recent and rather detailed studies closely bearing on these texts are M. Hofner, UTQK, ZDMG, cv. 1, 1955, 74-80; and A. Jamme IHYT, in connection with his Jamme 118; 119; 121. As I find that my findings differ from their respective views I propose to proceed with my examination making reference to their interpretations where relevant.
In seven out of eight cases, RES 3858 being excluded for the time-being, byt is mentioned along with 'htb or htb—the latter once in RES 3963—and srht (followed by the suffix sww, which seems to indicate that srht might be plural,) or srhty in the dual (Jamme 118); and the restored srhts in RES 4932. htb and srht occur alone without byt in Jamme 121. In five cases srht follows htb or htb without the intervening mention of any other part of structure or property; in one case, RES 4932, mswd intervenes, and in another, Jamme 118, mswd and msqft intervene. In one case, Ry 463, srht directly precedes htb. Other parts of the structure or property are mentioned in one or another of the texts: mswd, twice; nfs, three times; mt, twice; msqft, twice; krf, once; and msq, once.

It is clear that the combination byt-htb-srht is the only recurrent one in these texts, —RES 3858 excepted and Jamme 121 being a special case. Of the eight texts four are house building ones: RES 3963; 4932; Ry 463; Jamme 121; two are building cum purchase texts: RES 3962 and Jamme 118; and two are house purchase texts: 3882 and Jamme 119. And since both building and purchase texts are in a sense house-deed texts, it is clear that in these texts the essential identification combination is byt-htb-srht; it is in a sense the minimum sine qua non.

In a house-deed the essential thing, one expects, is the definition of the land on which the building stands and the statement of the nature of the structure or building through which the personal
right to the land, as developed, is established or confirmed, as against
the communal or public ownership exercised by state or temple. This
aspect of right to land through development, 'ihya' al-mawât, is
further underlined by the presence of kls/gl/m: "all of them as property",
in RES 3882; 3962; 3963; Jamme 119; of klmw/gl/m in Jamme 118; and of
kls/gl/m in Jamme 121; followed by bbgl in RES 3963; Jamme 119; 121;
and by bbrg/*nby/w*ly in RES 3882; 3962; Jamme 118. Cf. my Mqi, II,
421-2; Höfner, UTQK, 80; Rhodokanakis, St. II, 116; Id., "Zum Siedlungs-
wesen im alteren Sudarabien", 95. The absence of kls/gl/m/bbrg/" from
RES 4932 presents a contrario argument supporting my viewpoint, for in
that text bbyl/bbyhn is a temple. It might also be relevant to point out
that the "builder" there was a king of qîtân, SHR GYLN bn *BSBH.
(Re 463, a poorly preserved text, has kl[s]m/gl/m, but this is not
followed by bbrg/"; but cf. RES 3965,2-4.)

This basic right to "house and land" seems to have been
adequately expressed by bbyt - *htb - srht. bbyt: "house", *htb: "out-
side walls, precinct walls", and srht: "courts, open areas" within the
*htb enclosure but without the bbyt.

*htb: "precinct wall". Cf. Arabic haṭîm, a semi-circular wall, about
one meter in height, standing opposite the north wall of Ka'ba
with its two ends about six feet away from the two corners of
that wall of Ka'ba. The space between it and Ka'ba is called
al-hijr, literally "what is rendered prohibited, inaccessible;
what is walled off"; cf. Qur'an xxv,53: hijr-an mahjur-an, also
mahjar: "prohibited area or land, reserve", normally associated
in Arabic sources with 'aqyāl al-yamān; cf. also mḥgrthmū, GIH 546,11. hatīm is sometimes identified with al-hījr, either by association or probably because of its fa'īl (passive) form, as if it indicated the space walled off by a hatīm, or, by a hatīm(?). Another name for hatīm is jādir: "wall", and Taj adds a tradition that the wall was also called jādir and comments that the space walled off by it could have been called jādir, like hatīm; Taj, art. jādr. (Cf. tajdīr, "the act of imposing a ban on fields, or preventing by some forcible means or threat of force, their cultivation in any way"); R.B. Serjeant, 'Two tribal law cases', JRAS, 1951, 44. Serjeant comments, "It seems derived from jaddara in the sense of, "to wall, enclose with a wall"; ibid.) hatīm is used in Arabic exclusively for the wall outside Ka'ba; cf. Līsān, art. ḥim. Its etymology was not clear to Arabic lexicographers and linguists. It was claimed that hatīm derived from hatama, either in the sense of, "to push towards, to crowd to", whence hatīm meant "the place of crowding" because the pilgrims crowded towards it; or from hatama in the sense of, "to break", whence hatīm meant "the part which was left broken" (i.e. unraised, not built again or restored) when the rest of Ka'ba was rebuilt before Islam. Another claimed etymology says that in pre-Islamic times

A tradition from A'īsha, the Prophet's wife, claimed that the Prophet had said that al-bayt, i.e. Ka'ba, had included al-hījr. When Ka'ba had to be rebuilt in 683 C.E., after it had been damaged by fire during the besiegement of Ibn al-Zubayr in Macca by the forces of the Umayyad Yazīd I, Ibn al-Zubayr included al-hījr in the rebuilt Ka'ba. But when al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf defeated Ibn al-Zubayr and occupied Macca the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, ordered him to pull down and cut out the part of Ka'ba extending over al-hījr and to restore the north wall to its same position before 683 C.E., which is its position now. Cf. EI, art. Ka'ba; and Azraqī, Aḵbār Makka, (ME), I, 109, 132-138.
times people used to take oaths there and that it "broke" those who were liars. Cf. Lisan, art. htm. This uncertainty about the etymology of hāṭiṃ and the absurdity of the interpretations point to the possibility that hāṭiṃ was a loan-word in the dialect of Mecca. Comparable usages from related roots in Arabic are: hāṭiṃ al-jaḇal = kāṭiṃ al-jaḇal = kāṭb al-jaḇal: "side of a mountain"; Lisan, artt. ḥtīm and ḥāṭīm; and kāṭiṃ: "obstacle, hindrance", said to have been used by the Prophet to refer to what detained him or held him back from coming out to meet someone; some authorities explain it as, and equate it with, kāṭb "an important matter", but others derive it from kāṭama: "to hold back"; ḥāṭāya, art. kāṭīm. Cf. also kāṭama al-‘adīma = kāṭa ḥāṣṣiyya-hu "to sew, to edge, to hem, the borders of a piece of leather". Cf. also kīṭm = khūḍm: "side, edge", of a receptacle or bag or the like; Lisan, art. kīṭm.

Rhodokanakis, KT II, 92, renders ḥṭb, RES 3858,6, as "Grund, Fundament" on the basis of the "opposition" of ḥṭb – srht in inscriptions known to him. He could not give any etymology. ḥṭb has also been rendered by him as "Erdgeschoss", ZIAI, I, 51 and n.9; as "Unterbau" by Höfner, UTK, 74; and as "substructure" by G. Ryckmans, Mus. LXIV, 1951, 117; ad Ry 463,3. A. Jamme, IIHYT, 184, in a comprehensive re-examination of the meaning of ḥṭb, says, "This interpretation is disproved by Jamme 121,2, where ḥṭb means 'a kind of building', for the following reasons. (1) ḥṭb and srht are not, as usual, coordinated (e.g., Jamme 119,2-3), but subordinated; it is difficult to understand how a "foundation" could have "upper rooms". (2) ḥṭb has a name which is only used for locality, house, well, etc." (He then gives a third reason which does not arise from the text but rests on "evidence" from archaeological findings on the site of the house Yafāṣ. I shall discuss it later.) In this text, Jamme 121, there is no mention of byṭ. ḥṭb: "precinct wall", answers the points arising from Jamme 121.
It is "a kind of building", it can have š ş h t i: "open areas, courts", subordinated to it, either in the sense of being walled in by it or of being adjacent to it; and it is a locality or structure that can have a name. And as h t b in the singular is used in Jamme 121, and as it seems to have belonged on the site of the house Y F F , it might have referred only to one wall, i.e. on one side of the precinct, which would make it more feasible for it to have a name. Jamme, in his third "reason" referred to above, suggests rendering h t b as "workshop, workroom". He compares a number of usages from "related" roots in Arabic and Hebrew pertaining to "wood, firewood, chopping wood, sculpture (or more precisely "carving")" in support of this meaning and then says, "The presence of k l preceding h t b in Jamme 119 does not offer any difficulty; there were several small rooms in the north section of the building Y af a s. As a matter of fact, the excavators have found in these rooms several crucibles used by coppersmiths. My translation of h t b is in line with that of "Magazin" proposed by H. Höfner (*WZK*, 40 (1933), p. 33), which may now be more precisely defined with the help of the new archaeological evidence, suggested by Jamme 118."; ibid., 184. Höfner's "Magazin" was a piece of guess-work based on firm ground of etymology, and Höfner herself did not adhere to it; cf. h t b: "Unterbau", UTOK, 74. The archaeological "evidence suggested by Jamme 118" is a peculiar representation of facts. Conti Rossini has rendered h t b as "granary" by comparing Arabic k h i b: "fertility, abundance"; *BSO*, IX, (1923), 605; cf. also CR-CL, 155, and Rhodokanakis, Kohlen, 50 and note 2.

In Minaean h t b is attested in RES 2849, 2: h t b/wr[...rht; and h t b is attested in RES 2916, 2: w b n y / h t b. Both texts are fragmentary and offer no clear context that would make unfeasible the rendering of h t b as: "outside wall, precinct wall".
htb is also attested in another Namae text, Tawfik's text, as edited by Kami, Musabati, Faras, RES 3012, 15. Tawfik's text, as edited by Kami, Musabati, Faras, RES 3012, is undoubtedly a misprint, for in the note, 6, he writes it wthbtm and refers to the wrong reading of RES 3012, 15. Tawfik's text is in six lines in place of RES 3012, the beginning and ends of lines of Tawfik's text reads, /wyyny/bny/hgr[n/qrnw/byty\sm/yfjn/whtbn/. The space between hgr and /fjn is no less than nine letters, and the presence of bnt/ which should be corrected (s) before yf occurs six times in RES 3012, 15. Tawfik's text reads, /wyyny/bny/hgr[n/qrnw/byty\sm/yfjn/, which makes RES 3012 unacceptable. The passage above should be restored as /wyyny/bny/hgr[n/qrnw/byty\sm/yfjn/. Kami's hgr[n/ is obviously copied from RES 3012, 15. Tawfik's text is in six lines in place of Halevy's and Glaser's texts as edited by Hommel, Nami's hwthbn, II, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/ or Nami's hwthbn, 1, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/, Nami's hwthbn, II, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/ or Nami's hwthbn, 1, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/.

For the mention of hgr - hbr, six times in RES 3012, 15. Page 6 of this article, one finds hgr - hbr occurs twice in that text. Lines 6 and 7-8 of this text have the same meaning as elsewhere, hbr, hgr, hwthbn.

In this text the same meaning as elsewhere, hbr, hgr, hwthbn, Nami's hgr[n/ is obviously copied from RES 3012, 15. Tawfik's text is in six lines in place of Halevy's and Glaser's texts as edited by Hommel, Nami's hwthbn, II, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/ or Nami's hwthbn, 1, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/.

Nami's hwthbn, II, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/ or Nami's hwthbn, 1, 4, reads /hwthbn/ in place of /hwthbn/.
been based on the apparent opposition of ḫrb and srḥt; "upper rooms". But this "opposition" is not attested in all such texts. In RES 4932 ṣawd intervenes between the two terms, and in Jamme 118 ṣawd and ṣeqft intervene. srḥt; "upper rooms" has also influenced the interpretation of other building terms which occur in such texts, and it will be necessary to re-examine, as briefly as possible, the meanings of these terms. But first I would like to discuss srḥt.

srḥt; "courts, open areas". Cf. my NQ1,II, 424, n. 1, quoted in full on p. 5 of this article. Cf. further, the following usages from modern South Arabian dialects: ṣarbā: "a large square; a wide road; an open area or space between houses; a vestibule, a fore-court, of a house"; cf. Landb., Gl-Dat., 2125. ṣarbā in Aden, according to an informant of mine, is "a fore-court, or, a part of a fore-court; built raised in the form of a platform or a terrace". In these usages the main elements of the meaning of ṣarbā are: openness, space, relation to buildings or houses, and being a kind of floored or levelled ground. Of special interest is ṡarḥ, pl. ṣagrab = ṣawḥ, pl. ṣawḥāh; "an interior courtyard or court, 'cortile interno', of a mosque"; cf. E. Rossi, Arabo Parlato a San'a, 158. srḥt, as said above, occurs six times in RES 3858. In one of these cases, srḥts in line 8, it is a corrected reading. Rhodokanakis, who edited the text as we have it now, says in the note to this, KT II, 93, "Glaser: [François Glase... mir scheint auf dem Ab[en]...] deutlich, das zweite aber zu korrigiert". So evidence for ṣawḥ ṣaḥ is available. Rhodokanakis's correction of ṣawḥ to srḥt must have seemed inevitable both in the context of ḫrb, immediately preceding it, and in the context of srḥt, mentioned five other times in the same text. But in the light of ṣarbā = ṣarb the reading srḥt could have been a correct form after all. In ESA it could have been either an exact equivalent of srḥt, which would prove beyond doubt that srḥt indicated an open
area or a court, or something different from srht but still akin enough to replace it in the combination byt - htb - srht. In the latter case one can compare Arabic suwah = al-najwatu min al-'ard: "prominent rough land or terrain"; and saha, used to describe a kind of saha "open area, yard", which means: 'ard-un la tumbitu shay-an: "land in which nothing grows"; cf. Taj and Lisan, art. swh. In this sense swht in RES 3858,8, as against srht elsewhere in the same text, emphasises, by contrast, the "built and levelled" nature of srht. And in this sense swht would be the equivalent of Sabean gblt; cf. Fakhry 112 + 113 + 114 + 115 [= Fakhry 5] + 115: wdd'l/w'llhyhw/bny [/]dwsp/s'ilw/w [qnyw/by]tn/yrgr/wk1/srhtsw/w gblthw[/]. (The spaces left in the transcription here indicate the ends of the parts of the text.) G. Ryckmans translates: (from s'ilw onwards) "ont acheté et [acquis la maï]son Yagūr, et toutes ses superstructures, et son territoire". In CIH 435 the purchase of byt and gblt is mentioned, and the combination byt - gblt is repeated three times. gblt is rendered there "fundus" by comparing Hebrew gbul: "territory". One can also compare Arabic jabl = saha: "open area, yard", and jablatu al-'ard = galabatu-hā: "the roughness, the hardness, of land"; cf. Lisan, art. jab. Both these Arabic usages correspond to Arabic suwah and saha, cited above for comparison with ESA swht. The mention of gblt next to srht in Fakhry's text is, in my view, somewhat parallel to the use of swht in RES 3858,8 among five other cases of srht elsewhere in the text. (htb is not attested in Sabean, but srht - gblt in Fakhry's text partly corresponds to htb - srht of Qitian and Minaean texts; for htb could have enclosed undeveloped, or, rough terrain, other than srht, the developed and levelled terrain. A full equation of gblt and htb would be contradicted by the fact that htb is governed by verbs of construction such as br'/wsrwtr, Jamme 121. On the other hand, the fact that gblt meant open land is further supported by RES 4923,4: f]qf/gblthw/ "a ouvert (à l'irrigation) son territoire".)
Of special interest and significance is grfrt in CIH 132, which reads:

[........................bnyw/by]
1. thaw[y]hsb/bly/grthm/1't
2. wtny/msqfn/mrcy/wm*rby/hyt/af
3. htn/

The photographic plate of the squeeze of the text shows the last sign of line 2 as 0, and the editors of CIH have emended it as a doubtful ♦. The proportions of this incomplete sign make it slightly smaller than the other signs of 0 in the text, but they also make it look rather too long and too favy curved for the middle curve of the signs of ♦ there. The emendation as ♦ is feasible, particularly in the context of grthm, line 1, to which hty/srtn must have referred. But an emendation as ♦ need not be ruled out.

In the light of swht, RMS 3858,8, and srht, ibid., passim, grthm = hty/srtn, in CIH 132, need not be too much of an anomaly; it might even be a helpful reading or variant. In CIH 132,1: bly/grthm we have prima facie evidence for srht being a piece or an area of land on which a house could be built. This usage of grht might find explanation in grht = swht, for swht, as shown above, could have meant "a yard, a piece of rough undeveloped terrain or land", on which a house could have been built. One would expect that grthm here was a lot of land which had been marked out, and probably demarcated or walled, and thus could be called both grht and swht.

As for the meaning of msqfn/mrcy/wm*rby/hyt/" and its bearing on the meaning of srht, I propose to discuss it later, along with the meanings of other building terms occurring in the context of grht in all texts.

Rhodokanakis, St. II, 33, held that Sabean grht was collective of srh. In CIH 132,2-3, srtn, after hty, is obviously singular, and even if one is to argue that it is probably gr(w)tn and not grh tn, it is hardly possible to deny that it refers to
srh

srhtmw, line 1, where srh, therefore, should be singular. It is also obviously singular in CIH l.4: srhtmw/tfd: "their open area (or, courtyard) TTP"; cf. further under footnote '5(e) to this article. It is also singular in Ry 540, which reads:

1. š'trn/bn/yq'n/bny/whwtrn/whsqrn/š'rthmw/myr/b'ttr/

until it says,

2. /wrt/h/š'ttr/w'lmqh

G. Ryckmans, Mus., 70, 1957, 98-99, renders srhtmw: "leurs superstructures", and rtbh, l. 2, as: "il les a mises sous le protection"; and in the note, ibid., 100, he says, "rtbh, suffixe fém. sing., se rapportant à srh, subst. fém. plur. Cf. CIH 563 + 596.5: ws'tn/gwytn/[d]bth, "dem die (Schickungen der) Zeit führen ihre Strafverhängung auf Umwegen (ans Ziel)"; Rhodokanakis, dans Anz. Ak. Wiss. Wien, Ph.-Hist. Kl., 1933, p. 38, 40. Le suffixe se rapport au plur. fém. s'tn (p. 41, n. 12)." In this passage, and even in Rhodokanakis's translation, s'tn, "Zeit", is singular; what is plural is the conjectured and unwarranted "Schickungen". CIH 563 + 956 (not 596), 5 reads: dy'dwn/š'ly/š'n/mbrn/wlyst/dbhw/šrb'm/ws'tn/gwytn/[d]bth, which I render: "whosoever transgresses against this edict let them punish him four (nights ?); and (as for) the time, grievous (or, ruinous) shall its punishment be."

Notes:

'srb'm: "four (nights ?)"; Arabs usually calculated duration of time by nights, and 'rb'm agrees with a feminine noun. Cf. Qurʾān v.142: wa-wā'adnā musā thalāthina laylat-an wa-'atmnā-hā bi-'asr-in. The word for "nights" can be omitted when duration of time is obviously meant; cf. Qurʾān ii,234: yatarabbaga bi-'anfusihimna 'arbsta 'ashhr-in wa-'asbr-an, where 'asbr cannot refer to 'asbr. 'srb'm: "four (nights)" is more feasible than "four (times)" of CIH, and is obviously in line with s'tn: "time, duration", after it.
The fact that grfrt in Ry 540,1 is governed by verbs bny/whwtrn/whsqrn need not in itself indicate that grfrt was a "superstructure", but simply a kind of "structure". Cf. RES 4627,2: *ə* w/whny/whwtr/wṣqr/ḥrt; RES 3915,1-2: *s* w/(w)h(w)(2)tr/wṣqr/ḥrt/maqyt/mḥlmw; and also RES 3913,2; cf. also RES 4775,1-2: br*w/whw(2)trn/wḥbn/wḥb*n/wṣqrn/mḥdmw, also RES 3911,1-2.

The other cases of grfrt and grfr in Sabaean and Minaean texts will be discussed as they come in the course of the following discussion. We have now to deal with three questions relevant to the interpretation of grfrt and grfr:

(a) The number of grfrt that a single "house" could have had, according to our known texts; and

(b) The relation of grfrt to grfr, and hence the meaning of grfr; and

(c) The meaning of the other structural and architectural terms which occur in the context of grfrt or grfr.

(a): In CIH 339 bis,1-2, we have: bythmw/n'mn/wmswdhw/tnrn/wkl/grhtw. Here grht, although Sabaean, need not in itself necessarily be collective, as indicated above. The context of kl also need not preclude grht from being singular, for kl can indicate plurality, "alle", and entirety, "ganz"; cf. Hofner, ASG, 137. In Ry 463 we have: bytsmy/[r]b*n/wk(1)grhstw, where grht, as the suffix -sww after it indicates, can be either dual or plural; cf. Hofner, ASG, 34. But even here kl need not necessarily
indicate plurality alone. byt - šrhtsww, without kl, is attested in the qitbānī texts RES 3882; 3962; 3963. Jamme 119,2-3 reads: byts/ yfs/wkl/ "htbs(3)"wšrhtsww/wnfššww/ wmsqfts/; and if kl is to be taken as extending its meaning to what is after hhtbs, then kl, in relation to šrht at least, seems to indicate entirety rather than plurality, for in Jamme 118, a text pertaining to the same House YFS of Jamme 119, we have: bythw/yfs/w'htbhw/....../warhtyhw, where šrhty is dual. In RES 3902, No. 141,2, we have šrhtyhw/wb... This qitbānī text is badly damaged, but the suffix -hw most probably refers to a single house. In RES 3858, qitbānī, we have byt - šrht, 1. 7 (twice) and 1. 9; bytw (dual) - šrhtsmy (du-al), 11. 6-7; bytw (dual) - hhtbsmy - šrhtsmy, 1. 6; byt - hhtbs - šrhts, 1. 8; and byt (plural) - šrhts, 11. 8-9.

RES 3340, Minaean from al-'Ula, reads:

2. ...lm'd/bbyth/wd/bn/šntn/wqdmh...

3. ...šrhttm/wkl/hynm/w'lwhn/w'st...

4. ...št't/fw/hwhtsm/wmdbhtsm/w....

This inscription is badly damaged from all sides. šrhttm, 1. 3, is the plural of šrht and not of šrht; cf. note 6 to this article, below. A full interpretation and discussion of these lines of RES 3340 are given below under part (b), pp. 30-34 of this article.

RES 2789,2, Minaean from HašIn, reads: byts/yfs/wšrhts/; šrht here can be either singular or plural, as in qitbānī and Sabæan. RES 3021,3, Minaean from Baraqish, reads: šrht/mhtnn/dšntn/wkl/'zlt /w'dbthy/wšths: "the court of the banqueting hall dšNTN (or, of the canopy) and all the drainage ducts (or, platforms) and the repairs of its (i.e., the court's) middle parts", where šrht is singular; cf. the discussion of this translation under Footnote 5 (f) to this article, below.

From this analysis we see that there is evidence for one house having two šrht, Jamme 118; and a number of two šrht also
probably applies to most, if not all, of the cases in Qitbānī texts where we have स्रित्सय. The two स्रित्र in this case could have been the fore-court and the back-yard, or, probably, the rest of the open areas of the house. One is reminded here of the practice in Islamic house-deeds. In a number of house-deeds in A. Grohmann, Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library, I, Cairo, 1934, we find the formula: 'a'rağu-hu wa-'afrayatu-hu: "its open areas and its fore-courts"; cf. ibid., Texts 64,12; 65,10; 66,9; 67,12; 68,10; and their respective translations pp. 213, 223, 233, 240, 248. In Arabic lexica 'arağ is considered as synonymous to सर्कङ; cf. "सर्कङ: The court or open area of a house, ...... its 'arağ, or its सर्कङ, which means the same"; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. In cases where only one स्रित्र might have been indicated as belonging to one house, स्रित्र might have covered the whole open area around the house, unless one takes it as indicating a single court or yard on one side of the house. The use of स्रित्र in the plural, for which there is no definite evidence, could, if admitted, either have referred to courts or yards divided from one another, or have been a legal safe-guard to cover every part of the property against any subsequent contingency; cf. the use of the plural 'a'rağu-hu wa-'afrayatu-hu in reference to single houses in the Islamic house-deeds referred to above.

(b): स्रित्र is attested in CII 338,3; RES 2771,4 and RES 2869,3. Its plural स्रित्र्तम is attested in RES 3340,3, quoted in the preceding part. Rhodokanakis examined the first three cases and concluded that स्रित्र: "upper-chamber", St., II, 33-35, or "terrace", ZIAI, I, 49-51, had in these texts a sacral usage as a place on which offerings were made; cf. pp. 3-4 of this article. I propose to re-examine the meaning of स्रित्र in all these texts.
CIH 338,3, according to Gl. 1209, published by Rhodokanakis, AST, II, 173-4, reads: /ym/tqdm/tşqr/kwrm/wmhy/*srhn/rhrn. Beeston, SI, 37, renders this as: "at the time when he took charge of the completing of the fire-altar, and of the shrine of the upper-chamber RhḤN". Rhodokanakis renders wmy/rhrn/rhrn as: "und des Altars (auf) der Terrasse (namens) RhḤN"; l. cit., 174. In both translations mhy is taken as genitive to tşqr. Rhodokanakis takes a number of terms which occur in CIH 338 as "sacral", and one of them is mhy. The usages of hy and its derivatives are discussed in Appendix I to this "Thesis" in connection with the verbal usage hy in the Achoury inscription, a new text which is edited and published in that Appendix. According to my conclusions there mhy in CIH 338,3 is a magdar with mhr, and means: "extension" in the sense of an addition to what already existed. Wmhy in 1. 3, cited above, is accusative as object to tqdm; cf. the same text, 1. 10: wtqdm/msthrn/*m/*mhr/*mhytn. Rhodokanakis also takes kwrm, 1. 3, as "Feuerherde", rendered by Beeston as "fire-altar". Yet CIH 338, 10-11 reads: wywm/t(11)qdm/m1t/mqldtm/*dy/qdm/kwrm, which Beeston renders: "and at the time when he took charge of (the building of) a hundred water-channels (?) up to the front of the fire-altar"; SI, 37. Rhodokanakis renders mqldtm as "water-basins"; l. cit., 176. The awkwardness in the sense which Beeston finds in rendering mqldtm as "water-channels" is really due to the erroneous interpretation of kwrm, which should be rendered "pool". (2) Thus it becomes clear that in the passage of CIH 338 quoted above there is no context of sacral things. However, RhḤN occurs in RES 4190, 4-5: t'lb/rymm/b1/rhrn, where RhḤN is a temple or sanctuary of TLB Ryhm; cf. also CIH 350, 351, 3. I do not think it possible to rule out that srhn here referred to the temple itself or to a part thereof, and in the latter case it might well have meant "terrace", whether on the roof level or just as a platform rising from ground level, a kind of paved inner court. But if it meant the temple itself, then it might have referred to the "lofty
building" of the temple. Cf. pp. 33 ff, of this article.

RES 2771, 4 reads: wywn/61*/vd/ bhrm/m'nd/tyb/.

Rhodokanakis, St., II, 33, took arhm here as a proper noun; and later in ZIAI, I, 50 he rendered the passage above as: "and when he offered in the (temple) SNUM a well-prepared, 'zuge-
richtetes' (offering) of tyb-perfume". He then comments, "Here the temple of Wadd is also called after "terrace"; cf. above Gl. 1209 (CINH 338)". I render the same passage as: "and when he paid as a tribute to Wadd out of profit a bond for tyb" etc.

Notes:
śl*: "paid as a tribute, discharged an obligation". In RES 3945, 3 and 16 śl* means "tribute", in the sense of obligatory payment or impost. Beeston, SI, 66, ad RES 3945, 3, says: "In min(aean) it has a cult meaning = sany/; but here plainly of temporal tribute, although in line 16 that imposed on NSN is devoted to the 'frklt-priests.' śl*n in RES 3951, 2 is rendered by Beeston, SI, 72 as: "tribute paying serfs" by comparing śl* in RES 3945 and in line with CR-Gl., 255: "subjects bound to pay tribute to masters". The sense of "obligation to pay tribute" is clear in these two usages. In Minaean it is the human who performs or does śl* towards the gods, and the meaning is clearly "to pay the "tribute, to discharge the obligation". This sense of discharging the obligation is further made clearer by the fact that in Minaean inscriptions ś1* is often followed by an account of public structures and expenditure, and that is very often followed by such expressions as bkbwdt/wtkrb

RES 3022, 1; bkbwdtn, RES 2962, 2; bkbwdt/.. wb/fr*hw/fr*.
RES 2774, 2; bkbwdt; Tawfik 103 = Fakhry 126; br/fr*/fr*.
RES 3401, 5; bn/fr*/kwn//twb*1, RES 2980 bis, 4-5; bfr*/
*rd/mk*1n, RES 2973, 3; br*/fr*, RES 2975, 2; RES 2869, 6;
bkrt/ktrbs/, Tawfik, 41. In all these cases ś1* precedes.
These terms, kkbwdt, fr*, krb or krb, indicate the different dues or tributes which were used by the dedicants to defray or meet the expenses of the public structures undertaken. The fact that śl\* is sometimes followed by sqny in the same clause suggests that śl\* and sqny are not exact equivalents; cf. RES 2774, 1: śl*/wbnuy/wsqny; cf. also RES 3401; 2829; 2869. Beeston, SL 66, says that Rhodokanakis compares Arabic sala\*: "pay promptly" with śl\*: "tribute" in RES 3945, 3, 16. I think a more exact equivalent is to be found in Arabic shanay la-hu haqqa-hu = a'ta-hu iyya-hu: "He gave him his due"; = tabarra'a min-hu: "he acquitted himself of it"; and = akhraja-hu min indi-hi: "gave it out, paid it out"; cf. Taj, art. shn*. For ESA ś = Arabic sh, cf. ESA ksr = Arabic hashir: "tax collector". In RES 2771, 4, the passage quoted above, it is possible that in the context of mānd: "bond, bill", śl\* meant: "paid back, discharged the debt obligation"; cf. RES 2774: (1) śl*/wbnuy/wsqny/*\*frt/dqbdm 'tkly/tqwr/sdt/shfm/....(2).... bkbwdt/dyns/\*frt/dqbd, where the last phrase means: "out of dues (or, taxes) which TTR DQB had lent. (or, 'gave as a loan') to him", i.e. dues whose payment had been deferred and were considered as a loan from 'TTR'.

bshrhm: "out of profit". RES 2771 has three śl\* clauses:

(a) 11. 2-3: śl*/\*frt/dqbdm/kl/mbuy/mhfdn.....(3).... bkbwdt/ktrb/*myd*/\*frt/dqbd/*kl/sbrr/wb/fr*/fr's/ w'sr/*sr'k

(b) 1. 4: wwm/śl*/wdm/bshrhm/mēud/tyb/w'fg./wdkh/mwt/ ṭā'nhmn/ according to the text of Tawfik 11; it is the passage discussed here.

(c) 11. 4-5: wwm/śl*/nkrhm/bk[bd/ql](5)fw/tyb/mrkb/\*hly/ hhy/bytn/

In clause (b) bshrhm after śl*/wdm corresponds to bkbwdt/*
in clause (a) and to bk\[bd/ in clause (c). \(^{(3)}\) It is possible, therefore, to assume that s\[bm refers to a material source of dues or tributes. For s\[bm: "profit", cf. Arabic sar\[h and sar\[h = m\[bd, kh\[liq: "pure, free from foreign matter"; cf. L\[so and Taj, ar\[h. Cf. also CR-\[Gl., 225-6, where bgr\[h is hesitantly rendered "in purity". In RES 2771 the dedicant was a trader making these "payments" y\[n\[w\[m/rt\[k\[l/\[m\[r/ m\[r/w\[g\[z\[t/w\[\[sr/w\[l\[m/b\[m\[r/\[t\[t\[r/w\[m\[d/; "when he had made a trading journey to Egypt and Gaza and..." In the context of m\[nd: "document (of debt) bond, bill", cf. below, it is reasonable to suppose that the payment was being made out of the "profit" which had accrued from trading with the "loan" recorded in the m\[nd; cf. RES 2774,2: bk\[w\[d/dyns/\[t\[t\[r/d\[q\[b\[d/; "out of dues (or, taxes) which T\[T\[R \[q\[b\[p had lent (or, allowed as a loan) to him"; cf. above. (Rhodokanakis renders dyns in RES 2774,2 as "imposed"; but cf. CR-\[Gl., 126; and cf. under article dyn.)

m\[nd: "document", as always in ESA. Here it is perhaps "document of debt", in the sense of "bond, bill"; cf. Arabic san\[l: s\[akk al-dayn: "document recording debt, bill"; cf. Munjid, s.v. Rhodokanakis's m\[nd: "ein zugerichtetes (Opfer)"; "a prepared, dressed(?) (offering)" is mere conjecture. In a note to it, ZIAI,1, 50 n. 1, he says, "m\[nd "propped, supported" is the stele erected up-right as a dedication or an act of thanksgiving. Here, however, it is connected with perfumes, and so we have here a somewhat different usage of the term m\[nd." He refers there to his Bodenwirtschaft, p. 185 n. 5, where he explains m\[nd as being equivalent to Arabic musannad (: "supported, propped") because of the particular way of erecting or setting up the votive tables or inscriptions. But is not Rhodokanakis here forcing on ESA m\[nd the semantic relation between German "Aufrichten" and "Zurichten"? 
CL-GL., 225, suggests that mind here might have indicated a certain measure of incense, perhaps "a heap of incense" with a tablet carrying the name of the owner surmounted on it. The reference here is to the practice of the ancient South Arabians mentioned by Theophrastus whereby the producers of incense used to leave their incense stuffs at the temple of the Sun in heaps, each heap with a tablet placed over it giving the number of measures and the price of each single measure etc. This is a feasible interpretation, although it implies a development in the sense of mind for which there is no other evidence. And if accepted, it would still fit with my interpretation of barhm.

The rest of clause (b): mind/tyb/\w^fg_/\w^dhb/\w^mwt_/ 
\d^nbnm raises two questions relevant to the interpretation of barhm.

(A): Were tyb/\w^fg_/\w^dhb/\w^mwt_/ kinds of incense and aromatic substances, or were they kinds of precious metals or coins? The former alternative is the currently and generally held view, although \w^fg_/ is completely obscure and \w^mwt_/ does not seem to me to give satisfactory sense. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 37 n. 3, on the strength of Grohmann's reading of the squeeze, read \w^dhb/\w^mwt_/\w^bn and rendered the first two words as: "macerated dahab-aroma", by comparing Arabic ntha: "to macerate, to mix". But a case can be made for taking these terms as indicating precious metals or coins: tyb: "pure gold"; \w^g_\w^z_/(?): "silver" of Arabic fidda; and \w^dhb/\w^mwt_/: "debased, adulterated gold", or even "bronze". (4)

(B): \d^nbnm: This is the reading shown in the traced photograph of the inscription given in Tawfik, \w^hil/, plate 29, fig. 59. But in plate 25, fig. 52, where it appears untraced underneath the three top lines shown traced there, it is not easy to see the horizontal stroke of |, although it must be admitted that that is also true of | of \w^dhb, two words before.

|
This might be due to the fact that in plate 25 fig. 52 line 4 of the inscription is slightly out of focus. But the reading 'b'nhmn need not be ruled out; it finds support in Glaser's reading mwtb/nhmn and in Grohmann's reading from the squeeze as mwt/bn; cf. supra. Nānī, BM, 16, reads dhnhmn without any reservation and says it is the name of a place; but he offers no further comment. G. Ryckmans, in RES, following Rhodokanakis in reading wdhb/mwt/bn/ renders wdhb/mwt/bn/hmn as: "et de dhshab macéré de Ḫamān(?);" and in the note thereto in RES he says, "hmn serait un n. pr. de lieu?". Glaser, Altd. Studien, 38, reads mwb/nhmn and renders it: "für die Götterhalle von ᮿmān"; ibid., 40. It is the only case for a place ᮿmān that is cited in RNP, and I cannot trace any other text in which this name appears. If the reading ᮿnhmn is to be accepted, then it has to be linked syntactically to mwt, or to wdhb/mwt, immediately before it: "macerated dh-incense of ᮿmān(?)," or, dh-incense which ᮿmān macerated(?), if one takes mwt as a finite verb. In the latter case ᮿmān would be a personal name. The same two alternatives for ᮿnhmn can still apply if one takes dhb as "gold"; cf. supra. No serious objection can be made to any of these interpretations, but at the same time one feels that no one of them offers a very satisfactory sense. But the reading 'b'nhmn seems to offer a better alternative, both syntactically and within the context of the clause. In the case of 'b'nhmn it would be easy to accept nhmn as the name of a place, a temple or a sanctuary, and 'b'nhmn would be linked syntactically to ᮼl as indicating the place in which the offering took place. It is also possible to link it to ānd as indicating the name of the place in which the ānd was deposited or had been kept. This reading and these interpretations thereof would make it hardly possible to maintain that bnhmn referred to a temple of Wadd.
Rhodokanakis, St., II, 30, renders this as: "have offered and dedicated to 'Altar of ΚΒΔm the whole repairing and overhauling of their and their (3) brothers' circular passages, "Rundgänge", which lead to (the tower) ΟΒΔn; and the two door-leaves of its superstructure (or, upper-chamber, "Oberbau") and its (the tower's) ramps (or, sloping platforms) and its side-supports and its gateway; and of the superstructure (or, upper-chamber) of (the tower) ΟΒΔn and of the cistern at the foot of (4) the staircase; and the two ascents, "Aufgänge", ΡΥΜn and 'ΣΡΔn and of the whole artistic structure of the staircase of (the ascent) ΡΥΜn to (the tower) ΤΡΔn and they laid sevenfold (in seven landings, "Absätzen"), according to the number (5) of the galleries (one above the other) of the staircase to (the tower) ΤΡΔn; and they covered with asphalt the unevenness (the grooves) of the ramp (or, sloping-platform) (of this tower); and (they set up again) the fire-places of the oven of the altar and the altar for myrrh and the altar for the fragrant wood and (6) they furnished it with a canopy and they bent (bent over) and hollowed and dug out ... and its foundation".

This translation by Rhodokanakis is a classical example of interpretation by a pre-conceived context. The most remarkable interpretation here is the rendering of 'hly as "stairs, steps", to
fit the context of mhwlt: "circular passage, gallery", and arh: "superstructure, upper-chamber"; cf. his St., II, 37.

The reading drs in RES 2869,2 is an emendation of Halevy's gr's and Glaser's dr's. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 32-33, says that the squeeze has a over the trace of another sign, and adds that the word can be read either dr[n] or sr[h]s. He adopts the latter because he thinks it is supported by srh/tbrn, later in the same line, and by CII 1,4: mar'y/fnwt/srhthmw. I adopt the reading dr'n, which I render "the field of seed produce, the cornfield"; cf. below.

I propose to give here a full translation of the passage from RES 2869 quoted on the previous page. In my NQI, p. 20, I translated RES 2869, 5-6 re-interpreting certain terms there. But as I want to reconsider parts of that translation, on one hand, and translate beyond what I did there, on the other, I shall include in my following translation 11, 5-6. The notes to the translation will be given in one footnote, with the individual words or terms marked in letter order within that footnote.

I translate:

2. "rendered as a tribute and offered to 'TR dQhp all the repairing and the overhauling of their water-distributing system (or, water conduit) (a) and the water-distributing system (or, water conduit) of

3. their brothers which (b) had overflooded (c) the field of seed produce (d) and the two sluices (e) of (or, onto) the field of seed produce (c) and its drainage ducts (f) and its edges (or, ridges) (g) and its fallow land (h); and they made even (or, levelled) (i) the damage (or, the broken, breached part) (i) and the low-land cultivation plot (k) at the bottom (l)
4. of the plantations (or, orchards) (m) and the two flights of steps (n) of (i.e. between) the top (or, the upper level) (o) and the valley-lands (p) and all the wall (or, ridge) (q) of the plantations (or, orchards) of the top until the boundary (r) of THEN; and they continued (back) (g) along (or, with the flow of, downstream with) (t)

5. the water distributing system of the plantations (or, orchards) until the boundary of ...N; and they covered with asphalt the slope of the drainage duct and the embankments (sides) of the main duct (or, channel) and the spout of limestone and the spout of wood (u) and

6. its trough (v) and the outlet (or, conduit) (w) and the pool (x) and the small water-holding pits (or, ponds?) (y) [of ?] ... and its bottom.(g)''.

This part of RES 2869 translated here gives the whole account of the work done, preceded in the full text by the names of the dedicants and followed by the formula bfr'/fr'/n and the final invocations. The account falls into three parts: (1) The repairing and overhauling of the damage to the land and the structures, introduced by grt'', 1. 2; (2) The levelling or making even of parts of the structure and the land that had been carried away or probably covered with silt by the torrent-sayl which had overflowed the place, introduced by grb: "to level, to make even"; and (3) The covering with asphalt or bitumen of such parts on which water runs or which hold water, introduced by hnr: "to cover with asphalt"; cf. my No. 20.

A comparable text is to be found in RES 4069, which reads:

5. /*dbw/whq[y]bn

6. msqy/*r[i]hmuw/shbm/b*dn/hbt/whk/k1/[i]q[r

7. hw/w]mbbr*hwlw/makhir/hw/bn/m*rht/rq*m/*dy[y]/llm[t]*d

8. grb]tn/wsr[n]/lg*m/
G. Ryckmans translates this as:

5. ont réparé et mis à exécution [le plan de réparation de]
6. l'ouvrage d'irrigation de leur terre Sahbura [ou Saybum] après qu'il été détruit (et bouleversé) tout son ré[servoir]
7. [et] sa maçonnerie et son terrassement, à partir de la construction de Raq'um [ou Raf'um] jusqu'au terrain irrigué
8. des terrasses et de [la] vallée Lag'um.

Although I disagree with parts of G. Ryckmans's translation, yet the general tenor of the passage is clear; a sayl had apparently destroyed the water works, and the work done to put that damage right is indicated by two terms: 'dwb/wh§[y]hn. G. Ryckmans renders wh§[y]hn as: "et (ont) mis à exécution [le plan de réparation de]", although he compares RES 4085,2; syh: "Planierung" according to Grimm, who compares Eth. §e§§a. German "Planierung" means: "to level, to make even", and so does Eth. §e§§a: "aequare, complanare". §e§§a in RES 4069,5 must have indicated the work of making the site even after the damage done, and the silt and other materials deposited by the sayl. This is the sense of §e, Form II ?, in RES 2869,3; cf. also CIH 648,4; §e§§a: "made even"; cf. footnote 9 ( ) to this article. One can also point out here the "equivalence" of §e§§a with §w§t in RES 3858; cf. supra in this article.

RES 4069 is Boscawen 13. Boscawen's hand-copy of this text, as published in Museon, XLV, 1932, 291, reads: wh§lhn with a clear \ in the place of G. Ryckmans's [?], which he does not justify. Cf. CIH 646,4; §e§§a; the text is badly damaged, but the next line mentions b'r: "wells, cisterns"; cf. Arabic a§lafra: "to repair, to put right". RES 4069,5; 'dwb/wh§lhn could be the equivalent of RES 2869,2; §w§t/w[d]bhty. G. Ryckmans's wh§[y]hn yields reasonable sense, but that in itself need not be enough justification for the emendation.
RES 3340, Minaean from al-'Ula, reads:

2. \( \text{lm}^\text{d/bbyth/\wbar/bn\&ntn/wqdmh} \ldots \)
3. \( \text{srt/hym/w\*lwhn/w\*st} \ldots \)
4. \( \text{strt/dfr/hvhtsm/wmhdhtsm/w} \ldots \)

G. Ryckmans translates:

2. ... pour ajouter (orner le) au sanctuaire de Wadd à partir du toit et de la partie antérieure de ...
3. ... superstructures et tous appartements cloisonnés et chambre haute ...
4. ... du côté de leurs autels à parfums et de leurs autels (à sacrifices sanglants) ...

The last word in 1. 3 should be completed \( w\*st^\text{rt} \), and the first word in 1. 4 should probably be completed as \( ^\text{strt} \). I render lines 3 and 4 as:

3. ... courts and all booths (or, tabernacles) and rugs (or, hangings) of camel-hair and curtains (or, screens) ...
4. ... the curtain(s) (or, screen[s]) facing their front spaces and their altars ....

Notes:

1. \( \text{srt} \) means "courts, court-yards"; this is the plural of \( \text{srt} \), which is attested in Minaean (RES 2789,2) and which is singular. All known examples of Minaean plurals with \( -ht \) whose singulars are attested as well have singulars without \( t \). (6) \( \text{srt} \) in the context here recalls הָאָרָה hammiskan: "the court of the dwelling (or, of the tabernacle)"; Exodus xxvii,9.

\( \text{hym} \) means "booths, tabernacles"; cf. Arabic \( \text{khayma} \) "booth, tent". The basic sense of \( \text{khayma} \) in Arabic is claimed to be "a dwelling"; cf. \( \text{aslu al-takhyimi al-\U{2110}qamatu, fa-summiyat bi-dhalika li-\U{62a9}nna-h\U{6227} tak\U{6269}nu in\U{6227} al-nuz\U{6227}li, fa-summiyat khaymat-an} \) "The original sense of tak\U{6273}y\U{62d3}m is "dwelling", and it (i.e. \( \text{khayma} \)) was called so because it takes place (i.e. is used)
at the time of stopping at (or, staying at) a place, and so it was called khayma"; Lisan, art. khym. Cf. Hebrew miskan: "dwelling, tabernacle". Arabic khayma is attested as "tabernacle" in a religious context; cf. "It is said in a tradi-
tion): al-shahidu fî khaymati allâhi ta'ârsh: 'The martyr is in the Tabernacle of God, beneath the empyrean'"; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Lane, ibid., adds the remark: "This signification of khayma being perhaps taken from the phrase η ἐκπορευσμένον in Rev. xxi,3". G. Ryckmans comments on his translation of ḥumm: "appartements cloisonnés" as follows: "Ḥumm ... "maison de branchage" (J(aussen)-S(avignac)); "tente" (Mordtm.). D'après le contexte, il s'agirait d'appartements cloisonnés de branchages sur les terrasses."

 lwhm: rendered by G. Ryckmans as: "chamber haute" on the assumption that it derives from lw. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 43, considers the penultimate h before the mimation as a suffix which has penetrated to the Minaean Absolute from the suffix h of the Minaean Construct. lwhm is really a qτυλ plural; cf. all the other plurals in ll. 3 and 4. The singula is not attested; it is not to be related to lhtm: "copy", RES 3879,7 (qitbāni). For lwhm: "rugs (or, hangings) of camel-hair", cf. Arabic 'alhaː thawbāni yundafu fī-hima wabaru al-'ibili yalbasu-huma al-ghuja'ta tahta al-dir: "a double garment, or, two length of cloth, wadded with camel-hair which a warrior dons underneath the armour"; Lisan, art. lh; cf. also Exodus xxvi,7: we'āsīta yēfîq yi'izzīm leʾēḥel 'al-hammīškān: "And thou shall make curtains of goats' (hair) as a tent (or, covering) over the dwelling (or, tabernacle)". In pre-Islamic times pilgrims used to give for the covering of Ka'ba strips of coarse camel-hair cloth with which they had covered their sacrificial victims; cf. Azraqi, Akhbar Makka, (Makka Ed.), I, 166.
"curtains, screens"; cf. "curtains, screens"; of. "curtains, screens", l. 4; and of. "curtain, screen", and "curtain, screen", and "curtain, screen", and "curtain, screen", "the hangings, the coverings, of al-Ka'ba", "the hangings, the coverings, of al-Ka'ba", "the hangings, the coverings, of al-Ka'ba"; used for the lengths of cloth draped over al-Ka'ba from outside; cf. Wellhausen, Reste, 109 n. 3. Cf. also Exodus xxvi,1: "and the dwelling (or, the tabernacle) thou shalt make (with) ten curtains" etc. str is attested in a verbal usage in RES 3306 A,1-2: "and the two heads (or, leaders) of the class of (public) administrators and those who keep his door (or, control admission to him (i.e. to "TR)) from among the class of (public) administrators". (7)

L. 4: "the screens"; the restoration of the plural "the screens" puts it in line with all the other plurals in the two lines. In "curtains facing their front spaces and their altars", we probably have something similar to the paroket: "veil", dividing the qodes from the qodes haqodasim; cf. Exodus xxvi,31-33. Cf. the following notes.

dfw: "facing", in the sense that it faces both sides, the front spaces and the altars". The basic sense of dfw is "side", and as an adverb it means: "to the side of, in the direction of, facing"; cf. RES 3317,2 and RES 2814,5.

hwhtsm: "their front spaces". Cf. RES 3854,10: "in the gateway", by comparing Arabic khawkha: "a narrow passage with a door, a wicket", and Eth. hohet dde: "gateway"; ibid., 23. But cf. Arabic khawa: "opening between two things", e.g. "the opening between the front and hind legs of a horse"; and khawa: "to bend oneself over in an arched manner; to leave an opening or space"; Lisan, art. khwy
hwhtm is plural of hw; cf. footnote 6 to this article. Cf. also hhy, RES 2771,5, which Beeston, NOSAL, I, 55-57, compares with Mehri and Shauri hō: "mouth" and renders as: "in front of" (literally, "in the mouth of"); ibid., 55. I take hhy as singular, or perhaps dual, construct of hw, with w here contracted before the suffix -hy. hwhtm: "front spaces" needs some explanation. "Space" is a rather vague term, here meant to indicate the space or part of the tabernacle defined by the framework made of open frames of wood over which the curtains were thrown; cf. Exodus xxvi,15-16. It is perhaps the shape of the frames, like a naı̈ve, which is indicated by hw. "Front" is perhaps an integral part of the meaning of hw, cf. Beeston, 1. cit.; hw indicates the space or part of the tabernacle from the entrance to the "veil", cf. the note to 686093, l. 4, on the previous page. RES 2771,4-5 reads: šḻ/nkhrn/ bḏ/ḏj̱fw̱/tḇ/mrkb/ hly/hhy/bytn, which I render: "offered as a tribute to Nkhrn out of a due a quantity of incense (or, perfume) surmounted on (or, in addition to) fruits in the front space of the temple". [For bḏ/ḏ: "out of a due", cf. footnote 3 to this article; and for mrkb/ hly: "surmounted on (or, in addition to) fruits", cf. under article hly.] In the Biblical tabernacle the front part, or holy place, contained the table for shewbread, cf. Exodus xxvi,35: ṣw̱sm̱a \*et-hassulhan mish lappārōket; and it also contained the altar of incense, cf. Exodus xxx,1: ṣw̱as̱a na mishbeaḥ mīqtar.

Rhodokanakis, St., I, 42-43, maintains that Minaean nouns ending in -hy are masculine plural in the construct. Beeston, Bibl. Or., 10 (1953), 200, (ad Ṉm̱, hhy) maintains that in view of Tawfik 4: ḇmṟhy/w̱ḏ/mṟḏẖ/ṯtṟ/dq̱bḏ Minaean nouns ending in hy are either singular or dual in the construct. The occurrence of hwhtm, plural of hw, seems to support Beeston's view that nouns like hhy are not plural construct.
The close parallelism between the terms mentioned in these two partly damaged lines of RES 3340 and the component parts of the Biblical tabernacle makes the rendering of gršbtm as "courts" obviously clear, both through the context and through etymology.

What is striking in RES 3340, 3-4 is the fact that all these terms are mentioned in the plural.

(c): A number of terms, mostly pertaining to architecture or structures, occur in the same texts as arh or gršt and have been rendered into senses and meanings which have been influenced, in varying degrees, by the context of arh or gršt. In the light of the meaning I now maintain for gršt and even for arh these terms have to be re-interpreted or re-examined. Some such terms have already been re-examined by me, as in the case of RES 3340 and 2869, cf. footnote 5 to this article. But as I feel that the main subject of this article is the examination of the meaning of arh and gršt, I propose to examine the rest of the terms in a footnote to this article. (8)

This brings to a close the relevant examination of the individual cases of arh and gršt in ESA. Cases of gršt which have not been individually examined in the text of this article are examined or referred to in the footnotes, especially footnote 8, in connection with the other terms which occur in the context of arh and gršt.

Of all the cases examined only two had any connection with a structure of a sacral nature. They are gršbtm: "courts", RES 3340, 3; and gršhn/šbn, CII 338, 3. I suggested above that gršhn there could have
referred to the whole "lofty building" of the temple, or to a part of the structure thereof, e.g., a terrace, whether on roof level or ground level, or a court or inner court.

(1) "court" is the well attested sense of *ṣarb* and *ṣrūth* in ESA. For "inner court", cf. the modern *Ṣantā* usage of *ṣarb*: "inner court of a mosque"; cf. above, p. 13 of this article, and E. Rossi, *Arabo Parlato a San'a*, 158.

(2) "terrace" is easy to link with "court", as it only implies "an open space at a raised level"; cf. the definition of Arabic *ṣarb*: *al-ṣarbatu min al-ʿardī mā istamī wa-zahara ... wa-in lam yaghūr fa-hum sarbat-un baʿdaʾ an yakinā mustawiy-an hašan-an*: "Ground that is even and raised, and even if it is not raised it is (still) *ṣarb* when it has been made even and in good order"; cf. *Lisan* and *Tāj*, art. *ṣarb*; cf. also above, p. 5 of this article. For "terrace on roof level", one can compare the parallel usage of Eth. *ṣarb* quoted by Rhodokanakis, *St.*, II, 33-34; idem., *ZIAI*, I, 49-50; cf. also above, pp. 3-4 of this article. *ṣhrb*/*ghnb*: "the terrace (at the temple) RJBN" might have indicated a terrace on which offerings were made, as Rhodokanakis suggests in *ZIAI*, I, 50. But this sense is conjectural and should be based mainly on the comparison of the use of Eth. *ṣarb* for Biblical structures of this nature, and it is definitely not dependent on, or implied by, *mby* before it, which should not be interpreted as "shrine", or, "altar" cf. above, p. 20 of this article.
In these two cases where qrubn might have indicated only a part of the structure of the temple RUBN, rubn is not identical with qrubn but is adverbial accusative of place; cf. Höfner, ASG., 112.

(3) qrubn: "lofty building" has no direct evidence from ESA to support it. It is only conjectured from the possible reference of qrubn to the whole temple rubn. This sense of "lofty building" and the reference of qrubn to the whole temple rubn compare well with Eth. qerg: "high eminent building, a temple"; cf. above, p. 4 of this article. Semantically it is not difficult to find parallels to qrubn and qerb: "court, courtyard" > qrubn: "lofty building"; cf. English "court" and German "Hof".

As shown on pp. 2-3 of this article, qarub in Qur'anic, xxvii, 44, was given three main interpretations by the commentators: (1): "a high and lofty place or building"; (2): "court or open area of a house"; (3): "bayt, 'house, or, temple(?)'"; the usage given by Abu 'Ubayd as Ḫimyarī; cf. supra. Usage (2) is the one most favoured by the exegetes and lexicographers, and it is the well attested sense of qarub and qerh in ESA. Usages (1) and (3) can both be compared to qrubn/rubn, where qrubn might have indicated the lofty building of the temple RUBN.

It is thus clear that Qur'anic qarub = bayt, claimed to be a Ḫimyarī usage, finds very tenuous support in ESA. It is quite plausible, therefore, to maintain that Qur'anic qarub: "Lofty building, temple(?)" could have been a direct loan from Eth. qerg, as was
suggested by Nöldeke, Neue Beiträge, 51; cf. also A. Jefferies,
Foss. Voci., 196.
(1) *w*l/*t*ly, after *bh*/*nby/, has always been considered a deity's name and epithet, *t*ly being equated with Arabic *ta*âlâ "may He be exalted" which is the most common invocation after the name Allâh in Islamic Arabic usage; cf. Rhodokanakis, *Kohlan*, 49; Jamme, Pantheon, 113-115, *w*l/*t*ly is attested only in "property" texts; add to the texts cited above: RES 4335; Jamme 343 A and B; Van Lessen 9 and 10. It is partly but reliably restored in RES 3965: /w*l/*t*ly/. It always follows *bh*/*nby/ in Qitbânî texts, outside which it was not attested until the publication of Jamme 540 and Jamme 541. A. Jamme, "Inscriptions des alentours de Nareb (Yemen)", *Cahiers de Byrsa*, V (1955), pp. 269-273. These two texts are Sabaoan boustrophedon inscriptions. Jamme 540 reads:

1. *smw*/*l*/*drh*/*bn*/*yd*/*ly/*1/*sy*/wby/*lmr*/*h*/wqh/*l*
2. *dn*/*dbn*/*dwqh*/*l*/gwlm/*w*l/*t*ly/*l*/wtnh/wb
3. *hs*/strt/*dmrwqh*/

A. Jamme, ibid., 270, translates line 2: "ce bel ouvrage(?), celui de Wâqah'il, en bloc. — et 'Il [est] Très-Haut, — jusqu'à ses limites et se-(3)lon ce qu'a écrit Damarwaqah".

Jamme 541 reads:

1. *krb*/*l*/wtr/*bn*/*dmr*/*ly*/mk
2. *rb*/*sb*/*sy*/hsgm/*kl*/msq
3. *s*/wwqh/*w*l/*s*/tnh/k
4. *rb*/*l*/bdhbw/*hsgm*/wb/*fn
5. *wthw*/wtr/*wwqh*/gwlm/*w*l/
6. *t*ly/

A. Jamme, ibid., 271, translates from line 2 onwards: "a réparti en lots tout le système d'irrigati-(3)on [qu*] il détermina et commanda; et que personne ne revendique contre ka-(4)rib'il à propos de son territoire irrigué des lots ni au sujet de son (5) canal [qu*] il détermina et ordonna, en totalité, et 'Il [est] Très-Haut".
Footnotes 2

w’il/t’ly obviously occurs also in RES 2791, a Minaean text from Mā’in. It is a poor text, and unfortunately we possess no other copy of it except that of Hal. 210. Lines 2-4 were re-edited by Rhodokanakis, St. II, 122, 1. 5 was partly re-edited by Mordtmann, *BME*, 5, and 1. 6 was re-edited by Rhodokanakis, *Kat. Bodenverf., WZKM*, XXXI, 1924, p. 35 n. 6. The text, as it appears now in RES, reads:

1. ks’d( )l/bn/hld/dlly/rswh/kδ/hln
2. bd/’l/mhbns..kw/wk( )nwy/qδmb[s/w
3. msqts( )n/’wd/w(b)n/πrtn/bms( )b’(h)[s/wg
4. n’hs/wmbnyhs/[b]’(δ)nnhs/gwlm/wl/
5. l/twl/hn(m)hm( )wkm
6. b’w( )l/tnh/bmsq(y)/ngw/dn(s)trn

Rhodokanakis’s restoration of lines 2-4 ends with gwlm, 1. 4. No re-editing of what follows, w1/(5)l/twl, has been attempted and that part has been a mystery which yielded no sense. It should be restored as w( )l/t( )ly. At the end of 1. 4 it seems to have been misread as l’t; as for w( )l/t( )ly, no comment is needed. This text, RES 2791, has a number of points in common with Jamme 541 and even with Jamme 540. Of special significance are gwlm in all three texts, and tbn in Jamme 541,3 and RES 2791,6 both of which call for a special note before examining the meaning of the formula w’il/t’ly.

(1) gwlm: This word, coming in the three texts immediately before w’il/t’ly and after the "description" of the property, confirm that Qitbānī glm is a contracted form of Sabaean and Minaean gwlm and not of a hypothetical gllm, through which Rhodokanakis rendered Qitbānī glm as "ingesamt"; cf. Rhodokanakis *KT*, II, 15 n. 5, and my *NQI*,II, 421. Jamme’s "en bloc" and "en totalité" for gwlm in Jamme 540 and 541 follows Rhodokanakis’s Qitbānī glm: "ingesamt", and Jamme is thus making a full circle of wrong interpretation by adopting this sense for Sabaean gwlm: "property". In RES 2791,4 gwlm should also
be rendered "as property". Rhodokanakis linked gwlm in RES 2791,4 syntactically with [b]*[(s)nnhs]*, immediately before it, and rendered the two words as: "nach seinen Grenzen eingefriedet": "fenced in, enclosed, according to its boundaries"; St., II, 122. He maintained that gwlm in RES 2791,4 is used in its literal sense of "enclosed in a circle"; cf. Die Bodenwirtschaft, p. 197 n. 1; and St., II, 28 f. But the mention of constructions in the preceding lines points to a context similar to that of other cases where gwlm means "as property", adverbially modifying the verbs at the beginning of the acquisition statement; cf. RES 2789,2-3 (Minaean): *sy - gwlm. In RES 2791 the text is damaged and poor, and the opening lines, in which the verbs of acquisition or building might have been given, are missing. Besides Rhodokanakis's "enclosed according to its boundaries" depend on the restoration, or rather insertion, of [b] before Halevy's *(s)nnhs/, where no empty space or damaged letter is marked in Halevy's copy. Moreover, the mention of w( *)(t( ))ly/ after gwlm shows that it occurs in a context similar to that of gwlm in Jamme 540,2 and 541,5.

(2): ḫbn, in Jamme 541,3 and RES 2791,6. Jamme renders it as: "revendiquer": "to claim, to demand", and his only comment is "cf. l'expression parallèle de Fakhry 70,3"; l. cit., 273. Fakhry 70,3 reads: w*1/*s/s*1/dmr*ly/ḥdn(/)m*h(dn)/mḥmtm/ wmf(l)qm. Jamme's implied equation of ḫbn with s*1 is not correct. Cf. RES 3946,4: ḫbn: "hatte erworben": "had acquired"; also twice in l. 5. A sense of "seized" is more appropriate to ḫbn in that text, where the reference is to land and property seized or expropriated by conquest; cf. the parallel use of ḫb*1 in the corresponding text RES 3945,3,14 18,19, which should be rendered "seized, subjugated"; cf. under article b*1. Elsewhere in ESA ḫbn and its derivatives
have the following meanings: ḫbn: "land-owners", or, probably, "subjects, land-tenants", in RES 3566,4 and passim, in Qitsnī usage; and Minaean ḫbn/mn, RES 3318,3,5; ḥbn/mn RES 2814,5; and ḥbn/mn, RES 3012,20 and 3013,1, all have the sense of "subjects, land-tenants"; cf. the fuller discussion under article ḫbn. The basic sense of ESA ḫbn seems to be "to protect, to have power over", and in the social and economical set-up of ancient South Arabia this kind of relation seems to have expressed itself in the sphere of land-ownership and land-tenancy. The land-owner was "the patron, the protector", and the land-tenant was "the subject, the protected". The "author" of Jamme 541 is KRB*L WTR bn DMRL mkrb SB*, also the "author" of RES 3946, where ḫbn: "seized" is mentioned. One would not expect that in Jamme 541 he was putting a prohibition against someone forcibly "seizing" lots in the irrigated land and the canals. I think that ḫbn in Jamme 541,3 refers to claiming property rights through tenancy, through usucaption, since it is to be expected that a mkrb of Saba' would give his land and its water works to tenants to cultivate and use, hence ḫbn: "to acquire, or, to claim, ownership by usucaption, or, through tenancy". RES 2791,6 reads: /w(h)l/খbn/bmsq(y)/ngw/dm/(s)ṭrn: "Et ceux que sont préposés à l'irrigation ont publié ce décret", according to G. Ryckmans, following Rhodokanakis; cf. under article ḫbn. I think that ḫbn in RES 2791,6 should be rendered: "have held the tenancy-rights, or, have acquired by usucaption". In both RES 2791,6 and Jamme 541,3 ḫbn is probably Form II.

I now come back to ḫl/tl y. Jamme 540 reads: *ṣy/wbny/1mr*h/qh*l(2)ḥnn*/*dbn/dwḥ*l/gwlm/w*l/tl y/l*ṃtnb/wb(3)ḥg/str/1mr*wqḥ/. Jamme renders gwlm - dmrwqḥ as: "en bloc, --et "Il [est] Très-Haut, --jusqu'à ses limites et se-(3)lon ce qu'a écrit Damar-waqah". Jamme also renders Jamme 541,5-6: gwlm/w*l/(6)ṭl y as:
"en totalité, et 'Il [est] Très-Haut". It has been the practice of scholars to leave \( w'1/t'ly \) in Qitbânî texts untranslated, on the assumption that after \( bbg'/nby \) it denoted the name and epithet of a deity; cf. the beginning of this note. But the context in Jamme 540 and 541 does not make it possible for the \( waw \) of \( w'1/t'ly \) to be \( waw 'att \), as it seemed to be in Qitbânî texts. Jamme had, therefore, to render \( w'1/t'ly \) as a parenthetical clause. This must have seemed to him particularly suited to Jamme 540,2: \( gwlm/w'1/t'ly/l'wtnh \), where Jamme takes \( l'wtnh \) as being syntactically linked to \( gwlm \) or to the verbs \( 'sy/wbnny \), line 1; cf. his translation of the passage above. But this syntax makes \( w'1/t'ly \) awkwardly wedged within the "formula"; and to this awkward syntax Jamme adds the awkwardness of his \( w'1/t'ly: "et 'Il [est] Très-Haut", where he is obviously trying to create a clause out of what he still considers a "name and epithet" of a deity.

\( w'1/t'ly \) in Qitbânî, Sabean and Minaean texts indicates what other formulae introduced by \( '1 \) in property texts do: it imposes prohibition against wrongful claims of, or encroachment by, others. Cf. the detailed discussion of such formulae in J. Ryckmans, "A propos du m'mr sud-arabe", Mus., 66 (1953), 343-357. Cf. particularly CIH 949: \( w'1/h'ly/dn/tbn/wtn/yyf'n/l'm'r'n \); (the same formula appears in CIH 911, partly restored, and in Nârî, nuqûsh 'arabiyya janûbiyya, 4). In this formula \( h'ly \) can rendered either as: "to remove", in the sense of "to lift", cf. Beeston, "A Sabean boundary formula", BSOAS, XIII, (1949), 1-3; or as: "to violate, to encroach upon", cf. J. Ryckmans, l. cit., 344-348. Cf. also RES 4627,4: \( w'1/h'lyt/dt/hrtn \), where a sense of "to be encroached upon, to be violated" seems more appropriate for \( h'lyt \) here; cf. J. Ryckmans, l. cit., 348. \( t'ly \) in the formula \( w'1/t'ly \) is most probably Form V infinitive, and \( w'1/t'ly \) means: "and (let there be, or, there shall be) no violation, or, encroachment". The infinitive form is particularly suited to Jamme 540,2: \( w'1/t'ly/l'wtnh \: "and (let there be, or, there shall be) no violation
of, or encroachment upon, its boundaries", where 1 before *wtnh joins the object to the preceding infinitive which governs it; cf. Höfner, ASG., 149 f. As for the use of an infinitive after *wl/, cf. CIIH 570: w(8)*1/bf/*1/z/*lwnyn/h*dwv/*wtnh/*ly/bynd/nhlnhn/

and (6) there shall not be within the authority of *L'Z of *LYN to extend beyond (or, across) the boundary stones which are between the two palm-groves **N** and **Nq(9)**. any sowing (of seed-produce) or (growing of) *arak (trees), cf. the full discussion of this translation under article *fr.

(2): In ESA *kwr has two meanings: (a): "pool, water-reservoir"; (b): "hill, low mountain". Cf. the full examination of these two usages of *kwr under article *kwr.

(3): RES 277.4-5: wywm/sl'/*nkrm/bk[bd/*d](5)fw/tyb/mrkb/*hly/hhy/bytn should be rendered: "and at the time when he offered as a tribute to *nkrm out of a quantity of incense (or, perfume) surmounted on (or, in addition to) fruits in the front space of the temple". For mrkb/*hly: "surmounted on (or, in addition to) fruits", cf. under article *hly; and for *hhy: "front space!", cf. the note to RES 3340, 4: hyltem on p. 32-33 of this article. Although *k[bd here is a restored reading it seems a reasonable one. Glaser, Altj. Studien, restored it *bk[bd, and in the translation wrote: "in K. [b.d. (Ortsname? vgl. *kd 'm Gl. 20,3)"; pp. 38 and 40. In the commentary, ibid., 49, Glaser says: "bkbd würde bedeuten: [brachten dar] "in Ehrung"." The reference to *kd 'm should be corrected to Gl. 21, 3 (= CIIH 20, 3), which is most probably a sanctuary of *T'LB and not of "TTR; cf. RNP, 344, and RES 4649, 4. *k[bd is rendered in RES as "Kabad", presumably as the name of a temple or sanctuary; cf. the note to it in RES. Beeston, NOSAI, I, 57, renders *bk[bd as: "in (the sanctuary) KBD". I think it is reasonable to expect, after *sl, the mention of a material source of offering, and that since *hhy/bytn indicates the place of the offering, *bk[bd is obviously the term indicating such a source."
(4) Cf. the examination thereof under article vb.

(5) For the sake of brevity only new meanings suggested by me will be examined in detail. Previous interpretation will be examined briefly.

(a) mhwāl: "water-distributing system, water conduit". Cf. Arabic maḥala, pl. maḥāl and maḥāwil, "water-wheel"; cf. also ḥala al-mā’u 'alā al-‘ard: "the water flowed on, poured onto, the ground"; ṣabaltu al-mā’a fi-l-jadwāl: "I poured, I turned, the water into the channel"; ḥawālāt taḥwil mā’-in min nahr-in 'ilā nahr: "turning, diverting, water from one channel, or river, to another"; and ḥwala al-'ukhdūd allādhi yughrasū bi-hi al-nakhlu 'alā safft: "a deep furrow in which palm-trees are planted in a row"; cf. Līṣan and Tāj, art. hwl. ESA mhwāl has been rendered as: "circular passage, surrounding wall", cf. RES 2814, 2, 2659. Cf. also Rhodokanakis, St., II, 30; mhwāl: "ring-passage, 'Rundganges"", and Id., ZIAI, I, 50; mhwāl: "defence passage, 'Wehrgang'." I maintain that mhwāl has the sense of "water-distributing system, water conduit" in all attested cases in ESA.

(1) RES 4773, 2: m'rby/mhr'y/wnwt/mhwāl: "les deux accès des deux battants de porte, et le chemin (qui mène au) chemin de ronde" according to G. Ryckmans. I render: "the two quadrate stones of the two sluices and the canal of the water-distributing system".

Notes:

m'rby: "the two quadrate stones"; cf. CIH 540, 77: w'rnd/br'm/ bm'rbdm: "and the dyke they built with quadrate stones"; cf. also Rhodokanakis, St., II, 43 and 44 n. 1; and my NQI, II, 438 n. 1. Cf. further under note (a) in this footnote.

mhr'y: "two sluices", cf. note (a) in this footnote.

wnwt: "canal", as everywhere else in ESA; cf. note (d) in this footnote.

(2) RES 2814, 2: bmbwln/gltn; 4: wmbwln/gltn; 8: mbwln/’d/ənn/hgr.

— Cf. R. B. Serjeant, "Ukhdūd", BSOAS, xxii, (1959), 573. This sense of ḥwala fits well with his interpretation of 'ukhdūd.
O. Ryckmans renders mahr/gltn as: "chemins de ronde de l'etage superieur"; and Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 62, as: "Wehrgang (der sum) Dach (gehört)". I render: "the water-distributing system of the pool".

Footnotes:

gltn: "pool". Cf. Arabic galīla: "a pool in which water gathers at the end, at the bottom, of a ṭādī". Cf. also Rhodokanakis, Dialekt Dofar, II, 97: yisemmn el-mā ṭūl, which he renders: "Dass Wasser (am Fusse dieses Berges) nennt man ṭūl"; (d is his transcription of ṭ). I think that ṭūl should be taken as substantive; but even as a proper noun it would still betray the sense of "pool, cistern". Cf. the same text, RES 2814, 5: wahrfdh/dhw/ḥly/gltn: "and the tower facing the plantations (or, orchards) of (i.e. irrigated from) the pool"; for ḥly: "plantations", cf. note (m) in this footnote. The plural of gltn is glll, cf. CIH 371, 4: gllm/dqny/mr. The text is damaged, but it is obviously a property or irrigation text: cf. 1. 2: ṭb/kl/ḥlt/mbr[hw: "quartam partem cuiusvis tertiae partae receptaculi [sui]; and 1. 3: kl/t’d/r’shm[w, where t’d can be taken either as "canal" or as "well irrigated land"; cf. Beeston, SI, 70. In this context gllm, 1. 4, could have meant "pools, cisterns", and it is also possible to suggest that gllm indicated pieces of land irrigated by gltn, a semantic change attested in the case of many other terms in ESA indicating forms or parts of systems of irrigation; cf. also Arabic galīla: "a meadow with thick herbage". Semantically associated with gltn: "pool, cistern" is perhaps ḥlt: "grave"; cf. CIH 717 and RES 4838. For other usage: from the root gll in ESA cf. footnote 8 (८) to this article. Cf. also below in this note.

RES 2814, 8: ṣymb/mhln/‘d/snn/hgr: "the cultivation land of (i.e. irrigated from) the water-distributing cinduit until the boundary of HGR". Notes:

ṣymb: "cultivation land"; the word stands first in l. 8, but the left hand side of the text is damaged, and it is perhaps possib
to restore it as \[\text{msymh}\], which would be a Minaean singular of the plural \[\text{msymt}\], attested in Sabaeen, cf. CIH 2,14,15-16, and whose Sabaean singular is \[\text{msm}\], cf. CIH 352,12; cf. also the note in Beeston, SI, 3-4. Beeston, SI, 2, renders CIH 2,13-14: *dy' rgh(14) mw/wm symth mw* as: "in their lands and their fields" and in the note thereto, SI, 3, says, "\[\text{msymt}\]: the sense of this word has been determined from the contexts." CB-G1., 249, renders \[\text{msm}\], pl. \[\text{msymt}\], as: "field, property" and then adds the remark, "probably 'land assigned to the king etc.'". But cf. Arabic \[\text{mash}l\text{ma}\], pl. \[\text{mashrayim}\], "placenta", explained as \[\text{ghirs}\]. (The basic sense of Arabic \[\text{gharasa}\] is "to plant, to cultivate".
The placenta is also called in Arabic \[\text{bayt al-\text{-sar}}\]; cf. Lisan, art. klw. For further semantic parallelism cf. Qur'an ii,223: nisā' u-kum bahr-th-un la-kum.) It is perhaps possible to read \[\text{symh}\]: "cultivation land" without need for restoring it as \[\text{msymh}\]; cf. Arabic \[\text{shay}l\text{m}\]: "even land with soft soil, or, earth and \[\text{shiyam}\]: "soil, earth"; cf. Lisan, art. shym. In his translation of RES 2814,8 G. Ryckmans leaves \[\text{symh}\] untranslated and gives no comment thereto. Cf. under article \[\text{shym}\] for further examination of the usages of ESA \[\text{sym}\].

(3): CIH 325,3: \[\text{mblwm/lgymw/ ftr'hw/whw*bw/kl/qh/yr...}\] and 1. 6: \[\text{whnw}/rb't/flstm'/lws/w'r'b't/mhwt\]. Both CIH and Rhodokanakis, St,, II, 41-48, render this text as a building one. But the text is damaged, and the central subject of the constructions is not clearly definite. But the text, a late Sabaeen one from Era year 669, bears marked resemblance to three other texts from the same period, all of which record work on the construction or repairing of irrigation works: RES 4069; 5085; and Van Lessen 25; and many of its terms are comparable to terms in CIH 540 and 541, the two Dam inscriptions from Ma'rib. Cf., e.g., CIH 325,3: \[\text{lgymw}\]: "to the (or, for) plastering"; cf. \[\text{dmbr'm/wgyn}\], CIH 540, 25; \[\text{bgym/qas}m\], RES 5085,7; and \[\text{wbr'n/wmgymt/wgrbt}n\], Van Lessen 25,3, and cf. the note thereto in my NQI,II, 426-7. Cf. also
CIH 325, 3 whw'b/kl/qh/yr... l. 9: wkl/qhhw/mnhtm/wgrbm and compare RES 4069, 8: wwb/kl/w'b/qhhw, and CIH 540, 30: wwb/klhw, and RES 5085, 6-7: whqshbhwh(7)bbn/bn/'lyhw/'dy/sflhw/bgrvm/wqsm; (whfrebn in RES 5085 is a misprint; cf. Mus. LII (1939), 313 f. and pl. IX). Other terms in CIH 325 should be re-interpreted; they are:

(1) line 1: mwg[1]m instead of CIH mwl[g]m and Rhodokanakis, St., II, 41, mwg[1]m. g and l in this inscription are identical, and the first g is a certain reading, according to the plate. For mwg[1]m: "tank, reservoir", cf. under article w1.

(2) l. 6: 3rb't/flâtm/'lwm/w3rb't/mhâlt; and l. 8: sfflw/wnltt/flâtm/'lwhw. CIH: flâtm: "columns"(?); Rhodokanakis, l. c., 42, "outlets, 'Ausgänge'". Thodokanakis takes this as parts of a building connected to "stairs", 'lwm in l. 6 (and, according to him, cf. 'lwhw in l. 8), leading to higher storeys. But cf. RES 5085, 6-7, quoted above. I accept Rhodokanakis's etymology and rendering of flâtm but interpret it as referring to "sluices", or outlets for water from the "conduits", mhâlt.

(3) l. 8: wâq'w/âqmhw: CIH: "and they cut off its broken part, 'fractura'"; and Rhodokanakis, l. c., 42, "and they edged its corner". I render: "and they blocked, stopped up, its break", qq'": "to block, to stop up"; cf. Arabic qâqâ'a al-dâbbu = sâda bâba jûrî-hi: "The dâbb-lizard blocked, filled up, the entrance of its burrow", and wa-qîlâ kullu sâddìn muqâqîlî: "and it is said that anything that blocks, or, stops up, is

* In RES 4069, 8: wwb/kl/w'b/qhhw, the suffix after qh refers to the irrigation system, msw, l. 6. In CIH 325, 9: wkl/qhhw/ seems also to refer to the object of construction, mwg[1]m (?), l. 1, cf. also CIH 325, 3: kl/qh/yr... qh either indicates a part of the structure or an operation connected with the building or repairing of irrigation works; cf. further p. 20 of the footnotes of this article.
Other terms in this inscription pertain to constructions in general and are attested in both building and irrigation texts; cf. l. 4: w’dhw/bn/mwtrhw/*dy/tfr*hw; l. 7: whqṣbw; l. 9: mnhmtw/mcrbm. It is thus clear that there is a very strong case for taking CIH 325 as an irrigation text, and in such a context mhwm, cf. lines 3 and 6, can have the sense of "conduit, water-distributing system".

(4): CIH 625 = RES 2659: hwtbt/mhwm/wdstr/tt(y). This text is fragmentary, and it seems that mhwm is not closely linked in sense and syntax to what follows it. hwtbt/mhwm can be rendered as: "the establishing (or, the founding) of the water conduit"; cf. further under note (1) in this footnote.

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* CIH 290,5 reads: hsm/*ghm/*ym/*tn/*lmbr*m, which I render: "the omission of any share (or, due) which is paid (or, offered) for building". This text regulates the offerings and dues to be paid or made to "TTR for land purchase or for using the land for building; cf. ibid., l. 4: lydhnh/ttr/bltn/kl/*mm; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 153 and my NQI, II, 424. hsm: "omission", a developed sense from "to break, to breach, to take away". *sm: "share, due"; cf. *ṣima: "share", R.B. Serjeant, "Two tribal law cases", JRAS, 1951, pp. 37, 39, 47; and cf. GR-GL, 211, *sm: "a tribute to a god". *tn: "which is offered, or, paid"; cf. GR-GL, 211, "afferunt". *lmbr*m: "building", well attested and in line with the context.
Other usages from the root *hwl in ESA are the preposition *hwl: "round, around", RES 3945,10; and the substantive *hwl: "circumferential, all-around, part", RES 3954,2 and 3955,2,3, where in both texts it specifies a tier of burial compartments running along the four walls or sides of the burial place from inside. RES 3954 reads:

\[ *s y/ w b n y/ r b * (2) q b r n/ y * d/ h w l n/ d b y n n/ d t y t n/ w r b * / m b h (3) r [ h w \]

I render: "acquired and built one quarter of (2) the burial place Y*D (it, i.e., the quarter of the burial place, being) the all-around part (or, tier) of the pier-supported hall, (the all-around part) of the lower (platform), and a quarter of [its] pit".

RES 3955 reads:

\[ [ *s y / w b (2) n y / r b ] / (3) l l m / h w l n / d b y (3) n n / h w l / t h t y t n / w r b [ * \]

(3) l l m: "graves", here, for qbrn: "burial place" in RES 3954.

Notes:

Both these inscriptions come from Ma'rib, the latter being from near the temple *WM, Haram Balqis. Fortunately we now possess a detailed archaeological description of the "mausoleum" on the east side of the oval wall of the temple *WM given by F. P. Albright in ADSA, 235-238 and plate 182-188. Even if this "mausoleum" could not have been identical with the burial place referred to in RES 3955, it would still be safe to assume that its structure and architecture should help in ascertaining the sense of the two texts. I quote the following relevant information:

"The structure, which is almost square, measures on the outside 8.34 m. east-west, by 7.73 m. north-south, and on the inside 6.25 m. by 5.64 m. ... In the center of the building, four piers with capitals supported the roof. On the inside, the walls are lined with tiers of burial chambers and there are at least two tombs under the floor." Op. cit., 235-6.

Of the tiers of burial compartments F. P. Albright says,

"A platform, 20 cm. high and 80 cm. wide on the north, east, and west sides, and 83 cm. wide on the south side,
extends along the walls of the room. ... Each tier contained ten compartments, three on the east, south and west sides, and one on the north side west of the entrance. ... The height of the compartments in each tier was uniform; it varied, however, in succeeding tiers. That of the lowest tier is 63 cm, while in the second tier it is only 60 cm. The discovery of an almost complete panel, which measured 46 cm high and was used to seal off the entrance, indicates that the height of the compartment diminished at higher levels, assuming that the compartments were closed completely by the panels. If the walls were covered with compartments from floor to ceiling, a height of 4.20 m, there would have been 6 tiers of chambers; with ten compartments to each tier, there would have been at least 60 burial chambers in the mausoleum. "Op. cit., 236-7.

About the underground chambers he says,

"In the northwest corner of the mausoleum floor and west of the northwest pier, an opening was found which served as the entrance to an underground tomb chamber. ... The tomb was excavated completely; it measured 2.53 m. north and south, 1.54 m. east and west and extended 3.30 m. below the mausoleum floor. The chamber floor was formed by the rough bedrock leveled off with cobblestones. ... A corresponding chamber tomb was discovered in the southwest corner of the mausoleum and was more than half excavated. The contents of this tomb were also mixed, but more bones came to light in the area excavated than in the entire northwest tomb. ... Possibly there are two more chamber tombs, under the south and east sides." Op. cit., 237.

Finally F. P. Albright adds,

"The area to the north and south of the mausoleum seems to have been open. Contiguous to its east side, another structure was found whose north-south dimension was the same as that of the mausoleum. Its north and south walls, however, were turned at an angle of about 10° to the north. No further investigation of the building was made." Op. cit., 238.

I suggest that Albright's suggestion of six tiers of compartments in the "mausoleum" is exaggerated and that a number of four tiers would be more reasonable. To start with, it is doubtful that a height of 4.20 m, reduced by 20 cm, for the lower platform, could take six tiers two of which were 63 and 60 cm, high when each of the dividing slabs between successive tiers was 15 cm thick or only slightly thinner. And even if the height could take six tiers it is highly improbable that the inside was built up with tiers of
compartmenta right to the ceiling, as that would possibly make it very difficult, if not impossible, to handle the front closing panels of the compartments. Besides, the underground chamber tombs seem to have served as ossuaries, and the possible number of four such chambers in the "mausoleum" described above might have corresponded to the number of the tiers above. Anyway, this seems to have been the case in the burial places mentioned in RES 3954 and 3955, where in each case a quarter of the respective burial place was acquired and built and was defined as hwl: "all-around part (or, tier)", and where in RES 3954 an apparently "corresponding" quarter of mbfr[hwl: "[its] pit", i.e., "[its] underground chamber tomb" was also acquired and built. This seems also to have been the case in RES 3955, where the acquisition and building of a further quarter of a mbfr (?) is suggested by wrb[ at the end of the text.

Following are further notes, given jointly for both texts, where applicable.

're/wbny, RES 3954,1, "acquired and built"; the acquisition seems to have been achieved through the owner's participation in the building of the burial place, qbrn, 1. 2.

(z)lln, RES 3955,2, "graves", plural of zlt, "grave"; cf. CII 717 and RES 4838; cf. supra in this note. It corresponds to qbrn in RES 3954,2. Rhodokanakis renders it as a proper noun; cf. RES.

hln, RES 3954,2; 3955,2; and hwl, RES 3955,3; "all-around part (or, tier)" of burial compartments. Rhodokanakis takes hln in these two texts in a vague sense of "some, certain part" by comparing Datin bnl = batq; (cf. O. Landb., Gloss. Dat., 523); cf. RES.

dbymn: RES 3954,2; 3955,2-3; "pier-supported hall, or, room". Cf. RES 2980 bis,2: kl/saf/wbynt/"tn: "all the ceiling and piers of the canopy”; cf. Arabic biwa: "pole of a tent", pl. abwina, bun and buwan; Lisan, art. bwn. G. Ryckmans renders bynt in
Footnotes 15

RES 2980 bis, 2 as: "montants (?)": "poles", through the context. It is a fairly accurate rendering. E. Glaser, *Altjean. Stud. I*, renders the same bynt as: "Kuppel": "cupola, dome" by comparing a colloquial Arabic bayyina: "cupola, or, dome, of an annexe, or, appurtenance, "Anbaues", of a bigger building, e.g. the evidently small cupola or dome of the nihrab on the exterior of the mosque*. Rhodokanakis, following Glaser, renders bynn in RES 3954, 2 and 3955, 2-3 as: "Kuppel"; and in ZIAI, I, 61, he re-affirms this translation and in n. 2 on that page he compares information from Islamic times and adds the remark, "The better burial places carry over the rectangle a vault, in the middle of which there is again a round cupola, (or, dome); also the evidence (or, proof) that bynn = cupola (or, dome) is firmly established." There is no evidence whatsoever that the cupola or dome was known in ancient South Arabian architecture, especially at the early date of these two boustrophedon inscriptions. Ceilings were made of joists of stone, with slabs laid across them; cf. F. P. Albright, *ADSA*, 236, in the description of the ceiling and floor of the "mausoleum". Cf. also, for Minaean architecture, M. Tawfik, *MMX*, 12, 16-17 and Plate IX Fig. 13; and cf. my *NQI*, 21-22, where the following part of RES 2980 bis, 2 is re-interpreted and discussed. ḥwln /dbynn in both texts is obviously meant to specify the part or tier in the "upper" hall, as against the underground chamber tomb or ossuary, mbbr of RES 3954, 2-3. The four piers of the mausoleum illustrate what bynn in the two texts could have meant: it referred to the hall or room "supported" by piers.

I cannot trace the colloquial Arabic bayyina: "cupola, or, dome," etc. cited by Glaser, cf. above, in any source, and it seems to be a Yamani colloquial usage which he knew of. The change from bynt: "piers", and bynn: "a building raised on piers", to bayyina: "cupola, or, dome" etc. would be semantically analogous to *qubba*: "vault, cupola, dome", originally, "tent, booth"; cf. *Lisan*, art. *qbb*. Cf. also modern Iraqi colloquial *qubba*: "room".
dtfyn: "the all-around part" of the lower (platform)"; RES 3954,2 =
\text{hw}l/tfyn, RES 3955,3. In either text there is only one \text{hw}l,
first specified as \text{hw}ln/dbynn and then as dtfyn in RES 3954
and as \text{hw}l/tfyn in RES 3955. tfyn: "the lower one" possibly
referred to the lowest platform on which the lowest tier of
compartment rested, the order or position of the tiers being
thus identified by their platforms or "floors". This would make
the syntax of dtfyn and \text{hw}l/tfyn straight forward.

\textit{mbfr}\textit{[hw]}: "[its, i. e., the burial place's] pit" = Rhodokanakis's
\textit{[seines, d. i. des Grabes] Schächtes". \textit{mbfr} here corresponds to
the underground ossuary; cf. the comments above.}

(b): \textit{hl}: "which". Rhodokanakis, St., II, 32, remarks, "\textit{hl} can only
be a relative pronoun"; and renders \textit{hl}/\textit{wh} as: "welche ... führen"
the antecedent being "Rundgange", "the circular-passages", for
\textit{mhw}l; \textit{ibid.}, 30. Later, ZIAI, I, 50, he renders \textit{hl} as "welcher
(Wehrgang)". He does not comment on this rendering of \textit{hl} as singular;
the only explanation I can suggest for his "welcher" for \textit{hl}
is his rendering of \textit{mhw}l as: "Wehrgang" in the singular. The
question of whether substantives like \textit{mhw}l are a plural \textit{mafa'l}
of a singular \textit{maf'al}, or a singular \textit{maf'al} with a plural \textit{mafa'lat}
or even \textit{mafa' il} is a complicated and far from clear; cf. Beeston,
\textit{SI}, 3-4, ad \textit{mymt}, \textit{CIH} 2,14; cf. also my \textit{ASA MDQNT}, 332 n. 3. But
irrespective of whether \textit{mhw}l is singular or plural, \textit{hl} cannot be
singular. To me there are two possible explanations of the plural
\textit{hl}: either \textit{mhw}l is plural or that \textit{hl} refers to the two \textit{mhw}l-s:
\textit{mhw}l/\textit{mhw}l[\textit{hl}] (3)\textit{hsm}/\textit{hl}". In both cases \textit{hl} is correctly used,
but in the latter case \textit{mhw}l is to be taken as singular.

\textit{CIH} 325, 6 reads: \textit{rm}b\textit{t}/\textit{flstm}/\textit{lwm}/w'rm\textit{t}/\textit{mhw}l. Rhodokanakis, St.,
\textit{II}, 42, reads \textit{mhw}l. The last letter or sign is actually partly
broken off, at the end of the line, but a restoration of \textit{m} is more
justifiable. The use of \textit{rm}b\textit{t} indicates that the singular can only
be \textit{mhw}l, masculine, = \textit{mafa' al}, with \textit{mhw}l = \textit{mafa' il} as plural.
Rhodokanakis, St., II, 30, renders \( \text{hl} \text{whd} \text{drn} \) as: "which lead to (the tower) \( \text{drn} \)" and holds that \( \text{whd} \) has here the sense of denoting direction. Later, ZIAI, I, 50, he emended \( \text{whd} \) as \( \text{hbd} \) and rendered the phrase as: "which ("welcher" (Wehrgang)) encloses (the tower) \( \text{drn} \)", by comparing Accadian \( \text{ahazu} \) "to enclose, to grasp", and Hebrew \( \text{ahaz} \) "to grasp, to fasten"; ibid., n. 7. According to Rhodokanakis, St., II, 32, Glaser's copy has \( \text{whd} \) with a point over the \( \text{w} \) to indicate doubt, while in the squeeze only \( \text{d} \) is certain. Halévy's copy gives \( \text{...d/} \). But \( \text{whd} \) "overflowed" gives perfectly reasonable sense, especially at the very outset of the "account", by indicating the reason of the damage; cf. RES 4069,5-8, quoted on p. 28 of this article.

\( (a) \): \( \text{drn} \) "the field of seed-produce"; cf. RES 2876,2: \( \text{mdrn} \) "Saatfeldern"; "field of seed-produce, cornfield"; and RES 2774,4: \( \text{dr} \) "corn, grain, seed-produce"; both according to Rhodokanakis. For \( \text{dr(n)} \), two words later, cf. the top of p. 27 of this article.

\( (a) \): \( \text{mry} \) "the two sluices"; cf. RES 4773,2: \( \text{mry/mry/mnwt/mhwl} \) "the two quadrate stones of the two sluices and the channel of the water-distributing system"; cf. the notes to this translation under note \( (a) \), above, in this footnote. The two quadrate stones of the two sluices were either the stones used for building the sluices or, more probably, as "gates" laid across the sluices to "decrease the water flow through the sluice. Such restrictions were left in place permanently"; R. LeB. Bowen, ADEA, 103, Pl. 54 and the caption thereto. Cf. also CIH 1,3-4: \( \text{mwm}(4)\text{r} \text{y/mnwt/\text{am}hwnw/\text{m}} \) \( \text{ld} \): "set up the (4) double-doors before their chamber(s) TFT", according to Beeston, SI, 1. I render: "built the (4) two sluices of the channel of their open area (or, courtyard) TFT". The keywords in this passage are \( \text{srht} \) and \( \text{fnwt} \).
fnwt: "canal", the well attested sense of substantive fnwt in ESA. Beeston, SI, 1, renders it as: "before"; cf. the note thereto ibid. Höfner, ASG, includes fnwt in the prepositions and cites RES 3943,6: wywm/bny/m³hdm/yt'n/fnwt/*byn, rendering fnwt/*byn as: "towards, in the direction of, 'Abyän"; op. cit., 156. But cf. RES 4775,2: m³hdm/*dmr/bayrn/*byn: "ihre Sperrmauer d'MR in Regenstromgebiet 'BYN", according to Höfner.

Both RES 3943 and 4775 come from Ma'rib, and 'BYN is the name of a wāḏī in that region; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 114. RES 3943,6: m³hdm/yt'n/fnwt/*byn should be rendered as: "the dam-reservoir YT'N (at) the canal of 'BYN", fnwt being here adverbial accusative of place; cf. Höfner, ASG, 112. CIH 37,5 reads: w³brhw/dt/dsmh'ly/fnwt/syr/hdqn, which should be rendered: "and his riverside lands called dSMH'LY (at, or, by the side of) the canal of the wāḏī-irrigated land of ḤDQN". Cf. also RES 4401: bny/fy'an/fnwt/mfrm/ktr, which I render: "built a distributing conduit (for) the canal of the sanctuary of 'TTR." CIH 40,2 reads: n³it'hmw/tlfm/dt/bfnw/hwr/mhfdhmw/dm'ynn.

Höfner cites this passage as an example for the "composite" preposition bfnw: "before, in front of"; ASG, 162. Beeston, SI, 10, in the note to CIH 40,2, says, "I hold it to be not altogether excluded, to take fnw as a substantive = "canal"... and hwr/ as a preposition, thus "their n³it which is by the canal behind their tower ḤM'YNN". fnw, however, is "canals", in the plural; cf. Höfner, ASG, 163. hwr is also substantive meaning "pool, reservoir, lagoon"; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 37. Thus, dt/bfnw/hwr/mhfdhmw should be rendered: "which is by the canals of the pool (or, reservoir) of their tower". HamdānI, EklII, VIII, (Baghdād, 1931), 116, tells that the castle of Talafum had under it a very big well with abundant water. It is definitely more than coincidence that in all these texts fnwt and fnw occur in irrigation contexts.
The cases discussed here cover all the known cases where fnwt or fnw has been claimed to be prepositional.

srthm: "their open area (or, courtyard)". On p. 14 of this article I discussed the equivalence of gbtt, Fakhry 115, with gbrt, in its turn the equivalent of grt. I also pointed out that RES 4923,4 reads f]qh/gblthw: "a ouvert (à l'irrigation) son territoire". It is possible that srthm, preceded by fnwt: "water-channel", indicated a piece of land, levelled and perhaps walled in, not used for building but could still be used for cultivation or, it could have been an open area belonging to a house which was being cultivated and thus irrigated. srthm/fd indicates that srth here is singular, as has been pointed out on p. 16 of this article. Beeston, SI, 1, who renders it as: "their upper-chamber(s) TF", refers in the note thereto, ibid., to Rhodokanakis's view about srth as collective to the singular srh, and then adds, "C(IH) 339 bis,2 kl/srthw suggests that the form has not a purely singular force." Cf. my discussion of CIH 339 bis,2 on p. 17 of this article.

CIH 448,4 reads: wh'qbw/lhlfhw/mgr'tm/mbr'/wmgylh/kl/gdqm/bn/mwtrm/ *dy/t(5)fr'm. Rhodokanakis, ZIAI,I, 41, rightly points out that wh'qbw introduces a new main sentence and, ibid., 42, renders wh'qbw lhlfhw/mgr'tm as: "and they renewed double-doors for its doorway (or gate), lhlfw". But what follows mgr'tm is part of the sentence beginning with wh'qbw, and mbr'/wmgylh/kl/gdqm/bn/mwtrm/*dy/t(5)fr'm must modify wh'qbw/lhlfhw/mgr'tm. It is mgyh which is the keyword in this passage. In his KT, II, 21-3, Rhodokanakis observed that the Form IV hqh and sqf occur in building and agricultural operations and that in the agricultural operations it tends to come at the end of lists of verbs, and hence he concluded that it did not seem to indicate a specific kind of operation or term, but rather was an expression for setting up and completing in general. Later, in ZIAI,I, 42-43, he re-states and re-affirms this view against Norstmann and Mittwoch's rendering of qh in connection with m'hhd and krf as "to dig, to hew.
Etymologically Rhodokanakis, *KT*, II, 22, compares ḥqf and ṣqf with Arabic ḍabā = ṣāḥa = ṣāḥa: "yard, courtyard" and with the verb ṣāḥa = ṭanasa: "to sweep", and suggests that the former usage might be linked with ḥqf in building texts, while the latter usage could be linked with it in agricultural texts. In my *NQI*, II, 427, I quoted Van Lessen 23,6 (unpublished): b[r][]w/hr]qḥ/m'głyhmw/ and rendered it as: "erected and repaired (with plaster) their two tanks"; and in the note there to, *ibid.*, m. 3, I said, "cf. Arabic tawqīḥ al-hawd "to repair a tank (or, to perfect it) with mortar, plaster, until it hardens (becomes watertight) so that water would not dry up (leak)  " (Tāj)."

It must be added here that in Tāj, art. ḡḥ, it is stated that tawqīḥ al-hawd can also be done with slabs of stone, ṣafā'īh. In irrigation works plastering naturally comes at the end of operation and is an act of smoothing and polishing. For evidence of plastering in irrigation works, cf. R. LeB. Bowen, *ADSA*, 48-50, and Plates 48 (p. 100) and 53 (p. 102); cf. also the note to mgyrtn, Van Lessen 25; 3, in my *NQI*, II, 426-7; cf. also pp. 9-10 of the "Footnotes" to this article, above. Blocks or slabs of stone are often mentioned in connection with the building of irrigation works; cf. Van Lessen 25; nhmn(3)wbr'/wmgyrtn/wgrbnt; CIH 325,9; wkl/qḥhw/mnhmt/wgrbn/; CIH 541; l'grtm/(w58)msrm/wgrbnt/wb(59)r'/m'ghrm/mnhmt(60)wgrbn/ l'qdbn/'rmn/. Cf. my *NQI*, II, 427 n. 1. In the remark at the foot of p. 10 of the "Footnotes" to this article I pointed out that qḥhw in CIH 235,9 and *RES* 4069, both irrigation texts, "seems to indicate a part of the structure, or an operation connected with the building or repairing of irrigation works", and I suggested there the possible identification of qḥ with qḥ here. I hold that an operation of tightening and finishing off the structure with plaster and/or slabs or blocks of dressed stone is referred to in all irrigation and building texts where qḥ or derivatives thereof are used. In the case of irrigation texts this is easy to maintain. These texts are:
Of special importance among these texts are CIH 541,130-1, where
wk[ml] w/mabhmm should be rendered: "and they finished (or, per­
tected) their (work of) water-tightening"; and RES 4194,4: whqrfw/whq
kl/dn/*sqn, which I render: "and they perfected and made watertight
all this dug out (ground)"; [hurfw: "perfected", in place of Höf­
ner's "verbesserten"; *sqn: "dug out (ground)", cf. my NQI, 19 n.

Building texts with clear contexts where hqh or sqh occurs
are few. They are:

RES 4332,1: br/wswtr/wqha/mrs't/wmwtr/byt[s]. Höfner renders
mrs't as: "(Ober)bau" by comparing Arabic rassa'a: "construir
(Dozy, Supplement). I render it "revetment"; of. under articl
res'. sqh: "to make watertight" fits "revetment" well.
RES 3961,2: hsqw/wqasb/wqha/kl/q[br](3)s/mqbrm/brbm/1sm/. After
hsw: "hollowed, dug out", hqh: "to tighten, to make water­
tight" comes naturally.
RES 3250,2: mhqn/hrn/bnmw(3)mwtm/*d/sqm/mbsn'tn/*(4)r/wdm.
G. Ryckmans renders mhqn/hrn/ as: le bâtiment restauré lirra
I take mhqn as Form IV magdar with mim, and hrn as shortened
from hwn: "pool, reservoir", and I render mhqn/hrn/ as: "th

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* CIH 40,2 reads: brw/wswtr/whqwh/wshqnn/nt'thmw/. The obscure
nt't makes interpretation difficult; cf. the foot-remark on
p. 5 of article tyy, and cf. the examination of fnt, above, in
this same note.
In two Qitbani texts sqfr is used in connection with agriculture:

RES 3854,2-3: byfrwn/wgw/hw/whrt/wqyr/wsah/wuhd(3)bm/sbm/grbts; and

ibid.,4-5: wfr/(5)gsq/wsahhm/wsuhm/grbts; and

ibid.,7: *sq/wsahhm/wsuhm/grbts

RES 3856,1: syr/wbr/wgrb/wbql/wsah/hkl/srs/wgrwbs.

In all these passages sqfr has the sense of "to tighten, to make watertight", and the reference is to the building of ridges or dams most probably of earth, to hold the water on the land in preparation for cultivation. (Cf. PS to this Footnote, For, hqfr in Van Lessen 18.)

We also come across the expressions mqh/sdqm, CIH 598,1; mqyht/sdqm bdb't, CIH 137,1; and wmqyhtwm/wkl/dqy/w'sy, CIH 304,2. All these texts are badly damaged and the contexts of the expressions given here cannot be reliably ascertained. But the case is different in CIH 448,4-5: whqbw/lhfhw/mqr'tm/mbr'/wmqyh/kkl/sdqbn/mrw/mtrm/dy/t(5)fr'm, the passage we are concerned with here in connection with mqr't. As I said above, mbr'/wmqyh/kkl/sdqbn/mrw/mtrm/dy/t(5)fr'm must modify whqbw/lhfhw/mqr'tm. But it is hardly conceivable that mbr'/" etc. could have referred to mqr'tm: "double-doors", which, one would expect, were made of wood or metal and where bnmrw/mtrm/dy/t(5)fr'm must be out of question. I maintain that mqr'tm here means: "jamb" of the doorway, which must have been built in stone and where the stress on wmqyh/kkl/sdqbn would be appropriate. The use of the plural mqr'tm with hlf suggests that hlf might be plural, like bd and dm, which are both singular and plural; cf. Hofner, ASG, 103 n. 1. This plural hlf is further made feasible by the absence of any other form of plural for hlf, singular; cf. also Arabic khalf: "door", plural khuluf; cf. under article khlf, mqr't is also attested in Ry 535,16: wqyhtwm/d(y/d)mmlhw/mqr't/hgrn/dm:Mus., 69 (1956), 144. G. Ryckmans, ibid., 149, renders this as:
"Et il les anéantit, jusqu'à ce qu'il les repousse aux portes de la ville de Jamār"; and in the note thereto, p. 163, he says, "mār't, plur. de mār': "battant de porte"; cf. CIH 448,4 ... Ici, par métonymie: "les portes". The meaning is perhaps easier to link with mār't: "jambes" of the doorways. mār': "jamb" can be compared with Arabic migra' and migrā': "one leaf of a double-door", which, according to the lexica, derives from gar': "one of two opposite or alternative sides", the stress being on the opposition or alternation. The etymological relation between mār': "jamb" and mār': "sluice" calls for some examination. In the irrigation texts CIH 1,3-4; RES 2689,3 and RES 4773,2 we have mār'iy in the dual, rendered by me in all cases as: "two sluices". But could mār'iy have indicated a single sluice made of "two sides, or, jams"? It is, however, possible that mār': "sluice" derives from the sense of "to alternate", refer to above, or from the sense of "to interrupt, to hold back, to separate" attested in Eth. gār'a: "interrupte", and 'adra'a: "impedire, distinire".

(g): zlt's: "its drainage ducts"; the suffix refers to dr'in before it. Cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 35, where he renders zlt, plural zlt, as "ramp, glacis". Here zlt's refer to "drainage ducts" rather than "drainage platforms"; cf. Arabic zall: "to slide, to slip"; cf. Imri' al-Qays, mu'allaqa: ka-mā zallat al-safwā'u bi-l-mutanazzili: "as the smooth rock-face causes the falling rain to slip down". Cf. ibid., (RES 2689),5: wtr/zltm: "the slope of the drainage duct".

A sense of opposition or alternation is markedly clear in usages of gar' and sir' in Arabic. Cf. li-l-'amri gar'ān: "The matter has two (alternative) sides."

... "alternating, changing, from one state to another"; sir'ān: "two groups of camels that go down to drink alternatively"; and al-sir'ān: "day and night, or, morning and evening". Cf. also sir' = dir': "counterpart". Cf. Līsān and Tāj, arts. sr' and dr'.
git has the sense of "drainage duct or platform" elsewhere in ESA:

RES 2980 bis, 3:  wmqrby/w't'tbt/wsly/mkntn/w't'bn: "and the two spouts and the gutter and the two drainage ducts (or, platform of the hall and the canopy); cf. my NQI, 21, for notes and commentary on this translation.

RES 3021, 3: qh't/mhtnn/ds'ntn/wkl/qlt/w'dbthy/qlthts/, which I render: "the court of the banqueting hall  χ-Σ'NTN (or, of the canopy) and all the drainage ducts and the reparations of its (i.e. the court's) middle parts."

Notes to this translation:

mhtnn: "banquetting hall"; cf. my NQI, 8 n. 3.
ds'ntn: "of the canopy"; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 35 n. 1.
qlths: "its (i.e. the court's) middle parts". The drainage ducts of the court must have been cut along its middle, probably in two lines intersecting one another in the center of the court. The making or repairing of these ducts must have made it necessary to repair the "middle parts" of the court, hence wkl/qlt/w'dbthy/qlthts. The suffix in  qlthts is feminine singular referring to qh't: "court"; cf. Höfner, ASG, 31, Table 1. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 35, renders  qlthts as: "seiner Innenräume": "its (i.e. mhtnn's) inner rooms", obviously under the influence of the context of qh't: "Oberräume", according to him.

CIH 373: hbd't/qlt/nkl/gwbn, which I render: "renewed the drainage duct of (or, in) the dressed (or, cut out) rock-face of the cistern (or, reservoir)."

CIH 40, 4: wsslhw/qlt/frknn: "and its levelled ground, the drainage platform of the (reservoir) depression(?)", as I render it.

Cf. also CIH 62; 666; RES 2776, 2, all fragmentary texts with obscure contexts, where it has been rendered as "slope, paved floor, ramp"; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 35-6.

* cf. under article nkl.
+ cf. under article slf.
(g): *drf*: "its edges (or, ridges)"; cf. Arabic darf = kanaf, pills; shelter, protection, and = nahiya: "side"; Qamus, art. drf.
Cf. also Arabic tarafa: "side, edge, extremity", and cf. Van Lessen 1, 6: drf (Form II) = Arabic tarafa: "to choose, to make choice of a thing"; cf. my NQI, 5. The sense of protection or shelter, clear attested in Arabic darf, makes it possible to render *drf* here as "ridges".

(h): brhs: "its fallow land". Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 50, emends it to brys, after RES 2687, 5: bry, and renders it "Tordurchgang", while previously, St., II, 30, he rendered it as "Torweg". For br: "fallow land", cf. Arabic bur: "fallow land, uncultivated land".

(i): arhus: "made even, levelled"; Form II. Cf. the comment on RES 4069 on p. 29 of this article. Cf. also CIH 648, 4: hr[h] and Footnote 8 (c) to this article.

(j): tbrn: "the damage (or, the broken, breached, part)"; cf. RES 406 6-7: bdn/hthr/wshb/kl/[·]q[r(7)hw/w]mbr/hw/wmdl/hw. Rhodokanakis St., II, 30, renders tbrn and drn, cf. above, as the names of towers, and in notes 1 and 2 on the same page translates drn as "der Zerstreuer", and tbrn as "der Zerbrecher" respectively. CB-01, 258, enters tbrn as a proper noun for a tower, following Rhodokanakis, but adds hesitantly "(rumpens? rupture?)".

"The (people of) al-Yaman are people of cultivated lands, bahr, and so he associated them with frogs, while Banū Nizar (i.e., Northern Arabs) are people of wilderness and so he associated them with dabb-lizards." It is obvious that bahr here cannot be "sea."

According to Ibn Paris, quoted by Suyuti, Itqan, I, 144, Qurʾān xxx, 41: fi-l-barri wa-l-bahr means al-barrīyatū wa-l-ʿumrān: "the wilderness and the cultivated (or, settled?) areas". Cf. also buḥayra: "Jardin potager; bustān kābir; ("a big garden or orchard"); kitchen garden", and buḥayrat al-zaytūn: "plantation d’oliviers"; also bahb "jardinier"; Dozy, Supplément, I, 54.

(1) buwthī: "at the bottom"; Rhodokanakis: "am Fusse": "at the foot"; cf. St., II, 37 and n. 3.

(m) Rhodokanakis: "staircase, steps". In St., II, 37, he says, "The context demands the sense "staircase, steps"... In the same inscription, lines 2, 4 m̄bwl/sltn are mentioned. The staircases led to the roof-terrace and its circular passage, "Umgang", by the side of a tower. For etymology I venture to compare (Eth.) balāya: "to sing = "to rise, to scale, "steigen", with the voice". My escort, "Gewährmann", to whom I am grateful for the "Dorfartexte", sang the poem of many stanzas, Sudarab. Expedition VIII, 63 ff., set to music in which he "pressed his voice with each further stanza into an ever more obvious height and thus finally forced it out violently". Cf. also the (Syriac) sekelātā, scala, denoting a kind of poem in a certain rhythm."

(n) Rhodokanakis’s "ascents", "Aufgänge", since a flight of steps would have been a more reliable form of link between "the top and the valley lands", rynn/w̄sātn, although "ascent" should be quite feasible. Cf. Hebrew ma-sālā(h): "step, stair; ascent".
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(q): *rymn: "the top (or, the upper level)"; cf. the following note.

(g): *srtn: "the valley-(lands)"; plural of *sr, whose more common plural form is *sr. *srt double plural? Cf. Höfner, ASG, 105-6.

(j): *bln: "the wall (or, ridge)"; cf. Arabic *bl:il: "barrier". Rhedokanakis, St., II, 38, justifies his *bln: "artistic structure, 'Kun vollens Bauers'" by comparing Arabic *bl:il: "cunning, craft" and *ilm al-hiyal: "mechanics". Firstly, Arabic *bl:il does not mean "cunning" but "power, ability" and *ilm al-hiyal is "the science of forces". Secondly, Arabic *bl:il: "power" is etymologically the equivalent of ESA *bl: "power"; cf. CR-Cl., 155. *bln here is the precinct or outside wall of the plantation.

(r): *d/snn*/trdn: "until the boundary of TRDN"; cf. Gl. 1142,10-11: kl tšnnw/; "all its boundaries", according to Beeston, "The 'Ta'lab Lord of Pasture' Texts", BSAS, xvii, 1955, 156. Cf. also RES 2962, btšnnhm: "avec leurs limites"; and cf. RES 2774,4: bʷtšnnh/rš*ršnhs to be rendered: "with its boundary stones and boundaries". I cannot conjecture what kind of landmark TRDN might have been.

(g): *sb*: "continued (back)"; cf. *sabba*a = tabba*a and taba*a: "to follow up, to prosecute"; Beas and Taj, art. *sb*. Cf. also CIH 353, ...*sb*/kl/mūf/dt/ryd/; and Ry 535,4: wbrw/wbr/*ln*/wm*/wm/bn/yt, dšmn/whgr/ln*/wbr/*hr/whgr/; *wr*/btšnn/š*/qšmm/* sb*/w and hsb-. here should be rendered: "to annex, to confiscate"; cf. Arabic *stba*a: "to annex". Cf. also *raħala al-askaru muttabi`an *awšan al-mukhālif: "The army marched annexing, confiscating, the territories of the rebels, dissenters"; cf. Doxy, Supplement, I, 140. For the previous interpretations as: "to tear away, snatch" of Glaser, "to destroy" of CIH, and "to reduce" of G. Ryckmans, cf. Mus., 69, (1956), 155 f.

(t): *bhsb: "along with the flow of, downstream with". For *bhsb: "along", cf. Arabic bi-hasab: "according to"; and for *bhsb: "with the flow of, downstream with", cf. Arabic *hšb = wūrd: "going down to water"; warada in Arabic is almost exclusively associated with going down
to water sources to drink or to water animals, but cf. ESA wrd: "to go down"; CR-12, 140.

(u): wlmr/w'mr/ sltn/wmnwrt/mqn/mgrb/mrtm/mgrb/ctn: "and they covered with asphalt the slope of the drainage duct and the embankments (sides) of the main duct (or, channel) and the spout of limestone and the spout of wood". The translation given here is the same one given in my NQI, 20 except for sltn, here "the drainage duct", cf. note (f) in this footnote above, while there it is "the platform (of this tower)", following Rhodokanakis; and for mqn: "main duct (or, channel)"; while there it is "duct (gutter)". For mqn: "main duct (or, channel)" cf. my NQI, 20, where I compared qAd.: "extending along the surface of the ground; applied to ... a dyke; and the largest of the channels for irrigation of a land"; (Lane, Lexicon). (It is also possible to render mqn as: "ramp, inclining platform"; cf. modern Ḥadramī: maqād and maqād: "rampe sur laquelle marche la bête qui tire l'eau du puits"; Landberg, Ḥadramaut, 697.) In my NQI I rendered mqn: "duct (gutter)" because I tended to agree with Rhodokanakis that these parts "on, through, or over which rain falls and runs" belonged to a tower, a view which I no longer hold.

(v): wth: "its trough"; Rhodokanakis: "they furnished it with a canopy", by comparing Eth. wṭţāṭa: "lay on", and māṭţat: "cover, mantle". For wth: "trough" I compare Arabic ḫaṭă = ḫāṭa: "to collect water", hence ḫawd: "trough, basin, tank". wth = ḫawd by metathesis. Two usages in Arabic from wth seem to be denominative from a possible forgotten wth(?): ḫawd: theygase wth: "dung and mud that sticks to cloven hoofs (of animals) and the talons of birds"; and ṯawfāṭat al-ḥiblu (al-ḥawd: "the camels crowded upon, fought over, the trough or tank"; cf. al-ḥawd and Tṣi, arts. ḫawd and wth.

(w): ḫnt: "outlet (or, conduit)"; cf. Arabic khalif: madfa' (al-ma‘): "the outlet of water; the running place, majfā, of water; the

* Or, probably, "spouts", more in keeping with the size of the irrigation works here. Cf. further under article wjl ('jl).
place where water diverges”; TEj, arts. khlf and df'. This sense is to be linked to khallīf: al-wādī bayna jabalayn: “a wādī (or, a valley) between two mountains”, in its turn to be linked to khallīf: al-ṭarīq bayna jabalayn: “a path, a road, between two mountains”, which is also attested as khanīf. TEj, arts. khlf and khnf.

(w): wqf: “pool, pond”; cf. Arabic waqīt: ḥufrat-un fl ghilag-in jāw jabal-in täjmahu mā'a al-māṭar: “a pit, or, cavity, in rough terrain or a mountain which collects rainwater”; TEj, art. wqf. Rhodokanakis, who compares this usage, St., II, 40, renders wqf as a verb: “hollowed”. But wqf, like all the other terms following wmr, l. 5, until wmsīds: “and its bottom”, l. 6, is a substantive governed by wmr: “covered with asphalt”; cf. p. 28 of this article and my NQI, 20.

(y): wshf: “and the small water-holding pits (or, ponds?)”; cf. Arabic gīḥf, plural gḥuf, = manāqi (u gīḥār-un li-l-mā): “small holes, ponds (?) which hold water”; Qāmūs, art. ɡhf. This sense is well in line with the rest of the clause. Rhodokanakis: “und gruben aus”: “and (they) dug out”, by comparing the substantive ɡhf; St., II, 40. In St., II, 61, Rhodokanakis, ad qdt/qfrfm/wddt, mhrdт/bgn'/hgrn/qrn/, RES 2774:1–2, compares with ɡhf here, singular ɡhf, Arabic Yemeni dialect usage given by Ibn Durayd qaṣafa = ḍafara al-juṣra: “to dig out land, or, ground”; and since in RES 2774,1 we have six ɡhf and six towers, mhrdт, he concludes that ɡhf should be interpreted as “Verbindungsgraben”: “connection trenches”, between towers. Hence he maintains that ɡhf can be rendered as “passage; pit”. The terms wnhf/wwqf/wshf are obviously construct with a substantive which seems to have occupied the space between the end of wshf and /wmsīds, a space which is indicated by Rhodokanakis, St., II, 30, with five dots.

(z): wmsīds: “its bottom”; Rhodokanakis “Grund”: “foundation”. I prefer “bottom” as it would be a part of an irrigation channel or reservoir that could have been “covered with asphalt”; cf. above.
Conclusion:

According to this interpretation, RES 2869 turns out to be one of the biggest Minaean irrigation texts. The terms used in it are in many cases not attested elsewhere in ESA. The keyword is ḫmrwl "water distributing system". Rhodokanakis, St., II, 141, restores CIH 380,3: as lbrktn[wmk]fltn, and renders this as: "der Teiche [und der Wasserverteiler]: "the ponds and the water distributors", ibid., 142; (cf. also under article kfl). In the note, ibid., 144, he refers to the description of the remains of such a system in Glaser, Reise nach Mārib, 70. Glaser’s account there has many parallels to the system described in RES 2869, and it might be instructive to mention some of them here. Glaser says, "The waterwork is at the end of a main channel. It is constructed of walls, partly built in quardate stones and partly built in ordinary stone and mortar. The water is distributed from them in eight different directions. .... Channels seem to have carried the water from the big distribution works to the manāṣṭḥ ("Wasserverteilungskioske": "water distributing troughs"), which fed it direct to the palm gardens and fields. Such manāṣṭḥ (which are probably identical with manāṣṭīḥ of the inscriptions) are raised a little. ... Most manāṣṭḥ have the shape of a cube or a low prism and are rarely higher than two metres and are four to five metres in length. Usually they have in the middle a big channel which is sometimes walled up on one side.", Reise nach Mārib, 70. This description of what remained of the original works particularly helps in throwing some light on the shapes and functions of the many parts listed in RES 2869, especially lines 5-6: "the slope of the drainage duct and the embankments (sides) of the main duct (or, channel) and the spout of limestone and the spout of wood and (6) its trough and the outlet (or, conduit) and the pool and the small water-holding pits (or, ponds?) [or?] ... and its bottom."
Footnotes 29

PS to Footnote (5)

hgh is also attested in a late Sabaean text, Van Lessen 18. A poor text of this inscription has been recently published from "a rough tracing made from a photograph, which is obviously not fully reliable" by Professor Beeston, "Epigraphic and archaeological gleanings from South Arabia", Oriens Antiquus, I (1962), 51-52. As Professor Beeston himself, 1. cit., 51, says, "A close study of the original would be desirable at some future time", I thought that it would be advisable to edit the text here in full.

Van Lessen 18

This text is Jamme 342 (unpublished); cf. A. Jamme, "Les inscriptions rupestres de la region de Mukeras", Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique, 5me Ser., Tom. xxxvii, 1951, 308. Jamme says that it is in the northern wall of the house of Sultan Abdalla bin Ahmed at 'Aryab. Major Van Lessen says that the house in whose wall the inscription is built belongs to Sa'il b. 'Abdallah 'Audha. Major Van Lessen made a colour transparency, a black and white photograph, and a hand-copy, of the inscription. In his note sent with the hand-copy he says; "I took a ladder up and examined the stone at close range, scraping away the plaster where necessary". The palaeography of the script shows that it belongs, as Professor Beeston rightly suggests, "to the later phase of the old-Sabaean script"; I would compare it with CIH 448. It reads:

1. h'wfb'm/d'rgn/hgh/wbq1/wy
2. hw/d'ln/bb1/hgrn/hkr/wmrw
3. hw/tgyb/lhw/wl/d'drhw/\r
4. nbythm\brd\s/m\v\nd\v
5. hw/\r

This is the text as given in the hand-copy; it is corroborated by the transparency and the photograph except for nbythm\brd\s/m\v\nd\v, 1. 4, which should be read as (\r)bythm\brd\s/m\v\nd\v.
Footnotes 30

1. 'H'WF'M of 'BGN made watertight (constructed water-holding ridges for), and planted, his vineyard

2. d'LN in the territory of the town HKR and his (or, its, i.e., the vineyard's) irrigation system

3. TGYB for himself and for his dependents, the people of their houses, with the help of his Sun and [his] irrigation deity.

Notes:

L. 1: hqh: this verb seems to govern both wynhw: "his vineyard and mrwhw: "his (or, its, i.e., the vineyard's) irrigation system". The construction of water-holding ridges would refer to the construction of beds or trenches round the vines to retain the water for irrigation, as well as to the ridges or embankments of the irrigation channels. hqh "made watertight" would be more suited to mrwhw than to wynhw. If one is to maintain that hqh governs mrwhw and bql governs wynhw then we would have a syntactical order the type called in Arabic laff wa-nashr ghayr murattab, t opposite of laff wa-nashr, also attested in ESA; cf. Höfner, ASO, 179.

L. 3: d'drhw: "his dependents". This is the sense of d'drhw and d'drhw in similar formulæ; cf. RES 3858, 14; 3856, 3; 4330, 3 and CIH 599, 2; 601, 6; 609, 5.

Ll. 3-4: *b*1/(*)bythmhw: "the people of their houses", in apposition to "his dependents", and not a reference to deities. Cf. the note in CIH to CIH 322, 1, and the foreword to CIH chapter XIX.

Ll. 4-[5]: wmm[phw: it is necessary to suppose the existence of a l. 5, as both the right and left hand sides of the text are fairly intact. A. Jamme, l. cit., 310 and n. 4, reads mndh(hw), but the photographs show no trace of h in l. 4, and there is no space for it on the stone.
Rhodokanakis, \[\text{ST}, \text{II}, 93\] and \[\text{ZITAI}, \text{I}, 51\], maintains that Minaean 
\[\text{grtht}, \text{RES 3340,3}\] is plural of the singular \[\text{grht}\]; cf. also p. 4 
of this article. Höfner, \[\text{AGS}, 105\], claims that Minaean feminine 
singular nouns with \(-t\) form their plural by suffixing \(-ht\) and cites 
grhtm and \(\text{ntht}\) as examples. But an examination of all known 
examples of Minaean plurals with \(-ht\) whose singulars are attested 
have singulars without \(-t\). These cases have been cited by Rhodokanakis 
in \[\text{ST}, \text{I}, 38\]. They are:

(a) \(\text{ntnt}, \text{RES 3306,1} ; \text{ntnt}, \text{RES 3306,3} ; \) and \(\text{nt(ht)}y\), for the original 
\(\text{ntny}, \text{RES 3306,5}\). The singular of these plurals is \(\text{nt}\) without 
\(-t\); cf. \[\text{RES 3306,3}\] \(\text{bntnt, "als sein ("Atters) Weib"}, according to 
Rhodokanakis, \[\text{ST}, \text{I}, 61\]. Cf. also \[\text{RES 3316,5}\] \(\text{mtm/wntnttm}/\).

(b) \(\text{ntnt}, \text{RES 2742,7-8}\), from \[\text{MadINAT Haram}\]; cf. \[\text{Höfner, AGS, 105 n. 2}\]. 
The singular is \(\text{n}\), which also has the plural \(\text{nt}\); cf. note in \[\text{RES}\].

(c) \(\text{dbhty}, \text{RES 2980 bis,4} ; 2869,2 ; 2965,8\), "reparations, restorations" 
The singular is the infinitive \(\text{db}\); cf. \[\text{CHH 541,60}\] \(\text{lbwn/rwnt}\). No 
singular, \(\text{dbht}\) is attested. Cf. also \[\text{RES 3021,3}\] \(\text{wdbhty/wntnts}/\), 
where it is wrongly given in \[\text{RES}\] as \(\text{wdbhty}\); cf. \[\text{Rhodokanakis, ST, II, 35}\] 
and \[\text{ST, I, 38}\].

(d) \(\text{hwhtn} \), "their front spaces", \[\text{RES 3340,4}\], where \(\text{hwht}\) is the plural 
of \(\text{hw}\). Cf. the note to \(\text{hwhtn}\) on pp. 32-34 of this article.

(e) \(\text{mhnt}, \text{CHH 604,2,3,5}\). Rhodokanakis, \[\text{ST, I, 39}\], cites this word as 
an example of feminine plural \(-ht\), presumably in the sense of 
"watering systems", after \[\text{Glaser's "Wasseranlagen"}, \text{Altj. Nachr. 89}\] 
cf. \[\text{Rhodokanakis, ST, I, 39 n. 2}\]. The singular in this case is \(\text{mwh}\) 
"water", later \[\text{Rhodokanakis in ST, II, 139}\], renders \(\text{mwhnt}\) in \[\text{CHH 60}\] 
as "presses", following an alternative suggestion by \[\text{Glaser, op. cit. 89}\], 
whereby he rendered \(\text{mwhnt}\) as: "Pressen", but without giving an 
 etymology. \[\text{Rhodokanakis derives the sense of "presses" by comparing arabic 
\text{mwhnt}: "to press"}. In this case \(\text{mwhnt}\) cannot be a plural \(-ht\).

(f) \(\text{nhlt}, \text{CHH 546,5}\), from \[\text{MadINAT Haram}\]; cf. (b) above. \[\text{Rhodokanakis, ST, I, 58}\], states that this \(\text{nhlt}\) should be the plural of \(\text{hl}\) 
"clan, 'Sippe'".
(g) bynths, RES 2902,2. This is a preposition, the same as Qitbānī bynhtyṣam: "among them", RES 3566,6; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 39. It should be taken as the plural of the preposition byn, either with the same sense or in a specific sense of "among", in which latter case one should restore RES 2902,2 as bynhtṣ[m, as G. Rycx-mans actually does in RES. Cf. the modern Palestine colloquial benāt (= baynāt): "among".

(h) hbdthtn, CIH 320,3. This is an obscure term in a badly damaged text. But it is feasible to derive the singular thereof from hbt; cf. Arabic khabt: "low-lying open land", Qamūs, art. khbt. Thus CIH 320,3: w*r[b/bn/hbthtn/: "and the quarters from the low-lying open lands". The editors of CIH compare Arabic khabt and point out that hbthtn is analogous to *hl’htn, CIH 546,5, but render CIH 320,3 the passage cited above, as: "and the fruits (or, products) of the inhabitants of the two valleys".

(i) *mnhtn: in the well known Minaean term *hl/*mnhtn; cf. RES 3306 A,1 etc. This term has normally been left untranslated. On the analogy of other plurals with -ht it seems that a singular *mn is more feasible than *mnt. Cf. *mn: "administrator, officer", Caton Thomps 4,2. In this case *hl would have to be rendered as "class, group" rather than "people"; although the use of *hl: "family, clan", might indicate that the office or dignity was hereditary. The whole term *hl/*mnhtn would mean "the class (or, group) of (public) administrators". Cf. further the following Footnote 7 to this article and under article *mn.

(j) *hlhṭn, RES 2975,1 (= Tawfīk 63,2), restored thus by Mordtmann, BHE 89. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 39 n. 1, prefers restoring it as *hlhṭn, cf. CIH 546,5, discussed in (g) above in this footnote.

(k) *lwhtṭ, RES 2776,2. The text is fragmentary. This restoration is according to Mordtmann, BHE, 101. It is perhaps more reasonable to restore it as *lwhtṭ and to read RES 2776,2 as: *lwhtṭ/ṣawlt/ān/
q[brn: "the upper parts and the drainage duct (or, platform) of this burial-place". For the restoration /q[brn, cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 45 n. 3. °]lwh, construct, would be the plural of °lwm of °lwm and °lwh, CH1 325,6 and 8 respectively. For °lwh: "drainage duct (or, platform)", cf. Footnote 5 (f) to this article.

(1) °bhty, RES 2689,3, °Haqrami, plural of °b: "father".

(7): In pre-Islamic Macca hijaba, the holding of the key of Ka'ba and the controlling of admission into it, was one of the five or six public rights or dignities associated with the leadership of the community and the cult; cf. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muhammad, 53, 55. hijaba seems to have been the most highly esteemed among these dignities. It is normally given first place of mention among them; cf. Guillaume, ibid.; and AzraqI, "Akhbar Nahjkhur, (Leipzig, 1858), 341. Particularly instructive are the traditions associated with Qur'an iv,58: 'inna allaha ya'muru-kum 'an tu'addu al-'amanati 'ilâ ahli-ha: "verily God commands you to deliver al-'amanat to their owners (or, holders?)". The "occasion of revelation" of this verse is said to have been this. At the time of the conquest of Macca by Muhammad the hijaba was in the hands of Banu 'Uthman b. 'Abd al-Dar, while Muhammad's own family, represented by his uncle al-'Abbâs, or held the lesser dignity of siqaya, the watering of the pilgrims. The triumphant Muhammad demanded the surrendering of the key of Ka'ba which was given to him after an attempt at refusal, al-'Abbâs, seeing the key of Ka'ba in the hands of Muhammad, entreated the latter to add hijaba to his office or dignity of siqaya, as an act of honour to Muhammad's own family. But then "was revealed" Qur'an iv, 58, cited above, and so Muhammad gave the key back to the incumbent from among B. 'Uthman b. 'Abd al-Dar saying to him khudhû-hâ bi-'amanati allâh "take it (i.e. hijaba) in accordance with the 'amana of God." Cf. AzraqI, op. cit., 67; and Tabari, Tafsîr (NB), VIII, 490-3. The use in Qur'an iv,58 of 'amanat and ahli-ha recalls the Minaean °hl...
As will be seen under article *mn, the sense of Arabic
*amama: "trust, deposit" is a rather developed one, and *amanat in
Qur'an iv, 58 should be taken as referring to "administrative rights
or dignities". bi-*amanati allah: "in accordance with the *amina
of God", in the tradition, should be interpreted as referring to the
"administrative dignity or right given by (or, sanctioned by) God".
In Footnote 6 (g) to this article, cf. above, I maintained that
*mnhtn should be taken as the plural of *mn: "administrator" and
*hl/*mnhtn should be rendered as: "the class (or, group) of (public,
administrators)". RES 3306 A,1-2, which I rendered above as: "and
the two heads (or, leaders) of the class of (public) administrators
and those who keep his door (or, control admission to him (i.e. "TT")
with both of them from among the class of (public) administrators", is
instructive. From it we learn that *hl/*mnhtn had "two heads
or leaders" who had the right of hijaba ex officio or dignitate and
next to whom only certain members of the class enjoyed that dignity.
The specific mention of hijaba in RES 3306 A becomes clearly signi-
ficant when we remember that that text is concerned with the proceed-
for the selection and "sending down" to "TR of a "wife"; cf. the
interpretation and discussion of that text under article drr. hijaba
is indicated in RES 3306 A,1-2 by w'sd/st(2)rs/*mmn: "and those
who keep his door (or, control admission to him) with both of them".
Arabic hijaba and satara are synonymous and their respective semant:
ranges show extensive points of similarity. Rhodokanakis, St., I,
61, renders strs here as: "are appointed, installed, "eingesetzt
sind"", taking it as Form X of rys, as is indicated by his refer-
to Glaser, Altj. Nachr., 156; ibid., 63. Beeston, SI, 74, ad RES 395:
4: yrs, derives strs, RES 3306 A,1-2, from a root REG and adds,
"with strs I cp (Eth.) rasaya (1c) "appoint" - there is no urgent
reason for deriving this from yrs"; cf. the rest of the note there.
Beeston does not recognise the existence of a root yrs in ESA; he
also holds that Rhodokanakis derives RES 395:4: yrs: "he who
performs military service" from hrs "and equates it with hrs/ of
C(IH) 375,2. The explanation he gives of the latter (St II 24) is that it is to be (om)p(ared) with (Arabic) harasa = dagna "beat, crush" and (Hebrew) haras "ruin, destroy" (in spite of tÎ : Ï) and tr(anslated) "defensive warfare for the overthrow of the qat attack"; Beeston, ibid. Irrespective of what Rhodokanakis thinks of hrs in CIH 375,2, I cannot trace the place where Rhodokanakis indicates that he equates yhrs, RES 3951,4, with hrs. The only remark I can trace is his comment on the form yhrs and its translation by him as: "he who performs military service" with the cryptical "Das Imperf. modal gebraucht"; AST, I, 106 n. 1. That Rhodokanakis had accepted yhrs as imperfect Form IV of rys is implicit in his reference in St., I, 63, ad stris, RES 3306 A,1-5 to Glaser, Altj. Nachr. 156, where Glaser discusses the usages of ESA rys and says that yhrs, Gl. 1571 (= RES 3951),4, is perhaps to be equate with rys. If Rhodokanakis in AST, I no longer held that yhrs derives from rys, then he must have abandoned his case for stris: "are appointed" since the other usages given by Glaser there derive from rys. On the other hand Beeston's stris: "appoint", from a root rys should have read stris.

(8): A considerable number of terms of building and irrigation have been already interpreted in this article and the footnotes thereto, especially terms which occur in RES 2869, cf. footnote 5 to this article, and in RES 3340, cf. pp. 30-34 of this article. On pp. 5-6 of this article I gave an analysis of the Qitbanî texts in which srh occurs showing in the second column the parts of structure or property specified. I shall start here by examining such terms from among those that have to be re-interpreted.

three main dialects of ESA. Perhaps the clearest usages of mswd in ESA occur in the well-known Minaean formula mlk/m*n/mswd/m*n/bmswd, mn*n: "the king of Ma*In and the lords (senators) of Ma*In in the senate (council) of government (or, protection)"; cf. for this translation my NQI, 10-11. mswd in this formula has two meanings: (a) "lords (or, senators)"; (b) "senate (or, council)". Both usages are attested in QitbanI and Sabaean texts; cf. for (a) QitbanI RES 3566 dbn/s*bn/qtnb/mswdn/wtn - (cf. further under article tbn), and Sabaean RES 3951,3: mswd/srh/ws*bn/srh; and cf. for (b) the following discussion. mswd: "senate (or, council)" is the basic sense of the usages of mswd (b) in ESA but we find that this meaning develops in more than one specific sense. First it has come architecturally to indicate the building of the council, the assembly hall. It is in this sense that we find it in many of the QitbanI and Sabaean texts, as well as in the Minaean texts. Cf.

A. Minaean: RES 2879,2: kl/*bytn/hrn/wdghrn/wmswdsm: "all the house HRN and dZHRN and their assembly hall(s?)".

B. QitbanI: cf. RES 4932 and Jamme 118, cited above, where mswd in both texts is to be rendered "assembly hall".

C. Sabaean: cf. CIH 339 bis,2 and CIH 648,3 cited above; cf. also CIH 41,2: bytyhmw/mhwnr/wysr/wmswdhmv/hrmv; CIH 339,1-2: br*wh/wthwrn/wbs(2)qrn/bythmv/n*mn/wmswdhmv/tnrn; and RES 4708,1-2:

dmr*ly/yhbr/wbhnw/(t){*rn/mlky/sb/wdryn/smy/mhmy/m*dbt(2)hmw/bhl/*hmw/wsr/smy/wldmv/bny/arnh/lnswd/bythmv/qm. A sense of "assembly hall" is appropriate to mswd in all these cases.

In all these cases mswd is mentioned along with *byt, byty or byt. In RES 4708 mswd is construct with bythmv, and in CIH 648,3 mswd is also construct with bythmv. In Jamme 118, RES 4932 and CIH 339 bis the suffixes -hw, -a and -hw respectively refer to bythw/yf, byty/ byhn, and bythmv/n*mn also respectively. In RES 2879,2, where the text is damaged and the context, therefore, not clearly full, we can only suppose that -sm refers to *bytn before. But in CIH 41 and CIH 339 the suffix -hmw in wmswdhmwy obviously refers to the dedication
I am inclined to take byt in these texts as "house", with the exception of RES 4932, where bytn/bybn seems to be a temple; cf. p. 8 of this article. In the cases where byt meant "house", mswd: "assembly hall" was the majlis or meeting place of people where they conducted their communal life and activities. The separate and specific mention of mswd next to byt indicates that it was a unit separate from the house proper, the dwelling unit, probably independently accessible from the outside, for privacy, although forming a part of the compound and enclosed within the precinct walls. Parallels to this mswd, both functionally and architecturally, can still be found all over Arabia under the names majlis, diwan, diwaniyya. Cf. also the Turko-Egyptian salamlik: "reception room" with a private entrance; in richer houses a salamlik can be a veritably big-sized building; and cf. also Egyptian manzara: "reception room". In the text or texts where byt meant "temple", mswd must have meant or indicated a kind of a hall or chamber built next to the temple where business of a communal, and expectedly of a religious or cult—nature was carried out. Cf. dar al-nadwa next to al-Ka'ba, al-bayt, in pre-Islamic Macca; actually Nordtamm and Mittwoch, Sab. Inschr., compare dar al-nadwa with mswd in their No. 3. (= RES 3969), 2; cf. next page.

CIH 585, 2 reads: hwtrn/wbqrn/bytyhnw/n+mn/wrhn/msw[dy]. . . . and RES 4648, 3 reads: ...bthnw/ygr/mswdhmw. In these two texts mswd is equated with byt, which probably should be taken as the building "housing" a mswd. On the other hand mswd might be taken as badal ba'min kull to byt, indicating that such a byt also included a mswd, with which it is in this case being equated or identified, probably as a reflection on the importance of either the mswd or the house or on the status of the owners, as leaders of their clan or community.

Most people, with the exception of the priesthood and certain prominent classes, were excluded from entering Ka'ba. It was the dwelling of God, bayt allah; cf. Footnote 7 to this article.
mswd also occurs in a late Sabean monotheistic text dated Era year 574. It is Ry 520, which reads: ḥqšw/hw(9)t/mkrbn/y'wq/bn/mṣwdhw/ ḥtfr/hw/wn}'sq(10)hw/. G. Ryckmans, Mus., 67 (1954), 101, renders mkrb here as "sanctuary"; cf. also his note, ibid., 102. I render mṣwdhw/w}'sqfhw as: "and its assembly hall and its porticos"; cf. for s}sq: "porticos" the foot-remark on next page and under note (d) of this footnote. mṣwd: "assembly hall" in relation to mkrb: "sanctuary" is parallel to mṣwd in relation to byt: "temple" in RES 4932.

mswd is also attested in other texts where no byt or any other bigger unit to which it could have appertained is mentioned. Cf. RES 4198, 1-2: bğa/hwtr[n/mṣwd](2)hmw/rbn/hgrh[hw]; and ibid., 5: wrtd/mṣwdhw/ṭ(6)tr/ṛq; and RES 3970, 1-2: dm/bny/shy[mm...m]mṣwdhmw; and RES 3969, 2: bnyw/mṣ[wḏhmw]; the last two texts are badly damaged. A sense of majlis, "assembly hall" should be feasible here. It is perhaps difficult to say whether having or building a mṣwd belonging to a group of people on its own and apparently without necessarily being related or attached to a byt was a practice earlier or later than that of having or building a mṣwd related or attached to a byt and belonging to the owner or owners of that byt. This "detachment" can even be detected in CIH 41, 2: bythm̄w/mḥwvn/wysr/mṣwdhmw/hṛẉ: "their two houses MBHRH and YSR and their (the dedicants') assembly hall HRHR"; and perhaps in RES 2879, 2: kl/ｂynhn/wg̣hrrnw/mṣwdsm: "all the houses HRN and ḡHRN and their assembly hall(s?)"; cf. also CIH 339, 2: bythm̄w/n'mn/mṣwdhmw/tmn. The mṣwd in this case must have been or become the centre of communal life, and this function of mṣwd might help to throw light on why mṣwd was or became associated with worship or places of worship. Cf. what was said above concerning RES 4932 and Ry 520; cf. also

Fakhry 77: ḥš/whṣqrn/mdqnt/mṣwdhmw/n' mn/wmgl/ṛ/mṣwdhm[w]/n'mn, where the religious or cult association of mṣwd is indicated through mdqnt/mṣwdhmw: "the place of prayer, mibrāb?", of their
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Assembly hall"; for mdqnt = mihrāb, cf. my ASA MDQNT. (I read ūmā with place of G. Ryeckmans's ūmg; cf. under article *1/.)

Cf. also the "juxtaposition" of mdqnt and mswād in

GIH 648,3: mdqnt/mswād/*[/*w]grht/*wmzilt/*/bythmwn/*mnj; and in
RES 3564,2: wḥyt/*m/sd/*hm/w/*mdqnt/*hm; and perhaps in
RES 3563 B,3: mswād/*wmr/*sh/*hm/*[/*mdqnt/*hmw/*[/*wn]/*qtn/*hmw.

Cf. also the parallel "position" of mswād and mdqnt in relation to burial places. mswād occurs in the qitbānī texts:

RES 313 (= SE 126),2: qbrsm/*yf/*t/*mswād; and

By 521,2-4: *syw/*grbw/*bn(3)yw/*qbrsm/*mrd/*m/*mswād/*glm/*bn/*sr(4)m/*

and also 3-4: *dt/*qbrn/*mswād/*wmsf/*syw/.

mdqnt occurs in the Sabaean text

Fakhry 72,2-4: ḥwtr*(3)y/*wbr/*wbs/*m/ mdqnt/*lqbrhm(4)y/*yrn.

In comment on Fakhry 72,3: mdqnt/*lqbrhm, I said in my ASA MDQNT, 334, "Most probably this mdqnt ... which appertained to a burial place of communal size was in the shape of a portico, to provide shade from the sun and shelter from rain. But it was foremost a place for conducting prayers and services for the dead." mswād in the corresponding qitbānī texts could have had a similar function ritually, though not necessarily a similar form of architecture. Some support to this view can be found in archaeological finds in qitbānī texts.

In my ASA MDQNT, 333, I maintained that mdqnt, "place of prayer", was architecturally something like a ᵇaṣiqa: "a portico or covered colonnade open in front". Compare with this By 520,9-10: /mkrbn/...

wm*swād/*w*s*ṣ(10)fhw: "the sanctuary .... and its assembly hall and its porticos". The "substitution" of ᵇaṣiqa for mdqnt in "comparable" contexts seems to reflect the change in the form of prayer or worship.

By 520 is a late Sabaean monotheistic text, while mdqnt seems to have been called so from a particular way of worshipping the sun and the moon, cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 34 n. 2; and idem., ZIAI, I, 49.
sites. R. LeB. Bowen, ADGA, 10, writes of the tombs at Heid bin 'Aqīl, "It seems that the tombs were simply ossuaries and that the central passages probably served some function in religious rites connected with the deceased." Cf. further below.

Before I discuss the various interpretations which have been given by scholars to EBA mswd I propose to make two comparisons with mswd, semantic and etymological. Arabic majlis offers a semantic range comparable to that of EBA mswd, although in a rather reverse process. Of some interest is also mangara: "reception room", cited above, which also came to mean "hall", and "en parlant des Juifs, la salle du conseil, la sanhédrin"; Dozy, Supplement, II, 687.

But the closest semantic parallel to mswd I can think of is Arabic mashwar: "terme maghrbin, signifie proprement: l'endroit ou le monarque tient son conseil, où il traite avec ses grands les affaires publiques, ... Le souverain y donne aussi des audiences publiques, pour rendre la justice; ... et de là vient que ce mot est expliqué aussi par salle destinée aux audiences. ... En outre le souverain dine dans cette salle avec les grands, ... et y fait quelques-unes des ses prières, ... — Une partie d'un palais, séparée du reste de l'édifice; ... — Palais, ... — Fortresse, citadelle"; Dozy, Supplement, I, 800. Etymologically I compare two Arabic usages: (1) masyd or masīd = masjid, "mosque, place of prayer", and = maktab, "school for children, primary school"; and (2) sayyid, Qur'an iii, 39, claimed by Abu 'Ubayd, Risāla, to be a usage in the dialect of Ḥimyar meaning ḥakīm: "wise, wise man, sage".

(1) masīd: Taj, in the supplement to art. swd, gives masīd as a dialectal variant for masjid and adds that it has been claimed to be muwallad: "post classical"; and gives masīd = maktab in the dialect of al-maghrib. In the supplement to art. mīd Taj gives masīd as a dialectal variant for masjid in the dialect of misr, Egypt, and adds that in the dialect of al-maghrib it means kuttāb. Dozy, Supplement, I, 700, gives "masyad ou masīd, en Afrique, école primaire, ... masīd est la prononciation vulgaire".
I hold that \textit{masād} is the original rather than the colloquial form and that it is not a dialect variant for \textit{masjid}. \textit{masād} is a regular noun of place, ism makan, from swd > syd, and so is masyad, although regularly it should have been masyad. Dozy, ibid., also gives mazaḍ pl. muzud and ‘āmzida, as a variant form of masyad and masīd. I suggest that mazad is a shortened form of a possible mazad < masād, the more regular form of masyad. masād = masjid implies \textit{j} > \textit{y} and then masyad > masīd. \textit{j} > \textit{y} is attested in modern Arabic colloquials, e.g., Ḥadramawt; cf. Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, 123. In this case masīd would obviously be the original form rather than masyad.

However, if masyad is to be linked with the root sjd and is to be accepted as the original form rather than masīd, as Dozy claims, then masjad > masyad would be more feasible. masjad, as against the more common masjid, is specified by Ibn al-Arabi, Ṭaj, art. sjd., as: mihrāb al-buyūt wa-muṣallā al-jāma’at; "the miḥrāb of (or, in) houses and the place of prayer (belonging to individual) groups (or clans)". This masjad would be akin to ESA mswd inasmuch as we have seen the latter appertain to houses and belong to individual group or clans; cf. above. In my ASA MDQNT I cited masjad and equated it with ESA mdqnt inasmuch as it was explained by mihrāb al-buyūt; cf. the full comment in my ASA MDQNT, 334. The possible equation of both mdqnt and mswd to masjad is made possible and feasible by the close association of mdqnt and mswd as has been pointed out above; cf. all further below. The inclusion of masīd in the supplement to art. masād in Ṭaj is obviously wrong and shows the uncertainty as to its etymo-

\textit{Is mazad = masyad and masīd a case of ESA s corresponding to z? Less controversially s > z here can be attributed to the influence of the voiced ḏ, mizwada: "rug", in the dialect of Southern Palestine offers a peculiar semantic and etymological situation; cf. misjada and sajjada: "prayer rug" and hence sajjada: "rug, carpet". In other parts of Palestine and Jordan the same is called bujra, literally, "room, enclosure." Does mizwada betray any relation with ESA mswd?}
Although it has been shown possible to link masīd and masyad semantically and etymologically with masjid and masjad respectively, I hold that they should derive from swd > syd and that the relation between masīd and masjid is semantic rather than etymological. ESA mawd: "assembly hall" must have served, among other functions of a communal nature, as a place of prayer, and hence it might have served as a place of learning, in the same way that mosques in Islamic times have served as seats of learning and as maktabs and kuttabs: "primary schools, Qur'anic schools". Cf. also majlis: "assembly hall", which has come to mean "la salle où un professeur donne ses leçons", and "Chez les Druzes, chapelle où se réunissent leurs "wagāl"; Dozy, Supplement, I, 208. This possible function of ESA mawd as a place of learning might be linked with Jīmārī sayyid = ḥākim, claimed by Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, in connection with sayyid in Qur'an iii, 39, which reads: fa-nādat-hu al-malā'ikatu wa-huwa qā'im-un yuṣallī fi-l-mihrāb 'anna allāha yubashshiru-ka bi-yahyā muṣaddiq-an bi-kalimat-in min allāhi wa-sayyid-an wa-ḥāṣur-an wa-nabiyy-an min al-ṣāliḥin. The exegetes were avert to ascribing to sayyid here the sense of "master, lord", as this sense, according to them, could apply only to God; cf. Isān, art. swd. A number of meanings, therefore, have been assigned to sayyid here which one feels were only conjectured to fit the context in a rather vague sense. They are: ḥālim: "magnanimous, sagacious"; ṭaqīyy: "pious"; karīm 'ala allāh: dear to, favoured by, God; sharīf: "noble"; and faqīḥ ʿalim: "saint and learned". Abū 'Ubayd's sayyid = ḥākim is in line with these interpretations and its only significance to us is the claim that it is a Jīmārī usage. If this claim is to be accepted then it is possible, as was suggested above, to link it with ESA mawd in its probable function as a place of learning, and one can also envisage that the group of people termed mawd, cf. supra, were, or had among them, people who were the savants of the community as well as being members of the aristocracy, perhaps to be compared with the modern sayyid class of South Arabia; cf. R. B. Serjeant, "The Saiyids of
Hadhramaut", 3. This Hýmyarí sayyid, however, might be the equivalent, at least in form if not in sense as well, of the singular of Esa swd which is attested only in the plural in the Minaean texts RES 2808, 2; 2907, 2 and 3562, 2, where it seems to have the sense of "lords" or probably the developed sense of "senators, councillors" or even "counsellors". But since Minaean swd seems to be closely linked with mswd it is feasible to assume that swd as well indicated or included people who were savants as well as being members of the aristocracy. Moreover, the attachment of a

\[ RES 2808, 1-2: \begin{align*}
1. d^*/byd^*/mlk/m^*n \\
2. w^*swdn/k^*sd/\text{bn}/m
\end{align*} \]

The text is damaged on both sides.

RES 2907: fth/ryś/\{\}mlks/w^*ś(w)dn/, which I render: "the decree which there ordered (or, imposed) his "kings" and the "swd". For (\{\})mlks: "his "kings"", cf. CIH 609, 7: "mn/kl/1^*ltm/w^*mlkm/" and RES 3436: "mn/kl/1^*ltm/w^*mlkm/w^*qwl/m/w^*ś/bm/". And cf. as a parallel formula or text RES 3458, 2: fth/fth/mlk/m^*nm/wmswd/m^*nm/ RES render RES 2907, 2 as: "et il a ordonné l'inspection des domaines et des champs", after Glaser, Altd. Nachr., 156, which I think is forced and untenable.

RES 3562, 2-3: wkf/swd/m^*nm/mswdn/wbf[yyn]/f[s]/wm[nw]t/w^*[hl]/mnhtn] (3)wkf/ś/bn/m^*nm. The term swd here obviously has a wider application than mswd. The terms which follow swd/m^*nm indicate the class and holders of public offices who participated in deliberations and legislation. Being the "councillors" of the state or the "counsellors" of the king, who is mentioned in the previous line, cf. Glaser, op. cit., 100, swd might have had or developed the sense of āhl al-shūrā or āhl al-ra'y, hence "sages, wisemen". āhl al-shūrā and āhl al-ra'y in Muslim Spain and al-Maghrib were institutions which seem to have had very much in common with those of swd and mswd in ancient South Arabia; cf. āhl al-shūrā: "les vizirs et les êmirs"; and "Conseil, composé de fikhs, qui donne des fatwas"; Dozy, Supplement, I, 799; cf. the comparison of mashwar with mswd, above. Cf. also Dozy, op. cit., I, 497; for āhl al-ra'y.
māwd to a burial place, attested in BY 521,3: qbram/mrd/mwmāwd and in RES 313 (= SE 126),2: qbramy/yft/wmāwd, might have a parallel in the Islamic practice of building mosques and madrasas attached to burial places or vice versa. The same applies to māwd, Jamme 343.

Glaser, Altj. Nachr., 142-154, examined the meaning of ESA māwd as a building or architectural term and assigned to it the sense of "Ratsaal": "assembly hall, council hall". Glaser pointed out that in a number of texts the context might be pertaining to the cult and held that in such a case māwd could be rendered as: "Versammlungssaal der Betenden": "the meeting hall of the worshippers", which he also renders in the shorter but less explicit term: "Kultgebäude? and "Kultsaal?". He gives these senses as alternatives to "Ratsaal" in CIH 41,2; 325,2; RES 2789,2 and in other texts where byt is mentioned in association with māwd or vice versa and where byt is to be taken as "temple", e.g., CIH 648,3. He also suggested that in texts pertaining to the cult māwd could be rendered as "burnt-offerings altar" or "incense altar" and he compared with these senses modern South Arabian sawd: "charcoal" and Eth. sōda: ignem facere; ignem (in acerra) ferre" and Eth. maswad: "receptaculum ignis, ignis-tabulum, acerra"; op. cit., 145, 161. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 34, in his note to grh in RES 2869,3, where he expounds his view that grh in Minaean and Sabaean texts indicated the higher story of the building and was associated with sacrifice, cf. supra, renders māwd in CIH 339 bis,2 as: "Feueraltar", and in CIH 648,3 as: "Brandopferplätze" and in n. 3 on the same page he refers to Glaser's comparison of Eth. sōda and maswad and adds that remark that perhaps māwd was synonymous to mqdn, RES 2869,5, which he renders as: "Altarherd": "the altar-fireplace" by comparing Arabic waqada: "to burn, to kindle a fire"; cf. also St., II, 30 and 39. (I render mqdn as: "the main duct (or, channel)"; cf. PS I to Footnote 5 to this article above and my MQI, 20.) In line with this rendering of māwd Rhodokanakis, St., II, 42, renders CIH 325,2: ...slīth/wd/mwmāwd/"lyn as: "its facade
in front of the high altar". I have shown under Footnote 5 (g) to this article that CIIH 325 is an irrigation text and there is no sacral context there. althw/dan/mswd/n/lhn simply means: "its side (or, facade) in the direction of (facing) the high assembly hall (or, the assembly hall 'LYN')". In St., III, 31, Rhodokanakis renders RES 313 (= SE 126), 2: q6brwy/yf't/mswd#: "their tomb YF'T and its censer, ΠΥΡΕΙΟΥ", and he justifies this rendering by referring to the practice of putting tib: "perfumes" on the dead attested in Bukhari, Sahih, and to practices mentioned by A. Grohmann, Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, I, 111 and n. 3. Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 52-3, reiterated in emphatic words that mswd in the context of arht, in CIIH 648 and 339 bis, could only mean "turibulum": "incense-burner, censer", and so also in the context of qbr in RES 313 (= SE 126). In view of the fact that I maintain that arht does not mean "superstructures, upper-chambers" Rhodokanakis's argument for rendering mswd as "incense-burner" should be invalidated. Other scholars have found it difficult to accept mswd as "incense-burner, burnt-offerings altar" in texts with contexts similar or parallel to those of CIIH 648, 339 bis, and RES 313 (= SE 126). In RES 4648; Ry 520, 9 and Ry 521, 3, G. Ryckmans renders mswd as "lieu de sacrifice". A. Jamme, IHYF, 185, objects to this rendering saying, "but 'sacrifice' does not allude to the fact that the object offered to the divinity is consumed by fire, and the idea of 'sacrifice' is normally rendered in South Arabian by the root dbh. A few years before, the same author had adopted the plausible rendering: "autel à holocaustes" (cf. G. Ryckmans, Les Religions arabes préislamiques, p. 31), which is much better, but not precise enough. ... In Jamme 118 mswd means an "incense-altar sanctuary" rather than an "incense-altar", since the other nouns mentioned in lines 2-3 refer to large constructions." G. Ryckmans also renders RES 4708, 2-2: smy/ mbrwry/m*dbt(2)mry/bhl/"mry/wr/smwy/wmeldn/bny/drnt/lmswd/bythyw/ as: "ont établi les deux concessions de (concernant) leurs sujets ... ... pour l'autel à combustion de leur temple Sun'a". Höfner, in her review of RES VII, troisième livraison, in Bi. Or. 10 (1953), p. 151,
says that in her view byt here should be taken as "house", and that mswd "fire-altar" must have been the central permanent piece, "Bestandteil" of the place of worship in the house, and then adds the remark "im Land der Aromata wohl verständlich". This inscription is on a statue of a man double the normal size, and Höfner, ibid., suggests that mhmry, l. 1, referred to this and another similar statue, and renders mhmry as: "the two gifts". She then comments, "The two statues flanked the entrance to this 'house-chapel'; ibid. Seeing that she takes byt as "house" and mswd as "fire-altar", I do not know where she got this "house-chapel" from. A. Jamme, "Inscriptions du musee de San'ā", Mus., 67 (1954), 324, renders lmswd/bythmw here as: "pour le sanctuaire à encens de leur residence", and in the note thereto, ibid., 327, expresses his objection to the suggestion that such two huge statues could have been placed next to an altar of the small size that we know of from South Arabia at present. mswd: "assembly hall", with or without its association with cult and worship, gives a clear and satisfactory sense here.

A final word about the etymology of mswd. Glaser, Altj. Nachr., 101-104, 138-140, 145, and 161-2, discussed its etymology fully and compared usages and roots from Arabic, Hebrew and Assyriac for mswd: "lords, councillors, counsellors", and mswd: "assembly hall", apart from comparing Eth. sōdā and maswad for mswd: "censer, incense-altar". For the etymology of the first two meanings, which, in my view, are the only valid ones, two tendencies stand out. One is to start from the sense of Arabic sāda: "to be or become paramount" and sayyid: "master, lord, chief"; the other is to start from the sense of Hebrew sōd: "council, counsel, secret counsel". It is difficult to choose between either. Semantically we have seen how Arabic mashwar and 'ahl al-shūra have a range of senses closely parallel to that of ESA mswd. Arabic mashwar and shūra are the equivalents of Hebrew sōd.
(b) *mt*; Ry 463; RES 3962; and nfs; RES 3962; Jamme 118 and 119; cf. the relevant passages thereof on pp. 5-6 of this article. *mt* is only attested in these two cases, while nfs is attested also in Jamme 343 A, 2, 4; 343 B, 2, 4; 344, 2 and Van Lessen 10, 3, where nfshsyw is used as an "appurtenance" of a burial place, qbr. Höfner UTQJ, 76-80, examined the use of these two terms in building and property texts, compared them with the verbal usages of *mt* and nfs in RES 3566, 12, 19 and concluded that *mt* and nfs were taxation terms, assigning to *mt* the sense of "Stundungen": "respite", and to nfs the sense of "Erleichterung, Nachlässe": "relief, remission". In my NQI, II, 424, ad nfshsyw, Van Lessen 10, 3, I rejected Jamme's rendering of nfs in IHT, 185, as "roof-terrace" and rendered it as "chamber, compartment", in this case of a burial place. I now hold that both *mt* and nfs are legal terms associated with real estate. *mt* indicates the amenities of the house or the rights thereto. In this sense *mt* is semantically and technically the equivalent of Arabic marafiq al-där. These can be intra-mural and extra-mural, the extra-mural often being concerned with sewage and drainage and also the right to channel and drain rainwater from a certain distance outside one's walls into one's cistern. nfs indicates the extra-mural area or space adjacent to the house or building which should be left free and from which free access to the precinct can be attained. This area covered by nfs is called

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Semantically and perhaps etymologically nfs here is the equivalent of Arabic nafadha: "to go through, to have access"; cf. ṭāriq nafidha: "a public thoroughfare"; and as a substantive one uses manfadh and nafdh in the same sense; cf. ṭaj, art. nfdh. Cf. also baytu-hu nafidh-un 'ala ḫarayn: "sa maison percé dans deux rues zuqaj la yanfudh: "cul-de-sac, impasse"; cf. also manfadh, the equivalent of manfas: "ouverture, ventouse; ouverture par ou passe l'eau, soupirail d'aqueduc", Dozy, Supplement, II, 696, 698, 702.
Footnotes 48

in Arabic ۸۹۰۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹ۢ۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹۳۹
As for.msqg, cf. the next note.

(c) msqg in RES 3962: cf. the relevant text above. I render msqg here as "apertures, small windows"; cf. sagus: "finestrino", E. Rossi, Arabo Parlato a San’a, 159, and shagus: "bull’s-eye-window", C. Rathjens, Jewish Domestic Architecture in San’a, Yemen, Jerusalem, 1957, 41, and 78. I cannot say whether bull’s-eye type windows were known in ancient South Arabia, but the reference here seems to be to apertures or small windows in the outside or precinct walls which, as such, constituted a feature that had to be defined and safeguarded by separate mention, since their presence entailed a right of onlooking or perhaps, overlooking, beyond one’s walls. Cf. manfas: "lucarne, oif-de-boeuf", Dozy, Supplement, II, 702. In view of the occurrence of msqg in RES 3962 immediately after nfshysm, the use of Arabic manfas in the sense of modern Yemeni shagus and ESA msqg, might be a developed sense by attraction. Cf. for a parallel semantic development my ASA MDQNT, 333 n. 2.

(d) msqf in CIH 132,2; Jamme 118; 119, Jamme, HYT, 186, renders msqfthw, Jamme 118,2-3, as "and its arcades", and in the note thereto, ibid., 186 f., he compares Arabic saqf: "arched, vaulted roof, sloping (not flat)", according to him, and "the modern Yemeni noun sagIf "vestibulo aperto" and entrance hall on the ground floor of a Yemeni house (actually without windows)", ad according to E. Rossi and D. S. Goitein respectively, and conclude that "msqf may possibly be translated as "vaulted passage, arcade". I do not know where Jamme could have got his definition of Arabic saqf as "arched, vaulted roof, sloping (not flat)". And as far as I know there is no evidence that ancient South Arabian architects knew arches or vaults. msqf simply means "a roofed, covered, appurtenance", and here it refers to such appurtenances outwith the house and within the precincts. It is in this particular sense that Jamme 118,2-3: msqfthw/merqytmbndn/bytn/ can be fully understood. Cf. also CIH 132,2-3: tny/mersqf/mersqy/wm’rby/hyt/srhtn/, which I render as: "the two roofed appurtenances to the east and
to the west of this court, open Area. Cf. musaqqa: "la partie couverte d'une mousquée, l'opposé de sahn, la partie découverte", and musaqqafa, in the same sense; Dozy, Supplement, I, 663. Modern Yaman sagIf, like Arabic saqifa, is to be compared with Ry 520, 9–10: /mkrbn/...../wm'swdhw/w'sq(10)thw/; cf. the foot remark on p. 39 of the footnotes to this article. Cf. also G. Ryckmans's note to Ry 520, 9–10 in Mus., 67 (1954), 104 f. Cf. also Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 60.

(e) mgllt: CIH 648, 2–3: brw/whqsb/ndqnt/wmswd[/w]grht/wmgltt/bythmw
n'mn(4)whythw/n'mn/f'dbw/whgl/whqr[/]/whgynt/wnkl/kl/gqm.
This is the text as edited in CIH. Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 48, reads 1. 4 as: wbythm n'mn f'dbw wh[g]l whq[h] whgynt etc. CIH renders mgllt as "taberna"; "booth, shed", while Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 48 renders it as "covered passage". But "taberna" of CIH is nearer to the correct sense than Rhodokanakis's "covered passages"; and I render it as "pavilion, canopy, booth"; Arabic nigalla = gulla; suffa: "a portico, a canopy", and masalla: "a booth, a pavilion"; cf. Lisán, art. gll. Cf. also Ḥd al-magall: "Feast of Tabernacles"; Dozy, Supplément, II, 84. The main point to be taken in consideration here is that in CIH 648, 3: ndqnt/
wm'swd[/w]grht/wmgltt/bythmw are offices or appurtenances of the house, bythmw, but are not part of its structure. The same thing can be said about CIH 660, 2, where bnyw/...../mghllm/lbythmw is rendered by Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 63, as: "have built ..... a sheltering roof, "Schutzdach", for their house". As for CIH 648, 4: whgl/whqr/, or, as emended by Rhodokanakis, wh[g]l/whq[h]. According to the plate of the inscription, the first word reads whkl, and there is no trace of a circle on the diacritic upper stroke, as the one in g of mgllt, 1. 3, and as for the second

* CIH renders mghllm here as: "tabernas"; Mordtmann and Mittwoch Sabäische Inschr., render it as: "bedeckte Halle", and Jamme, AS-AMNE, 10, as: "véranda".
word, the plate shows only whăr, as is also indicated in the note thereto in CIH. I hold, therefore, that one should read whkl/whăr and I render it as: "and completed and made even".

Notes to this translation:

whkl: "completed"; cf. RES 3902 bis, 130,2-3: bnyy/whkl/ylf/hrtnl(3)bnyy/lhw/wgwb1: "(both of them) built and completed TLF, the canal of their palm— (3) gardens L3HW and GWBL"; cf. also RES 3902 bis, 131,2-3: whkl/m*haw/hyd/d(3)ysqyn/nlhw/ghrbh: "and completed his barrage YFD which (3) irrigates his palm— garden ORBH". kll in both cases means "completed", and not only "aménager": "to fit up, to arrange"; and yl, in the former text, is a proper noun and not a substantive meaning "completion", a meaning which is not attested from the same root in any other comparable language; cf. the translation and the notes thereto in RES. For the mention of the proper noun before the thing it names cf. Van Lessen 24,2: bn/m*gl/mstq "BH", the tank for the irrigation of ..."; cf. my NQI,II, 427 f. Cf. also CIH 548, 13-14: whkl/rs*/ly/k(14)l/ynsn/: "and the whole cost is to fall on every man", according to Beeston's translation, SI, 53; cf. his note thereto, p. 54; cf. also Höfner, ZIAI, II, 102, who renders kll as "total sum". Rhodokanakis, St., I, 58 n. 5, renders this as: "and completely compensate the damage entailed on all people". I render it: "and the fine (or, mulct) shall be (imposed, or, levied) complete on every person".

The reference here is to the fines to be paid for offences of aggression and disturbing the peace at the sanctuary; cf. the full examination of CIH 548 under footnote 1 to article drr. kll here is Form II, passive. For rs*: "fine, mulct", cf. Arabic rasa*: "to take away from someone's property; to impose upon someone's property or generosity", and rus*: "heavy loss, calamity". This rendering is in line with the usages of rz elsewhere in ESA; cf. CIH 540,36; 541,115; 546,5. — CIH renders hêl as: "texerunt": "covered with a roof", while
Rhodokanakis, St., II, 34, renders it as: "provided it with covered passages", and in ZIAI, I, 48, as "and set up covered passages". Both CIH and Rhodokanakis see in ḫgl a reference to m*plt, l. 3. Although I hold that ḫkl is a definite reading that gives a perfectly reasonable sense, especially after f'dbw, it can also be pointed out that ḫgl can have a sense of "to complete"; cf. Van Lessen 25, ḫgl/f’ln: "he finished, he carried out, the work". The construction there was on a water tank, m’jl, and there is no question of a roof. As for ḡlt "pool" in RES 2814,2,4,5, pl. gatsby: CIH 371,4; and ḡlt: "grave" in CIH 717 and RES 4838, pl. ḡltm, RES 3955,2, cf. footnote 5 (a) to this article. (Cf. also under article ḡkl.) ḡlr[h]l: "made even"; this either refers to the construction of the srḥt, line 3, since that would mainly be in the form of levelling and making even the ground of the courtyard, cf. p. 35 of this article, or to the making even of the site after construction work. This sense fits well with f'dbw/whkl. Cf. also footnote 5 (1) to this article.

* In my NQI,II, 425 I read Van Lessen 25,4 as: whkl/f’ln and rendered it, ibid., 426, as: "and he completed the work". But the photograph of the text shows a circle on the diacritic upper stroke of the letter, and one should read g. In my "corrigenda and addenda" to my NQI,II, communicated privately, I said: "The context requires that ḫgl/f’ln should have a meaning like "he finished, he carried out, the work". It might be possible to suggest that ḫgl, usually meaning "he covered with a roof", might have been used here in a developed sense of "he completed". A parallel to this might be found in the use of ḡqr, which also means "he covered with a roof, he raised the building to roof level", in connection with work on irrigation works; cf. RES 4196,2: br’w/whwr/whqr/m’glyhmwr, and RES 4775,2: whqrn/m’hdmwr/. Cf. also ṣqr, II, in connection with irrigation works; cf. RES 3911,1-2; 3913,2; 4627,2. (Cf. also CIH 287,1: ḫglw/whbrn: "completed and built up", as I render i
Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, quotes Ibn al-Anbārī as giving a
tradition on the ultimate authority of Mujāhid that ṣuwāʾ, Qurʾān
xii, 72, is a Ḫīmyari word meaning ʿirjāḥaḥla "drinking cup". A.
Jeffery says, "The word was a puzzle to the exegetes and we find
a fine crop of variant readings"; For. Voc., 200. Jeffery, ibid.,
concludes by saying, "The Muslim authorities take the word as Arabic,
but Nöldeke has shown that it is the Eth. ṣewāḥ, which is actually
the word used of Pharaoh's cup in the Joseph Story of Gen. xl in the
Ethiopic Bible". Jeffery makes no mention of the claim given in
Suyūṭī, ibid., that ṣuwaḥ was a Ḫīmyari word.

In ESA we find ṣ'ē in RES 3695,4: ṣ'ē/ḥly/wsāq/ḥmr/bnkl:
"et en plus d'un ẓ'ē de dattes douces, une charge d'ane de tout ...").
This text, Minaean from al-ʿUlā, is badly damaged from both sides
and one is not able, therefore, to form a definite view of what the
whole text was about. The rendering of ṣ'ē in the text by Arabic ẓ'ē
seems quite plausible in the context of the rest of the line.

The evidence offered by ESA ṣ'ē in RES 3695,4 is not of
much help in justifying the claim that ṣuwaḥ, "drinking vessel" was
a usage in the dialect of Ḫīmyar. But the fact that RES 3695 is a
Minaean text from North Arabia might not be without special signifi-
cance both in view of the relations of the Minaeans with Egypt and
in view of their place in North Arabia.

If the Arabic word in the Qurʾān was actually a direct
borrowing from Ethiopian, as seems implied by the fact that it is
the same word used in the Ethiopic Bible in connection with the same story, then the claim that it was Ḥimyarī is instructive in providing an Example of Ethiopic words being identified as Ḥimyarī.
Abū Ubayd, Risāla, quoted also in Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 135, gives *uthīra, Qur'ān v. 107, as a Ḥimyārī usage for ḫīṭfullā: "was found out".

In ESA *ṭr* is definitely attested in RES 3306 A,4: *ṭr*/*wnny*/dbḥs/, and ibid., 5: *ḥl*/*yn*/rbn/*ṭr*. Rhodokanakis, St. I, 61 n. 2, emends *ṭr, l. 5, as *ṭ[ṭ]r*, which is unwarranted; cf. under article drr. He renders *ṭr*/*wnny*/dbḥs, l. 4, as: "dass reicher seien und vermehrt werden seine Opfer"; ibid., 61. He maintains that *ṭr and nmy are synonymous, compares Arabic ghathara, ("to be abundant with growth or herbage"), and Hebrew ṣāṣar, ("to be or to become rich"), and refers to Grimme's comparison of Arabic *itr and *atīra, ("the sacrificial victim offered to the gods in the month Rajab"); ibid., 65. Grimme, "Internes aus der minaischen Religion", OLZ, IX, 1906, 60-62, takes *ṭr in lines 4 and 5 as a substantive, compares Arabic *itr and *atīra, and renders it "Opfergegenstand" and "Opfer" respectively. I concur with Rhodokanakis in that *ṭr*, l. 4, is a verb, and find his translation of it as "reicher sein" basically correct. But I render *ṭr*/*wnny*/dbḥs as: "her sacrificial victim shall thrive and flourish (i.e. propitious I also agree with Grimme that *ṭr, l. 5, is a substantive meaning "sacrificial victim, tribute". A full re-interpretation of the passage in which these two usages of *ṭr occur is given under article drr.

Al-Aqsa'Ī is given as the authority for a claim that ghatharī, is the same as *atharī: "crops which the sky (i.e. rain) waters"; cf. Taj, art. qḥthr., W. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites,
p. 99 n. 2, continued on p. 100, says "Atharī, for which some good authorities give also *aththarī (see Lisan), seems to mean 'belonging to Athtar', the S. Arabian god. The name of the South Arabian god 'TTR is considered to derive from the root *tr: "to be rich"; cf. CIH II, p. 93; and G. Ryckmans, RNF, 27.

In Arabic no usage from the root *thr is attested which would correspond to ESA *tr: "to be rich, to flourish", as used in RES 3306 A,4, or as is perhaps attested in the name of 'TTR. But Arabic ghatharā: "to be abundant with growth or herbage" is the equivalent of ESA *tr. It is significant and noteworthy that Lisan does not give either the verbal usage ghathara or ghatharī = *atharī, which suggests that the earlier and more strict authorities did not recognize either, in spite of the fact that the latter is given in Taj on the authority of al-Afmaṣī. Besides, the fact that the form *atharī is well attested might suggest that it came directly from South Arabian usage where the usage with the 'āyn seems to have originated.

*uthira, Qur'ān v,107, claimed by Abu Ubayd as *īyarī usage for *ittuliʿā: "was found out", does not, at the first glance, seem to be connected with ESA *tr: "to be abundant, to be rich". But there is a possibility of semantic comparison offered by *ittuliʿā, Form VIII passive of *talaʿa: "to rise, to go up, to grow". This basic sense of *talaʿa corresponds semantically to that of ESA *tr, and the sense of "to find out" might in Arabic have been considered as "to look at a thing from a higher position, to overlook". Tabarī, Tafsīr
(NE), XI, 179, explains 'uthira as ʿittulīʿa, or, ʿahara; "became evident", and then says that it derives from ʿathara; "to fall, to stumble", hence ʿathara ʿala: "to fall upon, to stumble over, to find out". This is the view generally held by the lexicographers. It is not semantically incompatible with the preceding interpretation, unless we are here in front of a "Gegensinn" case where a word means "to rise, to stand up" in one dialect and "to lie down, to fall down" in the other; cf. footnote 2 to article ʿfd for a number of such words in North Arabian and South Arabian dialects of Arabic.

Grimme's comparison of Arabic ʿitr and ʿatīra with ESA ʿtr, substantive, is correct. The fact that this usage in Arabic is with ʿa and not with ʿā may suggest that the Arabic term corresponded to the ESA ʿtr but did not derive from it. It is perhaps possible to suggest that Arabic ʿitr and ʿatīra are loanwords from Aramaic and might have come into Arabic with the introduction of some cults from Syria or from Mesopotamia.

Another possible case of ʿtr in ESA occurs in RES 3915,1-2, which reads:

1. ʿwhbʿtt/bn/ʿlfqm/wbnhw/ʿsʿw/(w)h(w)

2. ʿtr/wṣqr/hrtn/mṣqṣt/nhlhnw

The note thereto says, "Le texte porte ʿhʿtr". The case for the emendation looks obviously clear. Conti Rossini, Cl., 214, however, reads ʿsʿw/whʿtr/wṣqr/hrtn, and renders ʿhʿtr as "in ordinem composit"; comparing here Akkadian eseru: "rectum fecit, in ordinem digessit". If Conti Rossini's whʿtr is to be accepted it should be rendered "raised"; cf. supra.
Qur'an xxxiv,16, telling the story of the flooding disaster which destroyed the plantations of Saba', says: fa-'arsalnā 'alay-him sayla al-'arim. The context here was clear enough for the exegetes and lexicographers, and the accepted meaning of 'arim here is sadd "dam", and musannah "dam with sluices"; cf. Lisan and Taj, s.v. 'arim. Other interpretations of 'arim here were given as "heavy rain", as the name of the rat or mole which, according to the legend about the break of the dam of Ma'rib well known in Arabic sources, was instrumental in weakening the dam, and as the specific name of the wādī in which the torrent, sayl, flowed; cf. Lisan and Taj, ibid. These latter renderings of 'arim are obviously conjectured from the context or from legend.

The association of 'arim here with South Arabian antiquity is self-evident. The lexica give the word without any reference to dialectal usage. But Suyūtī, Itq., I, 135, on the ultimate authority of 'Amr b. Sharabīl, gives 'arim as a Yamani word for musannah. Quṭūbī, Jāmi', xiv, 286, and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Tārīkh, 76, give it as Ḥimyarī usage for musannah. Suyūtī, Mutawakkilī, 20, on the ultimate authority of Mujāhid, and Ibn Sa'īd, Nashwa, 42 r, give 'arim as Abyssinian for musannah.

In Ethiopic 'rm is not attested, and this is probably why A. Jeffery, who elsewhere makes extensive reference to Suyūtī, Mutawakkilī, does not include Qur'anic 'arim in his entries in For, Voc.

In ESA 'rm is attested in the two "dam inscriptions" CIH 540 and 541 and in Jamme 547,4 (cf. A. Jamme, IaM, I, 278), where in
all three texts it refers to the dam of Ma'rib. 'rm, C1H 432.4 and 'rm, G1.1142.10, will be discussed further below in this article.

H. Grimme, ZA, xxvi, (1912), p. 159, remarks that 'arim in Qur'an xxxiv,16 must be considered a South Arabian loanword; but he seems not to have been aware that Arabic sources considered it a Yamanī or Ḥimyari ṭ usage.

There is also another entry in the Arabic lexica which has a South Arabian context and which can be explained through a possible connection with Arabic 'arim or ESA 'rm. Ibn al-Athīr, Niḥāya, art. 'rm, enters a passage from a tradition concerning the qayls of Shabwa which says: ma kana la-hum min milk-in wa-'urman; he explains 'urman as either mazāri "cultivated lands, plantations", or 'akara (sing. 'akkar) "peasants, land-workers". The former sense seems to be the one favoured by Ibn al-Athīr, for he gives it first and introduces the latter sense with wa-qila "and it was alleged, or, said". The singular of this 'urman is given as 'arīm or 'a'ram. The latter form is apparently meant to account for 'urman "peasants"; it is, however, rejected in Taj, art. 'rm, as a form that does not regularly have a plural on the pattern of fu'lan, and Taj considers 'arīm the more plausible singular; cf. also Lisan, art. 'rm.

It is possible to trace the relation of 'arīm "cultivated land" with Arabic 'arim or ESA 'rm. One possibility is that this sense has developed from the association of the irrigated land with the main feature of the irrigation system that fed it with water; cf., for a semantic parallel, ESA ḍḥb "torrens, terra a torrentibus rigata"; CR-Gl. 128.
'arīm in modern South Arabian usage has a meaning akin to 'arim = ESA 'rm; cf. 'arīm "argina, sponda di canale, diga", cf. ER-AP§193 and 233; Landberg, GLDT, 2286. Cf. also 'arīm al-majil "orifice par lequel le fossé se déverse dans la citerne" given in RES ad RES 4196,2 from a quotation by Höfner from an unpublished work of E. Glaser.

Thus 'arīm "plantation, irrigated land" might be a denominative fa'īl from 'arim "dam" with a passive sense to denote land irrigated by a 'arim; or it might be a variant form of 'arīm = musāannah not recorded in Arabic lexica but known to them in its developed sense of "plantation, irrigated land". Another possibility is that 'arīm, pl. 'urman in the tradition, could have meant land surrounded by dams or ridges of earth to retain water for irrigation. Cf. 'arim = mā yurfa'u hawa al-dabra "that which is raised round the dabra". Dabra meant "a portion of ground separated from the adjacent parts, for sowing or planting, being surrounded by dams, or by ridges of earth, which retain the water for irrigation"; LL. Cf. also under article dbr and my NQI-II, 438. 'arīm here again is either a denominative fa'īl from 'arim "dam or ridge of earth" with a passive sense to denote land surrounded by 'arims for irrigation or 'arīm was originally a variant of 'arīm and then developed to mean the piece of land surrounded by it.

A sense of "irrigated lands, plantations" can probably be given to 'rm in GIH 432,4, which reads:

4. ...yšhw/w'rmhw/w'rdyw/hw

In GIH the first word is restored as 'g]yšhw and the line is rendered
"exer]citus(?) eius et aggeres eius et ambas terras [eius...". I think that 'gys "armies" is out of place in a text establishing property rights and can hardly fit the fortunes of the humble person to whom the suffix here refers. A more reasonable restoration would be 'f]yšhw/ "his distributing canals"; cf. fyšm, RES 4401, "un distributeur d'eau(?)". In this text 'rmlhw could well have meant "his dikes, his dams", but it is not impossible to suggest that 'rm, especially in the plural here, could have meant pieces of land dammed for irrigation, next to 'rd, land in general. Mention of particular kinds of cultivated land, usually in the plural, next to 'rd is well attested in ESA. Cf. RES 4194,3: ywnhmw/w'rdhmw/; RES 4013: '(4)dy/k[1]/r]dhmw/w'srrhmw/wmšymthmw/; RES 3858: wm(2)nhlmw/w'rdhmw/w'bd'thmw/. In this sense 'rm, singular 'rm, might have been the equivalent of 'urman = mazari', singular 'arim.

Finally there remain rm in Glaser 1142,10. This text reads:

9. /kg

10. n/ rmhwt/mrbqn/kl/t

11. šnnžhw/

M. Höffner renders this "entsprechend der Anzahl (der Tiere) dieser Hürde, (nämlich) von all dem, was ihr (früher) geboten worden war"; but Beeston rejects this translation and renders it "as (it is) defined by the boundary-cairns of this grazing-ground along all its boundaries"; cf. A.F.L. Beeston, "The 'Ta'lab Lord of Pasture' Texts", BSOAS, xvii, 1955, 154-6. Beeston's translation is more acceptable, but in the two translations 'rm, line 10, seems to be taken as a noun, This is quite clear in Höffner's
"Anzahl (der Tiere)". After hgn one normally expects a verb, and this is accounted for in Beeston's hgn/\'rm "as (it is) defined by the boundary-cairns". But Beeston in his note to \'rm, ibid., 155, refers only to nominal usages of \'rm and makes no mention of \'rm in this text being a verb, an attitude which seems to be underlined by the bracketed (it is). I think that \'rm here should be explicitly considered a verb in the passive voice, probably of Form II, which would make it possible to treat it as denominative from \'rm "dam, ridge, heap, pile".

Another verbal usage of \'rm is to be found in Namî 29, which reads:

\[2. k'rmhw/gn'hw/hfr/w'qdrdtm/\]

Namî, NNSQ, 52, renders the first two words in the line li-ta'liyat (li-tad'im) suri-hi "for the raising (for supporting) his wall". In a note, ibid., 51, he says that in San'a he heard 'arîm used for hadd "boundary" and that in the vicinity of Ta'izz (\(\text{pl.}\) a'ram) meant jabba "forehead". His ta'liya and tad'im seem to indicate that he preferred here the Ta'izz dialectal usage for a comparable usage. But his rendering of \(k'rmhw/gn'hw/\) is a loose one. It does not account for the conjunction k, which should be followed by a verb, and it does not account for the suffix hw after \'rm. The suffix hw in both words seems to refer to the same thing, the structure referred to in the previous line, and gn'hw is the subject of the verb \'rm. The meaning is "as its wall defined, delineated, it". One can see here a case where \'rm as a verb has developed further from its basic sense to denote "to delineate, to demarcate", and a similar development can be seen in
in the modern Şan'ānī usage of 'arīm = hadād "boundary", reported by Ṣāmīfī; cf. supra.
(1) Qālī, Amāli, I, 5, gives a tradition concerning sayl al-ʿarim, Qurʿān, xxxiv, 16, which says al-ʿarim al-musannah bi-lahun al-yanam, 'ay bi-lughat al-yanam. Qālī's main concern here was to show that lahn was used for lughā "dialect".

(2) Ibn al-Athīr, Mihāya, articles shbw and ʿrm, relates this tradition in which ʿurman occurs to the qayls of Shabwa and says that it occurred in the Prophet's letter to Wā'il b. ʿHajar of Hadramawt. I have not been able to trace this passage in any of the sources which give the text of that letter. In Līṣān and Tāj, art. ʿrm, their name is given as the qayls of Shanūʿa. No such passage appears in the account of the embassy of the Azd Shanūʿa to the Prophet. Besides, I cannot trace any other place where Arab sources speak of the Azd Shanūʿa as having had qayls. It seems that one must take ʿurman as a misreading or a copying mistake for ʿurman.
Nāṣwān, AA-Ś'U, 73, mentions two usages from this root which he specifies as being in the dialect of Ḫimyar: (a) ʿaffada ʿalayhī bābahu, "He closed his door upon himself"; (b) al-ʿiṭīfād, which he explains as a practice by which people who had run out of all resources in a year of famine and scarcity shut themselves in their houses and starved themselves to death, rather than expose themselves to the humiliation of begging. Nāṣwān repeats here a well-known tradition which claims that people did that during years of scarcity in the time of Joseph until two women started the practice of lending. Ḥamānī, II/II, x, 200, however, tells of a case of ʿiṭīfād which happened to some of his own relations.¹

Mention of this practice is found in Lisān and Tāj, art. ʿfd, in words almost identical to Nāṣwān's, and it is mentioned there also that according to one authority, Shamir, the usage is ʿiṭaqāda with ǧāf instead of ʿiṭafāda with ʿfā. This is why both sources enter it again under ʿqd.

Another usage of ʿfd in Arabic is specified by the lexica as yamāniyya. It is ʿafada: ʿafara, "to jump up, to bounce"; it is also specified as jumping with the two legs closed together without (preliminary) running. Lisān and Tāj, art. ʿfd. This might have been meant to establish a link between the meaning of ʿafada here and that of ʿaffada and ʿiṭafāda, in the sense that the closing of the legs during the jump is the specific act meant. Still, we may be here in one of these cases where a word in one dialect indicates stillness and in
another denotes motion.\(^{(2)}\)

\(\text{ffd}\) is attested in ESA in one text, RES 3012,19, and this reading is confirmed by Tawfik 62,5, after the photograph which M. Tawfik made of the inscription; cf. \(\text{N\=a\\=m\=i}\), Nuq\=ush Khirbat Bar\=aqish, II, 4. Tawfik 62 is made of six long lines instead of Halevy's 22 lines and Glaser's 12 lines. Tawfik 62,5 reads: \(\text{wa}^{(5)}\text{fr/ffd/wb}/\text{snb}\text{/byt}/\text{bd}/\text{kbkB/wb})...\text{rs}^{(5)}\text{fr/wb/ffd/\text{wywm/gdr/hr[n}}.\) It is clear that the context treats of work on wells and cisterns. It is possible, therefore, to restore the first word after the lacuna as \(\text{shb}\text{frn}^{(5)}\); cf. RES 2817,1-2 (Min.): \(\text{shb}/\text{ffd/wb}/\text{b}^{(2)}\text{b/\text{rs}^{(5})\text{fr}}^{(5)}\text{/bfr/b}\text{fr/\text{snb}/byt}/\text{bd}/\text{kbkB/wb})\), cf. also RES 2816,11-13. Restoration as \(\text{hf}\text{frn}^{(5)}\) or \(\text{qf}\text{frn}\) is perhaps unfeasible, because of \(\text{wa}^{(5)}\text{fr/ffd/wb}/\text{snb}\text{/byt}/\text{bd}/\text{kbkB/wb})\) in the first part of the same line. Halev. 520,19, equal to the second part of Tawfik 62,6 given above, reads: \(\text{wb/ffd/wt\text{fr}/\text{fr/\text{snb}^{(5})\text{fr}}^{(5)}\text{/byt}/\text{bd}/\text{kbkB/wb})}\), differing from Tawfik 62,5 only in omitting \(\text{rs}^{(5)}\text{fr/wb}/\text{snb}/byt/bdt/kbb/wb})\). The beginning of this line, as it appears in RES 3012,19, has been emended to \(\text{wy}^{(5)}\text{w}/\text{frn}/\text{fr/ffd/wt\text{fr}}\), thus creating a completely different syntax.

No translation of \(\text{ffd/wt\text{fr}}\) is given in RES or by \(\text{N\=a\\=m\=i}\). The note in RES refers to \(\text{\=al}^{(5)}\text{frn}:\) "to bound, to jump up", after Rhodokanakis, Dialekt im \(\text{D\=of\=a\\=r}\), II, 40. Hommel, Chrestomathie, 106, suggests comparing \(\text{t\text{fr}/\text{fr/\text{snb}}^{(5)}\text{fr}}^{(5)}\text{/byt}/\text{bd}/\text{kbkB/wb})\) with Arabic waghara, to which the note in RES hesitantly gives the sense of "jubilare?", as if to go with \(\text{ffd}:\) "to bound, to jump up".

The sense that one can suggest for \(\text{ffd/wt\text{fr}}\) depends to a considerable degree on the restoration of the word immediately before \(\text{wb/ffd/wt\text{fr}}\). If restored as \(\text{shb}\text{frn/wb}/\text{ffd/wt\text{fr}}\), then I propose
rendering it as: "digging out and with a gush and a spurt (or, overflowing)". The reference here would be to the manner in which the water came out when struck. Normally the inscriptions use snb\(\dagger\)/b\(\dagger\)rs, RES 2952,3, and cf. Tawfik 62,5 (the first half): wsnb\(\dagger\)/b\(\dagger\)rs where snb\(\dagger\) if compared with Arabic \(\dagger\)anba\(\dagger\)a, means "to dig down to water", the water coming out by seepage or infiltration, cf. Lis\(\dagger\)n and T\(\dagger\)j, art. nb\(\dagger\). For \(\dagger\)fd: "gush", cf. \(\dagger\)afada: "to jump up, to bounce", specified in the lexica as Yaman\(\dagger\)I dialect, and attested in \(\dagger\)of\(\dagger\)ar dialect, Rhodokanakis, op. cit.; and for t\(\dagger\)r: "spurt, overflowing", cf. Arabic tagharat al-qidr: "the cauldron boiled, bubbled up"; tagharat al-qirbatu: "the waterskin burst out with water from a hole in it"; and taghara al-\(\dagger\)irqu: "the blood vessel burst and let out blood", Lis\(\dagger\)n and T\(\dagger\)j, art. t\(\dagger\)ghr.

But if it is to be restored as \(\dagger\)f\(\dagger\)nm/wb/\(\dagger\)fd/wt\(\dagger\)gr/ then I would translate: "revetting and with tightening (with cement or plaster and with stopping up the gaps". For \(\dagger\)fd: "to tighten", cf. \(\dagger\)affada Jalay-hi blba-hu: "He closed his door onto himself", and \(\dagger\)\(\dagger\)t\(\dagger\)afada in the particular sense given above, both of which are claimed by Nash\(\dagger\)n to be in the dialect of \(\dagger\)imyar. And if the equation of \(\dagger\)\(\dagger\)t\(\dagger\)afada with \(\dagger\)\(\dagger\)taqada in Arabic is to be accepted, then one can point out for comparison with \(\dagger\)fd here the specific Arabic usage \(\dagger\)aqada al-bina\(\dagger\)a bi-l-\(\dagger\)\(\dagger\)iq\(\dagger\): \(\dagger\)alzaqa-hu: "he tightened, or, cemented, the structure with gypsum, or, plaster"; T\(\dagger\)j, art. \(\dagger\)\(\dagger\). For t\(\dagger\)r: "stopping up the gaps" cf. Arabic thaghara al-\(\dagger\)thalmata: sadda-hu: "he stopped up, he
filled, the gap or breach"; (3) Tej, art. thghr.

It is perhaps possible to say that either rendering could go with either restoration. But wb/" suggests a certain degree of similarity of meaning between what is before and what is after. To me the latter alternative seems the less feasible of the two, both because of the restoration and of the interpretation that goes therewith.
(1) HamdÊnî says, "They all perished in the famine of (the year) two hundred and ninety in al-Yaman. Their herds and flocks (mêlubum) had perished and they were too proud to face the humiliation of begging (or, they found begging too humiliating), so they shut themselves in, ḥ̲i(tafadÂ, and closed their doors upon themselves, their households and their children and so died"; ikliî, x, 200. HamdÊnî himself died in the year 334 A.Ê., less than half a century after the incident.

(2) Parallel cases are sajadâ: "to bow down, to prostrate oneself" and sajadâ: "to stand up, to stand erect", in the dialect of Tayyi'; raqadâ: "to lie down, to sleep", and raqadâ: "to jump with joy, with activity", in the dialect of Yaman; and wathaba: "to jump", and wathaba: "to sit down", in the dialect of Himyar; Cf. Taj, art. sqd, rqd, and wthb respectively. Cf. also Nûldeke, Neue Beiträge, 86 f., for words of "Schlafen und Wachen" in the chapter on "Wörter mit Gegensinn". Cf. also the following footnote.

(3) The more common sense of thaghara in Arabic is "to break through or open a gap in something", and the lexica point out the opposition of sense between this common usage and that of thaghara al-thalmata sadda-hâ; cf. Taj, art. thghr. One wonders whether this "Gegensinn" might not have originated in the fact that an old usage deriving from a root tghr, equivalent of ESA tgr, had existed in Arabic and then got confused, either in speech and use, or at some stage of recording the language, with thaghara, with thâl.
Arabic *fataha*, has the specific usage "to decide, to arbitrate, to act as a judge between litigants". This usage is attested in Qur'ān vii, 89: *rabba-nā iftah bayna-nā wa bayna gawmi-nā bi-1- haqqi wa-'anta khayru al-fātiḥān;* and in Qur'ān xxxiv, 26: *qul yajma'ū bayna-nā rabbu-nā thumma yafatahu bayna-nā bi-1- haqqi wa-huwa al-fattāhu al-ṭātīm.* This last verse occurs in the chapter, sūra, named Saba', and is part of the verses making the sequel to the story of Saba', 15-21. This is also the accepted meaning of *fataha* in Qur'ān xlviii, 1: *in-na fatah-nā laka fath-an mubīn-an* (1)

Some of the lexica enter this usage of *fataha* without specifying it as being of a certain dialect; cf. *Sabāh*, s.v., and *Jamāhara*, II, 4. *Tabarī, Tartūr* (NB), II, 254, commenting on *fataha* allāhu 'alay-kum, Qur'ān, II, 76, says that the original sense of *fath* in Arabic is near "giving support", *qadd* "arbitration, administering justice", and *hukm* "decision, ruling", then adds that *qādī* "judge, arbitrator" is called *fattāḥ* and quotes as a citation Qur'ān vii, 89, quoted above. But *Tabarī ibid.*, XII, 563, when commenting on Qur'ān vii, 89, states that according to one authority the people of 'Umān use *fātiḥ* and *fattāḥ* for *qādī* but that according to another authority this usage was in the dialect of Murād. Both of these claims are significant, for by *jāhil* 'umān one should understand al-'Azd, a South Arabian tribe by origin, and by Murād the Madhhij tribe who were resident in al-Jawf at the rise of Islam; cf. *Tāj*, art. *jūf*; and whose homes were in Bayhān in Hamdānī's time; (cf. *Ṣifat*, 94). *Līsān*, art. *fṭḥ*, says that *fattāḥ = qādī* was a usage in the
dialect of Jahl al-yaman; while Tāj, art. fth, assigns it to the dialect of Ḥimyar.

Tabari, Tafsīr (NE) XII, 564; and Līsān and Tāj, art. fth, quote a tradition related from Ibn 'Abbās in which he is alleged to have said that he had not known the meaning of rabba-mā iftah bayna-mā wa-bayna qawmi-mā (Qur'ān, vii, 89) until he heard a woman of Dhū-Yazan say to her husband ta'āla 'ufātik-ka, explained in Līsān and Tāj as 'uqādāk-ka, and in Tabari, Tafsīr, as 'uqādāk-ka, in both cases meaning "litigate with you in front of a judge"; cf. the respective quotations under notes—II, XIII, XIV. Ibn Qutayba gives another variant of the tradition, making the woman a Kindite whom Ibn 'Abbās had married and who said to him fatahā allāhu baynī wa-baynī-ka = ḥakama allāhu baynī-ka-baynī-ka.

Ibn Durayd, Jamhā'ara, II, 4, states that the woman was a Kindite and that she said to Ibn 'Abbās: halumma fītih-nī = ḥākim-nī.

Other terms derived from this usage are fitēḥa and futēḥa: "arbitration; the office or dignity of an arbitrator or judge; lawsuit or litigation"; fitēḥ, futēḥ and futēḥa: "arbitration, decision"; and istaftaḥa: "to seek arbitration or judgement; cf. Tāj, art. fth.

In ESA fth has two main usages which are closely interrelated. One is "a lawsuit, litigation"; cf. Hamilton 9: bn/fth/k (7) wm/bynhw/wbyn’mr (8) hw: "from the lawsuit which there was between him and his overlords", according to Beeston's rendering, JRAS, 1954, 60. Beeston comments on fth here: "fth is well known in the sense "decree, decision"; here, however, it must have the meaning "lawsuit", cf. Ge'ez fetēḥ "causa
forensis, lis"; ibid., 59. The other usage is the one referred to by Beeston above as "decree, decision", and its verbal form "to decree, to order". This usage was approached through Ethiopian fattah negast; cf.

The relation between the usages of ESA fth and Arabic fataha: "he ruled, he decided" is obviously. The claim that some or all of the Arabic usages pertaining to this sense are Yamanī or Ḥimyarī is significant and finds support in the ESA usages.
Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wil mughkil al-surān, Cairo, (1954), 376, Bint Mishrah. The woman referred to here, was a Kindite; cf. ibid., p. 376, n. 7. The verse quoted here is Qur'an xlviii, 1, "revealed" after the return from al-Ḥudaybiya, Muḥammad and his companions had marched towards Maccas with the declared intention of making a ritual visit, 'umra, but the Maccans barred them from their purpose and they had to wait at Ḥudaybiya, a day's march from Maccas, in vain. In the face of the stubborn Maccan refusal to allow the Muslims to proceed to Maccas, Muḥammad had to accept the terms of an unfaVourable peace on condition that he would be allowed to pay the ritual visit with his followers the next year. Muḥammad's companions voiced their disapproval of the outcome of the affair publicly. During the march back to Madīna this verse and the following ones were "revealed". The more popularly excepted sense of fataṭnā laka fath-an mubīn-an is "We gave you an illustrious, or, decisive, conquest, or, victory"; the verse is then taken as announcing the forthcoming victory of Muḥammad in conquering Maccas. (Ḥudaybiya was in the year 6 of Hijra, the conquest of Maccas was in the year 8 of Hijra.) But the interpretation hinted at in Ibn 'Abbās tradition given by Ibn Qutayba is given explicitly in Tabarī, Tafsīr, (NE) XII, 565, on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri, where he says: ḫamnā fataṭnā laka faṭḥ-an mubīn-an — ḫamnā laka ḥukm-an mubīn-an: "We have made a decisive, or, clear, decision for you". This interpretation is more in keeping with the realities of the situation then; the "divine" responsibility for the decisions taken at Ḥudaybiya must have relieved the tense situation in Muḥammad's camp. Cf. A. Guillaume, (tr.) Life of Muḥammad, 499ff, for the details of the Ḥudaybiya affair.
Qur'an xxxi, 19 reads: wa-ighduq min qaawi-ka 'inna 'ankara al-'aqwati la-qawtu al-hamyr. This is part of Luqmān's admonition to his son. According to Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, quoted in Suyūtī, Itqān, I, 135, 'ankara al-'aqwātī here is a usage in the dialect of Ḫimyar meaning 'aqbaha-hā: "the ugliest of voices".

This claim is most difficult to explain. The usage is well attested in Arabic, and no one of the linguists or the exegetes suggests that there is here a difficulty of interpretation or a controversy about purport. The only explanation which I can venture is that there may be here an allusion to the tradition that the Luqmān of Qur'an was Luqmān b. 'Ād, one of the legendary early kings of Ḫimyar; cf. Ibn Hishām, Tijān, 69 ff.

No usage is attested from ESA nkr which has the specific sense of 'ankar = 'aqbaha. If one is to interpret 'ankar as "the most objectionable", then it might be possible to compare RES 4646, 17: fl/yzn/nkr/hfr(18)thw, where nkr is rendered as "Missbilligung": "disapproval"; cf. also RES 5094, 4-5: wnkr/bn/mtyf'm, rendered by me: "or objection from anyone in authority", cf. article sfh, and RES 3306 A, 2: wnkr/hnlhm/hbt/": Which I translate as: "And it shall be objected to if there is not declared" etc. Cf. p. 3 of article drr.
CHAPTER V

YAMANT WORDS and USAGES
CHAPTER V

Yamanī Words and Usages

Forty three words or usages given by the Arabic sources as being in the dialect of Yaman are discussed in this chapter. The terms used by the different sources to indicate this aspect vary, the terms themselves being: bi—lūghat al-yaman, bi—lūghat ‘ahl al-yaman, bi—lūghat ba’d ‘ahl al-yaman, lūgha yamānīyya, yamānīyya, yamānīyya, ‘ahl al-yaman yaqūlūn, ‘ahl al-yaman yusammūn and one or two other less frequently used terms. Apart from the variety of terminology itself, Yamanī usages of the Arabic sources present a difficulty not encountered in the case of Abyssinian or Ḥimyarī words and usages. The difficulty is that Arabic sources, historical as well as lexicographical, use al-yaman or ‘ahl al-yaman to denote not only the people of South Arabia or of a part thereof, but the so-called Yamanī tribes whose homelands already before Islam and perhaps from a long time before that were in North Arabia, or, to put it in different terms, were outside historical South Arabia. A few examples of this use of yaman and ‘ahl al-yaman should be enough to illustrate the point.

1. Līsān, art. kfr, relating a tradition from Abū Hurayra in which the place name Ḥisām Judhām is mentioned adds the comment that that indicated away from the town of Syria, qurʿ al-shām; and in art. Ḥisām Līsān again gives the same tradition and adds the gloss by Ibn ʿIda that Ḥisām is a place in al-Yaman. Ḥisām is nowadays in the southern part of Jordan, next to the Saudi Arabian frontier.
2. *Lisan*, art. klb, gives *mukālib = jarr*: "bold, audacious" as *yamānīyya*, while *Taj*, art. klb, says: *wa-ʾahlu al-madīna yusamāna al-jarr*a *mukālib-an*.

3. *Taj*, art. nfs, says that in the tradition: *ʿinnī laʾajidu nafasa rabbi-kum min qiblī al-yaman, that by al-yaman here is meant ṣahl al-madīna*, because they are *yamanūn*. Cf. also *Lisan*, art. nfs, were it is said that al-ʾAnṭār were meant because they were *yamanūn*.

Because of this element of uncertainty about whether a given Yamani usage originates from South Arabia or from North Arabia, and because fewer Yamani usages come from known texts like Qurʾān or are given in citations and/or clear South Arabian contexts Yamani usages represent a less coherent section of the South Arabian material than Abyssinian or Ḥimyarī usages do.

Only two of the forty three usages given here are from Qurʾān and then one of them is given as in the dialect of Sabaʾ, cf. article tbr, and the other as in the dialect of Ḥajramawt, cf. article dmr. These two usages have been included here rather than under Ḥimyarī usages. Another usage is given in the sources as in the dialect of Najran, cf. article ḥkhl. One usage is given as in the dialect of the people of al-Yaman and Taʾif, cf. article ṣlf, and another is given as Yamani and as *ʿAzdī*, cf. article ṣjl (*ṣjl*).

Twelve usages are either attested in Yamani contexts or can be shown by correlated material to have been in use in South Arabia; cf. articles zbr, blq, ḥjr, rym, smk, drw, ṣqm, qshm, nql, ṣtn, btʾ and ḥkhf. Two are specifically from Najran contexts, cf. article ṣqb and cf. ṣaqqh = *waliyy al-ʾahd* in the dialect of the people of Najran.
discussed in Chapter II above, in connection with the type of information about South Arabian material derived from "Literary, legal and historical works".

One article is included here although it is not based on a Yamani usage. It is nkl. It is included here in connection with Yamani naqil = al-'aqba' "mountain road", because ESA nkl in CIH 287,1 has been erroneously compared with Yamani naqil. Reference to this article is also made in footnote 5 (f) to article 9rh.
A. Incomparable Usages:

*Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 254, says that zabartu al-kitāb = katabtu-hu: "I wrote the book, the writing", and that this derives from the sense of engraving in stone, al-naqr fl al-ṣakhr, and then adds that the people of al-Yaman call any writing, kulla kitāb-in, zabr.

In ESA cf. *sbr: "to build (?)"; CB-Gl., 143. Cf. also article nkl.

*skhl: Līsan and Taj, art. ʿilm, explain takwās ḥaṭṭu al-ḥarīth: "the furrow made by the ploughman" and then add wa-sakhlu al-ḥaṭṭu bi-lughati najrān, presumably in the same sense as ʿilm. Neither source enters this usage under *skhl. Cf. maskhāli: "passage en pierre pour l'eau dans les digues des champs, ouverture dans le sawn entre les champs"; Landberg, Gl. Dat., 1912. In ESA cf. *ahl: "to bind oneself", CIH 376,1; and RES 3951,4: *ahl: "obligatory"; cf. Beeston, SI, 44 and 75 respectively, for notes thereto; cf. also CB-Gl., 254.

*grb: Taj, art. ʿarb, gives taqrib, Form II infin., as shurb al-ġarab, which is explained as al-laban al-ḥamīd: "sour milk", and says that this is in the dialect of al-Yaman. It is not clear whether it is taqrib: "the drinking of ġarab", or ġarab itself, "sour milk", which is in the dialect of al-Yaman. Līsan gives ġarab = al-laban al-ḥamīd without indicating dialect and does not mention taqrib at all. No comparable usage is attested from ESA ʿarb; cf. under Ḥimyarī ʿarb and cf. under article ḫjl (ʾ jl); cf. also CB-Gl., 225.

*ṣyd: Līsan and Taj, art. ʿyd, give al-ḡāʾid = al-ṣaq: "the leg", as in the dialect of Ḥa-Yaman. The usage is difficult to link semantically with the other usages of Arabic ʿada, and the masculine form ḡāʾid is difficult to reconcile with ṣaq, feminine. ESA ʿyd is the
The equivalent of Arabic ṣada: "to hunt"; cf. CR 61., 223.

ṣr: Našwān, AA-S'U, 73, gives ṣaqar = al-'ardu la yasqi-hā 'illā al-majār: "land only irrigated by rainfall", as in the dialect of certain people of al-Yaman. In ESA ṣr is attested in obscure contexts in CIH 64: 460; and in a clear context in RES 4069, 6 and 10, where G. Ryckmans tentatively renders it "reservoir" and compares Arabic ṣuqr: "partie postérieure d'un reservoir". RES 4069 is a text dealing with repair work to an irrigation system, cf. p. 28 f. of article ṣrh where lines 5–8 are quoted and commented upon, and cf. also under article ṣkr.

B. Equivalent Usages:

ṣdh: Ibn Durayd, Jamḥara, III, 231; Lisan and Taj, art. ṣdh, gives istaḥada = shā'ara: "to feel, to realise, to be aware" as in the dialect of al-Yaman. The editor of Jamḥara adds in a footnote thereto that istaḥada should not be considered a dialect variant, layla bi-lugha, but rather faulty pronunciation, lathgha, of istaḥada. Apart from how valid the editor's remark is, Lisan and Taj, arts., ṣbd and ṣdh respectively, give ṣahida as the equivalent of ạhida, and Taj adds a remark by Ṣaghānī that ạyn of ṣahida was changed to ḥamsa and the ḥa thereof to ḫa, "for gutturals can replace one another". I compare this Yamani usage of istaḥada > istaḥada with ESA ṣhd in CIH 541, 47, which reads: ṣbdn(47)wghms/dn/"ḥdn", which S. Smith, "Events in Arabia", 438, "then after this mandate reached them", but which I think should be rendered as "Then after this information, notification, reached them". The preceding five lines
read, in Smith's own translation, ibid., "And then a report reached them concerning Saba*, that the ramp and the dyke and the catchment basin and the frontal work were broken in the month Dhu Madra*an of (year) 7." There is no mention or reference immediately before l. 47 to a mandate or covenant, and information or notification makes more reasonable sense here. And one can semantically compare *ish'ār: "notification, information", for Yamanī ista'ahāda is explained as sha'ara. A similar sense can be assigned to CIH 376, l: wāhly/wāḥd/, rendered by Beeston, SI, 44, as: "Now there did bind themselves and covenant", but where wāḥd can reasonably be rendered as: "and declare, make known"; cf. semantically the modern Yamanī usage: *ilm wa-habar: "receipt", E. Rossi, L'Arabo Parlato a Sānta:, 232. In a sense, CIH 376 is a "receipt"; cf. l. 14: ḍubb/hṣhr/hn/blūn/ʾifr/; "in which they acknowledge these thousand blṭ", according to Beeston, SI, 44.

brkh: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 232, gives barkh = al-kathīr al-rakhīq: "abundant and cheap" as in the dialect of al-Yaman, and then adds: wa-ʾahasabu ʾaqla-hā ʾibrāniyy-an ʾaw suryāniyy-an: "and I believe its origin to be Hebrew or Syriac", and then says: wa-huwa min al-barakati wa-l-namā: "and it is (derived) from barakā, blessing, and nāmā, growth". Lisān, art. brkh, gives this entry almost verbatim, but says al-barkh al-kabīr al-rakḥā, which is obviously a mistake for al-kathīr al-rakhīq, for it adds later barkh-un ʾay rakḥā. Lisān also gives the usage as ʾumāniyya, in the dialect of ʾUman. It also adds al-tabrīkh = al-tabrīk and comments on barrakū, in a citation, as meaning barrakū: "blessed" bi-l-nabāṭiya, Aramaic. Taj, art. brkh, more or less follows Lisān and gives the dialect as ʾumāniyya.
Both of Ibn Durayd's remarks about the Hebrew or Syriac origin of barkh and about its deriving from the same sense as baraka are correct, and so is also the remark in Lisan about the Aramaic origin of barrakhū. It is instructive that in BSA brk: "to bless" is attested only in one text, where the dedicant is a Jew. It is CIH 543, which reads: (1) brk/wtbrk/sm/rhmun/dbswn/wysr/l/w(2) lhhmw/rbyhd/

blq: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 320; Lisan, Qamus and Taj, art. blq, give balaq as a kind of stone which is translucent like glass found in Yaman. Hamdānī, Ikhlāl, VIII (Baghdād ed.), 173, gives balaq as rukhān "marble". The translucency of this marble or alabaster was utilised for making "sealed skylights" in the ceiling of al-Ka'ba, cf. Azraqī, 'Akhbār Makka (Mācca ed.), 197. Cf. ESA blq: "marmore albo ... colori"

jfn: Lisan, Taj, art. jfn, give jafn = kafān: "vine", as in the dialect of the people of al-Yaman. CIH 522,4 reads: dūlmw/gflnt/w/dbn/b'ly/

s'bhw: "........vinea et punietur erga tribum suam", according to CIH, where it is said in the note, "gflnt, alias non occurens, explicat Halevy, arabico fretus "vitis". Cur gflnt setimiones et nunatione careat non facile percipitur". Rhodokanakis, St., II, 162 ff., examines this text and renders 4: dūlmw/gflnt/w/dbn/b'ly/s'bhw as: ".... die Sühne und Strafe, die (seinen?) Stamm trifft", and in the note compare Arabic jafana nafsa-hu 'an al-shay'ī: pafa-hā;.... 'an al-shay'ī al-danī: mana'a-hā. The text is aptrly damaged and the context is not clear enough to make a definite choice between the two renderings possible. But there seems to be more reason in Rhodokanakis's view.

dbr: For dabr = zar*: "land of seed-produce", cf. my NqI,II, 438, ad RES 3707,1: 's*/dbr/gw*.

rqd: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 253, gives raqadan = al-wathb min al-nashāji ka-fi’li al-hamali wa-l-jady: "to leap, to bounce, with activity, like a lamb or a kid", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Lisan and Taj, art. rqd, give this usage without indicating a certain dialect. rqd is attested in Ry 509,4, which reads: rqdw/(g)n/mrdn/bwd/(5)yn/m’sl/gmn/kxšw/whl/’rq/(6)mwdn/, which G. Ryckmans, Mus., 66 (1953), 304, renders as: "ont trace ó cette inscriptions (?) dans la val- (5) de Ma’sil Gumān, lorsqu’ils se mirent en campagne et demeurèrent dans le territoire (6) de Ma’add (as mwd should be emended m’dn). In the lengthy note thereto, p. 306, he tries to show by a full comparison of the usages of Arabic sanada and its derivatives and raqada and its derivatives that mrd in ESA, like m’nd in ESA, can mean "inscription". He adds at the end, "J’avais..."
songé à "ont effectué cette montée"; mais l’armée sâbienne venait du sud, et le lieu de l’inscription se trouve à l’extrémité du Wâdî, en aval."

I think that 

mrdn: "inscription" is out of question. Two usages in Arabic can be compared here:

(1) 

mrd, with a variant form mrd, = al-šārīq al-wādīt: "well defined, clear, road; main road", derived from 

raqadd: "to walk, to march, quickly; to leap, to run, in a hurried manner", which ultimately is to be linked with 

raqadān, the Yamanī usage given above;

(2) 

mrd bi-l-makānī = 

aqt bi-hi: "to settle, to stay, in a place"; cf. Lisan and Taj, art. rqd. If the former usage is compared then raddn would be rendered: "marched this road", which makes perfect sense; and if the latter is compared then one can render: "settled down in this encampment", which is less feasible.

rym: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 419, gives rym = al-darajat: "a staircase, a ladder, leading to the roof of a house", and = al-dukkan: "a roof-terrace", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. He then gives a tradition from Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ālā' which says that once when the latter was in Yaman he went to someone's house and when he asked for him he was told: usmak fī al-raym, explained as iq'ad fī al-darajat: "go up the staircase, the ladder, (to the roof of the house)". The same usages are also given in Lisan and Taj, art. rym, as in the dialect of al-Yaman. This usage was compared by Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 100, with RES 3946, 5: wbny/tfr'/bythw/slhm/ln/swrm/wrymn/, which he renders: "And he built up the superstructure of his palace SLhm from the piers and the ground floor (till upwards)"; ibid., 82; and in
the commentary, ibid., p. 100, he maintains that since in ... rym
indicates the terminus a quo he takes it in the sense of "the sub-
structure in the form of protruding ledges, the elevated platform
of the house or palace". Anyway, ESA rym is also attested in the
sense of "height, altitude"; cf. CIH 541,108: hms/wtnty/"mm/rymn:
"thirty five cubits in height". Cf. also modern South Arabian ryn:
"partie supérieure de la maison, le toit plat ou la terrasse de la
maison"; Landberg, Gl. Dat., 1640.

SRH: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 132, gives sarrāḥtu al- 'abda = 'a*taqtu-hu
"I set the slave free" as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Līsān and Tāj,
do not give this particular usage. But other usages given there have
the very same basic sense; cf. sarraḥa: "to divorce a woman; "to
send an emissary, an envoy". Semantically one can also compare Arabic
'arsala, used in Tāj, art. srh, to explain sarrāḥa rasūl-an: "He
sent an emissary", for 'arsala also means: "to set free, to send
away free"; Tāj, art. rsl. Arabic saraḥa is recognised as the etymo-
logical equivalent of North Semitic root ṣlb. The corresponding root
in ESA is slb, attested in two texts: RES 3957 and 4909. RES 3957
reads: smnt/bnt/bn(2)†hntyn/tnh(3)yt/wtn(1)/b·l(4)h/emsy/b·l(5)
by/hs/hn/slt(6)g·dnh/fgsn/sw(7)/emsy·l(8)h/fhd·r·t/w·n(9)h
wh·t·s\nt. The crucial passage is lines 5-8: bhn .... rūdh. G.

Ryckmans renders that as: "de ce qu'ont contracté une souillure (6)
ses clients, de telle sorte qu'a été mal dis- (7) posé Ṣḥū-Samāwī
pour l'ab- (8) soudre". I render the same as: "in that she sent away
her clients, so the curse (or, evil) of DSMW was decreed upon her
well-being (or, wits)."

Notes to this translation:

slht: the subject is feminine singular, therefore the confessing woman, and not d'dnh: "her clients", according to G. Ryckmans. It is rather difficult to see how she sinned by "sending away her clients", but this in itself need not make inadmissible to render slht: "sent away".

fazqm: "so that ... was decreed”, the passive makes it easier to translate it into English, but gazm is probably active, in the sense of "fell decidedly".

sw": "curse (or, evil)"; cf. Arabic saw": "punishment, affliction"; cf. especially Qur’an xxv,40: wa-laqad ‘atw ‘alā al-qaryati allatī 'umtarat ma'tara al-saw'i.

radi: "well-being; wits"; cf. Arabic rashad: "being on the right path, well-being"; cf. the use of rashad in Qur’an lxxii,10: b-sharr-un ‘ur'da bi-man fī al-’ardī ‘am ‘arada bi-him rabbu-hum rashad-an; and ibid., 21: lā ‘amliku la-kum ġarr-an wa-lā rashad-an; cf. also Arabic rushdi: "sound reason, maturity of intellect".

RES 4909,4-7 reads: mt/s(5)lpsmyn/mr’smy[n/]jr/tn[/:y]b/yhn’m(6)mlk/sb’/wdrydn/tqblm/hăy’/(7)hs: "when their lord T’BN T’B THN’M king of Saba and ḍū Raydān had equipped them on an embassy (?) in order to accompany his ally [‘L’D YLT king of Hadramaut son of ‘MDHR’].", according to Beeston in "Appendix" to Philby’s Sheba’s Daughters, 449. In the note thereto, p. 430, he says, "slh: cf. the subst. slh/ "arms" in CIH 548,1. As here the purpose does not seem to be warlike operations, a more general sense is required, something like "equip", "fit out"." I think that "sent them" is the most appropriate sense here. The fact that slh: "arms", CIH 548,1, corresponds to Arabic silāh need not preclude slh: "to send away" from corresponding to Arabic sarraba, which in its turn corresponds to North Semitic ʾslh
A tradition related from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, ‘Alī b. Abī Talib’s son, says: *ardu al-jannati maslūfa*, where maslūfa is explained as *mustawiyah* "even, level"; or *mustawlah* "made even, levelled". This usage is said to be in the dialect of the people of al-Yaman and al-Ta’if, who used to say: *salaftu al-'arda = sawwaytu-hā bi-l-mislaфа: "I made the land even with a mislafa, a stone-roller".*

Lisan and Taj, art. slf. Nihaya, art. slf, attributes the tradition also to Ibn ‘Abbas and explains maslūfa as *malsū'u layyinat-un nā'ima: "smooth, soft and fine".* Another usage given in Lisan and Taj, art. slf, is *salafa al-'arda = hawwala-hā li-l-zar'i wa-sawwahu-hā: "to turn land over to cultivation and to make it even"*, and this sense seems to be linked with the previously mentioned one, although it is rather difficult to see how the two meanings of preparing land for cultivation and making land even with a stone-roller are compatible. GIH 40, 4 reads: *wmslťhw/zlt/frznm: "and its glacis ZLT FRZNm"*, according to Beeston, SI, 9, who adds in the note thereto, p. 11, "G(IN) c(om)p(ares) (Arabic) maslūf ... and tr(anslates) "levelled ground". CR hesitates between this and "descent" ((Heb.) sillef, "overthrow"). Rh St II (35), starting from the same Arabic etymology, but with greater regard for the context "glacis". I render this as: "and its levelled ground, the drainage platform of the (reservoir) depressions".

Notes to this translation:

*zlt*: "drainage platform"; cf. footnote (5) (f) to article *ṣrh*, where the usages of *zlt* are examined.

*frznm*: "the (reservoir) depressions"; this is a f'o'n plural with *n*.
plus the mimation; cf. ḥsrn: "tax collectors" in RES 2678 (CIH 733); kbr/ḥsrn/fr; and brdnn: "messengers, runners", pl. of brd = Arabic barid, in CIH 541,48. For frznm: "the (reservoir) depressions", cf. Arabic farz = al-farj bayna al-jabalayn: "the bottom space between two mountains", and mauqil-un muṭma'inn-un bayna rabwatayn: "low-lying land or place between two hills".

frznm would be the depression in which water gathered or collected in a reservoir behind a dam or the like. This is the sense of frznm in CIH 540,12: frznm/wbrnm: "the (reservoir) depressions and outskirting places (or, land)", and ibid., 76: frznm/w'wdn: "the (reservoir) depressions and the dyke". All linking of frznm with "iron" is futile and yields no reasonable sense; (cf. the note in CIH to CIH 540,12).

For the other attested cases of ESA slf cf. CIH 329,2,4: slf: "terra complanata", according to CIH, and CIH 67,14: mslf: "terra complanata" also.

smk: In the story told by Ābu 'Amr b. al-'Ala? about the time when he was in al-Yaman and went to see someone, it is said that he was told usmuk fī al-raym = iq'ad fī al-daraja; cf. above under rym.

This story is repeated in Ibn Durayd, Jambara, III, 46, and in Līsān and Taj, art. smk. Cf. CIH 314,12: lsmk/wtyf'ī/mr'yhmnw: "ad sustinendum et extollendum ambos dominos eorum", according to Or-Ql., 255.

Cf. also Ry 535,8: wysmkg/bn/hgrn/mryb/dy/hgrn/qn.w: "Et ils montèrent de la ville" etc., according to G. Ryckmans, Mus., 69 (1956), 147; cf. also his note thereto, ibid., 155. Thus ESA smk is the exact equivalent of samaka = ga'id: "to go up, to ascend", apparently also considered to be in the dialect of al-Yaman.
skhf: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 226; Lisan and Taj, art. skhf, give
skhafa = hafara al-`arda: "to dig up, to excavate, the land or
ground", and miskhafa = mishah: "shovel, spade", as in the dialect
of al-Yaman. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 61, compares these Yamani usages,
on the authority of Ibn Durayd, with RES 2774,1: shfm (sing. shfh)
and renders it as: "excavated, covered, passages". Cf. also GR-GL,
223.

drw: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 309, says that the people of al-Yaman call
the bufrm, "terebinth", tree or some other similar tree dirw. Lisan
and Taj, art. drw, commenting on al-Nabigha al-Jadi's verse:

تستسن بالضروس نينتش أو كيبكلان أو ناضرس البنم

say that al-Yaman is the place where dirw grows most. Sahah, art.
drw, quoted also in Lisan and Taj, says that dirw is the resinous
material, samgh, of a tree called kamkam and that it is brought from
al-Yaman. The dirw tree is Pistacia lentiscus; ESA drw is attested
on a number of incense altars; cf. CIH 681; 682; 684; 685; §86; 689;
690. It probably refers there to the resinous material used as incense.

g`r: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 379, gives g`r = rukn al-qasri wa-l-jabal
"a corner; a side, of a castle or a mountain", as in the dialect
of al-Yaman. Lisan and Taj give the usage without specifying dialect.
Rhodokanakis, St., II, 60, compares this usage, quoted from al-Qamus,
which gives it as g`r = rukn-un li-l-qasr: "a corner, a support, for
a castle", and al-di`amatu `il`a janbi ha`it-in li-yud`ama bi-ha:
"a buttress on the side of a wall to support it", with ESA tzwr,
RES 2774,1, which he renders as: "Pfeilerstüztzung"; "supporting with props or pillars". Cf. also CR-G1, 160.

\textit{sq}, Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, III, 6; Lisan, art. \textit{sq}, give \textit{aqqa}; mutma-
inn-un min al-\textit{arq}: "low-lying, flat, land" as in the dialect of
al-Yaman. This is derived from \textit{azaqa}: "to dig up". In my NQ1, 19
n. 2 I equate Arabic \textit{azaqa} with ESA \textit{aqq}, and equate this usage of
\textit{aqqa} with ESA substantives \textit{sq}, RES 4230 C, 1, and \textit{sq}, RES 4194, 4
assigning to these ESA usages a sense of "levelled land", i.e., land
that has been dug up and levelled. Cf. also footnote 5 (e) to article
\textit{grb} (p. 21 of the footnotes thereto).

\textit{sq}: Nas\textit{awan}, AA-\textit{S}U, 73, gives \textit{miqaq} = al-hizanatu tuj'alu li-l-\textit{tammi}
wa-\textit{ghayri-hi:} "a store-room for food-stuffs (or, grain) and the
like" as in the dialect of certain people of al-Yaman, and adds that
this is derived from the sense of \textit{itaqaba-hu} = \textit{habasa-hu:} "to
confine someone, to take someone into custody". In \textit{mulakhkhass}
al-fi\texttt{utan} wa-l-*albah* wa-mi\texttt{qqah} al-huda li-l-kutt\texttt{ab}, a manual for
the guidance of tax-officers in Yaman, by Hasan b. *Ali Al-Sharif
al-\texttt{hasayn}*, p. 7 of R. B. Serjeant's hand copy thereof, it is said:
wa-'amwalu hadhihi al-dawawini muta'ayyin-un [sic] li-l-magrufi
\textit{ill}a melu \texttt{d}awani al-hala\texttt{li} ma yu\texttt{rafu} min-hu siwa murattabu
ma\texttt{bbakhi} al-hala\texttt{li} wa-baqi al-'amwali marfu'un li-l-'aqiba, where
\textit{\texttt{aqiba}}, pl. of \textit{\texttt{aqib}}, means: "treasurers". Another usage associated
with South Arabia is that of \textit{\texttt{aqib}} as the title or rank of one of
the leaders of the Christians of Najran who came to Mu\texttt{ammad}; al-
\textit{\texttt{aqib}} was, according to Ibn Ishaq, "the leader of the people, a man
of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy"; A. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muhammad, 270. Substantive usages from ESA *q* which can be compared here are:

1. *q* "majordomo, controller; man in authority"; cf. Rhodekanakis, "Zum Siedlungswesen im alten Sudanrabien", Wörter und Sachen, XII, (1929), 93; and Beeston, HOSAL, V, 110 and n. 5, where he equates *q* here with ḥākim, RES 4194,2, to which he assigns the sense of "a majordomo (literally, man in authority)". A majordomo would also have been khaṣin: "treasurer, steward". (This usage of *q* here is attested in RES 4230 A, 2-3.)

2. *q* "administrator, public official", in CIH 728,1-2: *q/qn*: "custos Kanā'ī" according to CIH; but cf. Beeston, "Ritual Hunt", 188, who says, "it designates a municipal official".

3. *q* "deputy", in CIH 571,9, according to Beeston, "Ritual Hunt", 188; cf. also Höfner, ZIAI, II, 98, who renders the same as: "wer ihn vertritt". A further light can be thrown on the relation between ESA *q* "majordomo, administrator", and *q* "deputy", by semantically comparing these ESA usages with Arabic khalīfa and Yamani Arabic miqkalīf and their ESA cognates in CIH 541,10-12: whhlw/bgsmn/ysd(11)bn/kbšt/hlthvw/ds(12)thlw/ly/kdt: "and they delegated with authority (or, appointed as ruler) by final decree Yazīd the son of Kabsat, their deputy (or, ruler) whom they had made deputy (or, ruler) over Kinda", as I render it. Both Arabic *aqīb and khalf mean "back, behind". Actually the lexica explain the name or title of the Najrānī *aqīb as: man yakhlufu al-sayyid.
"the one who deputises for (or, succeeds?) al-sayyid", the latter being one of the three leaders of the Najranī embassy, the third being al-ʿusquff  "the bishop"; cf. Līsān and Taj, art. ʿqb. (But cf. A. Guillaume (tr.), op. cit., 271, where al-sayyid is given second mention and apparently a lower rank after al-ʿāqib.) Cf. further under article khalf.

(4) mʿqbt: "guards", in RES 5085,10, rendered so by G. Ryckmans. This is the exact equivalent, in form and sense, of muʿaqqibat in Qurʾān xiii,11: la-hu muʿaqqibat-un min bayni yaday-hi wa-min khalfi-hi yahfaguna-hu min ʿanri allāh, where muʿaqqibat has been interpreted as: ḥafaga: "keepers, guardians"; ḥaras: "guards", and jalāwīsa (sing. jilwās): "armed attendants, bodyguard"; cf. Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, XIII, 78; Līsān and Taj, art. ʿqb; Ibn Qutayba, ʿUyun al-ʿAkbār, Cairo, 1925, I, 3. Cf. also m[a]qūs/, Ingrams I, 5, according to the text published by A. J. Drewes, Bi. Or., XI, (1954), 93 f., where he also suggests equating this with mʿqbt of RES 5085,10. Cf. the comment on these two words by A. Jamme, "L'inscription ḫāram. Ingrams I", Mus., 69 (1956), 101, most of which is wrong and irrelevant here.

Of the verbal usages of ʿqb one can compare CIH 529,2: kbr/wʿqb/bt/qyln/wtqdm(3)byt/qyln/yrs/wkwkb, according to the text by Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Sab. Inschr., 135, where they point out that kbr/wʿqb are finite verbs, because of the following wtqdm. They render this as: "wās kābir and ʿāqib over the house of the qayl and superintended (3) the qayl-house Yārīs and Kawkabān"; ibid. I would modify this
"controlled and administered (the business, the finance) of the house of the qayl and took charge (of the building) of the qayl's house IRS and of Kawkaban". Hofner, ZIAI, 91 ff., objects to Nordinmann and Mittwoch's rendering of kbr/\textdg{w}q\textdg{b}, herself renders it as: "enlarged and widened" the house etc., and then makes a long examination of other cases where ESA \textdg{w}q\textdg{b} is attested. I do not propose to review here her views given there,—one of them, concerning CII 571,9: \textdg{w}bb\textdg{v}, was referred to above— but none of them invalidates taking kbr/\textdg{w}q\textdg{b} in the sense I assign to it above. Another verbal usage to be compared is RES 3688,8: \textdg{w}\textdg{t}q\textdg{b}/: "to obey, to comply"; cf. CR-Ql., 211.

Cf. also footnote 2 to article wjl ('j1) for \textdg{w}bb\textdg{t} and its plural \textdg{w}q\textdg{b}, RES 2667,2-3, which I render "mountain road", instead of "strong-hold", according to Rhodokanakis, St., II, 49.

\textdg{qam} Nas\textdg{w}an, AA-\textdg{S}\textdg{U}, 74, gives ma\textdg{qim} = al-\textdg{h}aj\textdg{h}is bayna kulli shay\textdg{ay}n: "a barrier between any two things", and then adds that certain people of al-Yaman call \textdg{at}abat al-\textdg{b}ab: "the threshold", ma\textdg{qim}. In the Fatawa of the 16th century South Arabian jurist Ibrahim b. Ju'\textdg{m}an ma\textdg{qim} is unequivocally attested as "sluice"; cf. 199 v; 204 r; 205 r; of the manuscript of these Fatawa in the possession of R. B. Serjeant. Cf. also the so called 'Aqm ruins near Shabwa, in reality irrigation sluices; cf. the detailed description thereof and their picture in Philby, Sheba's Daughters, 112 and the facing plate. I think that the application of \textdg{ma\textdg{qim} to "threshold", as stated by Nas\textdg{w}an, must have originated from the
use of quadrat blocks, of lintel shape, to block the outlet of a channel, or the sluice, in order to regulate the flow of water; of R. LeB. Bowen, ADSA, pl. 54, p. 103. It is in this sense of "blocks" that ma'aqim, sing., ma'qim, is used in Hamdanî, Ikilî, VIII (Baghdad ed.); 64, in the passage about mahfîd Bayt Ḫanbaq which says: wa-kāna fî-hî ma'âqimu min balâq qad inqa'at 'awṣāju-hī min mawāṭi'î al-'aqdāmi wa-l-kawāfiri 'ala ẓūli al-dahr: "And there were in it blocks of paving stones whose middle parts have been worn out from (or, at) the treading places of feet and hoofs over the long time". This passage from Hamdanî was compared in CIH ad 540,15-16; ma'aqim; cf. the note thereto. After discussing the different views about interpreting ma'aqim in this passage, CIH adopts the sense of "threshold; lintel", after modern Yamanî usages given by Glaser, and then renders ma'aqim in CIH 540,15-16 as: "cataracta": "sluice, floodgate". This is exactly the sense of ma'qim in Ibn Ju'Man's Fatawa.

Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, III, 142; Lisan and Taj, art. 'mn, give 'amīna = 'arg-un sahla: "plain, flat, land", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. I compare this usage with the only case in which ESA 'mn is attested in RES 4085,5, which reads: wbr'/w's'/bh(5)rt ['/n]hl/ 'rb't/'hlm/w'hrhmm/'mnhw/[w]bydhw/. Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Himj. Inschr., 8, rendered this as: "And they built and dug up in the lowground of the [pal]mgardens four communities and their freemen? [and]?". They do not translate 'mnhw/[w]bydhw, and in the note thereto, ibid., 9, they say that it is not clear to whom or what
the suffix -hw at the end of the two words refers. They also hesitate between taking the words as prepositions or whether to link "mn with the Arabic root "mn and byd with the Arabic root byd. In the latter case they say the two words would mean "the settled people and the nomads". Höfner, ZAI, II, 81 ff., re-examines the whole text and renders the passage above as: "and has built and constructed in stone in the low ground of the [pal]mgardens four junctions, "Anschlusse", and their (appertaining) dam-canals by himself (or, on his own initiative) and out of his own means"; ibid., 83. She takes "mn as the preposition, and obviously takes byd as made of b + yd; cf. p. 83 notes 3 and 4. Höfner's rendering makes better sense, but I think that in place of her "mnhw/[w]bydhw/; "by himself and out of his own means" it is probably better to render: "the flat land and the prominent (or, high) land".

Notes to this translation:

The suffix -hw at the end of the two words does not refer to a definite thing or person but is impersonal; cf. RES 3945, 6: wh'tw/wld/'lmqh/wgwm/hrhw/w'bdhw/ "and he brought back the children of 'LMQH and the whole army, freemen and slaves", and 1. 9: w'sd/'bdn/hrhw/w'bdhw/ "and the soldiers of 'BDN, both freemen and slaves", according to Beeston, SL, 63.

"mn: "flat land, plain"; cf. above.

byd: "prominent, high, land or terrain"; cf. Arabic bāḍa al-shay'ū: shahara: "to appear, to rise, to be prominent"; Lisan and Taj, art. bwd. Lisan adds that is also mentioned under byd, but the exact usage is not given there, and the nearest to it under byd is baydā' = al-makān al-mustanfī al-mushrif: "an even high ground", also described as ḍabālīyat-un sulba: "rough and hard". Taj says
that bada = sahara is metathetical from bada. The substantive byd is also attested in CIH 513,3: bydnn/dqblm/wdmf/dn/wt'dhw/bdt[\w](4)ln/w'rd/yltnm/lmkt/ub'/bfnw'/. CIH renders bydn here as: "prope", taking it as b + yd and equating it with Hebrew 'al yad: "by the side of, near". But the syntax of bydn, with nunation, and of the two following nouns, with the relative d, suggests that bydn is a substantive made of one word and not prepositional. Besides, it should be pointed out that the context treats of land and irrigation. Cf. also CIH 576: byd/rdhw/bfnw/t'swbrkt/t's/d'sy'/... where byd is again rendered by CIH as "prope". It is also again to be noticed that byd occurs in a context of land and irrigation works. Besides, the relative pronoun d in d'sy cannot refer to any of r4, fnwt or brkt, the accepted substantives in the same line, as they are feminine and the pronoun is masculine. And unless it is to be argued that the relative pronoun might have had an antecedent in the missing beginning of the inscription, if it is considered to be damaged, or in CIH 358 (= Hal. 85), considered to be the preceding part of this text,—cf. the prefatory note to CIH 576— then it should be quite feasible to take byd as the antecedent. It is definitely more than coincidence that byd in all the three texts it is attested in occurs in a very clear context of land and irrigation. It must, therefore, pertain to either or both. The context of 'mnhw in RES 4065,5 suggests that it pertains to land.

'ysh: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, III, 63; Lisan and Taj, art. 'ysh, give ayysh = al-‘tā‘am: "food, foodstuffs; grains", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Taj adds in the "supplement" of art. 'ysh, on the authority of Zamakhshari that ayysh = zar‘: "seed produce" is in the dialect of al-Hijaz. In ESA, yst, from the root 'yš, is attested in CIH 548,10: wdkr/ntš/stå/mrmm/, which I render as: "and whose repeats the disturbing of life at the temple (or, sanctuary)".
full examination of this translation is given under footnote 1 to article drrf of footnotes thereto. It is pointed out there that Grimme and Höfner take *št as: "lebensmittel"; "food, provisions", a rendering based on comparing Arabic *aysh, but which I reject. Apart from the context, which does not admit *št having a sense of "food", I think that this sense of "food" is only attested for *aysh and never for *īsha, which only means: "life, manner of life". [*aysh is the ordinary word for "bread" in Egypt, used metaphorically for "food" in general in Palestine and in South Arabia (cf. Landberg, Ql. Dat., 2346) and in Kuwait and 'Uman for rice in particular.]

fqfr: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 175; Lisan and Taj, art. fqfr, give fuqqābatu al-yad and faqhatu al-yad = ṭāḥatu-ha: "the palm of the hand" as in the dialect of al-Yaman, and add that it is called so because of its openness, li-ittisā'i-ha. Lisan and Taj, ibid., give faqha = mindīl al-'ihram: "the cloth wrapped around oneself when under vows of pilgrimage" also as in the dialect of al-Yaman. No explanation is given, but I think it comes from the fact that the cloth used for this purpose has to be one length of material, open and with no sewing or stitching of any kind. Further, Lisan and Taj, ibid., give faqha = saffah: "to swallow a powder", which probably comes from opening the mouth wide for the purpose, as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 175, gives this usage as qafaha; cf. also Lisan and Taj, art. qfḥ, where they give qafaha = saffah, on Ibn Durayd's authority but without indicating that it
is in the dialect of al-Yaman. In Arabic the usages deriving from
the root fql are mainly explicable by corresponding usages deriving
from the root ffr; cf., e.g., tasaqqaba = tafattaba: "to open",
said of blossoms; faqaba al-jarwu and faqqaba = fataha 'aynay-hi:
"the puppy, the whelp, opened its eyes", etc.; cf. Lisan, art. fql
Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 75, compared the Yaman usage of fuqqabatu
al-yad, quoted from Lisan, with RES 3945.15: fql/1'd/, which he
renders: "opened an outlet to, ... supplied with water"; cf. also
Beeston, SI, 70, and cf. footnote 3 to article wjl (*jl).

fql: Lisan and Taj, art. fql, give faql = tadhriya: "winnowing" as
in the dialect of al-Yaman on the authority of al-Naqr (b. Shumayl)
in *kitab al-ziar*. It is then added that faql means ray'a: "crop,
harvested crops", and one says 'afqalat arjum-hum: "their land had
(or, gave) a (good) harvest or crop". Finally Naqr is quoted as
saying that this usage is rare, qala wa-haddha al-farfu gharib.

Cf. ESA fql: "crops", RES 4176.10,11; *fql* (pl.), "crops, harvests"
CIH 2.15 etc., and the verbal usage in CIH 80.10: bkn/yfqln/*rb*y/
'drm: "that he may gather (great) crops (or, it may produce crops),
fifty measures", according to Beeston, SI, 17; cf. his note thereto,
p. 18. Cf. also CR-Gl., 219, where the Arabic usages given above
are compared.

qrg: Sahih, art. qrg, also quoted in Lisan and Taj, art. qrg, says
that kabsh-un qaraga or quraga is called so because it is attributed
to the land of qaraga: "acacia", which is al-Yaman, because it
is the place where qaraga grows. The entry, I believe, leaves out
much relevant information. I think that the specification of the
entry as kabsh-un qaragl or quragl is meant to refer to the use of this expression in the mu'allaga of al-Harith b. Hillisa of Yashkur where it is said: hawla qays-in mustal'imina bi-kabsh-in qaragiy-in ka-'anna-hu 'abl?us "(They came) around Qays sheltering (behind) a Qaragl great leader, as if he were an (impregnable) rock (or, rocky mountain)". Qays here is Qays b. Ma'di-karib of Kinda, and in this verse the poet is reminding the king 'Amr b. Hind of the aid his tribe gave against this Qays and his followers from Ma'add. As a Kindi prince Qays was to the poet a Yamani. One does not know, therefore, whether qaragl was used for Yamani, or whether the sense of Yamani was interpreted and forced onto it by the lexicographers. Besides, the variant form quragl cannot be accepted as attributive to qaragl; one expects it to be attributive to qurag, or more probably, to qurayga. The use of kabsh, literally "ram", for "a great leader" is tropical. However, we have in ESA an interesting comparable usage. CIH 540, in a section giving account of the kinds of food provided for the workers on the repair work of the dam at Ma'rib, says, li. 41-43: wsty/ylt/m(42)tn/w'ilfm/mbjmh(43)m/wqrm/ wbrq, according to the text given by Solé Solé, Les dos grandes inscripiones, 10. CIH reads wqrm for wqrm here and renders it "caprae(?)", but without giving etymology. Solé Solé, op. cit., 16, comments that the reading qrm, when compared with Arabic جر, gives a sense not in line with mbjmh in the preceding line. The reading qrm is certain and cannot be challenged or emended. But still I think that it should be possible to compare this qrm with kabsh
qaragl and render it as "rams". Two points necessitate comment here:

(1) The interchange of q and g is paralleled; cf. my NQI, II, 421 n. 1, and Beeston, NOSAL, III, 132 and n. 26. (2) Arabic kabsh qaragl or qaragl seems to indicate a species of rams rather than simply a Yamanī ram, as claimed by the lexica. Its use in al-Ṣari-th's mu'allaqat should be construed as metaphorically using kabsh qaragl for Qays and not in the sense of a "Yamanī great leader", as if could have said kabsh yamanī instead without any change in the sense.

qashm: Nas’ān, AA-Ṣ-U, 86, gives qashm = mā yu‘kalu min al-buqūli
ka-l-fujli wa-naḥwi-hi: "vegetable edible (raw), like radishes and the like", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Hamdānī, Iklin, VIII, (Baghdād ed.), 182, says that qashm in the dialect of Ḥimyar meant thīmar al-kharīf: "the fruits, the crops, of autumn". Wasi‘ī, Tarīkh al-Yaman, Cairo, 1947, 131, says that qashm is the Yamanī word for fujli: "radishes" (cf. also Rossi, Arabic Parlato a Ṣan‘ā’, 143), and on p. 303 Wasi‘ī gives qashbam as the equivalent of sānī: "water worker, one who raises water from a well or the like".

In ESA qashm is attested in CIH 308, 9: wār‘/qasmn/w‘hadrw/w‘kfrhw/
wajhrhw/ "and the irrigation of the orchard (or, vegetable garden) and its channels and its sluices (?) and its ..(?)..", according to Beeston, SL, 27. In the note thereto, p. 30, Beeston says, qasmn: Rh(odokanakis) "according to the Iklin this would be fruits, according to Nas‘ān vegetables, according to the North-arabic lexica qashma: masīlu al-mā‘ī hī al-rawd". " Cf. also CIH 308 bis,
in two places. It is perhaps better to render qāmt here as:
"leading canal, canal which brings in water", a sense which fits
before it; cf. RES 4198,2; whbhr/wdr/n/b’rhm/rwm, where
reads corresponding to hnh or snb in similar contexts (cf. CIH 399,2;
RES 2816,11-13; 2952,3; 3012,17; 4700; 4731,2). snb and hnh mean
"to dig down to water; to reach water; to make the well flow with
water"; cf. Qamus, art. nbj; cf. further under article "fd. Cf.
also Arabic shari’as: "a water source which runs continuously and
whose water runs on the surface of the earth and is not hauled up
with pails". Thus sbr/qāmt can be rendered: "and the supplying
of water, letting in water to, the leading canal".

nql: Taj, art. nql, gives naqil = kullu jariq fi al-jabal: "any road
in the mountain", as in the dialect of al-Yaman. Lisan and Taj,
art. nql, also give manqal as "a road in the mountain" but without
specifying a dialect. CIH 287,1 reads ‘sd/hglw/wsbrn/dmbrn/dy/
nkl/srt, and CIH renders nkl/srt as a proper noun, but in the
note thereto it is explained as "mons abruptus regionis altae",
and with this CIH compares al-naqil, bi-lughat al-yaman, al-‘aqaba,
quoting from Yaqut, Mu’jam, IV, p. 810. CIH makes two mistakes here.
The first is misinterpreting ‘aqaba as "mons abruptus", when in
Arabic it means "a mountain road"; cf. under article ‘qb above
and footnote 2 to article wjl (‘jl). The second is misinterpreting
nkl, which should have here the same sense as it has elsewhere, and
which is, according to Rhodokanakis, St., II, 26, "kunstvolle
Arbeit", but which I render: "engrave, excavate, hollow up, in
stone, rock, or hard terrain"; cf. the following article. The ESA term comparable with Yamani Arabic naqil is mnql: "mountain road", attested in RES 3550,3; 4328,6,10; and its plural mnqilt, attested in RES 2633 (= CIH 621),7; and CIH 418,1. Cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 98, where he compares with mnqln, RES 3550,3, modern Yamani naqil, after Glaser, Reise nach Mārib; and cf. GR-Cl., 191, where Arabic manqal is compared with ESA mnql.

This article is included here as a supplement to the preceding article. I compare with ESA nkl Arabic mankal = al-gakhra: "rock", and "ankala al-bajara 'an makani-hi = dafa'-a-hu 'an-hu: "to move away, to remove, the stone from its place", and cf. the tradition muḍaratu gakhru al-lahi allati la tunkal, explained la tudfa'-u 'ammā sulliyat 'alay-hi lithubūti-ha fī al-'arḍ: "cannot be moved away from what is under their authority (or, under its weight), because of their (or, its) fastness to the ground". Two points will have been noticed here: (1) that in all these cases there is close association between "rocks" and the usages derived from the root nkl; (2) that the usages of ankala given here have a privative sense, that of moving away a stone or rock. Privative usages are normally denominative, which suggests that it derives from mankal or from another substantive now not attested in the Arabic lexica. [For the privative usages of derived verbs in Arabic cf. Ibn Jindi, al-Khaṣṣa'iq, III, 75-83; and Höldeke, Neue Beiträge.] ESA nkl has verbal and substantive usage derived therefrom. I shall start by examining the verbal ones. CIH 230,2 reads: whnklw/rb't/krfw/wb'r/
where CIH, guided by the context of 'rb't/krfm/wb'r/, renders whnklw/ as "foderunt": "excavated, dug out". Cf. also CIH 889,3: hnklw/[b']rn: "foderunt [pu]teum". I agree with this rendering on etymological grounds as well. hnkl here has a privative sense, that of "to move away rock or stones". For privative Form IV in ESA cf. RES 3945,15-16: wند/wnflw/gn*/hgrhw/نسن/ُد/ه(16)ئشح: "and demolished the wall of his city نس until (16) he razed it", according to Beeston, SI, 64; cf. also his note thereto, p. 70, where he adds, "نسر: a denominative from دأ/ ... "foundation"; in the same line of thought as (Arabic) ٰساجلا." nkl is also attested in a number of texts as substantive and perhaps infinitive.

CIH 373 reads: بحدت/زت/nkl/gwbn/: "instauraverunt clivum fossae muri (?)", according to CIH, where nkl/: "fossa" is taken in line with hnklw/: "foderunt", CIH 230,2. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 25, reads this as: بحدت/زت/nkl/gwbn/ and renders it as: "have renewed what had fallen of the artistically carved out (or, pierced through) wall structure". He reads زت/ after Glaser's copy instead of زت as emended in CIH; and he takes gwbn as indicating the "well-shaped small vents (?)", "Luftöffnungen (?)", which Glaser says were in the wall of ءارام بلال; Reise nach Marib, 138. But cf. what I think of these vents on p. 12 of Appendix II (Nazar Achoury). I follow CIH in reading زت/ and I render the same as: "renewed the drainage duct of (or, in) the dressed (or, cut out) rock-face of the cistern (or, reservoir)".

Notes to the translation:
"drainage duct"; cf. for this meaning the detailed examination under footnote 5 (f) to article grh (p. 23 f., in the footnotes thereto). Cf., the account of "drain" works in the entrance hall of Temple WM given in F. P. Albright, ADBA, 226. This drain or one similar to it must have been referred to in this text.

"dressed (or, cut out) rock-face", or, perhaps: "the cut out, hollowed, stone". It depends whether the cutting was of the rock in which the cistern was dug out, or in the stone from which the drain duct was built.

cistern, reservoir", dug out in rock. Cf. Qur'an lxxxix, 9: jabū al-qabr, explained as naqabū al-qiṣraṭ ... fa-ittakhadhdū-hā buyūt-an: "excavated, dug out, the rocks and used them as houses"; Suyūṭī, Itqān, I, 133, on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. Arabic jaba does not mean "den Stein, den Felsen durchbohren", as Rhodokanakis renders it when he compares it with his gwbn/"durchbrochenen Mauerwerk"; cf. l. cit. Cf. also Arabic jawba = al-hurratu al-mustadḥratu al-wasātatu: "a round wide pit or hole", and shibbu rahwat-in takīnu bayna gahranay dur al-qawmi yāsūlu fīha al-maṭar: "something like a depression between the houses of a group of people into which rainwater flows or gathers"; cf. also ijtāba al-biʿra: ihtafara-baḥa: "to have a well, a cistern, dug out" and jawwāb: "one who digs out wells until he reaches water"; Ṭaj and Līsān, art. jwb. Cf. BBS 2980 bis, ʒ gwbn/"dans les interstices", according to G. Ryckmans; I render it "in the cracks"; cf. my NQI, 21.

GH 329,2 reads: bn/nkl/nkl/skf/w′nmr/wfnw/, which I render: "from all the excavating (or, clearing of stone, removal of rock) of the levelled ground and the channels and the canals". For skf: "levelled ground", cf. under article skf above.

RES 4194,6 reads: wtqjmsn/lbyt/wm′d′1/wmrtdm/wdhr′m/bnkklhmw. This is the closing line of the inscription, which tells of
constructions and work done to a tower, an irrigation system, reservoirs, drainage systems, and digging up of vineyards and of land being prepared for cultivation for the first time, *wrdhwm/ tbrn/glhm*. (cf. Arabic *absara* = ḥafara ʿlʿarg-in maqlūm; and *galama al-arṣa* = ḥafara-hā wa-lam takun ḥufirat wa qāble ddhlik; cf. Līsān, arts. bsr and ʿlm respectively); and *nkłhmw*, the last word in the whole text, refers to all this work. This is semantically and technically the equivalent of the South Arabian term *ānā* muḥtaram, literally, "inalienable, legally recognised, toil", used in the *Fatāwā* of Ibn Juʿmān, the 16th century Yamani jurist, to indicate work and construction on land that in themselves constituted extra rights above and over the right to the ground itself. It is also indicated there as ṣumra gābirā: "obvious, recognisable, work or construction"; (cf. R. B. Serjeant’s manuscript copy of the *Fatāwā*, 180 r.) Compare with this Arabic *nakāl* in its developed sense of "punishment, torture", which is akin to "toil, hard work". But it might be possible still to see in *nkłhmw* here the sense of "excavating, clearing, stones, rocks or hard terrain", since most of the work done, if not all, would have entailed that. Cf. also Jamme 511,3 (Rossi 15,3), which reads: *wrtw/nkłhmw/mrhm[w*, where Jamme renders *nkłhmw* as: "leur réservoir", but without etymology; cf. "Inscriptions sud-arabe de la collection B. Rossi", RSO, XXX, Fasc. I-II, 1955, 108. Line 2 of the same text, partly damaged, mentions *wmglhmw*, which indicates that the context had to do with irrigation works. I think that
the context is not clear enough to make the rendering of nklhmw as "leur reservoir" justifiable. A sense akin to that assigned to nklhmw in RES 4194, 6 should apply to it as well.

RES 4050, 2 reads: hhd[tw/kl/nkl/qdm/dqn/m(qbrhmw; I render this as: "and they originated all the dressing of the stones (or, the trimming of the rock face) in front of the portico of their burial-place".

For dqn: "portico", cf. my ASA MDQNT, 333 n. 2 and 334.

Fakhry 95 + 94, 2 reads: wkl/nkl/mdqnthnw; I render this as: "and all the stone dressing of their mîrâb-portico". For mdqnt: "mîrâb-portico", cf. my ASA MDQNT, passim.

Three other texts have nkl in comparable contexts and I propose to treat them as one unit.

CIH 40, 3: wkl/nkl/wqwt/wall/wthqt/saq/kwn/bhyt/nt*tn/tlfm, which I render as: "and all the stone dressing and building in courses and paving with stone slabs and perfecting the (structure of the) roofed appurtenance (or, roofed vestibule) which was in this nt*tn TLFM".

Notes to this translation:

nkl: "stone dressing"; this was either done before building the stones or blocks into the structure, or, not improbably, after they had been built; cf. F. P. Albright, ADSA, 218, 233.

swf: "building in courses"; cf. Arabic saf: "a course of masonary built in a wall"; or, perhaps, "the coping", cf. Arabic sayf: 'îfrîs or 'junuf: "the coping, or ledge, or cornice that protects a wall, surrounding the upper part of the walls at the top of a house"; cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. Beeston, SI, 9: "facing"; cf. his note thereto, p. 10.

gll: "paving with stone slabs"; cf. under article gll above.

tht: "perfecting (the structure)"; for this sense cf. Arabic hata'a
al-jidāra and 'ahtā's-hu = 'ahkams-hu: "to perfect, to tighten, the (structure of the) wall"; Taj, art. ht'. Cf. also Taj and Lisan, art. hty, where usages the same and similar to those given under ħt' are attested. Cf. there especially muḥtāt = al-muwaththaqu al-khalq: "tightly, firmly, built", said to be metathetical from muḥtāf. For the interchange of t and ħ cf. ESA wtf, which I equate with Arabic warā'fa and warā'I; cf. footnote 1 to article dyn; cf. also Arabic ḥinta'w = ḥna'w: "a short man"; Taj, arts. ħt' and ḥna'w. Beeston, SI, 9: "even lay-out"; and in the note thereto, p. 10, he says, "For the etymology Rh(odokanakis) (St II 34, note 4) (om)p(ared) (Hebrew) ḥašā "divide, halve", and from this developed a transl(ation) "arrange evenly", referring to a ramp or a slope such as is found round a well (CIH 149) or on a roof (CIH 648,4; 660,2). Hence H(ofner), (Z)EA (II) 88 here "the (even) slope". Dubious as this is, nothing else has been suggested." Cf. also Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 63, where he re-states this etymology and examines the attested usages of ḥnā and ḥnā rendering them according to this etymology.

Sqr: "roofed appurtenance"; for this sense cf. footnote 8 (d) to article Sqr, and the foot-remark on p. 39 of the footnotes thereto. This sense is perhaps preferable to "roofed vestibule", given as an alternative, because of the obscure sense of nṯ'tn, to which this Sqr appertained; cf. the foot-remark on p. 5 of article jyb, and the foot-remark on p. 21 of the footnotes to article Sqr. But if nṯ'tn is to be taken as a kind of building, then it is better to render "roofed vestibule" rather than "roof", because of the following kwn/bḥyt/nṯ'tn/, which seems to indicate something of a more "independant" standing than a "roof" would have. For Sqr "roofed vestibule", cf. the same references as for "roofed appurtenance" given above.

CIH 648,4 reads: wbythmu/n'mn/f*dbw/whkl/whr[ʰ]/whgyn/thbyt/wnkl/ kl/qdqm. For the reading of hkl/whr[ʰ] cf. footnote 8 (e) to article
grh. There I took hkl as Form IV from kl1 and rendered it as: "completed", which makes satisfactory sense. But I realise that it might be possible to take it as Form IV from nkl, although I feel that this is not so justifiable in view of the twice attested hnk1w, CIH 230.2 and 889.3; cf. above. I render whmyn/tnht/wnkl/kl/qdqm as: "and perfecting (in a) finish and (smooth) stone dressing in the best manner".

CIH 46.4 (according to Nortmann and Mittwoch, Sabaische Inschr., 207, after Cl. 799 (ZDMG XLIII p. 660 ff.)) reads: wkl/nklhw/wth[w]thw. The context is obscure because of the damaged state of the line. But one can render this as: "and all its stone dressing and its perfecting".

Finally I come to CIH 287.§, because of which this article was included here. It reads: 'sd/hqlw/wstrn/dmhrtn/"dy/nkl/ţrtn/; which I render as: "Those (or, the men) who completed and built up (the house) dmhrtn until the dressed stones of the top", or, more probably in my opinion, "completed and built up (or, reveted) the inside walls of (the well (or, reservoir) dmhrtn until the excavated rock bed of the bottom".

Notes to these translations:
'sd: "men", and not "soldiers", since they are described in 1. 14 of the text as: mtt/ngrm/yh'mn. Also possibly "those who".

hqlw: "completed"; in the case of taking the building in question as a house, this would mean "covered with the roof"; in case it is taken as a well or reservoir, it would mean "completed, finished off"; cf. footnote 8 (e) to article grh, p. 52 of the footnotes thereto.
As far as it is possible to determine, Arabic sabara has two usages comparable here: sabara = wadā‘ al-bunyan ba‘da-hu fawqa ba‘d-in: "to build up, to lay the structure, the masonry, on course on top of the other", and sabara = ʃawā al-bi‘ra bi-l-ḥiğara: "to revet, to line, the inside walls of the well or cistern with stones". The latter sense seems to be the more common of the two. In Ibn Ju‘mān, Fatawā, sabīr, pl. subur, is used to mean a kind of dyke or embankment for holding the irrigation water on the land while irrigating; cf. R. B. Serjeant’s manuscript copy of the Fatawā, 179 v, 207 r. The former sense goes with "house", while the latter goes with "well, reservoir".

dahrtnt: CB–Gl., 143, art. sbr, "(castellum) dū–Mahrātān"; I suggest that it might have also indicated a well or reservoir.

'dy: "until", either upwards, with house, or downwards, with well or reservoir; cf. the following note.

nkl: "stone dressing, dressed stones", with house, "excavated rock bed", with well or reservoir; cf. the beginning of this article, especially ad CIH 230,2 and 373.

sertn: "top", with house; cf. Arabic sarāḥ = sahr: "back", of an animal or a mountain; "bottom", with well or reservoir; cf. Arabic sarratu al-hawd = muṣṭaqqaru al-mā‘i fī ‘aqqā–hu: "the place where water settles, or gathers, at the bottom of a tank or reservoir". Rhodokanakis, ZIAI,1, 22, in line with his interpretation of nkl as: "kunstvoll Arbeit", says that he takes sertn here as a loanword from Accadian, and says that it means: "an overseer, an official", who, according to the clear context of the inscription here, was in charge of some structure. I feel that this is a piece of forced argument, and makes poor sense with 'dy/nkl/sertn: "until the artistic work of the (building) overseer", as it has to be rendered according to his views.

nkl is also partly restored in CIH 28,2, which reads: wbt/twfy/mq(h)/wnk(1), which I would render: "and because he fully realised
(or, accomplished) the making (water) tight and the stone dress[ing]
(or, the trimming, cutting out, of the rock face or bed)". The
context is obscure. For ṣaq̲h̲: "making water-tight", cf. the full
examination of ESA ṣaq̲h̲ and ṣaqu̲ under footnote 5 (e) to article
ṣqq̲ (pp. 19-22 of the footnotes thereto). Mordtmann and Mittwoch,
Sabaische Inschr., 208, suggest after examining the usages of nkl
in the different texts that nkl is synonymous to ṣaq̲h̲, which they
hold meant "to excavate" (cf. ibid., 179). They, therefore, reject
Hammel and Rhodokanakis's rendering of nkl as "kunstvoll Arbeit"
because they hold that nkl had more concrete sense. Rhodokanakis,
ZIAI, I, 42-43, contests Mordtmann and Mittwoch's interpretation of
ṣqq̲ and ṣaq̲h̲, and ibid., 65 ff., contests the validity of their
equating ṣaq̲h̲ with nkl. While I do not agree with Mordtmann and
Mittwoch's view of ṣaq̲h̲ and ṣaq̲h̲, it is clear that their view about
nkl, reached to from a different approach, agrees basically with
mine. But I offer an etymology, while they do not. On the other
hand, while I do not agree with Rhodokanakis's nkl: "kunstvoll
Arbeit", I think that a semantic relation, though vague, can be
shown to exist between the hard and often careful work of excavating
rocks and stones and dressing and trimming stones and rock faces on
the one hand, and "artistic work", on the other.

wshb: Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 295; Lisān and Taj, art. wshb, give
tamrat-un washbat-un = ḍhalīṣatu al-liḥā: "a date with thick skin",
as in the dialect of al-Yaman. RES 3689,11 reads: ḍwshb/wṭmr/wm/;
Rhodokanakis, FT, I, 59, renders this as: "the vegetables and the
fruits of 'Amm', and in the commentary, ibid., 110, he quotes from Lisan this Yamani usage of washba and says that it is a suitable sense for wswb here. Rhodokanakis, who in KT, I, 57 reads RES 3689, 11 as: nhql/s*bn/khd/ddnt/wswb/wtmr/‘m/, points out later, KT, II, 110, that between nhql/ and /dnt/ stands a space of 6-7 letters which cannot be made out from the squeeze. In view of this uncertainty about what preceded wswb/wtmr/, and in view of the fact that Arabic washba is an adjective and not a substantive, I think that it is feasible to render wswb as: "and the honey"; cf. CIH 320, 2: šwbn: "mel". According to Abu 'Ubayd, 'Amwal, 506, Yaman was bilad al-'asal, "the land of honey".

When speaking about a clan called Wathan b. Qudam, says that a certain Ibrahîm b. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-'Uqbî, from the clan Naml, kinsmen of the said Wathan, told him that Qudam had no "son" called Wathan but that it was the name of a place which had been made a boundary or frontier between between certain tribes in which there was a wathan, explained as al-‘alam: "landmark, boundary mark or stone". This is the same sense as that of ESA wtn: "boundary stone"; cf. CR-Cl., 142.
A tradition in Bukhārī, Sahih, Cairo, 134 A.H., 105 f., says that Muhammad was asked about the lawfulness of drinking bit, a wine made from honey which the people of Yaman used to drink, and he ruled that it was unlawful; cf. also Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, I, 2, 86. Niḥṣya, art. bit, enters this tradition and says bit is "the wine of the people of Yaman". Lisān, art. bit, says al-bit... al-khamr, yamāniyya, and adds wa-bata'a-hā; khammara-hā, wa-l-battā', al-khammār, and then gives the entry from Niḥṣya. Tāj, art. bit, adds to this that Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī indicated that al-bit was the wine of ʿahl al-yaman made of honey; Tāj also adds al-battā', al-khammār bi-lughat al-yaman.

In ESA, bit is attested in two texts, RES 2918,4 and 4698,4. In both texts it is a "wine" of a sort. RES 4698 reads: sqny(3)[wjtl]/mr's/syn/d'ilm/ndr/?lqc(4)hn/nqr/bt'/hn/hn/8'mt/wq's. G. Ryckmans renders 1. 4 as "la pierre sculptée qu'il a acquise par achat, et il l'a dédiée", Mus., 50 (1937), 249. Beeston, NOSAL, II, 262, in connection with his interpretation of ESA qā' as "oblation vase" renders the same line as: "the carved stone [i.e. statue], which he had acquired by purchase and its (accompanying) oblation-vase". I render the same as "this (wooden) hollowed receptacle of bit-wine, through purchase, and its (drinking? or, libation?) bowl".

Cf. the PS to this article for a variant reading of RES 4698,3-4, given by M Höfner, after SE 49, and Rhodokanakis's interpretation thereof, in Bib. Or., X, 1953, 150 f.
Notes to my translation:

ngr: "(wooden) hollowed receptacle". At the end of the tradition from Bukhārī, op. cit., quoted above about the prohibition of bit'f, it is added that he also prohibited making nabīdh (fruit-drink, presumably the non-intoxicant type) in a variety of receptacles among them al-ngaqr. According to the lexica ngaqr is "a log that is carved out or hollowed and then used for making wine, the wine made therein becoming very strong"; cf. Līsān and Tāj, art. ngaqr. G. Ryckmans, l. cit., "pierre sculptée", by comparing Arabic nqarā "to hollow, to carve in stone or wood"; Beeston, l. cit., "carved stone [i.e. status]"; this is in line with his assumption that qa' here, like in RES 4691,6, was an oblation vase placed in front of votive statues; cf. further below the note to qa'.

bt'f: "bit'wine, honey-wine". G. Ryckmans: "qu'il a acquise", hesitantly taking bt'f as Form VIII and comparing Arabic ibthā'a: "to buy".

ngr/bt'f/hn: "this" etc. G. Ryckmans's and Beeston's translations do not take account of hn here. G. Ryckmans, l. cit., adds the note, "hn, pronom relatif?". This is the Īḍramī suffix of the "status determinatus", here written separately because it refers to the muqāf, ngaqr, and not to the muqāf ʾilay-hi, bt'f, thus meaning "this receptacle of bit'wine". The separate writing of hn here seems to lend support to Hommel's view that the suffix hn of the "status determinatus" is a primitive or original form of demonstrative; cf. Hüfner, AŠQ, 113 and n. 1.

bn/samt: "through purchase"; as if to indicate that he did not make it himself (?). The dedicant here is yd'1 byn mlk ḥdramt. Or, "from the north" (?)

qa'1s: "its (drinking? or, libation?) bowl"; cf. Beeston, l. cit., 261 ff., where he compares Eth. maqūṭ: "vase" and interprets qa'1 as: "a receptacle for incense or other offerings which was placed in front of votive statues". I think that in the context of ngaqr/bt'f: "receptacle of bit'wine" it is more reasonable to interpret it as...
"bowl, jug" with which wine could be served or taken from the bigger receptacle, either for drinking or for libations. Eth. maqduṭ has the basic sense of "olla", "an earthen pot, a jar". Cf. also Arabic qaṣ'a: "a pail made of wood", cf. Dozy, Supplement, II, 359.

RES 2918,1 reads: dykrb/(h)mrn/wtnmn/bt/w/skr/wtnrs/whly/, which I render: "Who-(soever) delivers (or, offers) offerings or (their) value, (be they) honey-wine or dates-wine and its fruits and vegetables" cf. the full examination of this translation under article skr.

In her review of G. Ryckmans, Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique, VII, troisième livraison (4665-5106), in Bib. Or., X, 1953, 150-153, Maria Höfner, ibid., 150 f., says that according to the successfully made squeeze of SE 49 (= RES 4698 = Philby 9), lines 3 and 4 of this text read: 3. wtl/mr's/syn/djlm/nsr/qlf 4. hn/nsr/btw/hs/bn/x'mt/waq's

She gives the translation which Rhodokanakis made of these lines in a lecture in 1932 as follows: "hat gewidmet (3) und geweiht seinem Herrn Sin von Lm die Südsseite (4) — die Seite, die er für sich behalten hat, ist nach Norden — und hat sie ihm übergeben". Then follow notes which Höfner quotes from Rhodokanakis's lecture. The crucial note among them is his qlf'hn: "south", reached by a number of semantic comparisons.
According to Abu 'Ubayd, Risāla, tabbarna, Qur'ān xxv, 39, = 'ahlaknā "we destroyed, we annihilated", is a usage in the dialect of Saba'. Suyūṭī, Itq., 136, gives the same statement on the ultimate authority of Abu ('Ubayd) al-Qasirā. But Suyūṭī further on, ibid., 139, give tatbir, verbal noun of Form II, Qur'ān xvii, 7, as Nabāṭī loanword. This is also given by Ṭabarī, Tafsir, xix, 11, on the ultimate authority of Sa'īd b. Jubayr.

Arabic tbr has corresponding roots in many Semitic languages and even has an Arabic variant with th, sc. thbr. A. Jeffery, For. Voc., 89 f., only quotes Suyūṭī to the effect that tatbir was Nabataean, by which, as Jeffery points out, Suyūṭī meant Aramaic. Jeffery compares the corresponding roots from Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Akkadian, Ethiopic, ESA and even Arabic thbr. The comparison leads to the conclusion that "Ar. tbr is a secondary formation and in all probability from the Aram(aic)"; he obviously considers the form thbr as the primary one.

Actually Saghānī, quoted in Īṭṭā', s.v. thbr, says that thabira = halaka "to perish" is a variant of tabira with th. Cross-reference to this effect is not given under article tbr. This omission might suggest that Saghānī must have considered tbr the primary form although actually both forms are attested in the Qur'ān.

In ESA tbr "to be damaged, to destroy" is well attested; cf. CR-G1. 258. It is probably correct that tbr was a secondary formation probably borrowed from Aramaic. The comparison of a Sabaean usage here does not lend support to tbr as a primary form, and the comparison can
be valid only in as far as the sense is concerned and in as far as tbr can be considered a variant form of thbr.

Qurṭubi, Jami', xiii, 34, quotes an assertion by al-Mu'arraj and al-Akhfash that tagharrā tatbir-an, Qur'an xxv, 39, is the equivalent of dammarna tadmir-an both in sense and etymology, the root tbr being a variant of dmr, with tāʾ for dāl and bāʾ for mim. The assertion is definitely far fetched and hardly acceptable, especially that dmr, with the same basic sense of "to destroy, to confound" is known in other Semitic languages; cf. W. Leslau, Lex. sqq. 130. The root is also attested in ESA. Moreover, dammarna, Qur'an, xvii, 16, is claimed by Abu 'Ubayd, Risāla, to be a usage in the dialect of Haḍramawt; cf. under article dmr.
According to Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 192 and 194, ḥallwā and ḥallāh: 'ard-um tunbitu dhukūra al-baqūl: "a land in which grow (or, are grown) vegetables (that can be eaten raw)" is a Yamanī usage, yamāniyya. Lisān and Tāj, art. ḥlw (ḥly), give only ḥallwā in this sense but without specifying a dialect. The lexica give a number of other usages from this root which pertain to plants and agriculture. Cf. ḥaly: "any herbage or growth that is like seed-produce"; ḥalwā: "fruits"; Lisān, art. ḥlw.

Tāj, ibid., gives al-ḥaliyy: al-khashabatu al-ṣawīla bayna al-thawrayn: "the long piece of wood that is between the two oxen", i.e. "the thill which holds the yoked oxen to the plough", or, "the yoke" as a Yamanī usage, yamāniyya. (Lisān does not enter this usage at all.) With this one can semantically compare Arabic fadān and faddān: 'addātu al-thawrayni fī al-qirānī li-l-ḥarth: "the device which joins the two oxen for ploughing", and al-faddān: al-mizrā'a: "plantation"; Lisān, art. fdn. It is possible, therefore, to suggest that ḥaliyy: "the yoking gear", is a developed sense from ḥaliyy: "plantation, land used for cultivation". (1)

Usages from the root ḥly are attested in ESA.

(1) ḥly: RES 3346,5; 3348,4; 3345,4; 3318,3,4,5; 3307,4; 3285,6; 3282,5; where ḥly was rendered as "property, possessions". This sense was etymologically compared with Arabic ḥalla: "to become legal, to be one's lawfully": cf. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 66 f. Most of the texts cited above are partly or extensively damaged, but in one of them the
context is clearly associated with land and cultivation; cf. RES 3318,5: wḥlymḥ/mḥmḥ/mn/wḥrw/mlk/lwn/wl/nḥ/y/gn, which I render: "and the plantations of each (group of) the dhima and the ra‘iyya of Ma‘In and the king’s tenants-in-fee and Ma‘In, the land-tax payers of ...?..."; (cf. the examination of this translation under articles ʿḥym (ṣym), ḫbn and khar). ḫly: "plantations, cultivable land" is more appropriate to the sense than "property, possessions" in general. This is particularly clear in RES 2869,4,5, where ḫly: "plantations, orchards" is mentioned three times in connection with the vast repair and restoration work done to its irrigation system. I have discussed the interpretation of that text at length on pages 26–29 of article ṣhr and in the lengthy footnote (5) thereto. I also referred there to Rhodokanakis’s interpretation of ḫly as "staircases" on the ground that the context of ṣhr "upper-chambers", and mḥwl: "ring-passages", according to him, required that ḫly should mean "steps, staircase", and gave his full statement of his etymological approach to this sense. My interpretation of RES 2869 renders his argument groundless, for it is maintained there that ṣhr/tbrn, RES 2869,3, meant: "they made even (or, levelled) the damage (or, the broken, breached, part)" and mḥwl meant: "water-distributing system". Rhodokanakis, St., II, 37, assigns the same sense to ḫly in RES 2814,5, which reads: wḥfḏh/qfw/ḥly/ ṣlt: "and (of) the tower on the side of the staircase to the roof", according to him, ibid. I rendered this as: "and the tower facing the plantations (or, orchards) of (i.e. irrigated from) the pool"; cf.
the examination of this translation of mine under footnote 5 (a) to article ɡrh; cf. also RES 3317, bn/byt/qfwa'by[ly].

With 3ly, "plantations, orchards", I compare the Yamanî usages ٓھلّوا and ٓھلّ، cited above. The sense of "orchard" is meant to allow for the possibility of the land being used for fruit trees; cf. Arabic ٓھلّ: "fruits".

(2) ٓہلّ, pl. ٓہللّ: "fruits, vegetables". On p. 33 of article ɡrh, I render RES 2771,4-5: ٓلّ/ปากرہم/بک[بٗد/ٗن](ٗن)ف/۹ي/رکب/ٓہلّ/١لّ/ب٢ن/ as: "offered as a tribute to نکرہم out of a d[ue a qu]antity of incense surmounted on (or, in addition to) ٓلّ fruits in the front space of the temple". In RES this is rendered as: "il dedia à نکرہم à Kabad une quan(5)tite de ٌطیب destinee au essences de l'autel des perfums du temple". This rendering of ٓہلّ is conjectured because of ٓلّ/ب٢ن: "l'autel des perfums du temple"; but cf. my translation of that and the documentation thereof, l. cit. Cf. RES 2918,1: دیکرہب/ٗ(ٗن)مٗم/بٖی/ٓہلّ/بٖی/بٖی/بٖی/ "Who(soever) delivers (or, offers) offerings or (their) value, (be they) honey-wine or dates wine, and its fruits, and vegetables"; (cf. the documentation of this translation under article ɡrh). I assign to ٓلّ here the sense of "vegetables" because...
of tmrs: "its fruits", before it. But it is equally possible to render
the two words the other way round, for in Arabic one speaks of thamar
al-shajjar: "the fruits of the trees", and thamar al-'ard: "the fruits
of the land", viz., "vegetables", although more commonly thamar is
used for the former, cf. Taj, art. thmr. No translation is given in
RES, but in the note thereto, "dattes douces" is suggested, after
Jaussen and Savignac, Mission archéologique, II, 238, where they say,
and ‘hly, RES 3610,2, "Dans le cas present, ni le sens de "famille"
adopté par Müller (Epig. Denkm... , p. 21) ni celui de "ornements"
proposé par Hommel (Sud-ar. Chrest.. , p. 123) ne paraissent convenir
à notre contexte. En faisant dériver le mot d'une racine , nous
croyons qu'il indique soit des épices, soit des dattes douces". I
think that ‘hlys "spices" is a wild guess and hardly tenable on either
semantic or etymological grounds. But ‘hly: "dattes douces" is feasible,
as in most cases dates must have been the fruits par excellence to the
inhabitants of Arabia, North or South.

RES 3695,4 reads: wfg'/s'/kly/wsg/hmr/bnkl/'..."; "et en
plus d'un sa de dattes douces, une charge d'ane de tout ..."; and
ibid., 9 reads: "wmn/dys'rb/'kl/'hly: "et quiconque consacre une
nouriture de dattes douces"; according to Jaussen and Savignac in
both cases. ‘hly: "dattes douces" is a feasible translation; compare
with ‘kl/'hly, 1. 9, Arabic hulayya: "a certain food of the Arabs in
which dates are rubbed and pressed or smashed with the hand"; Lane,
Lexicon, s. v.
This seems particularly to fit RES 3610, which reads:

2. ...s/hn/lk/k/bly/krb/wb/msk...

3. ...rb/'bly/w'hll/krbn/kwf/

Jaussen and Savignac render this as:

2. ...qui a mêlé les épices de l'offrande et qu'a pris ...

3. ...les épices et les biens de l'offrande pour que le salut ...

I propose restoring the first word of 1, 3 as $rb$, cf. RES 3695,9: dys/rb/'kl/'bly, and to emend the last word therein as $kwf(s)$, and render the two lines as:

2. ... who pressed (or, mixed) the dates (or, fruits) which he offered, and in a (or, the?) skin-bag ...

3. ... offered the dates (or, fruits) and the oils (or, fats) of the offering for his safety ...

Notes:

L. 2: kr$b$: "offered", as perfect.

ms$k$: "skin-bag", presumably to hold the dates or fruits, or probably, to hold the oils or fats. Cf. Arabic m$a$k$: "a skin, especially a skin of a kid", and also "a container, a bag, made of one whole skin", as used for a skin in which a Jew from Khaybar kept his valuables and jewels; Lisan, art. m$sk$. Cf. also m$a$k$: "sac en cuir", Dozy, Supplement, II, 592. This sense probably applies also to m$sk$ in RES 2918,5: m$ks$m$/ms$k$/ly'$dq$... and RES 2859,4: m$sk$nh$n$.

L. 3: $hll$m$: "oils, fats"; cf. Arabic $hll$: duhn al-simsim: "the oil of sesame"; Lisan, art. h$ll$. The oil was apparently used for mixing the dates or fruits, cf. lk$k$: "pressed, mixed", l. 2.

RES 3285,6: kl/mhn/y$a$da/$hll$m/w'h$bly... has been rendered by
G. Ryckmans as: "tout ce qu'a rapporté (affecté) son bien et le bien (?)". I think that *hlsm is short for *hll(1)sm: "their oils, their fats", and not for *hll(y)sm: "their dates, fruits", and the whole line is to be rendered: "all who faithfully render their oils and [their] dates (or, fruits)". (2)

*hly and *hly are only attested in Minaean texts. I do not think that ESA *hly, in any of its usages or senses, should be etymologically linked with Arabic *hala: "to be one's lawfully", or ESA *hll: "lawfully owned possessions", in CIH 79,6 and 334,22, as maintained by Rhodokanakis, St., I, 67. This sense of *hll is disputed by others. Beeston, SI, 15, renders *hll, CIH 79,6, as "booty"; cf. his note thereto, p. 16. Cf. also *hllm, CIH 571,13, rendered by Höfner, ZIAI, II, 93, as "Freispruch": "absolution", and by Beeston, "The Ritual Hunt", Mus., 61 (1948), 189, as "booty".


(1) Cf. ḥili, pl. ḥiliyya: "plough" in modern Ḥadramī usage; Landberg, Ḥadramout, 297. Landberg adds, "mîhrāth est inconnu aux bédouins".

(2) Cf. the tradition given by Ibn al-Kalbī, 'Aṣnam, 16, that al-Lāt was a square rock near which a Jew kāna yaluttu al-sawīq. Wellhausen, Reste, 29, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī indirectly, renders kāna yaluttu al-sawīq as: "Grütze zu schroten pflegte": "used to rough-grind groats"; cf. also n. 3 ibid. Taj, art. ltt, explains the same as yakhliṭu-hu bi-l-samm: "mixed it with clarified butter". Cf. also latt, substantive, kullu shay'-in yulattu bi-hi sawīq-un *aw ghayru-hu nahwa al-samni wa-duhni al-'alya: "anything with which semolina, farina, sawīq, or other things are mixed, such as clarified butter or the drippings of the fat of the sheep-tail"; Taj and Lisan, art. ltt. The attempt at deriving the name of al-Lāt from latta al-sawīq is an obviously awkward piece of etymology that even Arab linguists do not admit undisputed. But the evidence gained from the association of the practice with the cult or the shrine is instructive. ESA lkk is etymologically the equivalent of Arabic lakkā: "to smash; to mix", in its turn the equivalent of Arabic lattā: "to smash; to mix". Foods or dishes made of dates mixed with oil or other fats are well attested, as the case could only be; cf. rahīka: "food made of wheat, dates and clarified butter"; barīk: "butter with fresh mature dates"; and bays: "flour with dates and clarified butter."
Mikhlaż: "administrative district, province" in the usage of Yaman is well attested in historical, geographical and lexicographical Arabic sources. This usage is linked with ESA hlf: "province, district", cf. CIH 140,5: hlf[/waśb/w], rd/hwl: "in provincia, [tribu et] terra khawlano", according to CIH.

Another usage of ESA hlf is "gate, door", cf. RES 2640,1: qtdm/mbny/gn*/wvf/t/wlf/, where hlf is rendered by Rhodokanakis, St., I, 69, as "gate"; and in the note thereto, p. 70, he compares modern South Arabian halfa = "window". The exact equivalent of ESA hlf: "door, gate" is attested in Arabic. In Bukhari, Sahih, (Leyden 1862) I, 401, a tradition relates that Muhammad said to his wife 'A'isha that had not the people of Macca been only recently converted from jahiliyya he would have pulled down al-Ka'ba and rebuilt it according to Ibrahem's foundations because Quraysh had fallen short of building it complete and had built for it one khalf, explained, ibid., as bab: "door". The same tradition, ibid., but from a different authority, makes Muhammad end by saying wa-ja'altu la-hu babayn, bāb-an sharqiyy-an wa-bāb-an gharbiyy-an. Nihaya, art. khlf, gives the same tradition, but it is related there that Muhammad said wa-ja'altu la-hā khalfayn, explained in Nihaya as babayn. Lisan and Taj quote Nihaya verbatim.

ESA hlf is used in another sense which has not been recognised. In Appendix I (Najar Achoury), footnote 8, I maintain that RES 3945,1: wwhb/*ttr/whwbs/hlf/: "means "and he presented to "TTR
and HWBS a pregnant she-camel (or, pregnant she-camels). I also render RES 4176,6: ḭḥ/ṭ’lḥ/hlf/hnm/dmhrm/wrmn/wmtnm/bn/hwd’n*/ṣrm/
dṣṭ’dhn/kbrm/ as: "and T’LB has prohibited the (vowed for sacrifice) pregnant she-camels of (or, from) ḏ-MHRMm and RYMN and MNTTm from being driven in a strenuous manner, which would hurt (them), for they have been vowed (or, are sacred)."

Notes to the translation:

Forword: RES 4176 is the longest and fullest "pilgrimage text" attested in ESA. I have elsewhere referred to parts thereof, re-interpreting them and pointing out the relation of the whole text with pilgrimage; cf. my NQI, 8 n. 3 and 11 n. 2. The full text was studied by Rhodokanakis, AST, II, 186–206, and by Beeston, "Two South Arabian inscriptions: some suggestions", JRA3, 1937, 62-74; and also in SL, 76-82. I give here the translation of the same passage by Rhodokanakis and Beeston, for easy comparison. Rhodokanakis: "and in respect of the claim of T’LB to the offspring (of the animals) of (the territory) of ḏ-MHRMm and Rayman and MNTTm (and) without the removal of an (animal) dedicated (to the god) by him who should abstain from it, so they are taboo" etc. Beeston: "and T’LB has prohibited the doorkeepers of ḏ-MHRMm and RYMN and MNTTm from driving out the herds that betake themselves (thither) for they are sacred".

hlf/hnm: "pregnant she-camels"; cf. Arabic khulifah, pl. khalif, "pregnant she-camel"; Lisan, art. khlf. The reference here is to such she-camels which are vowed for sacrifice in the pilgrimage. Cf. further the two following notes. Beeston: "doorkeepers", from ḏḥ: "door"; Rhodokanakis: "offspring", from Arabic khālaṣ: "to follow, to inherit".

hwd’n: "driving", i.e. "taking out" the she-camels from these places to the place of pilgrimage; here passive. In Arabic one speaks of "taking out" the sacrificial victims of the
pilgrimage as saqa al-hadya: "to drive the sacrificial victim";

Cf. under article blt. wd, Form I, has the sense of "come out, go out"; cf. GR-Cl., 139.

šum: "in a strenuous manner, strenuously", accusative of šal.

Cf. Arabic šsr = šadd: "tightening" and šas: "binding", Lisan and Taj, article šr. But cf. semantically šadd: "running" as in the verse: hadha sawanu al-shaddi fa-istaddi siyam: "This is the time of strenuous running, so run, Ziyam"; Ziyam was the name of the poet's horse; cf. also šgabat al-šibilu = jaddat fī al-sayr: "the camels walked, marched, strenuously". Lisan and Taj, arts. šdd and šb. A tradition from Muhammad says that he saw a man driving a sacrificial victim, badana, and told him to ride it but the man declined to do so saying that it was a badana and Muhammad had to repeat his order three times until the man complied; cf. Bukhari, Sahih, (Cairo 1314 A.H.), II, 167, 170. But another tradition from Hisham b. 'Urwa, from his father, says: idha idhurirta ila badanati-ka fa-irkab-hā rukub-an ghayra fadifrt "If you are forced to (use) your sacrificial she-camel then ride it in an unstrenuous manner". Hamdani, Šifat, gives the urjūsa of al-šada'I describing the journey and the itinerary to Mecca from his native town of Ṣan'a'. Rada'I describes his mount and eventual sacrificial victim, a she-camel, as:

على حوار لا ولا أتيل
كل شكلها من ضعيف مشيل

"and which did not turn affectionately in the late afternoon either to a newly born offspring or to a nursed youngster, and which has not lowered to a libidinous bull its chest because of having been overpowered (by the bull), (and which in thus) neither pregnant nor nursing". It seems from all this evidence that people did ride their sacrificial she-camels.
but that there was aversion towards riding them strenuously or riding them at all if they were pregnant or nursing. It is possible to suggest that the aversion would likewise apply to driving them in a strenuous manner. But if ḥwādān is taken as "being ridden", as is perhaps possible, then the parallel would be obvious. Beeston: "herds", taking ʿsrām as plural and comparing Arabic ʿasīr, pl. ʿasrāb, "herd of gazelles"; Rhodokanakis: "verhaftet": "dedicated", by comparing Hebrew ʿāṣar: "to bind" and Aramaic ʿāṣar: "to prohibit".

According to Abū 'Ubayd, Risāla, followed also by Suyūṭī, Itq., I, 136, dammarna(ba), Qur'an, xvii,16, = 'ahlakna(ha) "we destroyed (it)", is a usage in the dialect of Hadramawt.

In ESA dmr is attested in one single text, RES 4324, which reads:

4. /b'ywm/b'lw
5. wdmr/*b'm/bn/m'hr/hgrn/*gz

"in den Tagen da bestü[rmt](5) und zerstört hat 'B'M, der Sohn des M'HR, die Stadt 'GZ." M. Höfner compares here Arabic dammara, II, "to destroy". This text is Qitbānī and is therefore the nearest to Hadramawt in locality and dialect.

The claim of al-Mu'arraj and al-Akhfash, given in Qurṭubi, Jāmi', xiii, 34, that tabbarna, Qur'an, xxv,39, is a variant or a secondary formation of dammara is discussed under article tbr.
Naswan, AA-SU, 46, gives on the authority of al-Shaybani sahadtu al-ja'am wa-l-nakah = haratu-hu and then adds his own remark wa-hiya lughat-un yamaniyiya. sahada = kharasa should be rendered "to assess, to value". Lisan and Taj, art. sahd give this usage and add sahad = sakah: "poor rate, tax", with a comment that sakah is called sahad from the basic sense of sahid = qalil: "little, meagre", because sakah is a meagre part of the taxed property, being only one fortieth part thereof.

In ESA sahd is attested in CIH 601, which reads:

7. /kl/s
8. wlt/w'am/w'shd/w'try/w'rsm
9. s'lhmw/sb'/w'è'bhvw/

Rhodokanakis, Grund., 18, translates this as: "alle Forderungen (an der Ernte) und Protokolle (darüber) und mutmassliche Schätzungen und Beschlagnahmen, welche von ihnen zu fordern haben Saba und die mit ihnen vereinigten Stamme (= der Gesamtstaat)". In the note thereto, ibid., 21, he compares Arabic sahada: "to assess, to value", and by comparing Forms IV and VII of Arabic sahida > sahada he suggests that *shd has the secondary meaning of "to underestimate". He points out the opposition in the sense between *shd and *try, by comparing Arabic mushid: "poor" and muthr-in: "rich", ibid., n. 5, and maintains that *shd/w'try have the combined sense of "assessment approximately halfway between too little and too much". Later, in KT, I, 91, Rhodokanakis maintains that *try here means "supererogatory harvest", while *shd
means the "assessment" proper. He equates 'zhd here with hrg in RES 3951,3,4,5. CIH hesitantly renders 'zhd as: "abdications" by comparing Arabic zabida: "to abandon something, to deem it unworthy", and from the lack of a more suitable sense renders 'try as: "condiciones".

ESA 'zhd: "assessments", synonymous to ESA hrg, (according to Rhodokanakis, KT, II, 91,) is exactly the etymological equivalent of Arabic zabada = kharasa, claimed by Na'swân to be a Yamanî usage. But I think that 'try has not been correctly interpreted. Lisan, art. thrw, explains tharwa as: kathratu al-'adadi min al-nasi wa-l-mâl: "plenty of numbers of people and animals, mîl". mîl: "possessions" has always had a sense or application appropriate to the economy or region in question. When one speaks of kathratî al-'adadi min al-mâl it can only refer to domestic animals, sheep, cattle and camels, particularly by the last. On the other hand zabada is used in Na'swân, Taj, Lisan, Sahâh, governing al-nakhl or al-ta'am "grain crops". When, therefore, one uses sahadtu al-mâla, cited by Rhodokanakis, KT, I,91,2, it is obvious that al-mâl must mean agricultural produce, since cattle and camels are taxed according to number and not according to "assessment". Thus it is quite clear that ESA 'zhd indicates "taxes or dues by assessment", i.e. on agricultural produce, while 'try indicates "taxes or dues by number", i.e. on cattle and other domestic animals.
Lisān and Tāj specify ʿshrīḥ: "A guardian of seed produce from birds and other (beings)" as Yamanī dialect, ʾṭī kalām ahl al-yaman. Immediately before this both sources give ʿshrīḥ: "keeper, guardian" and ʿshrīḥ = ʾḥifr: "to keep", without qualification, and it is not clear whether they also derive from the Yamanī usage; cf. Lisān and Tāj, art. ʿshrīḥ. It is worth mentioning that all these usages of ʿshrīḥ, dialectal or otherwise, are not in ʿṣāḥīḥ.

In ESA ʿshrīḥ is attested in a number of inscriptions. CIH 334, 11-13, reads: 11. /wflāw/ʾštbn/rdm

12. [n]/bn/ḥrtn/ṣṭm/wmrbrm/wḥrt/mrʾhm[w/

13. šʾrm/wtr/wḥmṣyhw/wwfyτ/wṣt[r]ḥ[t/

CIH renders ṣṭ[r]ḥ[t/ "se explicaverunt" (the subject being "castra", ḥrτ) and Arabic ʿshāraḥa, without specifying the sense thereof, is compared. Nordtman, Himj. Inschr. u. Alterth., 9, renders it "es blieb ... behütet", and compares Arabic ʿshrīḥ: "keeper or guardian" and the Yamanī dialect-al usage given above, obviously quoting from Lane, Lexicon. He also refers to Eth. ʾṣa ṛeḥa "secundavit", and taṣa ṛeḥa "prosperum successum habuit". Beeston, SI, 43, in his note to CIH 350,8 rejects "se explicaverunt" of CIH for ṣṭ[r]ḥ[t/, and following CR-GL., links the sense here with Eth. ʾṣa ṛeḥa. Later, NOSAL-VI, 310, he renders it "was ... preserved".

Ry 535,14 reads: /wyhwkbmn/bhw/mfft/wʾrgl/wqrn/ḥqr/šmr/drydn/ḥāṭrhw/: "Et ils y rencontrèrent les troupes d'élite, et les hommes, et l'armée que mettait en ligne ʾṢāmir ʾṬ-ʾRaydān pour se donner le
success (?); Mus. 69(1956), 149. In the note thereto, l. cit., 163, it is indicated that this rendering depends on Beeston, SI, 43, quoted above. (Ryckmans does not refer to Beeston's "was ... preserved" in NOSAL–VI, 310 of 1954.) This passage occurs towards the end of that lengthy text giving accounts of the wars of 'lSrY Yhbd and his brother YzL ByN, kings of Saba' and Dg–RaydKn, in which SmR DryDN figures as the chief enemy and opponent. Ryckmans is justified in hesitating to render lētrhw as "pour se donner le success (?)", since the text here was "written" by SmR's enemies, the Sabaean kings. But if it is rendered as: "for his own protection, to protect himself", the sentiments would be in keeping with the viewpoint of the victorious kings.

CIH 581 reads: 15. /w'lmqh

16. f[1/yārhṇ/wēwf/wmt'n/grb/mr

17. 'hw/


RES 3307,2 reads: rtd/wsārh/'m/r'h/ānty/k'ydw: "a disposé et laissé properer avec Ra'ib, clan de Nayf, entre (leurs) mains..." The text is badly damaged, yet, in the context of rtd there should be little doubt about rendering sārh as "put in custody".
Rhodokanakis translates: "(5) und am Tag, da Erfolg hatten die Sabier und ihr Feldzug im Krieg ... (6) zwischen ihnen; und am Tag, da Erfolg hatte SMH\(^3\)F\(^4\), Sohn des YH\(\nu\)N, der V[ogt von S] (7) M\(\nu\)Y mitsamt seiner ganzen Habe und seinen Hörigen, seitdem er oblag dem Aushauen (des Bergwegs)". He compares with źrh "Erfolg hatten" Eth. tašareha; cf. ZIAI, I, 25 n. 3.

In lines 6-7 he takes only SMH\(^3\)F\(^4\) as the subject of źrh, line 6, and he explains the wāw in wkl/" as wāw al-ma\(\'\)iyya; ibid., 25 n. 4. This is the only example cited by Höfner, ASG, 166, for wāw al-ma\(\'\)iyya in ESA. It is clear that Rhodokanakis resorts to this syntax because of what he must have considered an awkward sense of "da Erfolg hatten SMH\(^3\)F\(^4\) ... und seine ganze Habe und seine Hörigen", Apart from whether such a sense would have been awkward, his resorting to wāw al-ma\(\'\)iyya to avoid this awkwardness of sense is misplaced. According to Ibn JinnI, Sirr Šinā\(\'\)at al-I\(\'\)rab, Cairo, 1954, I, 143, one can say qumtu wa zayd-an, with zayd-an in the accusative after wa, only if the same expression can be said with fa\(\'\)f, viz., qumtu wa zayd-un, in the nominative. (1)

A sense of "Erfolg hatten" etc., for źrh/", line 6, should be awkward or unacceptable. Anyway, a perfect alternative would be to
render ūrḥ here as "kept safe, watched over, preserved", the subject being either a deity, probably T'LB, or a commander or leader, namely M'HRm; cf. line 9, while the nouns here and after ūrḥ, line 5, are objects.

In a reply to an inquiry put to her by me M. Höfner kindly made me a copy of the first three fragmentary and unpublished lines of this inscription (Gl. 1342). She says that she is of the opinion that these first three lines cannot be the real beginning of the inscription and that more lines at the beginning of the text must be missing. The text is also damaged on the right hand side. The inscription, as is clear from the context of the name SM'Y, DMRMR, M'HRm, must have been associated with T'LB; and according to Höfner's copy one word in line 1 might be restored as t'lb, but Höfner cautiously adds, "was nochmals zu prüfen wäre".

The account in line 5 is clearly related to war, and it makes perfect sense to say "and when he protected Saba' and their campaign forces in the war..."; the account in lines 6-7 is also of war or campaigning. In/dt/fél "seitdem er oblag dem Aushauen (des Bergwegs)", end of line 7, should be rendered "when he had started, departed, (on the campaign)"; cf. faqala al-‘askaru (an al-balad: "The army went forth from the town or country"; Lane, Lexicon, s. v.;

If the subject of ūrḥ in lines 5 and 6 is to taken as M'HRm, then it is quite permissible to suppose that his name was mentioned in the preceding damaged or missing lines. Line 8-9 of RES 4624 read:
wyhtb/mlk/sb³/w(s)b³/w³/w*(9)'sd/mlkn/èrn/wm³tn/le/hrm/t³/mm, which indicates that he must have been in an outstanding position of command; cf. CIH 375, where a priest, TºKR, was entrusted with military command and at the end of his commission was rewarded in the same manner wyhtb/lhw/yt³/mr/byn/wsb³/t³/mm. (cf. under article 'mm for the interpretation of the formula wyhtb/t³/mm).

But if the subject is to be TºLB, the most likely deity in such a case, then it can be pointed out that although accounts of favours performed or bestowed by deities are normally given in clauses introduced by bndm/bdt", yet there is one case at least where such an account is introduced by ywm/"; cf. RES 3022, 2: ywm/mt/sm/w³qynsm/³tr dqbdm/swdm/wnkrm/bn³/db³/db³n/w³qynsm/wb[³]rsm/sb³/whln/bmsb³/byn/ m³/mm/wqm³tm/. In this passage from RES 3022, 2, one can see points of similarity with RES 4624, 4-7. Notice, particularly, the mention of m³ram, "their commander", as one of the subjects of mt³sm, along with the deities; this can serve as a parallel for taking either M³HRm or a deity as the subject of ¨hr in RES 4624, 5 and 6. See also the similarity between the use of mt³ here and that of ¨hr in RES 4624.

We come now to the substantive form ¨hr in CIH 350 and 601. CIH 350 reads:

8. /wbdt/tqdm/¨hr[t³]

9. bn³/rbn/"hrm/wm³t³/sdm/tqdmw/b[³/m

10. bqrn/whrq/bhw³/sm

CIH translates: "et quia progressa est extenta turba (9)[ex] Arabibus,
decem et centum bellatores, et proelium inierunt ad[versus] (10)
Barikeses, et accisis est ibi vir". Beeston, SI, 42, translates: "and
because they made an expedition successfully against the 'RBN, a
hundred and ten warriors, and they made an expedition against BRQN, and
there was slain therein one man". Beeston, ibid., 43, compares Eth.
šaraḥa and suggests "that the meaning 'prosperity' is to be brought
to this word too", and, therefore, takes šrḥt here as "an internal
accusative to tadm", and adds, "The point of specifying this raid in
particular as "successful" seems to be that on this occasion alone
no losses were sustained". Beeston, in this last remark, indicates
that he takes the expedition against BRQN as being different from the
one described in lines 8-9. But the passage quoted above is one com­
plete bdt clause, out of six such clauses each ending with the mention
of persons killed or taken captive. And it is clear that each clause
refers to one and single occasion, although the action might have
been protracted and prolonged.

As is maintained under article hrj, the mention of certain
things or acts as hrg and ḫḏ in thanksgiving inscriptions commemora-
ting wars and campaigns often implies the benefits that were drawn from
such acts on the battlefield or thereafter, in the way of spoils. This
text, GIH 350, is typical in the way it gives a list of such killings
and captures. šrḥt here, like ḥifara in Arabic, means "an armed
escort", the sort of escort which is given by a tribe to strangers
through the tribe's own territory or through law-less territories.
ESA hfrt also means "protection"; cf. Ry 507,10; Ry 535,2 and 3.

The benefits that must have been alluded to in the bit clause of lines 8-10, quoted above, are twofold: the "pay" for the protection escort, šrpt, l. 8, and the "killing", l. 10. As for the pay for the protection escort, cf. khasara, Khisara or Khufara, "the pay of a khafr or protector"; Lane, Lexicon, s.v. (The practice is known nowadays in Southern Arabia by the name "siyara", "escort", and the pay due to the escorts is also siyara; cf. Landb. Gl. Dt., 2009; H. St.J. Philby, Sheba's Daughters, 1939, 217 and passim. As for the modern South Arabian sharafa or sharafa, cf. further below.)

I render C1H 350, 8-10, quoted above, as: "and because he led (a) an escort expedition of (or, against (b)) the Arabs (made of) one hundred and ten warriors and they marched against BRQN (c) and he killed (d) one man".

Notes:
(a) tqdm, "he led"; the use of tqdm in line 8 and tqdmw, line 9, shows that tqdm should have a subject in the singular. Beeston renders it: "they made an expedition". The subject here, as also in the case of tqdm, lines 2 and 4, is the dedicant, "BKRB YHŠKR, line 13. tqdmw, "they marched", here and in lines 6 and 7 refers to the members of the respective expeditions or of the fighting contingents.

(b) šrpt[m (9) bn]'/rbn: the restoration of the text between lines 8 and 9 is in CIH, but is not followed by Beeston, SI, 41 who leaves the place blank. Since the expedition seems to have taken place in the land of Arab tribes (cf. the following note), it is possible to suggest that the escort was either made of Arabs under his command, or was meant against Arabs. This twofold suggestion is feasible.
because bn can mean "of, from, or, against". Perhaps "against" is more appropriate here after a word signifying protection.

(c) brqnt: either the mountain ridge of Bāriq in the Sarāt, the main mountain ridges of modern 'Asīr (cf. Hamdānī, Šifat, 125, 127; it is marked on a recent map of Sa'ūdī Arabia at approximately lat. 19° 40' N, and long. 41° 55' E), or a tribe by that name who settled there and were called so after the mountain; cf. Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 480; Bakrī, Mu'amalat, I, 63; (but according to Hamdānī, Šifat, Bāriq were resident in al-chawr, the coastal plain, opposite the mountain Bāriq), or Dhū-Bāriq, a Hamdānī tribe; cf. Ibn Durayd, op. cit., 422, and Hamdānī, 'Iklīl, 40 etc.

(d) hrg: "he (the dedicant) killed". The dedicant is also subject of hrg in lines 3, 6, 10 and 12, in all of which cases Cih and Beeston render hrg in the passive voice taking the noun or nouns which follow in each case as subjects. The dedicant here is alluding to the benefits secured from these killings in the way of spoils; cf. art. hrj. (The dedicant is also the subject of 'hd, line 5, again rendered in the passive by Cih and Beeston.)

Cih 601, 16-17 reads: ḥg/ṭ[s]rh(17)my/wṣrḥthmy/ (=Fakhry I, which reads: ḥg/strh(17)my/wṣrḥthmy/.) Rhodokanakis renders this as: "entsprechend ihren Dokumenten und Erläuterungen". He adds in a note, Grund.., 19 n. 3, that the dual suffix here refers to Saba' and YHBLĀ, lines 12-13, and further adds, ibid., 24 n. 1., the suggestion that šrḥt next to štr might mean "Eröffnung, Erlässe" and adds, "فرحة = شرحة". Later, AST, I, 103, he renders šrḥthmy/ as: "ihren...Eröffnungen", and adds in a note, ibid., n. 3, that šḥt is the synonym of Qitbānī šrḥ, (to which he assigns the sense "kundmachen, eröffnen" as a tropical usage derived from the basic sense of "extend, expand" arrived at from
comparing the corresponding Arabic and Eth. roots, ibid., 77). He then adds a reference to the Ḥadrami use of ʿshrāba “Grundsteuer” and ʿshāriḥ “Zehenterr” on the authority of v.d. Berg.

Rhodokanakis’s interpretation and annotations necessitate a few remarks and queries here. To start with, Sabaʿ and YHBLH are referred to passim in the text by the plural suffix hmw, even when referred to jointly, and it is rather surprising that they should be referred to here, towards the end of the text, in the dual, hmy. The dual suffix hmy in ʿshrmy/wārhthmy/ refers jointly to YDʾIL BYN, who had issued an edict allowing Sabaʿ and YHBLH to settle down and own property in Sirwāḥ, lines 11–14, and to his son, YKRBMKL WTR, lines 1–2, who issued the edict promulgated in this text confirming and endorsing his father’s; see a comparable case in the Qitbānī RES 3693, 1–2.

The semantic comparison of Arabic ʿshrāb = fath, referred to by him, needs some clarification. His suggested “Eröffnung”, literally means, “opening, disclosure”, and this seems to indicate that he takes fath in the sense of “to open”. Both Lisān and Teʿāf give a gloss by Ibn al-ʿArabī in which ʿshrāb (inf.) is explained as ḥifṣ: “to keep, to guard, to protect”, fath: “to open?, to rule?”, bayān: “explanation, statement”, and fahm: “to understand, to comprehend”. It cannot be excluded that fath in this gloss was meant in a sense akin to ESA fth “to rule, to decree”, a sense which is attested for Arabic fataḥa in Qurʾān and is claimed to be a Ḫimyarī or Yamanī usage; cf. under article fth. This possibility might find support in the fact that ḥifṣ is
given in the gloss as the first sense of *ṣhrīḥ*, immediately before *fathū*. Rhodokanakis's reference to the "noteworthy" usages of *ṣhrīḥa*, "Grundsteuer", and *ṣhrīḥ*, "Zentrerr" is difficult to fit with his rendering of *ṣhrīḥ* as "Eröffnung". Besides, the usages really and originally refer to the "protection fees", *ṣhrīḥa*, payable to the "protector", *ṣhrīḥ*. Cf. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-‘Alawi, Ṣakāmah fi Ahl al-Ṣhrīḥah bi-Ḥadramawt, apud R. B. Serjeant, Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt, 16-24 of Arabic texts.) The fact that protection in Ḥadramawt was imposed on agricultural communities makes it seem that the "protection fees" are tithes. Anyway, *ṣhrīḥa* is attested in modern Ḥadrami usage in the sense of "to keep, to guard, to safeguard, to preserve" in general. \(^2\)

I render /ṣhrīḥ/aṣrīḥa/muṣhrīḥa (according to Fakhry I) as: "in accordance with their written document and their edict (or, covenant) of protection." Cf., for comparable expressions, RES 3692,5 (QitbānI): ḥidt/muḥrtn/woṣrytn/muṣlrs/, (the suffix s in muṣlrs/ refers to the king ṢHR), and RES 3691 (QitbānI): wḥg/ṣrytm/muṣl/la(10)ḥm/ṣhr/ (hl)l. The sense of "protection" in ṣryt has already been pointed out; cf. my NQI, 12 and n. 4.
(1) Sibawaihi, Kitāb, I, 150, states that the noun which is in the accusative after a wāw preceded by a verb, like mā gana‘ta wa‘abā-ka and istawā al-mā‘u wa-l-khashabata, is either maf‘ūl ma‘a-hu or maf‘ūl bi-hi. He explains that by pointing out that the wāw can be replaced without change in the sense either with ma‘, e.g., mā gana‘ta wa‘abā-ka = mā gana‘ta ma‘ābī-ka; or with bi, e.g., istawā al-mā‘u wa-l-khashabata = istawā al-mā‘u bi-l-khashabati. Ibn Jinnī, Sirr Sīna‘at al-Jīrāb, Cairo, 1954, 143-4, maintains that ma‘iyya and ‘atf should be interchangeable in the wāw without change of sense in the sentence, e.g., qumtu wa-sayd-an (ma‘iyya with the noun in the accusative)=qumtu wa-sayd-un (‘atf, with the noun in the nominative). This view is a narrow interpretation of the meaning of the wāw phrase which seems to be based on the apparent implication, or, from lack of a better term, "complicity", of the noun in the accusative after the wāw, sayd-an in the above example, in the action of the governing verb. He seems to consider "complicity" as implying joint action or responsibility which should be possible to express explicitly with ‘atf. This view would make unacceptable such examples as mā siltu ‘asīru wa-l-nilā: "I kept walking with the Nile", given by Sibawaihi, ibid., since walking or marching could not be attributed to the Nile. (Unless one interprets it as "I kept walking (downstream) with the Nile", when it can be implied that the Nile was also moving in the same direction. I am not aware that any of the grammarians gave this example such an interpretation.) Actually, this is the only example of Sibawaihi's which Ibn Jinnī does not quote and discuss, for it seems that he could not have accepted it. The example which Ibn Jinnī chose to show the absurdity of non-"complicity" is inṭaqārta-ka wa-ṭulū‘a al-shamsi, where it is obviously absurd to say inṭaqārta-ka wa-inṭaṣara-ka ṭulū‘u al-shamsi. (This example would still be absurd even if one's intention is to say, "I waited for you at the rise of the sun", for then one would say inṭaqārta-ka ṭulū‘a al-shamsi, with ṭulū‘a in the adverbial
accusative without the means of the wāw, which would then be completely redundant. Ibn Jinnī, however, would not have found it as easy to refute the validity of َمَا سَلِتْ ُعْلَى َعْلَى َوَاَلَّ أَلَا, where the wāw is indispensable. Al-ʾAkhfash, quoted in Ibn Jinnī, *op. cit.*, 144-5, explains the accusative case of the noun after wāw as denoting that the noun itself is an adverb. He maintains that َقُمْتُ َوَاَلَّ أَنَ َعْلَى َوَاَلَّ أَنَ (obviously in agreement with STbawayhi), but that the absence of maʿ, a preposition that governs a genitive, makes it possible for the verb, with the "accidental" help of wāw, to govern sayd-an "directly" and put it in the accusative, the proper case of adverbs. It is obvious that Al-ʾAkhfash's pre-occupation with the case of the noun made him minimise the significance of the wāw. But his remark is basically correct, for the wāw phrase is adverbial and modifies the verb. This view makes it easy to explain such expressions as َمَا سَلِتْ ُعْلَى َعْلَى َوَاَلَّ أَلَا, where wa-َلَّ أَلَا is obviously adverbial. Even in examples where Ibn Jinnī could show "complicity", the adverbial sense of the phrase is easily discernible. But one has to recognise cases where "complicity" applies and cases where it does not. It might be worthwhile, therefore, to call the wāw in the former cases wāw al-маَيِّيْيَا, and to call it in the latter cases, where only the adverbial sense is noticeable, wāw al-مَعَاجِبَا. Both terms are current among Arab grammarians and are normally considered interchangeable. But the semantic difference between ِماَيِّيْيَا and مَعَاجِبَا should be enough to bring out the difference in the syntactical usages.

In RES 4624,6-7, quoted in the text above, it is possible to take w before كِلَ/ , l. 7, as ِماَيِّيْيَا or ِسَعَادَتِ فِي, whether one assigns to شَرِب a sense of "suceeded, prospered", with SMHʾFQ as the subject, or, alternatively, a sense of "kept, preserved", with SMHʾFQ and what follows as objects. But there is little reason in considering it ِماَيِّيْيَا when it does not imply a sense capable of being rendered by ِسَعَادَتِ فِي, and when we do not have a definite vowelling indicating a case different from what it could have been with ِسَعَادَتِ فِي. A more
definite and acceptable example of \textit{waw al-ma‘iyya} in ESA is to be found in CIH 287,3; cf. also the note thereto in CIH. Cf. also my NQI,II, 426, for what might be another case of \textit{waw al-ma‘iyya} in ESA.

(2) I came across the two examples in Šalāḥ al-Bakrī al-Yafī‘ī, 
\textit{Fi janūb jāzīrat al-‘arab}, Cairo, 1949. (1) The opening verse of a poem by ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naqīb al-Yafī‘ī says:

\begin{quote}
\text{يا رب سالك بلسما كلها تشري من الخطايا عسى بالعفو مهين}
\end{quote}

"O Lord, I beg Thee by Heaven that Thou preserve (us) from sins" etc., l. cit., 263. (2) The treaty between al-Qu‘ayyī‘ī and ‘Al Tamīm, as given ibid., 271, stipulates:

\begin{quote}
\text{وقد لم يم في مال الشائع إلا العادة المعتادة من له الخمس ونمن له العشر، ومن له نصف العشر، ومن لهربع العشر،.....}

\text{ولى آل تقوم الشرحان والحفظ والصيانة ورفع يدهم من كل باطل وفرقة وضرورة على أهل المال، وأن يقيموا لأهل المال بكل شرع وĆو.
}
\end{quote}

"And they (i.e. ‘Al Tamīm) shall only have as protection dues, \textit{mal al-shāyīm}, the accustomed rates, be it one fifth, or one tenth, or the half of one tenth, or the quarter of one tenth ... ... And ‘Al Tamīm shall be responsible for protection and safety and safeguarding, \textit{al-sharaḥān wa-l-hifż wa-l-qiyyānā}, and to refrain from any wrongful demand or discord or injury to the owners of the property, ‘ahl al-māl, .... and to fulfil to the owners of the property their full legal rights".

(For sheer interest, compare \textit{wa-‘an yaqūmū lī-‘ahl al-māl bi-kull shar‘ waṣfī}, in this passage, and RES 3910,6: \textit{wl/yfyn/1mhs‘mn/5r‘hw‘}:

"and he shall fulfil (or, pay) to the vendor his legal right fully."
Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 102; Lisān and Tāj, art. 311, give salla al-sharāba = saffe-hus: "to clarify, to strain(?), the drink", and mīsallā = al-'inā'ū alladhī yuṣaffā fī-hi: "the receptacle in which it (the drink) is clarified (or, strained?)" as in the dialect of al-Yaman.

ESA 311 is attested in a comparable sense in a number of Ḥadrami texts: RES 4912; 4913; 4915. I propose to start by examining RES 4913, which reads:

1. 1rym/ydm/mlk/hdrtmt
2. bn/yd"l/mlk/hd
3. rmt/mtls/wslr/bmhfd
4. hn/'nwdm/hslqb

I render lines 3-4 as: "performed the religious rites (of initiation?) and was chosen (as sovereign) at the tower (4) "NWDM in order to assume his title."

Notes to this translation:

mtll: "performed the religious rites (of initiation?)"; cf. Arabic tamallala and installa = dakhala fī al-milla: "He was admitted, initiated, into the faith or religion; he embraced the faith or religion"; Lisān and Qamus, art. mll. Arabic milla, attested in Qurʾān, has been considered as a loanword from North Semitic languages; cf. Jeffery, For. Voc., 269. The Arabic lexicographers, however, consider it of Arabic origin. The act or ceremony referred to here seems to be associated with the ceremony of assuming titles, cf. also RES 4852, 7; 4856, 6; 4909, 4; 4915; to have been performed with the king by his immediate relations, cf. RES 4878, 2; 4914, 2-3; 4916, 3 and to have been associated with the ritual hunt, cf. Ingrams 1, in the text published by A. J. Drewes, Bi. Or., 93; cf. also Beeston,
"Ritual hunt", 189 f.

"was chosen (as sovereign)". In all the inscriptions from *Uqla, *gill is only used with sovereign kings of Ḥadramawt. For the meaning given here see *galla = ṣaffa", in the dialect of al-Yaman, given above, and compare it semantically with Arabic ḥaṣafa; "to choose, to single out with a favour", especially in Qur'an 11,247: wa-qala wa-lam la-hu al-mulku 'alay-nā wa-nahnu 'ashaqu bi-l-mulk min-hu wa-lam yu'ta sa'at-an min al-mali qala 'inna allaha ḥaṣa-hu 'alay-kum. Cf. also ṣasallil = al-sayyidu al-kārimu al-basību al-khāliqu al-nasabi, on the authority of Ibn al-ʿArabī, where ṣasallil denotes every noble quality of rank and standing almost imaginable to Arabs; cf. *Taj, art. *gill.

hslāb: "to assume his title", or, possibly, "his rank"; cf. Arabic ḥaṣāb: "title", and ṣaqīb: "chief", and ṣaqība: "he became, he attained the dignity of, a chief"; *Līsān and *Taj, art. ṣaqīb. The rendering here is the same as the one hastily given by Beeston. For the ḥ at the beginning of hslāb, cf. Beeston's remark on hmtlī, RES 4909,4, in "Appendix" to Philby's *Sheba's Daughters, 450.

RES 4915,3 reads: mtl/wll/bmnhdn/["n][w(4)]dn, and the subject is a sovereign king of Ḥadramawt.

RES 4912 reads:

1. y[d]·;l/byn/m[l]k/hmtm/br/bdms/bn/ḥr/ybr/dqlb/wbr/hrn/šbw
2. wdrw/bytn/sqr/gill/(bdn)dln/wt/tbrw/bn/qdmn/wrrw/wn/wlty/brrn
3. wtd/tw[bd]/nhy/hrrw/w(h)ust/wṣry/qbym/wtmnt/*fhd/bgdln/*ndm

Beeston, "Ritual Hunt", 190, renders this as: "YD*L BYN king of Ḥadra-
mawt son of RBSMS of the freemen of YHB*R - who founded and colonised the city Ṣabwat and built in stone the temple - roofed with stone the (balconies ?) when they were damaged as a result of the collapse; and
they slew 35 oxen and 82 sheep and 25 gazelles and 8 leopards at the fortress "NWBa". Beeston, who takes Ingrams I as "a very striking parallel indeed to the ceremonial slaughter of wild animals at the coronation of Abyssinian kings mentioned at the beginning of" the article, ibid., 189, comments on his translation of RES 4912, "we may have here a reference to a ritual hunt celebrated in connection with the successful completion of building operations". I take RES 4912 as also in connection with a ceremony of accession. I translate lines 1-2, dsqlb ... whrgw, as: "who founded and colonised the city of ŚBWT and built in stone the temple ŚQR, was chosen (as sovereign) (or, was honoured as sovereign) at the (fort)ress when they returned from the hunt and they slew" etc.

Notes to this translation:

ŚQR: pr. noun, name of the temple. Cf. Beeston, NOSAL,III, 130 f., where he objects to taking ŚQR in dsqr, epithet of the Qitbani national-god *Amm, in RES 3552,6; 3553,4 and RES 3642 B, as the name of a sanctuary of this god. He places much of his argument on the fact that the legend ŚQR appears on a series of Ḥaḍrami coins accompanying the eagle emblem of the moon-god and comments, "This word here can hardly indicate the place of minting, since that role is most probably filled by the abbreviation M on the obverse; and in any case, why should a Ḥaḍrami coin bear the name of a sanctuary of the qatabanian national god?". The fact that ŚQR is attested here as the name of a Ḥaḍrami temple should dispose of Beeston's last argument above.

they: this is the main verb of the period. With they: "was chosen (as sovereign) (or, was honoured as sovereign) the occasion becomes
definitely one of accession ceremony.

(bgn)dlm: this reading is after RES; cf. the note thereto there. We only possess Philby's hand-copy of this text. Beeston, "Appendix" etc., 451 reads all/hdlm/, and in the note suggests restoring it as 'hdlm, which he renders in the "Ritual Hunt" as "balconies?". He holds that this word should be plural because the following verb, vis. tbrw, is plural, and he takes this word as its subject.

tbrw: "they returned", the plural subject being the same as that of the following whrgw, either the king, in a plural of majesty, cf. CIH 541,3-4: strw(4)dn/māndn, or, more probably, the whole royal party who had been to the hunt. For tbr: "to return", cf. Arabic thabara: "to turn away", attested in a tradition related from Abu Musa al-Ash'arI, a South Arabian, about whom see under article hrj; cf. Taj and Hibaya, art. thbr. Arabic thabara has other usages deriving from the same sense of "to go back, to return"; cf. thabara: "to persevere" and thabr: "the ebb, the flow back, of the sea"; Taj and Lisan, art. thbr. (Arabic thabira, like ESA tbr, also means "to be destroyed, to perish"; cf. under article tbr.)

sydmn: unless one is to suppose that there is mistake in Philby's hand-copy, the -mn at the end of this word must be taken as a peculiar Najrami deictic suffix. Or it might be analogous to many Arabic so called quadrilateral words which are really triliteral with an -m suffix; cf. bulqam and bulqa; jahsam and jahib; hithlim and hithl and bulqum and halq, etc. In such a case the -n after sydm would be the nunation. Beeston renders this as: "collapse", by comparing Arabic sydam: "shock, collision"; cf. "Appendix" etc., 452.

ESA all has another usage or sense associated with building:

subst. all: "stonework", CIH 40,3, according to Beeston, SI,9, and as a verb all: "to pave, to construct with stone-slabs"; cf. RES 4328,10 and 3350,3; cf. also CI-Cl., 224. This is the sense which Beeston adheres to when he renders RES 4912,2: sqr/all as: "roofed with stone".
Rhodokanakis, St., II, 35, approached this sense of ESA *sall* by comparing modern Ḥadramī *silāl*: "stone slabs". A comparable usage in classical Arabic is *salla = al-ʿard al-yabisa*: "hard, dry, land". I do not propose to suggest the existence of an obvious semantic link between Arabic *salla = gaffa > ESA *sall*: "to choose, to honour" on the one hand and modern Ḥadramī *silāl > ESA *sall*: "slab stones" on the other. Yet, for sheer semantic fantasy of Arabic *ṣafa*, collective of *generic, ṣafā*: "a smooth solid huge stone or rock", of the *mu'allaga* of Imrī al-Qays: *ka-mā zalat al-ṣafwā u bi-l-mutanazzili*: "as the smooth solid rock makes the falling rain slip down it".
In footnote 1 to article grb I examined the verbal usages ḏbn (II ?), Jâme 541,3 and RES 2791,6, and ḏbn, RES 3946.

ESA ḏbn is also used substantively. It occurs in one Qitbūni text RES 3566,4,5,6,8,11,12,19, where it often appears as if opposed to māwd; cf., e.g., 1. 8; ḏbn/qtbūn/māwdn/wṭbn. Rhodokanakis, Grund., 44, interpreted ḏbn in RES 3566 as "Volksmasse, plebs", as against māwd, the aristocracy; but later, "Kat. Bodenverf.", WZKM, XXXI, 1924, p. 35 and n. 6, he rendered it as: "Grundbesitzer": "landed proprietors", by comparing modern ʿadramī ṭabīn: "patron, landed proprietor". In n. 1 on p. 36 he also points out ḏbn, RES 3946,4,5 and suggests that its sense should not be far different from that of ḏbn in RES 3945,3 etc.

In Minaean, substantive ḏbn occurs in the following texts
RES 3318,3 and 5: ṭbnh/m'n; RES 2814,5: ṭbn/m'n; RES 3012,20: ṭbnwsm, where the suffix sm refers to a king of MaʿIn's sons, and RES 3013,1: ṭbnwsm, where it is difficult to tell to whom the suffix refers but where names of two kings of MaʿIn and māwd/[M]'n/bmāw[d]/mn'n follow. RES 3318,5 reads: wḥlym'y/ṣymbb/wṭbnh/m'n/wārk/mlkn/wm'n/y'yndn. Rhodokanakis, l. cit., 35, n. 6, renders ṭbnh/m'n here as "landed proprietors", and accordingly says that ṣymbb should refer to "divine patrons". He does not indicate how he takes the rest of the line. He assigns the same meaning to ḏbn/m'n in RES 2814,5, which reads: wḥḥd/h'ḥly/qlt'n/l'y/ybn'y/ṭbn/m'n. As for the other usages deriving from ḏbn he compares with them Arabic ṭabīna: "to be well informed or
experienced, 'kundig sein', to understand, 'verstehen'. He renders RES 2791,6: $w^{(\text{h})}l/fbn/bmsq(y)/ngw/\&n/(a)\text{frn}$ as: "Those who are in charge of irrigation have published this inscribed document"; and renders $\text{frbnwsm}$, RES 3012,20 and 3013,1 as "their officials (who make public the documents)".

In RES 3566 $fbn$ and $\text{m\&w}$ occur "next" to one another a number of times, and the only time that property is specifically mentioned is in 1. 12: $w^{\text{byt}}/w^{\text{qny}}/qtbn/\text{m\&w}/wqtbn/fbn$; and they both get equal place. It is difficult, therefore, to say that the context singles $fbn$ out as "landed proprietors". On the other hand, one notices that $fbn$ does not figure in the formula of legislation or promulgation, cf. 9-10: $kd\&/fth/bythwn/w\&hr/hr/wqtbn/(10)\text{m\&w}/wqtbn/wb\text{tn}$; cf. also lines 13 and 15. The interpretation seems mainly to rest on the comparison of modern Hadrami $f\&bn$.

In Minaean texts, however, the relation of $fbn$ with land is attested in RES 3318,3, 5; and 3012. RES 3318,5 reads: $w^{\text{hy}}/symh/\text{mbn}/\text{m\&nr}/\text{\&kr}/\text{mwn}/\text{\&}$. This Sabean irrigation text is damaged from the left hand side and the context of $\text{mbn}$ is not clear. But Rhodokanakis, St., II, 128, restores the word before $\text{mbn}$ as $\text{h}l$ and renders $\text{h}l/fbn$ as: "the experts, the authorities", and in a note specifies this as in water matters in the sense of "public officials". He does not give any etymology but promises to add more about $fbn$ in a subsequent part of the work. Ibid., 129 and n. 3.)
plantations of each (group of) the dhima and the ra'iyya of Ma'in and the king's tenants-in-fee and Ma'in the land-tax payers of ....."

This translation is partly examined under article sym (sym). The context here is particularly instructive. Three groups are mentioned:

1. $\text{śymhy/wṭbnh/mʾn}/$
2. $\text{ḥrk/mlkn}/$
3. $\text{mʾn/ṛy/gndn}$. The third group are obviously Ma'Inis of full status, first class citizens, and thus referred to as mʾn, although for the purpose of this text they are qualified as "land-tax payers". The second group are the tenants-in-fee of the king. Apparently they are not Ma'Inis of full status, but are the personal vassals of the king. The first group, however, belongs to Ma'in, presumably the state or the whole community. I suggest that this "belonging" was of a servile or inferior character, that of clients or proteges to their masters or protectors. This "belonging", — $\text{ṭbnh/mʾn}$, RES 3318,3,5; $\text{ṭbn/mʾn}$, RES 2814,5; $\text{ṭbnwsm}$, RES 3012,20; 3013,1 — is in sharp contrast with Qitbānī $\text{ṭbn/qṭbn/māwdn/wṭbn}$, or $\text{dbn/māwdn/wdbn/ṭbn/ṭbn}$, RES 3566,8 and 6 respectively, and is in obvious contrast with mʾn/ṛy/gndn in RES 3318,5. Rhodokanakis, as seen above, differentiates between the meaning of ṭbnh/mʾn or ṭbn/mʾn: "the landed proprietors", on one hand, and ṭbnwsm: "their officials, their functionaries" on the other. Nāmī, Nuqṭsh Khirbat Barāqish, II,5, renders ṭbnwsm, Tawfik 62,6 (=RES 3012,20) as ṭatbā'u-hum: "their followers, their clients", but adds no comment and gives no etymology.

It seems that while ṭbn in Qitbānī may have meant "landed proprietors", Menaean ṭbn had the sense of "clients, subjects, ra'iyya".
In the absence of vocalisation one might suggest that the two senses had two different forms of pronunciation. But that need not have been the case, for although Ḥadramī ṭābīn is attested only as "patron, protector", one can yet compare Arabic ḥār: "protege, or, protector"; mawāli: "client, or, master"; and dakhīl: "the protected, or, the protector"; (cf. Landberg, Gl. Dat., 718-9; R. B. Serjeant, "A Judeo-Arab house-deed from Ḥabbān", JRAS, 1953, p. 124 n. 1 and p. 130; W. R. Smith, Kinship and Marriage, 48.

Etymologically one can compare Arabic ḍībn and ḍubn = dhimma, khufāra, ḥimā: "protection"; ḍubna and ḍabna = ʿiyal: "dependents", and = ḥasham: "followers, clients, servants"; Lisān, art. ḍbn. Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, I, 310, gives ṭabantu al-nāra: "I buried, covered up, the fire so that it would not die out", and ṭābīn: "the place where fire is buried", as usages in the dialect of al-Yaman, yamāniyya. Lisān, art. ṭbn, gives the usage without specifying a dialect. It is perhaps possible to link this usage with ESA ṭbn: "subjects, the protected", as protection is semantically analogous to covering.
According to Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 380, ‘afartu al-zar‘a: "I watered the seed-produce for the first time", is a usage in the dialect of al-Yaman, yamaniyya. Lisān, art. ‘fr, explains ‘af al-zar' as: "to water seed-produce for the first time, then to leave it for sometime without watering until it is thirsty and then it is watered and flourishes". This is done with crops, vegetables, and with palm-trees", and this usage is stated to be yamāniyya. Cf. also Taj, art.‘fr.

This sense can be traced in modern dialectal usages of ‘afr. Cf. ‘afar: "terrain qui a été arrosé, mais dont l'eau a été tellement absorbé qu'il est a sec"; Landberg, Gl.Dat., 2307. In Palestine ‘affar, II, inf. ta‘fr, is used for the sowing of the seeds after the first rain of the season and when the land had become dry enough for reploughing. The seeds sown thus are called ‘afTr, and for a good season rain should fall again not later than forty days after sowing.

The association between sowing and watering in this usage of ‘afTr, is so close that it refers to the whole operation of "cultivation and irrigation" of a type of land or crop.

In ESA, ‘fr is attested in one text, CII 570, which reads:

7. /wɔl/haɔl/nhlh/nqbn/w
8. ˈl/bf/ˈlɛs/ˈlwyn/hˈdwn/ˈwtnn/ˈly/byn/nhlh/n/w/nwq

Beeston, SI, 56, translates: "And let no claim be made to the palm grove NQBN, (8) nor by the authority of 'LɛZ of 'LW shall there be removed the boundary stones which are between the two palm groves"
N'WN and NQBN, (9) for all time." I translate line 8-9 as: "and (8) there shall not be within the authority of 'L'Z of 'LWN to extend beyond (or, across) the boundary stones which are between the two palm groves N'WN and NQBN (9) any cultivation (of seed-produce) and (growing of) 'arēk trees."

Notes and commentary:

As is pointed out by Rhodokanakis, St., II, 79 this inscription is made up of three sections. The first deals with the barter deal by which 'L'Z of 'LWN gave away a seventh of his palm grove NQBN to the owner of the palm grove N'WN. The second section deals with the delimitations of the new boundaries between the two palm groves. The third, this part here, stipulates safeguards for the two parties: for 'L'Z of 'LWN no claim shall be made against his palm grove NQBN (beyond the seventh part cartered), and against him, he shall not violate the boundary stones. It is the manner in which these boundary stones should not be violated that I seek to establish here.

h'dwn: "to extend beyond or across", transitive, the object being kl/īfrm/w*m'rm. The stipulation here is against 'L'Z extending any of his cultivation to the part of NQBN that was given to the other party by the barter deal. The basic sense of ESA 'dw is "to proceed, to cross"; cf. CR-Gl., 202. It has also the sense of "transgress, to violate"; cf. CIH 563,5: dy'dwn/b'ly/dn/mhrn/ "whosoever transgresses against this edict". CIH renders h'dwn as: "to remove"; and so also Rhodokanakis, St., II, 78, who compares post Biblical Hebrew hē'ledH: "to remove"; ibid., 84. Beeston renders "shall be removed", in the passive. But Beeston, "Four Sabaean Texts", Mus., 65 (1952), 275 ad kh'1'dw/, Istanbul 7626, says, "both 'dw and h'dw occur in the meaning "transgress" either concretely (C(IR) 570,8 h'dwn/3wtnn) or abstractly (C(IR) 563,5 dy'dwn/b'ly/dn/mhrn)." I hold that h'dwn has a sense different from 'dw, and the causative sense of Form IV makes it
feasible to assign to it the sense of "to cause to cross, to extend beyond". In many cases, it has two objects, as against *dwn, which takes one object. The first object is *ly/*wtmm: "these boundary stones", the second is kl/*frm/*rkmi. It is in this sense that this stipulation is imposed only on *L of *WN, because he used to own a part of NQBN, now transferred to the other party and lying "beyond the boundary stones". It is against him claiming any cultivation rights or rights to plant or grow trees in what used to be his land. Otherwise one could expect the prohibition against "removing" the boundary stones or "violating" them should have been made binding on both parties.

*fr: "cultivation (of seed-produce)", or, possibly, of palm-trees; cf. the beginning of this article. CIH, taking kl as "propter" renders kl/*frm: "propter rubos": "on account of bramble bushes" by comparing Arabic *afar, a plant from which firelocks are made. For Rhodokanakis's rendering of *frm here, which Beeston follows, see the following note.

*rkm: "*arâk-trees"; CIH "spinas", by comparing *arâk trees. Beeston: kl/*frm/*rkmi: "for all time", for Rhodokanakis's "alle Zeit", St. II, 78. Rhodokanakis bases this on his rendering of l*rkm in CIH 555, which reads:

1. ymhrw/*ln/*wtmm/
2. ner/*mrqbn/*wnr/*m
3. *rbn/*rkm/*dbyn/
4. m*/tmn/*bn/*rqb/*n/*w
5. byn/*m*/tmn/*bn/*byq
6. m/

Rhodokanakis, St., II, 75, renders this as: "These boundary stones are directed (or, point) towards the east and towards the west perpetually (always) between the land of the clan *RKBN and (5) between the land of the clan BYQu". In the note thereto, ibid., 76, he compares with l*rkm: "perpetually, permanently";
Hebrew 'Ezek and Assyrian arāḵu: "to be long" and Arabic û'arāka: "to linger, to persist". He takes dbyn as the equivalent of Arabic mā bayna, thus making it unnecessary for d to have an antecedent.

In my view 1'rkm/dbyn means: "along, according to, the arāḵ-trees which are between" etc. 1'rkm is generic, hence the relative pronoun d is singular. Rhodokanakis's claim that dbyn = Arabic mā bayna gives ESA d a usage which is unparalleled elsewhere; cf. Hübner, ASQ, 52.

For the sense of l: "along, according to", cf. RES 3945, 15: ّلَحْبِ/ّلُتْنِ/ّلَتْنِ/ّمُحْمِتْ: "along (or, with) the line (or, extension) of the boundary stones up to the boundary stone of MUNT"m, as I render it; cf. the examination of this translation under Appendix I (Nazar Achoury), p. 9 thereof. Cf. also CIH 571, 10-11: ّل(11)ّدَ/ّبُرْجُنْ/ّدَ/ّرِكْم: "according to the number of two years", cited by M. Hübner, ASQ, 149, for this sense of l with time. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 78, renders CIH 570, 9: ّكِلْ/ّفِرْمِ/ّرِكْم as: "alle Zeit", and in the note thereto, ibid., 84, he says that ّفِرْم here must be a synonym of ّرِكْم, which he compares with ّرِكْم, and then adds, "one thinks of (Arabic) ّعَفْر ّالْلَّيْلَةِ, the light nights (7-9 of the lunar month), which after ّكِلْ would have taken on the sense of unlimited extend of time; cf. Arabic ّسَتْسَة ّالْلَّيْلَةِ, ّنَامُبَسَة 243, 'for ever'"; (Beeston's translation, SI, 58). The parallel between ّعَفْر ّالْلَّيْلَةِ and ّسَتْسَة ّالْلَّيْلَةِ is misplaced. ّسَتْسَة ّالْلَّيْلَةِ is an adverbial expression used as such in the language and with a variant ّسَتْسَة ّالْلَّيْلَةِ ّوَا-ّلْيَوْمَ. The sense of "for ever" in it comes from ّسَتْسَة itself, ّعَفْر ّالْلَّيْلَةِ = ّسَتْسَة ّالْلَّيْلَةِ al-ّعَفْر: "the whitish, gray-white, nights", is not used or attested as an adverbial expression.

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x CIH 571, 10-11: ّل(11)ّدَ/ّبُرْجُنْ/ّدَ/ّرِكْم: The first sign in line 11 of this inscription is ّؤُولْتُ, which CIH emends as ّؤُولْتُ, following Mordtmann and Müller; cf. CIH, ad. loc. Beeston, "The ritual hunt", Mus., 61 (1948), 187, adopts the reading ّؤُولْتُ and renders CIH 571, 10-11: ّدَمْ/ّدَرْ/ّبُرْحِ/ّرِكْم/ّل(11)ّدَ/ّبُرْجُنْ/ّدَ/ّرِكْم: "turn by turn in each year alternately over two years"; ibid., 188-189.
According to Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 113, wajīl and 'ajīl, mean ḥufrat-un fī-hā mā: "a hole holding water", and then it is added, wa-hiya al-mawjulu 'ayd-an, lughat-un yamāniyya. In Jamhara, III, 227, he gives 'ajīl as al-sharaba, explained as "mud gathered like a basin around the palm tree to hold irrigation water", and he specifies it as lughat-un 'asdiyya. Līsān, arts., 'jl and wjl, gives 'ajīl and wajīl and mawjīl, in the same terms as in Jamhara; and in art., 'jl, gives ma'jal, pl. ma'ajil, as "a thing like a wide, or spacious, basin in which water is collected if it is scanty and is then let out into canals, plantation ground, and cisterns", without specifying a dialect. Taj gives the same information as Līsān. Sābah gives only ma'jal and 'ajīl, without specification of dialect.

In ESA m'gīl, "water tank, cistern" is attested in a number of texts; cf. my NQI, II, 427 f., ad m'gīn, Van Lessen 25,4, where I compare ma'jal and mawjal, after Līsān. Add to the texts mentioned there Jamme 511 (=Rossi 15), 2: w.m'gīlw/hrn: "et leurs citerne Hirrān"; RSO, XXX, Fasc. I-II, 1955, 108; and cf. Beeston, "Epigraphic and archeological gleanings from South Arabia", Oriens Antiquus, I, 45 f.

m'wgl is also attested in ESA and the same sense of "cistern", water tank" should be assigned to it. It will have been noticed that it is mawjil and not m'ajil which is given in Jamhara and Līsān as in the dialect of Yaman, cf. above. m'wgl is attested in three texts: CIH 325,1; RSO 3966,2-3 and 4170; and in Van Lessen 34, unpublished.

CIH 325,1 reads: g]rbm/wrb'tm/mwl[g]m/wfthm: "lapides rubros
et quadratos penetrante modo et curvo(?)", according to CIH; but Rhodokanakis reads it as: \( g ] r b m / w r b ^ { \circ } t m / w m [ l g ] m / w f t h m \) and renders: "out of undressed and square dressed stones set in (inserted) and chamfered (bevelled away)"; St., II, 41 f. He compares with \( m w [ l g ] m \) Arabic \( w a l a j a \): "to enter, to penetrate, to be inserted", and takes \( m w [ l g ] m / w f t h m / \) as describing \( r b ^ { \circ } t m \), "square dressed stones" and interprets it as indicating a kind of building in the "monkey head" style; ibid., 42, n. 1 and 43 f. I read \( m w ( g ) [ l ] m \). I do not find the assertion of CIH that the letter after \( w \) is undoubtedly \( l \), "because in the letter \( d j l m \) the triangular part is smaller than in this latter" tenable. According to the plate in CIH the upper part of the "triangular part" is damaged; and in the rest of the inscription \( g \) and \( l \) are as identical as any two signs can be. CIH and Rhodokanakis take the inscription as a building text, while I take it as an irrigation one; cf. the examination thereof under footnote 5(a) to article \( s r h \). I, therefore, render \( m w g [ l ] m \) as "tank, reservoir"; cf. Arabic \( m w j i l \), in the dialect of Yanan, given above. This line is damaged on both sides, and it is not the first line of the original text. I would like, however, to add some notes about two other terms in the same line: \( g ] r b m \); this is a fairly certain restoration, cf. \( m n h m t m / w g r b m / \), 1. 9. Rhodokanakis renders this as "undressed stones" by comparing Arabic \( h i j r a m a q j u ^ { a } \), whereby jurub in a verse of 'Alqama's is explained, and interpreting it as stones "as they come out of the quarry"; St., II, 43. But Aṣṣrāf, *Akhbar Makka (Macc. ed.), I, 84, describing the building of Abraha's church in Ṣanʿa, says that the first
twenty cubits high of the walls of the church were built bi-ḥijārat-
in tusammī-ḥā *ahlu al-yamani al-jurūba maqūshat-in muṭabaqat-in
lā yadkhulu bayna *ajbaqī-ḥā al-ibra: "with stones which the
people of al-Yaman call jurūb (and which are) pecked and closely
set next to each other that a needle would not go between their
closely set sides". Such a clear and precise definition is incompa-
tible with Rhodokanakis's interpretation of ḥiṣā maqṭū'a, which
I think should be rendered "stones cut (to shape)"; cf. qaj'a:
"l'instrument dont se sert le tailleur de pierres"; Dozy, Supple-
ment, II, 373. (1) Abraha's church rose 40 more cubits above the
jurūb level and that part was built with, among other things,
rukhā manqūsh: "dressed, pecked, marble", and ḥiṣā la-hā barīq:
"shiny, polished, stones". This probably would correspond to the
munhamat-un ruwh-un of 'Alqama's verse, cf. footnote 1 hereto.
grb: "roughly dressed stones, pecked stones", is mentioned in rela-
tion with irrigation construction in CIH 541,58; 540,11 etc., and
Van Lessen 25,3. nhm is attested in the same context in CIH 541,59;
and nhmm in Van Lessen 25,2. grbt/wnhmt is also attested in RES
2687,2-3, in relation with the building of fortification walls for
mountain roads leading from the sea. (2)
fthm: "(water) outlets, or, openings", possibly in the shape of a
pipe or a partly covered duct; cf. RES 4170: mwr/nwmln: "the spout
of the water tank", as I render it; cf. further below. Cf. also
Arabic ḥafkh, pl. ḥafkah, and ḥaftākh, "a plain ring, worn on the
finger or on the ankle", and ḥafkah 'azābi'a-hu: ṣarrada-ha
wa-'arkhā: "he opened apart and spread his toes". (3) Cf. also
infraḥkha al-siqa'atu: "the waterskin burst and let out water". Tāj,
arts, ftkh and fdkh. This sense is compatible with ESA fth: "to cut
out, to engrave" an inscription; cf. RES 3566,21: w1/yfth/ain/ftth/
wnhm/br'm/w'bwn'. Semantically as well as etymologically one can
compare Hebrew pittah: "to open; to loosen; to engrave, inscribe";
Grossman and Segal, s.v.; Hebrew pittah: "to engrave", has been
compared with ESA fth; cf. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 43; Glaser, Altj. Nachr., 187.

RES 3966 reads: hbd(2)tw/whqšt/lšsdhmsm/yh’mn(3)bn/*yrb/wd*mrt/m’mr/mwl(4)gm/lwyhwm/* until it says: wldt/yâmm/lgrbythw(9)wbyt/d*mrt/hn’t/bn*grbh(10)lm/’lyhmwm/wsflhwm/*fql(11)[m/hn]m/’smm.

RES 4170 reads: tq]dm/mqr/b/mwgln/‘d... The text is on a libations altar. I read here mwgln and mwgln, following Mordtmann and Mittwoch, Himj. Inschr., 64 f.; cf. also Beeston, SI, 105, were they are entered under wgl, and cf. the respective notes in RES. Rhodokanakis, St., III, 43, reads RES 3966 as m’mr/mwlgm, and in ZIAI, I, 53 n. 2, objects to Mordtmann and Mittwoch’s reading it as mwglm/, maintaining that the l therein has a fuller triangular part than the g, and also claims that one should also read mwglm in RES 4170. Van Lessen 34, unpublished is a broken inscription on a piece of stone of which Major Van Lessen sent me a rubbing on paper with pencil. The letters are very clear and seem to be well cut. It reads: slm/mwgln, and the g is clearly distinct in shape from the l. It is feasible to restore the first word here as m]slm/

Rhodokanakis, St., III, 43, renders RES 3966: m’mr/mwlgm as: "das Landgut MWLOm", and in the note thereto, p. 44, he tries to explain the "proper noun" MWLOm by comparing Arabic wîlaj: "the hidden part, the bends, of a valley", and wîlaj: "planus campus, cultura villae, litus" etc., after Dozy, Supplement. In ZIAI, I, 58 f. Rhodokanakis restates this translation and his view of the meaning of m’mr
here, which he denies being a cult object as maintained by Mordtmann and Mittwoch, op. cit., since the text, according to him, is not a votive one.

Mordtmann and Mittwoch, op. cit., 64, render RES 4170: $\text{tq\_dm/m\_mrb/m\_mgln/\_d}$ as: "... has directed the making, 'Anfertigung' of the libations altar of? at?", and in the note they maintain that it is inadmissible to render $\text{mrb}$ as "altar for incense", as the text is on a libations altar, and they, therefore, maintain that $\text{mrb}$ and $\text{mslm}$ "libations altar" are synonyms. They also suggest that $\text{mgln}$ might be the material from which the $\text{mrb}$ here and the $\text{m\_mr}$ in RES 3966 were made. They also maintain that one should read $\text{mgln}$ in RES 3966, but end their discussion with the remark, "However, it is of no consequence which reading is correct, since neither $\text{\_mr}$ nor $\text{\_mr}$ yields a suitable sense. G. Ryckmans, in RES, renders the same as: "... a prise la] direction de l'autel en material Mawlag ...", obviously following Mordtmann and Mittwoch's suggestion; cf. also his note in RES to RES 3966, 3. Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 58, renders RES 4170 as: "... on the occasion when he was put in] charge or the harvest (of the field) M\_L\_B in ...".

J. Ryckmans, "a propos du $\text{m\_mr}$ sud-arabe", 364, maintains that $\text{m\_mr}$ should be rendered as "memorial", and on p. 362, after denying the validity of Rhodokanakis's rendering thereof in RES 3966 as "Landgut", and after showing that the context in RES 3966 is votive, he says, "Rien ne s'oppose donc a ce que le $\text{m\_mr}$ dont il est question
ici ait été un monument placé dans le temple, du même type que les monuments de 'Aqîl, et que aurait été remis en état par des tiers'. He takes mwglm or mwlgm after m'mr as probably indicating a kind of stone; ibid. 361. In his pre-occupation with proving that RES 3966 was a dedication text J. Ryckmans does not lay adequate stress on the things for which the grace of the gods is sought. It is clear from the part of the text quoted above that the renovation or repair of m'mr/mwglm was a votive act for the sake of agricultural abundance, cf. RES 3966,8-11. Without being so sure as to where the m'mr was placed I render m'mr/mwglm as: "the m'mr of (or, for) the water tank". I also render Van Lessen 34: m]slm/mwglm as: "the libations altar of (or, for) the water tank". But in RES 4170: t̄q̄]dm/mqr̄b/mwglm/’d... taking of mqr̄b as "incense altar, or, burnt offerings altar" seems to be precluded by the fact that the text is on a libations altar; cf. above. But it is also difficult to accept Mordtmann and Mittwoch's contention that mqr̄b should be taken as "libations altar". Besides, t̄q̄]dm, a restoration which seems fairly justifiable, normally indicates taking charge of constructional work, and it would be out of context in the dedication of a libations altar to say that So and So "directed the making of the altar" according to Mordtmann and Mittwoch. I render

* The mimation of mwglm need not preclude it from being rendered as "the water tank"; cf. Beeston, "A Sabaeans penal law, - excursus on the mimation in ESA", Mus., 64 (1951), 313 ff. If the m'mr was not placed near the tank, then mwglm: "the tank", would be more feasible than mwglm: "this tank". Cf. Beeston, ibid., and n. 24.
RES 4170 as: "...took] charge [of the making, building] of the spout(s) (or, outlet(s)) of the water tank at (or, up to) ...". For merb: "spout", cf. NQI, 19 ff.; cf. also footnote 5(y) to article arh. It is perhaps possible to take merb here as plural, which is possible as no separate plural form, e.g. merbt, is attested. The plural may be more in keeping with the undertaking implied by tq]dm. It is possible to take merb in RES 2869, 5: w{merb/mrtn/wm{rb/drn also as plural, since in big irrigation works of that size more than one spout of each kind must have been used.

Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 111, gives majil as: "water that gathers at the foot of a mountain or in a valley from seepage, nazz, and not from rain"; and Lisan, art. muj, gives majil: "the gathering place of water", adds that according to Abu 'Ubayd it should be ma'jal, and also adds that majil is claimed to be a loanword, mu'arrab. It is not indicated from which language it is a loan, and one would hesitate in interpreting the claim as referring to a Himyarī origin. Cf. also Arabic juzaft: "sale in undetermined quantity", said in Lisan to be dakhīl: "of foreign origin", and in qamus to be a loanword from Persian guzaf. But it is attested in RES 3951, 3, 5; cf. Beeston, SI, 74 and Rhodokanakis, KT, I, 99, who does not agree with this view of the Arab lexicographers.

In my NQI, 20, I held that merb in RES 4170 meant "altar for burned offerings", a view which I no longer hold.
(1) In my NQI,II,426, I rendered grbtn, Van Lessen 25,3, as: "stepped interior facing", and in the note thereto, p. 427, I added: "The reference here is to the internal appearance of the tank or reservoir, which resembles a flight of stairs". In note 1, ibid., I suggested that jurūb in 'Alqama's verse *a'lā-hu munhamat-un rukhām-un *āl-in wa-*asfalu-hu jurūb-u "referred, originally at least, to the terrace shape of the bottom of the walls. A parallel may be found in the method of setbacks used in the foundations of the temple of *Awwam in Mā'rib; cf. F. F. Albright, ADSA, 217, col B. It seems that the use of roughly dressed stones in the building of this kind of foundation caused the transfer of the meaning of the word to the blocks of stone themselves." Of the dressing of the stones of this foundation F. F. Albright, ibid. writes:

"The blocks in the lower courses (those immediately above course 30 [44]) were not as carefully dressed as those in the upper part of the wall since they were below ground level. Margins were more crudely drafted and the roughly pecked central area of the face was left projecting above the plane of margins showing that the dressing of the blocks was not completely finished."

Still these foundation stones were far from being "undressed stones as they come out of the quarry".

(2) RES 2687,2-3 reads: hōn/*qbthn/qlt/w*qb/hgr/*lhtyn/hn/bhrnh/qdmn/*lhy/gr(3)/bt/wn/htyn/wgshy/gn*/qlt/w*qbhn/; "the building of the stronghold KLT and of the strongholds which block the two heights from the sea: in front (from the outside was their structure) of undressed stone and dressed stones and the massive erection of the wall (of the stronghold) KLT and of the (other) strongholds". The keywords here are *qbthn and *qb, to be rendered "mountain road" and "mountain roads" respectively; cf. Arabic 'aqaba: "a mountain road, or a road in the upper part of a mountain", Lane, Lexicon, s.v., and cf. Glaser, Reise nach Mā'rib, 111. The first word in this passage above should be emended as hgn*: "walled fortified". See the description of the wall in which this
inscription is built and of the region and the present mountain
roads therein — each called 'aqaba — in von Wissmann and Höfner,
Beiträge z. hist. Geogr., 93 ff. Of the structure of the wall
itself it is said there,

"Die bis 7 m Höhe erhaltene Mauer is aus sehr gut behauenen,
mit zementartigem Steinmortel fest verbundenen Quadern von
ungefähr kubischer Form und etwa 30 cm Seitenlänge errichtet
und hat senkrechte Wände."

There is no evidence of the rough untrimmed stone.

(3) fatakha 'aqabīa-hu occurs in a tradition describing how Muḥammad
placed his toes in the prostrating position in prayer. It is
explained as ʿarrada-ha wa-ʿarkhā-ha, cf. the text above, and as
thana-ha wa-layyana-ha; "bent them and loosened them", and this is
qualified as bending them outwards, which makes the two explanations
identical. The sense of "to bend" is otherwise unattested in any
usage from the root ftkh; Lisan, art. ftkh. This secondary or
rather accidental sense of "to bend" has been compared by Nordtmann
and Müller, Sabäische Denkmäler, 87, who, therefore, render
ml[g]m/wftmh as "in a penetrating and bent form (or, manner)"
which is the translation followed by CIH, cf. above. The basic
sense of the Arabic root ftkh is "to be open, to be wide", and it
has a developed sense of "to be loose, to be supple", i.e. to
be capable of stretching or extending. Cf. fatkha: "ring"; fatkh:
"the openness, the wideness, of the hand or the foot"; fatakhi:
"the wideness of the spaces between the claws of a lion and the
suppleness of the joints thereof"; 'aftakh: "someone with fingers
that have supplie joints and can be opened wide apart; someone with
wide feet or hands"; Lisan, art. ftkh. Arabic ftkh is semantically,
and perhaps etymologically as well, parallel to Arabic fqh; cf.
fuqqahatu al-yadī and faqhatu al-yadī: "the palm of a hand", in
the dialect of Yaman, called so "because of its openness,
li-ittisa'i-ha"; Lisan, art. fqh. Rhodokanakis compares this usage
of fuqqaṭa with RES 3945, 15: fagh/tad: "opened an outlet to,...
supplied with water"; AST, I, 75. Cf. also Beeston, SI, 70.
(4) It is feasible that a m'mr and a mslm: "libations altar" should have belonged to, or were associated with, a water tank. Cf. also CIH 338 (Gl. 1209) wmqtrtn/dryd/kwr/\: "and the incense altar of (or at) the protruding side of the pool (or, reservoir)"; cf. the examination thereof under article kwr.
CHAPTER VI

USAGES and WORDS

with a

SOUTH ARABIAN CONTEXT
CHAPTER VI

Usages and Words with a South Arabian Context.

The material that can come under this heading depends on the kind of criteria are applied to decide whether a certain usage is to be taken as occurring in a South Arabian context or not. One group of usages with a South Arabian context which I have come across are those contained in the accounts of the encounters between Muhammad and certain leaders of certain South Arabian embassies or groups. These accounts, which, strictly speaking, should be considered part of ḥadīth, are, for the most part, not included in the better known and usually more discriminating collections, as can be seen from a comparison of a list of the words contained therein with Wensinck's Concordance. The works which pay most attention to them are the maṣāqib works, such as al-Shifā of al-Qādī ‘Iyād b. Mūsā, the later Sīra works, like al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya of ‘Alī b. Burḥān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, and collections of literary and linguistic material, like al-‘Iqd al-Farīd of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi.

and Najd is not like his discourse with Ḍū al-Mīshʿār al-Hamdānī and Ṭahfa al-Nahdī and Qāṭan b. Ḫarīthah al-ʿUlaymī and al-Ashʿāth b. Qays and Waʿil b. Ḫujr al-Kindī and others besides them from among the qaylūn of ʿAqrām wašt and the kings (or, chieftains?) of al-Yaman”; cf. ʿAlī al-Qārī, Sharḥ al-Shifa, I, 177 f. The distinction between the dialects of North Arabia and those of South Arabia which is made by ʿIyād here is instructive.

Ibn Ṭabd Rabbi-hi, al-ʿIqd al-Farīd, II, under the kitāb of wūfūd: "embassies", gives accounts of the encounters with the followings: Hamdān, p. 31 f.; Madhhīj, headed by Ẓabyān b. Ḥaddād (or, Kudāda, according to Hamdānī, Sīfa, 211), 36 f.; Waʿil b. Ḫujr (Muḥammad’s kitāb or mandate to him), 48 f.; and Ṭahfa al-Nahdī, 53 - 55. ʿIyād b. ʿUṣāf, according to the text in ʿAlī al-Qārī, Sharḥ al-Shifa, I, gives accounts of the encounters with the following: Hamdān (headed by Ḍū al-Mīshʿār Malik b. Namāt), 178 f.; Nahd, 179 - 183; Waʿil b. Ḫujr (Muḥammad’s kitāb or mandate to him), 183 - 185. A thorough comparison of the vocabulary of these accounts in these two sources with Nihāya showed that nearly all the strange usages therein are included in Nihāya, which, in most cases, indicates that they are attested in these ḥadīths or accounts.

However, I felt that these usages, although containing many which correspond to ESA attested etymological equivalents, should be left out from the comparison undertaken in this study. This decision was due, among other considerations, to the basic reason that such usages do also exist in Arabic and are attested in the lexica without
reference to South Arabian contexts or associations. Besides, it is my view that further investigation of the possible origin of these accounts should be undertaken before one feels justified in including them under the "South Arabian material" envisaged for the purpose of this study. This goes beyond the scope of this study at the present time.

I have, however, chosen one usage from this group for examination here, because it happens to throw light on the meaning of ESA mt'yt and mt'y; cf. under article s'ty here. The other four articles included here represent a variety of sources and of natures. Under article rs' I examine a usage given in the lexica with a citation thereto from a ëmyarî poet. This usage helps to establish the sense of ESA rs't, RES 4332,1, a sense which is in line with my interpreta-
tion of sbr, which governs rs't in the same line; cf. article rs' and cf. footnote 5 (e) to article grh (p. 21 of the footnotes thereto). Under article shy I give a usage attested in a Yamani context which has an exact ESA equivalent; besides, it is also meant to document my interpre-
tation of ESA sy in CIIH 548,3-4, as given in footnote 1 to article drr. Under article jyb I examine a usage given in a ëmyarî context, but the examination is primarily undertaken as an investigation of the possible rendering of ESA jyb as "pure gold" in line with my interpretation of RES 2771,4 under article grh, (cf. pp. 22 - 24 there-
of). Under article kwr I mainly examine the meanings of ESA kwr in connection with my interpretation of grh in the context of kwr in CIIH 338 (Gl. 1209),3; cf. article grh (p. 20 thereof).
In the Diwān of Imru‘ al-Qays, the pre-Islamic Kindite poet, (according to the recension of al-Aqma‘I, and with the commentary of al-‘Alam al-Shantamri, Cairo, 1958, 128 ff.,) is a short poem the first three lines of which read:

بِلِيكَ لا تَنْهِيِ بَوَشَةَ
هَبْ عِمْرُ يِنْبَحُي أَرْسَا
لِجَعَلَ في كَذَلْكَ كَمْبَا

The poet is supposedly warning his sister against marrying a worthless person with the qualities mentioned in these lines. The editor of this edition, Muhammad Abū al-Faql Ibrahīm, adds in a note, ibid., 413, that the poem does not appear in one of the manuscripts and that in another manuscript the rawī makes the remark that "some have claimed that it is falsely attributed (to Imru‘ al-Qays)". The editor then refers to al-‘Āmidī, al-Walīf wa-l-Mukhta‘īlīf, who attributes these three verses to Imru‘ al-Qays b. Mālik al-Qimyārī and states, "the verses are related as from Imru‘ al-Qays b. Ḥujjar al-Kindī, and that is a falsehood, for they are established as part of the poetry of Qimyār, wa-hiyya thabitat-un il ‘ash‘ar al-Qimyār.” Cf. al-‘Asan b. Bishr al-‘Āmidī, op. cit (ed. F. Krenkow), Cairo, 1935, 12.

Ṣaḥḥā, art. ṣa‘f, cites the three verses in connection with murassa‘a and ascribes them to Imru‘ al-Qays. Lisān, art. ṣa‘f, quotes Ṣaḥḥā verbatim. Tāj, art. ṣa‘f, however, mentions al-‘Āmidī’s remark about the poet’s Qimyārī identity.

The commentators on the Diwān, quoted in Lisān and Tāj, say
that murassa\'a derives from tarsI': "interlacing", and that it means "a charm that is made of interlaced straps of leather worn around the wrist to ward off the evil eye or disaster". The lexica give also rasN\'i': suyur maq\'\'ura: "interlaced, interwoven, straps of leather";

I relate this usage of murassa\'a and the other related usages from the same root to ESA mr\'\'at in RES 4332, which reads: br\'/ws\'tr/ wsq/mr\'\'at/ws\'tr/byt[e]. Höfner renders this as: "hat gebaut und festgefügt und instandgesetzt (Ober)bau und Fundament [seines] Hauses", and compares with mr\'\'at: "(Ober)bau" Arabic tarsI': "construire", after Doxy, Supplement, I, 525. I render this as: "built and founded and made watertight the revetment and the foundation of his house".

Notes:

sqh: "made watertight"; cf. the examination hq\' and sqh under Footnote 5 (e) to article qrb.

mr\'\'at: "revetment". Cf. etymologically tarsI': "interlacing" and rasN\'i': suyur maq\'\'ura; and compare semantically ESA dfr: "to encase with masonry, to revet", and Arabic daffra: "revetment, dyke, embankment", said in TEj, art. dfr, to derive from the sense of daf = nasj: "weaving, interweaving", and = \'idkh\'ul al-ba\'d fi al-ba\'d: "interlacing". This indicates a casement type of structure. Höfner compares Arabic tarsI': "construire" (Doxy, Supplement), and thus renders: "(Ober)bau". tarsI': "construire" is not attested in the Arabic lexica, but tarqI', with g\'d, is given as tarqIb: "mounting, placing together", and as al-nasj ka-\'\'u

yura\'\'i\'u al-\'\'ru \'ub\'\'ha-bu ... bi-qu\'\'b\'\'in wa-rish-in: "interweaving as the bird places together its nest with sticks and feathers". Interchange of usages between the roots rs\' and
rq is well attested; cf. rasī = rasī = rasī, pl. rasī = rasī; suyur maḍfura; Tāj, arts. rz and rz. Cf. also murassa = murassa, in the verse quoted above, according to al-'Alām al-Shantamarī, in the Diwān of Imru' al-‘ays, 128. Thus tarq: "construire" of Dozy, Supplement, is most probably the equivalent of tarq, and the meaning thereof is "reveting". The fact that ESA r or E is etymologically equivalent to Arabic rs and rs may be, to some extent, due to the particularities of the sound g.
In the mandate given to Wā'il b. Ḫujr by the Prophet, it is said: ʿinna wā'il-an yustasal, "Wā'il shall be authorised to collect dues, poor rates, ḍadāqat, and shall take charge of extracting them from their payers"; cf. Ḫayyā, Lisān and Ṭalāʾī, art. ʿāy. This usage is linked in the lexica with saʿāla: "to collect the poor rates, ḍadāqat, from the rich and give them to the poor, to collect dues", hence saʿālā: muqaddiq: "collector of the poor rates, collector of dues". Lisān and Ṭalāʾī, art. ʿāy.

ESÁ ʿīy is etymologically the equivalent of Arabic ʿāy. In ESÁ two usages from ʿīy are known: (a) mīʿat and its plural mīʿy; (b) tīʿt. It will be seen from what follows that these two usages of ʿīy have parallel usages in Arabic deriving from ʿāy.

ESÁ mīʿat and mīʿy occur in a number of Minaean inscriptions in connection with offerings to Wadd and ʿAttar.

Mordtmann and Müller, Sab. Denkm., 77, when trying to explain mīʿāt in RES 2846 A,1, remarked that the meaning of this word could not be ascertained by comparing the material in the Arabic lexica, and specified that (erroneously rendered by them "ein Verleumder" "slanderer"; cf. infra) and that, a kind of dates. In the next page, 78, they suggested that since on the one hand mīʿy normally occurred next to accounts of offerings, and since on the other hand it was to be noticed that there had not been found anywhere in Minaean inscriptions any mention of incense offerings, "Räucheropfer", this mysterious mīʿy might well be the missing word. Rhodokanakis, accepting the
validity of this piece of conjecture based on evidence of a negative nature, renders mt'y in RES 2774, 3 "Räucheropfer", Stud., II, 56, and then, ibid., 66, seeks to support it by comparing Mehri tûy, "sniffing, particularly of a horse", and toye, "smell, scent"; he also semantically compares, in connection with offerings, Heb. ṭēāḇ niḇōḥā. He then contends that t't, in CHH 411, 8: ṭawq/ṭawq/ṭawq/ni'm, next to šmt: "Schadenfreude", should indicate "in üblen Geruch bringen" and then goes on to say, "zu diesem t't toye gehört das im Nordsa’emisch sonst isolierte al-thâyy und al-thâ’a mit al-qâdhif und al-qadhafa erklärt (Lisān, s. voce ṭawq nach Abū ‘Amr und Ibn al-‘Arabî): "schmälen, verleumden". He also compares semantically with t't Heb. hîḇâšem ṭet-râhēnî, Ex. 5, 21.

Rhodokanakis’s documentation does not strengthen the validity of Moritzmann and Mühler’s conjecture. To start with, the Mehri usages he compares derive from a root which does not correspond etymologically

M. Höfner, ZIAI, II, 93 n.1, carries this line of interpretation one step further and suggests that šmt here, next to t't (as interpreted by Rhodokanakis, St., II, 66) should be assigned to Arabic shamas: "to smell, to inhale a smell through the nose” and hence "to raise the nose high, to be proud, to be arrogant”, instead of assigning it to Arabic shamsat. But cf. Muhammad’s prayer: al-Rahmān ṭin-ḏâ a’dhu bika min shamṭatî al-‘a’dhu, where shamṭat al-‘a’dhu is the exact equivalent of ESM wânt/.../ni'm; cf. Nahîma, art. shat, and Bukhārî, Sahîh, Cairo, 1314 A.H., VIII, 75. Arabic has the two forms shamṭt and shamṭat; cf. QumRî, art. shat.
to \( t \) from which the ESA usages derive. He then makes a wrong interpretation of the passage in \textit{Lisán}, apparently following in the steps of Nordtman and Müller's \textit{thētī}, "Verleumder", \textit{Sah. Denkm.}, 77. The entry in \textit{Lisán} says: \( '\text{an Abī 'Amr: al-thētī, al-qadhif, wa-'an Ibn al-A'rabī, al-thētī: al-qadhafa.} \) The entry in \textit{Qemīs} gives \( \text{thēa} \) as the equivalent of qadhfa and specifies it as \( \text{li-l-qay} \): "meaning 'vomiting'." In the supplement to the article, \textit{Tēj} adds \( \text{thēa} \) (Form IV) = \( \text{qā'ā} \), "he vomited" according to Ibn al-Arabī. \textit{Tēj} then gives \( \text{thētī} = \text{qadhif} \), on the authority of Abu 'Amr, and remarks that it must be metathetical from \( \text{thēyī} \). Cf. also \( \text{thēa} \) as "vomitus", Freytag, \textit{Lexicon}. \textit{Lisán's al-thēa = al-qadhafa} is most probably a mistake of vowelling on the part of the editor, in place of qadhfa, as given in \textit{Qemīs} and specified as qay\( ^{1} \): "vomiting." (\textit{Sahab} does not enter \( \text{thē} \) at all but gives \( \text{thēa} \) al-qay\( ^{1} \): kharaja: "the vomiting came out" and \( \text{thēa} = \text{qā'ā} \): "to vomit". These usages are also in \textit{Lisán} and \textit{Tēj}, art. \( \text{tw} \). Cf. also \( \text{thēa} = \text{qā'ā} \): "to vomit", \textit{Sahab}, \textit{Lisán}, and \textit{Tēj}, art. \( \text{thī} \). It seems that \( \text{thēa} \) is a secondary formation of \( \text{tha'ā} \), which in its turn seems to be onomatopoeic.)

Rhodokanakis and his two predecessors interpreted qadhif as the n. ag. of qadhafa: "to slander", and accordingly assigned to \( \text{thētī} \) the sense of "slanderer". But this is clearly a misinterpretation, as is clear from the specification of the sense in \textit{Qemīs} as referring to "vomiting". And although, as will be seen further down, ESA \( \text{tt't} \) does mean "slander, calumny", yet it should be admitted that it was through a misinterpretation that Rhodokanakis arrived at the
correct meaning of tt‘t. There is no ground for etymologically connecting tt‘t with Arabic thw’, and there is no more ground for connecting them semantically.

The following examination of some of the texts in which mt‘yt or mt‘y occurs will show the arbitrary nature of rendering either of them as "incense, perfumes". These two terms are definitely attested in RES 2771, 5; 2789, 3; 2929, 3; 2975, 13; 3000, 2; 3890, No. 5. They are also partly restored in a number of other inscriptions; cf. CIH 428, 2; RES 2774, 3; 2778, 14; 2846 A, 1 and B, 1; 2897 bis; 3026 bis, 1.

RES 2975, 13–14 reads: wywm/‘rb/dhml/wbdyt/w‘bdt/mt‘y/w[dm/ bbdr] (14) h[m/dhmr]h. G. Ryckmans renders: "et au temps ou Duhmul et Badiyat et ‘Abdat apporèrent des parfums à Wa[dd (et immolèrent?) sur son pârvis de victimes 17". In the note in RES this "(immolèrent?)" is accounted for by this remark: "dhmr également complément de ‘rb? Si l'espace laissé libre le permettait on s'attendrait à lire: wywm/‘rb/.../mt‘y/w[dm/wdbh/bbdr] hm; cf. RES 2929, 3; Cl. 1089, 3." But in Tawfik 63, based on a photograph, N%H restores the end of line 5 of the new text, corresponding to the end of line 13 of RES 2975, in the same way it is restored here, and there seems to be no fresh evidence of enough space for squeezing in wdbh/(5 spaces); cf. N%H, Huqash Khirbat Barqish, II, p. 7. It is safe, therefore, to say that ‘dbmr in RES 2975, 14 is in apposition to mt‘y, line 13, or is an adverbial accusative.

RES 2846 is found on a libations altar, and mt‘yt is
attested in the first line thereof. The text is rather damaged, and although one might assume that \textit{mt'yt} there could have been associated with "perfumes" it need not necessarily have been so. But in the other cases the reference is completely difficult to specify or ascertain, apart from the general sense of offering \textit{mt'yt} or \textit{mt'y}. Of special interest, however, is RES 3000,2: \textit{wmkrb/mt'y/wdm}; rendered "et l'autel des parfums de Waddum". The note thereupon compares CIH 152,2 and 338,11. According to the text of CIH 338 (Ol. 1209) as given in Beeston, \textit{SI}, 36, it is \textit{mqrbn/CIH 152,2 reads: mkrbn/wsfymw/whmrhw/}. The text is damaged and fragmentary, but if \textit{mkrb} here is to correspond to \textit{mkrb} in CIH 152,2, then it is instructive to see that \textit{mt'y} in RES 3000,2 would correspond to \textit{wsfymw/whmrhw/}; "their fulfilment (of the vows?) and their gift". There is no clear case in RES 3000,2 for rendering \textit{mt'y} as "perfumes".

It is obvious that \textit{mt'yt} and \textit{mt'y} cannot exclusively be associated with incense or perfumes; and in RES 2975 there seems to be enough evidence for associating \textit{mt'y} with sacrificial victims. It is possible, therefore, to conclude that \textit{mt'y} might have referred to "rates, dues, tributes", possibly of an obligatory and fixed nature which made specification unnecessary in most cases; and they might have been paid or offered in different forms and kinds. Cf. Arabic \textit{sa'y}: "pious efforts, discharge of pious vows and religious duties"; especially used in relation to pilgrimage in the expression: \textit{sa'y-un mashkhr: "(may) the efforts be rewarded" }; cf. also the same expression.
attested in modern South Arabian usage in connection with a local "pilgrimage", R. B. Serjeant, "Pre-Islamic Prophets of Ḫaḍramawt", Mus., 67 (1954), 155. This sense of ṭṭ'y: "rates, dues, tributes", in a devotional or cult context, compares well with saʾt: "to collect the poor rates, ḡadaqāt", and saʾt: muqaddiq: "collector of ḡadaqāt". One can semantically compare ṭṭ'y with ḡadaqāt, the real sense of the latter being "discharged duties, discharged tributes".


ESA ttʾt has been partly discussed in the preceding part. Since CIH 411,8, cited above, it has been attested in three more texts. By 533,29-30 reads: bn/bʾṣṭm/wnktytn/wn[t(10)](segment) wʾṣy/wttʾt/ʾnʾm. G. Ryckmans, Mus., 68 (1955), 301, renders ttʾt here "outrage", and in the note thereto, ibid., 308, adds, "cf. CIH 411,8: wʾʾtʾ/ʾnʾm, "et victoria hostis"; CIH traduit ainsi d’après l’hébreu teʾšūʿ. Nous traduisons avec Rhodokanakis, d’après Liʾṣʾn (s.v. twʾ) "outrage, calomnie". Cf. Stud. II, p. 66." By 541,8-10 reads: bn/bʾṣṭ(9)m/wnktytn/wn[9q]/wʾṣy/wttʾ/wʾʾtʾ(10)ʾm/wʾḥʾʾm, and G. Ryckmans, Mus. 70 (1957) 101, renders ttʾt/wʾʾtʾ as: "outrage, et exaction". I render ṭʾʾt here as: "malice, abuse, aggression"(1) Nāmī (and series) 8, 25-26, reads bn/bʾṣṭm/wnktytn(26)m/wn[9q]/wʾṣy/wttʾ/wʾʾtʾ/ʾnʾm. Nāmī, Nuqūš ʿarabiyya janūbiyya, al-majmūʿa al-thānīya, 34, transcribes it as wʾʾtʾʾtʾ, but ttʾʾt is clear in the photograph of the inscription, plate III. Nāmī,
ibid., 35, renders it as si‘Eya: "slander, calumny", and in the note thereeto, ibid., 36, adds the gloss "si‘Eya, wishEya, namisEa": "calumny denouncement, betrayal". He quotes tt’t in CIH 411,9 and renders it si‘Eya, but he does not comment on the possible etymological identity of ESA tt’t and Arabic si‘Eya. NoM’s use of si‘Eya to render tt’t is instructive. It is just the exact Arabic word for the sense.

It is thus evident that both m’t’yt, pl. m’t’y, and tt’t have corresponding usages deriving from Arabic si‘y.
(1) G. Ryckmans, Mus. 70 (1957), 102, in the note to 'ḥt in ii 541,9, says: "Ici interviennent pour la première fois, à la fin de la série des saux, le terme 'ḥt, étym. 'abāṭa, "vi adigere ad peragendum" aliquote "ad engerias" vel "opus praestandum cogere"; hébreu 'abhot, "Strafpfand"." A more feasible sense would be "malice, abuse", cf. Arabic 'abata al-kadhiba (elayya: iftala-hu: "he told, he invented, lies against me"; 'abata 'irda-hu: atema-hu wa-tenaqqa-hu: "he reviled his honour, he disparaged him", and if'tabaṭa fulūn-en: qatla-hu qulm-en Lū 'an qigqas: "he killed someone in aggression, not in retaliation".
Nihāya, art. shyf', gives a tradition in which it is said that Sayf b. Dhī Yazan asked 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's grandfather, hal la-ka min shē'a, and explains shē' as sawja: "wife". Traditions say that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went at the head of an embassy from Macca to congratulate Sayf on the restoration of the Himyarī rule to Yaman and give an account of a long private discourse between Muḥammad's grandfather and the king in which the latter disclosed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib the "prophecy" about Muḥammad's forthcoming glory; cf. Ibn Hishām, Tīḥān, 306-10, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, 'Iqd, II, 23-28, Iṣfahānī, (Būlāq edition) XVI, 75-77. But this question of Sayf does not appear in any of the accounts in these sources and I cannot trace it to any other source. But Abū Nuʿaym, Dalīl al-Mubuwwa, Hyderabad, 1950, 89, gives a tradition in which it is said that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was one winter in al-Yaman and was staying with a Jewish Rabbi, ḥibr min al-yahūd, who, after looking into the former's nostrils, prophesied for him temporal power and prophecy to come forth from him and asked him, hal la-ka min shē'a, to which 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib replied wa-ma al-shē'a: "and what is a shē'a?" and the Jew explained it as al-sawja. Another tradition, also given in Nihāya, says that Muḥammad asked someone, 'a-la-ka shē'a: "Have you got a wife?". The meaning of shē'a: "wife" is explained in Nihāya as li-ʾanna-hū tushīyīʿu-hu, ʾay tutūbiʿu-hu: "because she follows him". Lisīn and Tīj, art. shyf', repeat what Nihāya says on all these points.
ESA has the exact equivalent of this sh'fa: "wife"; cf. CIH 6,1: 'bdkll/wd\sw/tb\sw/bly/bt/phl..." BDKLL and his wife BLY daughter of 'LH...", according to Beeston, SI, 4, where he adds, "to be derived from the root šw." Praetorius, Beitr, z, ErklMr, d, Himj. Inschr., III, 6, compares Arabic šH'fa and renders š'ft as "wife". CIH renders š'ft as "socia", taking it as the feminine of šw': "socius", assigning this sense to šw in Hal. 169 ( = RES 2754),1 and Hal. 202 ( = RES 2784),2, and then adds that š'ft here should have the sense of "wife". But cf. CIH 542,1: whbt/š'ft/š'fta, where š'ft is rendered by CIH as "uxor".

šw in RES 2754,1: šw/wdm, and RES 2784,2: šw/wd/ is interpreted as "priest". Thus the relation between š'ft: "wife" and šw in these two texts is not as close as claimed by CIH, although they both derive from the same basic sense.

Two basic senses have been assigned to ESA šw in its verbal usages: (a) "to assist", (b) "to accompany". The basic sense of š'ft: "wife" is "companion"; cf. semantically Arabic ṣH fades, literally "companion", but used as "wife" in Qur'En vi,101; lxx,13; lxxii,3 and lxxx,36. The masculine equivalent of ESA š'ft is to be found in RES 548,3-4: wdmm/bd'ymhw, which I render as: "and there is blood on his man (or, companion)"; cf. the examination of this translation on pp. 8-9 of the footnotes to article dxr.

2 It is perhaps worth pointing out that CIH 6 is dated in the Era year 573 and CIH 542 is a monotheistic text.
C. Landberg, Arabica, V, 112, quotes from Ta'rikh Ṣan'ā of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāzī (died 1066 C.E.) that Wahb b. Munabbih's mother, who was a Ḫimyarī woman from the Khalil clan and spoke Ḫimyarī, said before his birth: raʾay-ku bī-n-ḥulm ka-walad-ku ibn-an min ʿĪb, (transcribed here in an assumed Arabic vowelling) explained as: "I saw in a dream that I gave birth to a son of gold". The last word is transcribed by Landberg as ʿĪb and is explained by al-Rāzī as Ḫimyarī for ḍḥāhāb: "gold". E. Rossi, "Appunti di dialettologia del Yemen", RSO, XVII, (1937), 261, quotes this sentence from Landberg, but points the last word as ṭayyib. Rabin, Ancient West-Arabian, 48, quotes this phrase from Landberg, and in a note thereto, n. 6 p. 53, adds: "The word (ʿĪb) occurs in a tradition ..., where it was not understood by the commentators (cf. Goldziher, Muh. Studien, ii, 243)." The tradition referred to by Rabin is al-madhīna tu-ṭayyib tāyyīb-hā wa-tangāʿu ʿĪba-hā: Madīna is like the blacksmith's furnace: it removes (or, expels) its dross and refines its pure (metal)"., or yangaʿu ʿĪbu-hā: "its pure (metal) shines" according to another version; cf. Niḥaya, Lisan, art. ṭayyib. It is not easy to concede that ʿĪb here specifically exclusively means "gold", especially as it is clearly the opposite of ḥabāth: "dross". In Muḥammad's convenant with the people of Jābab and Adhruḥ it is stipulated that wa-ʾanna alay-hi mīʿata-dinar-in fī kulli rajab-in wāfiyat-an ṭayyibat-an, where ṭayyibat-an is explained as deriving from the sense of ḥabāh: "purity" and hence meaning dhahab khāliq: "pure gold"; cf. Wellhausen, Skizze und Vorarbeiten, Berlin, 1889, IV, 28, quoting Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabāqāt.
It is again difficult to claim that त्यबि here specifically and exclusively meant "gold".

Under article कर्व, cf. p. 24 thereof, in the notes to my interpretation of रेस 2771,4: व्यंम/उद्धम/बहर्म/मेंद/त्यब/उँफ़/वडहब/मेंत/किन अच्छा/, I suggest that a case can be made for taking त्यब/उँफ़/वडहब/मेंत/ as indicating precious metals or coins: त्यब: "pure gold"; "सिर" of Arabic फिडा; and वडहब/मेंत: "debased, adulterated, gold", or even "bronze". Another case where त्यब, in my view, can be rendered "gold, pure gold" is in रेस 308, which reads:

2. /हंयव/अयम/त्लब/रयम/[बु]
3. तृतीयम/अलम/द्वध्बन्ध/हमन/बहत/हवा/['मव/]
4. त्लब/बस्तखन/क्ल/त्यब/वर्फ/तन्त्र/व/वहन/बन/लम/बह
5. म्छ/यहम/म्वत/अर्वम/ग्रवम/

Beeston, SI, 27, translates this as: "dedicated to their patron त्लब रयम [lord of त्रे the thirty images of gold, in gratitude because त्लब favoured [them] by bringing to perfection all the incense and टर्फ which they planted and arranged for their seat यहम, a hundred एरव of ग्रव", Then follows a long list of agricultural and irrigational works and achievements, lines 5-10. I render the same text as: "dedicated to their patron त्लब रयम [lord of (3) त्रे the thirty images of gilded "bronze", in gratitude because त्लब favoured [them] (4) by bringing to completion all the pure "gold" and silver (with) which they ornamented and renewed their seat: (5) यहम, a hundred purses of silver". 
Notes:
L. 3: dḥbn: "of gilded bronze"; Glaser, Abessinier, 47, renders this as "aus Gold" and then adds, "No pure gold can be meant by this term, but bronze or gilded bronze, since most of the statues which we know until now are made of bronze; and only in the rarest cases are known to have an outer thin layer of gold." Beeston, SI, 28, says, "Marg(oliouth) suspects gilding to be really meant, on account of the huge expense of thirty golden statues". More recently ESA dḥb has been rendered as "bronze"; cf. my NCI, II, 433 n. 1. Compare RES 2771,4: dḥb/mwt: "adulterated, debased, gold". Rhodokanakis, St., 37 n. 3, renders dḥb/mwt: "macerated dahab-aroma" by comparing Arabic ṭḥaṭha: "to macerate". I compare the same ṭḥaṭha: "to mix". I wonder whether this dḥb/mwt/ could have been the equivalent of "bronze".

L. 4: sṭkmn: "bringing to completion".
ṭyḥ/wqr$: "pure "gold" and silver"; cf. Hommel, Aufs. und Abhandl., 185: "Feingold und Silber"; Glaser, Alt. Studien, 64, "Edelmetall (direkt: Gold?) und Feinholz (Steinmaterial, Silber?)". Rhodokanakis, St., I, 4, who takes ṭyḥ as "perfume, incense", maintains that ṣfr is also a kind of perfume or incense, and links it etymologically and semantically as well with ṣfr: "silver" by pointing out that the same root in other Semitic languages has the sense of "to smell" and then points out that "smelting" and "incense burning" are semantically related in a number of roots.

Bronze seems to have been closely associated with the making of ḡaṣnām in pre-Islamic Arabia. A tradition relates that a man came to Muḥammad wearing a ring made of bronze and Muḥammad said to him, "Why do I smell the odour of ḡaṣnām from you?" and this is explained "because they, al-ḡaṣnām, used to be made from bronze". Nihāya and Lisān, art. ḡτm.
cf. ibid., notes 3 and 4. I do not find his arguments conclusive.

Beeston: "Incense and qrif", and in the notes thereto, SI, 28, comments, "ṣyb... Here it may be either a general word for perfume, of which qrif is a special kind, or itself used to indicate some special sort," and "ṣrif: this is to be connected etymologically with (Arabic) qarif: "silver"; apparently it is a sort of aromatic gum contrasted with the 'dahab-perfume' of C(IH) 663". ESA qrif "silver" is well attested: cf. CR-GL., 226. I think that qrif, like ṣyb, is an adjective that has come to be used substantively. ṣyb "pure gold", as against ḍhb: "gold" of any grade or quality; cf. ḍhb/qwr: "red gold", RES 2693; qrif = Arabic qarif: "silver", but literally "purified, refined", from qrif: "pure". In Arabic the metal proper is fidq, and I think that we have its ESA equivalent in RES 2771, 4 /ṣfr[q]/ or, perhaps, /ṣfr[t]/. The change of q > ṣ needs no comment.

tnṭ'w: "ornamented, decorated, glossed"; cf. Arabic bayḍ qnṭi' = khāliq: "pure, shiny, whiteness" and bayḍ qnṣi' = khāliq: cf. also tanqṣ'a ṭiba-ha or yanqṣ'a ṭiba-ha in the tradition about Madīna, cited above. The pure gold and silver were possibly used for ornamentation and decoration with gold and silver, a sense which fits well with tnṭ'w, literally, "rendered shiny, glossy", and ḥqṣbn: "renewed, restored to its new look or lustre"; cf. Arabic qashīb: "new, glossy". Glaser, AltJ. Studien, 73, compares Arabic nṣṭ'f = khāliq and also tanqṣa'a = ta'annqa: "to act with care and understanding", according to him, and translates tnṭ'w: "worked with care"; ibid., 65. Rhodokanakis, St. I, 4, and n. 7, compares Hebrew nṣṭ'a: "to plant" and renders batkaln/kl/ṣyb/qrif/tnṭ'w/qṣbn/ as: "by completing all the ṣyb- and qrif-plantings which they have (partly for the first time) laid out and (partly) renewed". It is difficult to see how ḥqṣbn: "to renew, to restore" can apply to plantings, when in all other attested cases it is used with buildings or structures. Beeston, SI, 27, renders ḥqṣbn: "arranged", and in the note thereto, p. 28, says,
"hoṣūn: usually rendered "renew", ... though "prepare" suits the context better."

Ll. 4-5: la[w[tbhm]w: the 1 before m[w[tbhm]w is not a preposition "for", but for joining the infinitive hoṣūn with its direct object m[w[tbhm]w, thus tntī[w/whqēbn/lm[w[tbhm]w: "ornamented and renewed their seat"; cf. Höfner, ASG., 149 f.

L. 6 mṭ/sawrm/qrfm: "a hundred purses of silver"; this amount represents the value of the pure gold and silver spent or used for the purpose. It is only natural to give the total value of the two precious metals, or the coins made therefrom, in terms of the cheaper metal. For sawrm: "purses", cf. Arabic qurra: "a purse of money", and qarṭra: "money in a purse"; TBJ, art. qrr. Compare also, for the change of q > ṣ, gargaṭtu al-cella: jamaʻtu-hu: "I hoarded the money, or, I gathered the property" and rammantu-hu: "I looked after it, I attended to it", and saraṭṭa māl-in: "someone who looks well after money or property"; TBJ, arts. qrr and qrt. CIH 308,8, reads: wlmknth/ṃnt/sawrm/: "and for the cella eight purses (of silver)"; this is the value of what was spent on ornamenting and renewing or restoring the cella, mkntn. The proportion of eight purses for the cella to a hundred purses for the "seat", mwtb, is reasonable. CIH, following Miller's suggestion that sawrm indicated a unit of coins, renders mṭ/sawrm/qrfm as: "centum talenta(?) argentae", but gives no etymology, and in the note thereto says, "most probably the total

tnṭ/q here is not etymologically related to other usages deriving from ESA nṭ': (1)nṭ', CIH 294,3: ṣqy/wnt'/ān'm CIH 87,10: nṭ'/wṣqy/ān'm; also tnṭ'/lḥh: "submitted herself" etc., CIH 179,7, and CIH 571,8: dtnṭ'ṭn: "humiliatio", in a passive sense, according to CIH, but Beeston, "Ritual Hunt", 188: "song-ritual", without etymology. (2) nṭ't: a mysterious word: "rampart"(?), "caravanserai"(?), "death"(?); cf. Beeston, SI, 10, and Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, I, 22f.
money expenditure on the building". Hommel, op. cit., 181, compares with srwrm Arabic sarIr: "throne", but does not translate. Glaser, Abessinier, 44, renders ml/srwrm/qrfm/: "a hundred pedestals, plinths, of pure (silver)", comparing Arabic sarIr, pl. sarIr, "couches, thrones", ibid., 43. Rhodokanakis, St., I, 5, n.l. takes srwrm, pl., as a surface measure for land, but with no etymology.

†yb: "perfume, incense" is attested in RES 2771,5: \[fw/†yb/mrb/\hlfy: a quantity of incense (or, perfume) surmounted on (or, in addition to) fruits"; cf. article grb, footnote 3, and cf. under article \hlfy. dhb as an incense or perfume is attested in CIH 683, and grb is claimed by Rhodokanakis, cf. above, as an incense or perfume.

I think that the case for taking †yb in CIH 308,4 as "pure gold" is very strong, and it is also quite strong for †yb: "pure gold" in RES 2771,4 in spite of †yb: "incense, perfume", in the same text, line 5.
Beeston, NOSAL, III, 131-2, refers to the photographs of RES 2771 published by M. Tawfik, MMY, pl. 28 and says, "The letters *fz are absolutely clear, and are followed by the bottom portion of two vertical lines. The second of these must be the word-divider, and the last letter of the word can therefore be nothing except y, h, h (or, just possible, h) or, q. Of these alternatives, h is syntactically improbable, and y and q yield no suitable etymology in the cognate languages. But if we read *fz[h], a comparison is at once suggested with accadian pisq "white, bright, pure (said of silver, gold, honey etc.)", arabic faṣuha "be pure (of milk)". In our context, which evidently relates to incense, this reminds one of Pliny's description of the gathering of incense, "Autumno legitur ex aestivo partu; hoc purissimum, candidum". Our term may therefore, refer to the "white" incense of the autumn crop." While I do not deny the possibility of the context being related to incense, it is evident from the accadian usage which Beeston compares that the reading *fz[h] would not exclude the word from meaning "white, pure, silver", probably the counterpart of dhbm/qyhm: "red gold", RES 2693, while ūy: "pure (gold)" would be the counterpart of qrf: "pure (silver)". According to the photograph in pl. 28, fig. 58, the last showing letter of *fz is followed by a big chip at the end of the stone and a smaller, though considerable, chip at the beginning of the next stone in the same course. What is left of the two vertical strokes, even according to Tawfik's heavy tracing, is, in my view, too small for one to make a safe guess of the former shape of the signs. Besides, the chip

# Tracing is a disadvantage of the photographs published by M. Tawfik and was disapproved of by Beeston in his review of M. Tawfik, MMY in Bi. Or., IX, (1952), 40, and by G. Ryckmans in his review of NAmI, MMY, Muse., 66, (1953), 403. Cf. also footnote 3 to article qrf.
is almost vertical on the right hand side, and I think that if the destroyed letter were $h$, the right arm of the upper "cup" of the $\psi$ would have shown on the intact part of the surface. Judging from the position of the letter $d$ in $m\text{bdn}$, next line, which is at the beginning of the next stone, I think that there was enough space for the word-divider after $f_q$ to be on the next stone. (Cf. $\text{brsm/whwa}$, l. 7 of the same text, where the word-divider is on the next stone after $\text{brsm}$). I think that a restoration as $f_q[\gamma]$ or even as $f_q[t]$ is not to be excluded.
Arabic کُرّا: "administrative district, rural area", is defined by Ibn Sīda in al-Muḥākam, as quoted in Lisan and Tāj, art. کُرّا, in the following terms: al-کُرّاَتُ مِنَ الْبَيْلَدِ الْمِيْكْلَافِ وَالْحَيَةُ al-کُرّاَتُ مِنَ الْقَرْيَةِ الْمَيْكْلَافِ. The wording herein can be understood, or rather misunderstood, as indicating that کُرّا was al-کُرّاَتُ مِنَ الْقَرْيَةِ الْمَيْكْلَافِ. Both Lisan and Tāj give immediately after this a statement from Ibn Durayd that he said: لَا أَحْسُبُهُ أَرَابِيِّيِّ-س: "I do not think it Arabic". Cf. also Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 414: وَأَمّا ال-کُرّاَتُ مِنَ الْقَرْيَةِ فَلَا أَحْسُبُهُ أَرَابِيِّيِّ-س مَحْدَدٌ-س. According to Vollers, ZDMG, LI, 303, quoted in Landberg, Gl. Dat., 2593, n. 4, Arabic کُرّا is a loanword from Greek χωρίς Chase.

In ESA کُرّ is attested in CIH 337,10; 338 (Gl. 1209), 3, 8, 11, 13; and 353,12. CIH renders کُرّ in all these cases as "pagus, oppidum", by comparing Arabic کُرّا, Rhodokanakis, AST, II, 174ff., and Beeston, SI, 37 render کُرّ in CIH 338 (= Gl. 1209) as "Feuerherde" and "fire-altar" respectively, by comparing Hebrew کُر: "smelting pot, furnace" and کُر: "cooking furnace", especially as used in Lev. xi,35, and کُر: "pot, basin", especially as used in Zach. xii,6: کُر: "fire-pot"; and on the basis of what they both hold to be the association of this word with ritual objects in this text, I hold that کُرّ means neither of the two senses in any of these texts.

کُرّ in ESA has two senses: (a) "pool; reservoir"; (b) "hill, کُرّ in Lisan, art. کُرّ, says that ميْكْلَاف in Yaman corresponded to Jund in Syria, کُرّ in Iraq, رَسَاق in al-جَبَل, Armenia, and رَسَاق in al-عَهْوَّان. رَسَاق obviously is from Latin rusticus, semantically the equivalent of Greek χωρίς.
mountain".

(a) **kwr**: "pool, reservoir", in CIH 336 (= Gl. 1209), and CIH 337. 

CIH 338, 10-11 reads: **wywm/t(11)qdm/m't/mqldtm/"dy/qdm/kwrn**. Beeston renders this as: "and at the time when he took charge of (the building of) a hundred water-channels (?) up to the front of the fire-altar"; 
SI, 37. Rhodokanakis, l. cit., 176, renders **mqldtm** as "water-basins". 
I render **m't/mqldtm/"dy/qdm/kwrn** as: "a hundred irrigation beds up to the front of the pool".

Notes to this translation:

**mqldtm**: "irrigation beds", i.e. beds with water-holding ridges for sowing or planting therein. Cf. Arabic: **qalada al-mā'a fī al-bawādi** = jama'a-hu: "to gather water in a basin (or, irrigation bed)", 
and **qalada al-sar'a = saqqā-hu**: "to irrigate, to water, seed-produce", presumably by letting water onto its bed; and **qalid: al-bayyin al-mā'a**: "the share of irrigation water", presumably what is enough to fill the irrigation bed; cf. **Tāj**, art. qld. This sense makes it easy to understand the meaning of "up to the front of the pool", because it means that the irrigated land, right up to the pool, was made into one hundred irrigation beds or plots. 
Beeston's "water-channels (?)" is apparently an attempt to make the sense fit with "up to the front of the fire-altar", although one wonders whether his doubt is not due to the rather peculiar association of water-channels or water-basins with fire-altars. 
Rhodokanakis and Beeston compare the first two Arabic usages given above and Ethiopic **maqlad**: "a laver, a basin". **mqld** is attested in an irrigation context in CIH 652, 2: **ḥrtn/rywm/1'nlhmy/mqld.......**, although CIH renders it as a proper noun. Cf. also **RES 4197 bis 2**, where **mqldw/t'hra** is rendered by Höfner as: "sein Wasserbecken T'HRM". The text before **mqldhw** is damaged.
GIH 336,13 reads: 

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"and at the time when he took charge of and founded the fire-altar of T'LB at YLT, according to Beeston, SI, 37. I render w'sn/kwr/t'lb as: "and dug out the pool of T'LB".

Notes to this translation:

'sn: "dug out"; the basic sense of 'sn is "to dig out", and in relation to irrigation works 'sn, substantive, means: "a water reservoir, a pool, that is dug out"; cf. Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 100. Cf. RES 3946: wbny/b'dn(6) t 'sn/trē/wmfrh/mhby/yrn/wbny/m'sn/ylt/wmfrh/mhby/b'mn; "and he built in the (valley) DN(6)T the water-reservoir TFS and its overflow-basin in the direction of YSRN and he built the (hewn out, "ausgehauen") basin (sic) of YLT and its overflow reservoir (sic) in the direction of Abyan", according to Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 82. (It seems that in the second clause Rhodokanakis confused m'sn: "hewn out reservoir" with m'mf: "overflow basin"; cf. his translation of the first clause.) A sense of "pool, water-reservoir" should be assigned to 'sn in RES 4797,1 (= RES 3899): ln/'snn/'dy/ly; which should be rendered as: "from the water-reservoir until its source-channels", and not "depuis de fondement jusqu'à ses sources (son fait)", according to C. Ryckmans, after Hommel, Ethnologie, 690, n. 3: "vom Grund ab bis zu seinen Quellen", where Hommel adds the comment, "d. i. von unten bis oben". This is contradicted by RES 4085,3: ln/gylm/'dy/'sqrm: "from the ground-sill (of the water run) until the top", according to Nordtmann and Mittwoch, Himj. Inschr., 8, who add in a note, ibid., 9, "gylm denotes the bottom, the ground sill, of a well system". Cf. also, Hofner, ZIAI, II, 82 and n. 6. 'sn: "foundation", is attested elsewhere in ESA, and this sense again derives from 'sn: "to dig out". Cf. RES 2916,2: 'sn/wbny/'htb; "dug out (the foundations for, founded) and built the precinct walls"; (for 'htb: "precinct walls", cf. article grb); cf. also
RES 4836, 2: wadq/'sma: "and he perfected its (i.e. the grave's, qbrn, line 1) digging out (or, excavation)". Hence 'sma: "foundation"; cf. RES 2640, 2: bn/'sma:'d/'mym; RES 4795: ln/'sma:'d/'sqm; and CIH 337, 8: 'sma/'dy/'sqm.

kwr/t'lbb: "the pool, the water-reservoir, of T'LEB"; cf. for parallel expressions, CIH 337, 4: 'sma/'itr, where 'sma should be rendered: "hewn out, excavated, water-reservoirs"; and RES 2774, 6: gyl/wd.

CIH 338, 3 reads: ym/tadm/tsqw/kwrn/wmhy/qbrn/rhbn, where kwr occurs for the first time in that text. This passage is discussed on p. 20 of article. I maintain that mhy' and qbrn are not words with sacral usages or senses: cf. under Appendix I (Nasar Achoary) and under article qbrn respectively. Thus the claim made by Rhodokanakis and Beeston that the association of kwr with ritual objects in 1. 3 and in 1. 8 makes it probable to link it with Hebrew kdr and klyyor, cf. above, cannot be accepted, as far as the context of kwr in line 3 is concerned; as for the context in line 8, cf. further below. I maintain that also here kwrn means: "the pool, the water-reservoir", perhaps the same kwrn of 1. 11: m't/qsmtdm/'dy/qdm/kwrn. For the use of tsqw with irrigation works cf. RES 3913: bn(2)y/whtwtr/wtsq/brtnhn; cf. also RES 4627, 2; 4196, 2.

CIH 338, 8 reads: wmqtrtn/dryd/kwrn, rendered by Beeston, SI, 37, as: "and the incense altars of the mountain shoulder (whereon stands) the fire-altar (?)", while Rhodokanakis, AST, II, 175, renders it as: "and the incense altars at the foot of the fire-place". Both Beeston and Rhodokanakis compare Arabic rayd: "a projecting ridge on
the side or lower slope of a mountain". Beeston takes ryd as fully corresponding to Arabic rayd, and renders the same text, lines 12-13: wyd/tnn/mwbd*n/nn/dmnkn/nn/nm/rydhw(13)[*]dy/qm as: "and at the time when he took charge of (the building of) the road of the city dMnkr from its lower peak up to the summit". Rhodokanakis compares ryd in 1. 8 with rydhw in 1. 12, which he renders as "the foot (of the ascent)", i.e. of the mountain road, mwb*, and thus renders ryd in 1. 8 as "foot", i.e. the lower part of something, in a general sense; cf. AST, II, 176, 184 and n. 5. I render wmqtrln/dryd/kwrn as: "and the incense altars at the edge of the pool". Under article wjl I interpret RES 3966, 3-4: mmr/mwglm as: "the mmr of (or, for) the water tank", and Van Lessen 34: m]el/mwglm: "the libations altar of (or, for) the water tank". It is therefore feasible that mqttrln: "incense altars" should also be associated with kwrn: "the pool, the water-reservoir".

CIH 337,10 reads qdn/kwrn/wmhd. The text is damaged from both sides, but the surviving part shows a context of irrigation works; cf. 1. 4: *(b)sn/ttrwmn*r: "the hewn out water-reservoirs of "TTR and [the channels (?)"; cf. ntr, CIH 541, 114, rendered by S. Smith, "Events in Arabia", 440, as "two channels". CIH 337 was executed by the same person as CIH 338 or by a brother of his; cf. the note in CIH to qbn/bn/ghm, CIH 337, 1.

Etymologically I compare kwr: "pool, water-reservoir", with Arabic kurtu al-*arga = țafartu-har "to dig out land or ground",
imperfect *akuru and infinitive kwr, as used in "certain dialects",
fi ba'd al-lughah, according to Ibn Durayd, Jamhara, II, 414. This
usage, given in Lisan and Taj, art. kwr, without reference to Ibn
Durayd, is not in Sahih. I think that this sense should be etymologi-
cally linked, by metathesis, with Arabic karawtu al-*arda =  ḥarfatu-ha
ka-l-hufra: "to dig out, to excavate, land into a pit or a hole",
kara al-nahra or *akra al-nahra: "to excavate, to dredge, a canal or a
river". This sense of "to dig out, to excavate", suggests that ESA
kwr literally meant: "a dug out, excavated, pool or reservoir", and
this sense particularly fits CIH 338,13: tqdm/w'sn/kwr/t'lb; cf. my
rendering thereof above. Even Hebrew kiyōr, which Rhodokanakis
compares with his kwr: "Feuerherde", means: "pot, basin, laver", and
its relation to fire in Zach. xii,6: kiyōr *es: "fire-pot" is indi-
cated by an extraneous element, *es.

(b) kwr: "hill, mountain". CIH 353 reads:

11. ............. h[']nw/b'dhw/mr'yhw/sf'tt/šw'wyrm/'y
12. mn/............. m/whdrkhw/bkwrhnhn/whqdhw/sbhymw

which CIH renders as:

11. .......... au]xiliati sunt post eos dominis ipsorum Ṣaf'athato
            Aśwa' et Yarimo Ai-
12. man .......... ], et assecuti sunt eos in ambobus oppodis et
eripuerunt eis captivos eorum".

The right hand side of the inscription is damaged from the top to
to bottom and the context is not always clear. It is difficult to see
how they could catch up with enemies they were chasing in "the two towns" and save from their hands their captives. Besides, the two towns mentioned before, are hgrn/dhr, l. 6 (also h]grn/dhr, l. 8) and m]rb, l. 5 (but cf. *rb/mrb, l. 10), and in view of the use of hgrn with dhr in both cases one would have expected that they be referred to as hgrnn. Moreover, CIM compares Arabic kura, which, as mentioned above, is a loanword. I render kwrn here as: "the two hills, the two mountains"; cf. kawr: "montagne", and kawra, pl. kawar, "colline, petite montagne", Landberg, Gl. Dat., 2593. kawr is also attested as the name of a number of mountains in South Arabia; cf. al-kawr, "a mountain in the land of Bal-Ħarîth", Taj, art. kwr. It is near Najrân; Bâkri, Mu'jam, IV, 1140. Bal-Ħarîth, whose land is now in the north of Bayrân, were at the rise of Islam in Najrân and the lower Jawf; cf. Hâmdâni, Sifat, 116 f. Cf. also ibid., index, for kawr.

Both usages of ESA kwr can be compared with usages deriving from the Arabic root qwr. Cf. qawwara: "to scoop, to hollow"; and qâra: a small mountain, a high hill, with a narrow top." Cf. Taj, art. qwr.
APPENDIX I

(NAZAR ACHOURY)

Eden Grove Bond
TUB GIZED - AIR DRIED
A SABAEEAN BOUSTROPIEDON INSCRIPTION

(Nazar Achoury)

Inscription on a bronze tablet, 27" x 7" x 1". The height of the individual letters is 1". The tablet is damaged from the left hand side, probably by a space of 19-22 signs and separation lines, and is slightly damaged from the right hand side under the level of line 1. It is now in the possession of Mr. A. Nazar Achoury, antique dealer of 220, Westbourne Grove, London, W.11. (1)

1. 'ws/bn/ns'krb/dmdb/'bd/smhrym/bn/yd'[b/hqny['lmqh/dn/qlmn
2. ddhbm/pmdm/bdz/hwfy]hw/*lmqh/bkl/*qb'/wmwtt/hy'/b'm/mr'h[w
3. b't]tr/wb/*lmqh/wb/dthnym/wb/dtb/dn/wb[/mr'hw/smhrym/bn/yt'b

Translation

1. 'WS (a), the son of NS'KRB (b), of Madhāb (c), the servant of SMHRYM (d), son of YD'[B (e), offered to 'LMQH this statue of gold in thanksgiving because 'LMQH had saved] him in all the campaigns and the commissions (a) on which he had gone (or, had proceeded) (b) with his lord.

2. By 'TTR and by 'LMQH and by dt-HMYM and by dt-B'DN and by [his lord SMHRYM, the son of YD'B.

Notes:

L. 1: (a) 'ws: Sab.; cf. RNP 42.
   (b) ns'krb: Sab., cf. RNP 265.
   (c) dmdb: cf. mdb, RNP 331. The reference here is to Madhāb in al-Jawf, the land of ancient Ma'In. Palaeographically this inscription belongs to the same period as those from the time of the mkrb
The authority of the Sabaean mkrbs extended then over the region of Madhab; cf. J. Pirenne, "Note sur les inscriptions de mukarrabs sabaens en pays mineens (Ry 584-586)"; Mus., 72, (1959), 162 f.

(d) smhrym: cf. CIH 772 and Fakhry 65,1; cf. also the next note.

(e) yd*b: cf. yd*b/bn/smhrym, Ry 584,2, an inscription from the time of KRB*L, YD*L and YT*MR, who are identified by G. Ryckmans, Mus., 72 (1959), 163, as KRB*L WTR bn DMR*LY, YD*L DRH bn SMH*LY and YT*MR BYN bn SMH*LY respectively. G. Ryckmans, l. cit., 164, identifies yd*b/bn/smhrym of Ry 584 with yd*b, mentioned without filiation, in CIH 494 and 496, both of which are classified by J. Pirenne, Paléographie, 295, under Group Bl, from the period of the mkrbs mentioned in Ry 584; ibid., 137. It is probable that smhrym/bn/yd*b of this inscription was either the son or the father of yd*b/bn/smhrym of Ry 584.

L. 2: (a) mwgatt: "commissions", in the sense of expeditions which were either ordered or commanded by "his lord" SMHRYM bn YD* [B, or which were entrusted to "his lord" by a higher authority, and on which the dedicant went with him. Cf. Fakhry 3,8: wlbh/*yhgln/klk/hk/mwgt/waght/*mr/hmw/bny/d(b)bhdr/wbrm/bkl/btm/qrbm/wr(h)qm/, which I render: "and to proceed on, and give succour to, every despatch (or, mobilisation) and commission and order of their lords banu d(bb) within (the territory) of the town and the open country in every expedition, near and distant."(2) Cf. also Gl. 481,2: yhm/hwq/hw/rkrmlk/wtr/wqb/bkbt/tb*ly/bs*/w*bn/hmst/hrfn/bdr/qtbn, which Rhodokanakis, St., II, 22, renders: "und da ihn YKRMLK WTR (als Befehlshaber) eingesetzt hat und er (derart) in dem gegen Saba' und die Stämme (geführten) Angriffe fünf Jahre nacheinander im Kriege gegen Kataban stand". I think that a sense of "commissioned" is perhaps more appropriate to mwgt in Gl. 481,2 than "appointed (as commander)" of Rhodokanakis, where the sense of "commander" is considered to be implicit rather than explicit. Cf. also Ry 533,28: w(28)[b] * bhr/bh*/yhgthw/mr/hmw/*rm/*w(29)tr, which I render:
"and [in] the expeditions with (or, on) which there commissions
them their lord 3'Rm 'WTR'(3). A sense of "to commission, to dis-
patch" can also be assigned to yhwatn in RES 3951,2: *sd/mlkn/[l]w/
yhwatn/b'liy/s'a'bn, which I render: "the soldiers of the king [who]m
he commissions (or, dispatches against) the tribes"; and is
feasible for hwat in CIH 601,l1: hwat/whbkln/yd''1/by(12)n/mlk/shb/
bn/krb'1/shb/whkh(13)1b/1hwr/wbk1/bhgrn/qrw/, which I render:
"there commissioned (or, dispatched) and gave proprietary rights
YD'B BY(12)N, the king of Saba', the son of KRB'L, Saba' and
YHB(13)1b to settle (reside) and own property in the town Sirwa"(4).

(b) hy': "had gone, had proceeded"; cf. Fakhry 3,8, lhy'/whwqln'",
cited an translated in the preceding note. The context of hy' in
our inscription is instructive, for it is clear that hy' here has
a sense somewhat similar to that of sb', or even gb', in RES 4842:
bdt'/tw/bw/km/b(2)n/kl/'brt/hw/shb'(3)wq'/wq'n/mr'hm(4)w's'rm/
'wtr/. The basic sense of hy' in ESA seems to be "to move forward,
to extend", both transitive (hy', Form II?) and intransitive. Two
main and distinct views about the meaning of hy' in ESA are known:
(1) That hy' has two usages one of which is sacral and the other is
associated with irrigation systems; this is Rhodokanakis's view, cf.
his St., II, 14. The other is A. Jamme's, who claims that hy' in
ESA "means only 't9 build a heavy construction'". JRAS, 1956, 148.
It will be seen from the following examination of the usages of ESA
hy' that the latter view is wrong and that the former can only be
accepted as a matter of specific developed usages, although not all
the interpretations which follow from that view can be accepted.
I shall start by examining the verbal usages.

I. CIH 617: w'l/šn/hy(2)'/msb'n/'n(3)ms/wb'trm, which I render:
"And it is forbidden to proceed (or, to go further) on the road for
man and cattle (or, beast)". For b're: "cattle", cf. RES 3945,14:
b'rm/hw/wq'nhw: "their cattle and their possessions", Beeston, SI,
64. CIH 617 is not an irrigation text, as Rhodokankis, St., I, 8,
maintains and as Jamme, l. cit., repeats. It is a kind of boundary
inscription; cf., e.g., RES 4088

II. CIH 99,9 reads: f'lənəw/hdl/hy'/whwfyn. The text is damaged all along the left hand side, as is clear from the hand copy made by Glaser. It is difficult to estimate precisely the number of spaces probably missing on that side. CIH restores over thirty spaces to the left hand side of this line, while Rhodokanakis, St., II, 157, restores lines 8–11 as:

8. /wbn[w]/m[rd]
9. m/[f'lənəw/hdl/hy'/whwfyn]/'1
10. mçhw/b'lwm/[h]n/sr/wq[hft
11. d[n]/wtfn/drmrm/

But restored readings are not reliable as evidence. I render CIH 99,9: f'lənəw/hdl/hy'/whwfyn as: "and they forbid the hindering of the carrying out (or, extending) and completing". A. Jamme, 1.c., remarks that "the direct object of the three verbs is missing". This is a wrong statement, inasmuch as it implies that the three infinitives governed one and the same object, for hdl is construct with its "objects" hy'/whwfyn.

III. CIH 611 reads: wbnw/st[r]([n]/w'wldhmw/f'1/ymn'w/bny/gdnm/w'wldhmw/bn/hy'/lhmw/[h](8)/fnwtn/wsb/wmn/lsqy/mt'd/bn/gdnm/bn/nhln/mtrn/d'brn/]/(9)qtn. This clause here is meant to safeguard the right of Banū QDNM, who apparently had acquired the land west, d'brn/qtn, of the canal, "to extend", hy', the canal to irrigate the cultivable land. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 111, renders this text, from bn/hy' to lsqy/mt'd, as: "für sich zu leiten [den]en Kanal in die (eigenen) Wasserreservoire zur Berieselung des Irrigationsgebietes" etc. Rhodokanakis's hy': "zu leiten" is basically the same as "to extend". Cf. also the same formula in RES 3566 C, 6–7.

IV. CIH 366 reads: gn'/byt'/lmqh/ywm/h'/hrɔn/ɔlți'd/whwt/k1/ gwn/". For the view which assigns to hy' here the sense of d/h and equates ɔlți'd/ here with ɔlți'd/dbhm in RES 3945, I see J. Ryckmans, L'institutions, p. 65, n. 8. Commenting on this identification of the suffixed 'd with 'dbhm, abbreviated, S. Smith says, "It is
only necessary to consider the suffix "d suffixed to numerals in the texts of Ras esh-Shamra (see Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook, Grammar, art. 7, 59), to see that this is simply the noun "times" added to the cardinal numeral"; Vetus Testamentum, II, 3, 1952, 285-6, in his review of J. Ryckmans, L'institution; cf. also CR-Cl., 249: stt'd: "ter"; and cf. the note to this in CIH. It is to be noticed that ywm/" introduces both hy/" and whw/t/, which indicates that the two acts were of an associated nature. Other acts associated with hw/t/ in similar contexts, apart from public constructions which normally precede the ywm/" clause, are: (a): sacrifice; RES 3945, 1: dbh/"; RES 3624 (=CIH 957): dbh/"tr; By 586, 3-4: 'lm/"tr/ddbn; (b): the offering (or, making?) of a hood or a cover for the deity; By 586, 4-5: whnr/hw/btr; RES 3945, 1: w(h)nr(hw)/btr; (6) (c): the offering as a gift of a pregnant she-camel; RES 3945, 1: wwhb/'tr/whwbs/hlm. All these acts are cult ones of the kind associated with Arabian pre-Islamic and Islamic pilgrimages. I render h' here as: "to walk, to proceed", like hy/ in the preceding cases. The act indicated by h'/prtm/slt'd was either an act of circumambulation round the sanctuary, prtm, or an act of walking or running between two landmarks, like the hurried walking between al-Šafa and al-Marwa, two rocks as their names indicate, in the Maccan pilgrimage. Something of the nature of the latter act is indicated in CIH 464, 3-7.

V. CIH 460-466 have been studied by Beeston in "The oracle sanctuary of Jar al-Labbā", Mus., 62, (1949), 207-228. CIH 464, as restored by Beeston, reads:

[.../mn]

1. ydq[t/b[yb£t/bt£t]
2. y/dn/wtnn[/<a£m/w']
3. rbn[f/1/y]mrm/yn'm
4. sdy[m/wl]/yh'ynn/"l'w[a]
5. t/dn/wtnn*/ym/wb
6. dlh/sl't*/ynm/wl
7. ynhw/[£]lt/*ynm/
Beeston, l. cit., 226, renders this part of CIH 464 as: "... [whosoever] (1) sacrifices at Y[BUT beneath](2) this pillar [a sacrifice and] (3) oblation, let him proclaim "an offering (4) (of blood) poured out", and let him turn himself towards (5) the boundary (marked by) this pillar once, and towards (6) its corresponding one(s) three times, and let him (the priest) (7) cause him to bow down turning himself about thrice". I render lines 3-7 of this passage as: "so let him be ordered to proceed (or, walk) (4) sedately (or, gently), and let him turn towards (5) the boundary (marked by) this pillar once and towards (6) its corresponding one three times and let him (the priest) (7) make him walk hurriedly (or, briskly) three times".

Notes to my translation:
This translation is, as is obvious, based on Beeston's. I think it is necessary to point out here that the texts CIH 460-462 are found on a stela standing in the middle of the plain, while the texts CIH 463-466 are found on another stela twenty paces away from the first; cf. Halévy, Rapport sur une mission archéologique, 92.

L. 3: j̱mrn: "be ordered", passive. Beeston's "proclaim" is based on the context of his interpretation of the following j̱m sdy[m; cf. l. cit., 221.

j̱m: "to proceed, to walk"; cf. above.


Commentary:
The actions prescribed in the text are ritual gentle walking, hy'm sdym, 3-4, and ritual hurried or brisk walking, ynhhw, 7. A crucial term in this text is bdlh, 5-6. Beeston, l. cit., 222, hesitates in translating bdl here as singular or plural and comments, "But it is perhaps more probable to take bdl as plural, in which case we can visualise the action taking place once on each side of a quadrilateral. It is an interesting speculation whether excavation of the site might perhaps reveal traces of two further stelae similar to the extant ones, marking the other two [sic] sides of the perimeter." I take it as singular. The gentle walking, hy'm sdym is done four times, starting by facing the stela on which CIH 464 is inscribed and then going back to the opposite stela and so on for three other times. bdlh: "its corresponding one" does not mean the other stela on which CIH 460-462 are found alone but the corresponding one from either position. The hurried or brisk walking is done three times, presumably between the two landmarks. This ritual walking, gentle and brisk, has features common also to the tawaf, the circumambulation of al-Ka'ba, and to the sa'y, the walking between al-safa and al-marwa. Parallel rules concerning the tawaf are: (1) to start from immediately before the "black stone" in the eastern side of the Ka'ba; (2) to go round from that position seven times, walking briskly in the first three times and walking gently in the other four times; (3) to make the rounds or circumambulations successively without a break. al-safa and al-marwa stand 420 metres apart, and the path linking them passes next to the eastern wall of the mosque surrounding the Ka'ba area. In the part of the path along the wall of the mosque there is a distance of about fifteen metres marked by two pillars. The whole distance of 420 metres has to be walked seven times, starting from al-safa, the nearer end to Ka'ba, and ending at the end of the seventh time at al-marwa. The whole distance is walked at a gentle pace, except the fifteen metres between the two pillars which have to be walked hurriedly, harwala, every time. The ritual
walking prescribed in CIH 464 would be ḥawf, if, as Beeston suggests, there might have been four stelae. It would, however, be ṣawaf, if only the two extant stelae existed. And although neither ḥawf nor ṣawaf is the exact equivalent of the ritual walking of CIH 464, yet the features common to the two Maocan forms of ritual walking on the one hand and the South Arabian ritual walking of CIH 464 on the other are manifold and closely analogous. Cf. also the ritual walking of CIH 366: ḥ/ḥramm/ḥ/tṣd.

VI. RES 3946,7 reads: wywm/qd/qyq/krw/wywm/h'/mhy'/lqg/*ttr/dfqd/. The act mentioned in the first wywm" clause of this passage is ritual hunt; cf. Beeston, "The ritual hunt", Mus., 61 (1949), 185-6. wywm/h'/mhy'/lqg/*ttr/dfqd refers to another ritual act for 'TTR dFSD at the temple or sanctuary Lqz, most probably following the ritual hunt. This is an act of ḥawf performed on the arrival to the sanctuary back from the hunt, exactly like ḥawf al-qudum which is obligatory on anyone who pays a ritual visit to Ka'ba or arrives in Macca from outside the sacred territory. Beeston, l. cit., 196, in his conclusory remarks about the ritual hunt says, "From the modern parallel cited by Ingrams, as well as from indications in the texts, it seems very likely that the act may have been often accompanied by a dance-ritual performed round a stèle or ḥawf-stone." However, Beeston, l. cit., 185, renders wywm/h'/mhy'/lqg/*ttr/dfqd/ as: "and on the occasion when he dedicated to 'Attar of FSD the shrine (mhy') of LQZ", more or less following Rhodokanakis's rendering of the same passage as: "und da er opferte in dem Opfertempel von LQZ dem 'TTR von FSD", AST, I, 83. I render it as: "and when he walked the (prescribed) walking path at LQZ for 'TTR dFSD'. mhy' here is most probably ism makan, noun of place, from h' = hy'; cf. maṭaf for the place or circuit of ḥawf round Ka'ba, and mas'a for the distance between al-gafe and al-marwa where ṣawaf is performed. Less probably mhy' might be ṣ-maṣdar. Cf. further below.

VII. Hamilton 5,2: ...hw/ywm/h'... The text is fragmentary and has only two lines, and the context, therefore, is obscure.
I come now to the substantive usages of **mhy**. One such usage has been discussed above, in RES 3946, 7: **wyy/mh*/lmqhv/’lqg/’trdfsd/; cf. the preceding page. Other usages are:

I. RES 3945, 15: **wetmhq/’bbd’hwlmlhy*/’wttn/’d/wtn/’lmhytm/l’lqgh/wl/sb/’. Beeston, SI, 64, closely following Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 29, renders this as: "and confiscated in its district (the land) from the temple of the boundary stones to the boundary of MNHYT, for 'LMQH and Saba'. Rhodokanakis, ibid., renders 'wttn: "Grenzidole". In Beeston’s and Rhodokanakis’s translations 1 in **lmhy*/ is rendered as: "from", and Höfner, AST., cites this case under the preposition ln, claiming that ln in this case lost its n through assimilation with the following m; p. 150. This explanation is forced and far-fetched, in spite of the following ’d/wtn/’lmhytm. I render **lmhy*/’wttn/’d/wtn/’lmhytm as: "along (or, with) the line (or, stretch, extension) of the boundary stones up to the boundary stone of MNHYTm." **mhy*/ is again here ism makan from hy*: "to extend, to proceed"; cf. my interpretation of the relevant passages of CIH 617; 99; 611 and RES 3946 above.

II. CIH 374 reads: **hqny/’lmqgh/kl/tml’/gn’n/’wtn/’dstrn/’dy/’Sqrn/ wkl/’mgbb/’wmhfdt/b’ly/4n/’mhy’n/’; and CIH 375, 1 reads: **hqny/’lmqgh/kl/ tml’/gn’n/ln’/wtn/’ly/’strn/’d/’Sqrn/’/wkl/’mgbb/’wmhfdt/’dr/’mhy’n/’. CIH renders **mhy*/ in these two texts as: "via" in line with Praetorius’s interpretation of it by comparing Arabic mahya*: "road"; cf. CIH ad CIH 338, 4 and cf. my comment on the same further below. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 12, renders **mhy’n in CIH 374 as: "temple"; and in the note thereto, ibid., 13–14, puts forward his view that **hy* has two usages, one sacral and the other to do with irrigation. He renders **mhy’n in CIH 375 also "temple"; ibid., 22. He identifies **mhy’n in these two cases with Haram Bilqis, the temple ‘WM, in whose wall the inscriptions are set. A relevant question here is whether **bn/ ’wtn/’dstrn/’dy/’Sqrn/’, CIH 374, and ln/’wtn/’ly/’strn/’d/’Sqrn/’, CIH 375, 1, indicated the whole circumference of the wall from the level of the inscription in each case to the top or only the part of the wall...
in which either inscription was found from the level of the inscription to the top. According to F. P. Albright, in ABA, 217, CIH 374 is 14 courses below the original top, as he assumes it to have been, while CIH 375, made of two lines, is on the courses 13 and 14 from the assumed top, ibid., 222. The two inscriptions are on the western side of the wall of the temple, according to Fakhry, Archaeological Journey to Yemen, I, 92 f., but Glaser, Reise nach Marib, 45 f., and F. P. Albright, ABA, 222, give the place of CIH 374 as in the west side of the wall and that of CIH 375 as in the north side of the wall, the boustrophedon inscription starting west of the north gate of the temple enclosure, from left to right. According to Glaser, l. cit., the "ends" of the two inscriptions are separated by five blocks of stone six metres long. Rhodokanakis, St., II, 17-21, examined the question at length and decided in favour of the hypothesis that the phrase in either text indicated the whole circumference of the wall from the level of the inscription to the top.

He sought to explain the fact that the two inscriptions are on identical heights in the wall by suggesting that CIH 374, recording the earlier construction, had belonged to a wall that had fallen and when the wall was restored in the construction recorded in CIH 375 it was replaced in its former place. Actually we have now evidence that the oval wall of the temple might have not been built in one continuous line in each course. F. P. Albright, ABA, 218, says,

"On the east side of the oval, there is a peculiar gap between the ends of the blocks and, at this point, the courses are inclined noticeably toward the south. At first we believed that this might be the location of a doorway around which the wall had settled, causing the stones to separate and open at the joints. Closer examination, however, revealed that the wall had been constructed with the gap and that the stones had neither shifted nor settled since the marks of the flat chisel, used to smooth a margin 8 cm. wide, continued across the joint without a break. The reason for the gap is clear. Construction on one section of the wall was begun at the west side of the entrance hall and continued around the west, south and half of the east side; the other section was started on the east side of the entrance hall and extended around the east side until it met the first section
at this point. The final blocks were moved into place and shoved tightly against the last stone in each course. Since it was impossible to fit these final blocks closely at both ends, each stone was cut 3 to 5 cm. shorter than the exact length of the space to be filled and the gaps were left open."

I disagree with F. P. Albright's suggestion that the west and east sides of the entrance hall were the starting points of the two sections of the oval wall for the following reasons: (1) It makes the section starting from the west side extend over more than three quarters of the whole length of the oval wall, while the section starting from the east side of the entrance hall would almost be less than one fifth of the whole wall, when one takes into consideration the "gap" of 25.50 m. occupied by the entrance hall itself. Unless there were more than two such sections in the whole length of the wall this proportion of the two sections makes little sense. (2) F. P. Albright himself, ABSA, 231, maintains that the entrance hall belonged to a period later than the original plan of the temple complex and represents a later addition. (3) The space between CIH 374 and 375 is almost diametrically opposite the meeting place or ends of the two sections on the east side. It is reasonable, therefore, to suggest that each of the two inscriptions records the building of one of two sections of the wall. The two sections are defined in each case as from the line or level of the inscription to the top, and then referred to as \dn/mhy\n: "this extension, this stretch", i.e. the length of the wall from a point near the opposite ends of the inscriptions to the end of the two sections on the east side, in both directions. Thus CIH 374: \hny/\lmq/kl/tml/\gm\n/\bdn/dsfrn/\dy/sqrm/wkl/mgbb/wmfrf/db/ly/\dn/mhy\n/ should be rendered as: "dedicated to *LMQH all the completion of the wall from the line of the inscription to the top and all the defensive works and towers above this extension (of the wall)". Cf. also CIH 375,1.

Notes to this translation:
\ttml": "completion", after Rhodokanakis, "Vollendung", St., II, 12.

Beeston, in a place for which I have now lost the reference, renders
kl/tml'/gn'n as: "the whole additional construction of this wall". F. P. Albright, _ADSA_, 231 n. 36 says of tml' here, "tml', Akkadian tamlū, "fill" of a podium or terrace according to W. F. Albright. Here it must mean the fill within the wall."

"defensive works"; cf. Arabic ghababa 'an al-qawma da-fa'a 'am-hums "he defended the people"; _Lisan_, art. ghab. Cf. Istanbul 7628,2: byhn/wkwbhn/murbthmg, rendered by Beeston as: "BYHN and KWKBN and the defensive works thereof"; "Four Sabaean texts", _MUS._ 65, (1952), 277. In the note thereto, l. cit., 276, Beeston says, Rhodokanakis (WZKM, 28, p. 116-7) interprets the term as indicating a mound-plus-ditch complex of defensive works; thus also the Corpus, "vallum"." The defensive works in CIH 374 and 375, where the identical words are used, could not have been of the mound-plus-ditch type, since they must have been on top of the wall, b'ly/dn/mby'n', along with the towers, mhfdt. The only evidence of what the top of the oval wall looked like that we have is taken from the description by Glaser of part of the east side of the wall. He mentions the existence of well-shaped small vents(?), "Luftöffnungen (?)" in the masonry course under the double cornice, in which the blocks of stone are separated from one another by a distance of 10-15 cm.; Reise nach Mārib, 138. From Glaser's brief statement one gains the impression that the vents were repeated along the top course of masonry under the double cornice. No part of the wall stood so high when F. P. Albright saw it in 1952; cf. _ADSA_, 219. Unless Glaser mistook the gaps between the two ends of the sections of the wall, described above, which are also in the east side of the wall, for vents—and one cannot be sure how much of the top of the wall was still extant when he saw it—these vents must have been really openings for defense purposes rather than "Luftöffnungen", since the enclosure, as Glaser, ibid., 45, remarks, could not have had any roofing. The width of the wall at the top was about 3,60 m., according to the estimate of F. P. Albright, _ADSA_, 219, and 3,30 m. according to Glaser, _op. cit._, 45. This thickness would easily allow
enough space for movement behind a parapet made of the face-wall, and the openings might have been set in recesses in the inner side of the parapet or face-wall. These parapets and/or the recesses would be the mbbs: "the covering, the hiding, places", hence: "defensive works". The thickness of the wall must have also allowed for the building on the top of some small watch towers, mhfdt.

F. P. Albright, ADSA, 231, comments on mhfdt in CIH 375,1 by saying, "The word mhfdt is generally rendered "towers" or "pylons". There is no evidence of towers on either the oval wall or entrance hall and it would be extremely difficult to reconstruct the complex with towers. Here it probably designates the small pylons which form an integral part of the entrance hall and, in a more general sense, possibly refers to the entire entrance hall". This argument of F. P. Albright is part of his contention that the entrance hall was built at the same time as the upper courses of the wall, since "Van Beek has been able to show that the dressing of the inner wall of the entrance hall is virtually identical with that of the upper courses (above course 13 or 14) of the oval wall"; ADSA, 231.

CIH 375 is on courses 13 and 14 from the assumed top of the wall. Whatever the merits of Van Beek's discovery may be, it is highly doubtful, if not impossible, that mhfdt referred to the small pylons of the entrance hall, and even more so that it referred to the entire entrance hall itself. Besides, in CIH 374 mhfdt is clearly placed b*ly/dn/mhy*n.

III. CIH 338 = Q1. 1209. Two passages from this text concern us here:

(a) 3-5: ym/tdqm/t*sqx/krnw/wmy*/*xhpn/nbn/wqf/n\swa/wk(4)/wmy*/
hhdt/t*lb/btr*t/w*twtn/ln/sty*/wb/gbyn/wqf(5)/whrt/rhtb/
bnw/mwst/t*lb/; and
(b) 6-10: wwy[m](7)tdqm/h*rn/nt/a\bykn/\wnq/yrt*/w/db/m\b*/*rn/
w/db/wnf/mh*[n](8)fm/wqf/\dgbyn/nIsn/bypn/wbytn/d*twtn/
wnq*tn/dryd/krnw/wlb(9)nhn/wnq/trhn/db/*twtn/wuslm/ddhbn/
db/qdzm/gbyn/wuslm(10)n/*qf/ddhbn/tdqm/m*rm/*ln/mhy*tm/
This inscription, CIH 338 = Gl. 1209, tells of a number of acts and public constructions carried out by the dedican, M'Hrm, the minister of T'LB. The account is given in three series each introduced by ym/ or wywm/. The first two, passages (a) and (b) cited above, end with bfrg/mwqt/t*lb*. I propose to begin by examining the meaning of mhy'tn, l. 10, in passage (b). Beeston, SI, 37, renders passage (b) as follows: "and at the time (7) when he took charge of (the building of) the well of ZBYN and the field (?) YRT*, and the repairing (or, cementing) of the road of the citadel, and the repairing (or, cementing) of the reservoir M'H*N(8)Fm, and the wall of ZBYN towards BYHN, and the temple (or, citadel) of 'TWTm, and the incense-altars of the mountain shoulder (whereon stands) the fire-altar (?), and the two luban-[plantations] (?) (9) and the mqr*b-altar and the two altars of incense which are at 'TWTm, and the maslam-altar for dahab-perfume (or, of gold) which is in front of ZBYN, and the maslam-altar (10) of MYF* for dahab-perfume (or, of gold), and M'Hrm took charge of (the building of) these altars according to the ordinance of T'LB". I broadly agree with Beeston's translation here, except for his kwtn: "fire-altar", l. 8, which I render: "pool, reservoir", cf. under article kwtn, and for his hlqin: "field (?)", which I render: "rock-pool", cf. Arabic khaliga: al-nuqratu fi-l-jabali yastanqi'um fī-hā al-mā*: "a hollow in a mountain in which water gathers", or "a newly dug well", cf. Arabic khaliga: al-bi'ru sā'ata tuhfar; lisān, art. khlq. It is to be noted that Beeston renders mhy'tn, l. 10, as: "altars", following Rhodokanakis, AST, II, 175. In the note thereto, Beeston, SI, 39, says, "ln/mhy'tn: these words, coming after the sequence mslm/, mqr*b/, mqr*/, seems to show that mhynt/ is a general expression for any object or place that serves as a place of sacrifice; even a larger building can apparently be so called, cp. dn/mhy'tn of CIH 374, which is inscribed on the walls of Ḥaram Bilqis, the circular temple near Mafib." This claimed loose association of mhy*n with
sacrifice of any kind, libations, burnt offerings or incense, as well as indicating "temple", is not easy to accept. Besides, it is hardly possible, in my opinion, that wtdm/m'hrn/'ln/mhy'tn/bhg/mwšt/t'ltb/, at the close of the passage, could have referred only to altars from among the many constructions mentioned in the whole passage, lines 6–10. A sense more general than "altars" has to be assigned to mhy'tn here. This sense can be "extensions", in the sense of an additional structure or a new construction, or even in the sense of a new or additional undertaking. This sense of "extension" can also fit mhy't in lines 3 and 4 in passage (a), the whole of which I render: "at the time when he took charge of the completing to the top of the reservoir, and of the extension of the court (or, terrace) at RgBN (or, the extension to the "lofty building" (of the temple?) RgBN), and of the erecting of the (altar-) boundary-stones of (or, for) NWSm, and of every (4) extension (or, new undertaking) which there initiated T'LB in TR'T and 'TTm, when he was exalted, and in ZBYN and MYF' (5) and the canal of RBJT, according to the ordinance of T'LB".

Notes to this translation:

L. 3: kwrn: "the reservoir"; cf. above, and under article kwr.

m'hrn/rbhn: for the renderings given above cf. pp. 34–36 of article m'hr.

qyf/nwsm: "the erecting of the (altar-) boundary-stones of NWSm"; qyf has been rendered "altar stone", RES 4906,1, and as "Stelenaltar", cf. RES 3958,11 and the note in RES ad RES 4141,1. Cf. also Höfner, ZIAI,III, 212–222. The qyf must have been a boundary stone marking the sacred territory of a deity, and as such sacrifices and possibly sacrificial victims were offered onto it, being the equivalent of the nasb, pl. 'انساب, "one of the boundary stones around a sanctuary", used for the boundary stones of the sacred territory of Macc and of the sanctuary of K'ba itself. People used to offer onto them, and they were also called 'awtān; cf. Lisan, art. nasb; cf. also
W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 201-205. Cf. also Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Himj. Inscr.*., 33-34, maintain that ESA *gyf* and *mqf* were primitive cult stones around which *tawaf* was performed and onto which blood sacrifices were made as in pre-Islamic North Arabia. I take *gyf* here, as infinitive indicating the erection of the (altar-) boundary-stones marking the sacred territory of the deity *NW§m*. Etymologically I compare Arabic *waqafa*: "to stand up", and *waqafa*: "to erect", by metathesis. Cf. also *waqf*: "a ring, a band, a bracelet", and *waqf al-ture*: "the rim, the frame, of steel or horn round a shield"; Lisân, art. *wqf*. Cf. also *mugwaf*, pl. *magwif*: "a heap, a cairn, for sustaining a vine"; cf. E. Reiss, *Arabo Parlato a Şan§*, 221.

L. 4: wk(4)1/mhy'/hdh/t'lb; "and of every (4) extension (or, new undertaking) which there initiated T'LB"; Beeston, SI, 37, renders this as: "and (4) every shrine which he renewed for T'LB". *hdh*: "initiated, originated" is the basic sense of Form IV; cf. Arabic *'abdatha*: "to initiate, to originate".

IV. *CIH* 439: hqny'/ttr/mslm/wk1/wl(2)dhw/ywn/tqdm/mhy'/drwnhn wmb/qltn/hqnyt/hw/yr. The inscription is on a libations altar. The context here offers little help in ascertaining the meaning of *mhy'/drwnhn/wmhb/qltn*, although *tqdm* before that suggests that some kind of public and probably big constructions were involved. *CIH* suggests that *drwnhn* and *qltn* are names of places, and in the

It is from this sense of "to be ringed off" that Arabic *waqf*: "property in mortmain" derives; cf. the synonymous *habiš*, from *habasa*: "to confine, to hold back". *waqf* has been compared with ESA *wtf*, which, however, should be compared with Arabic *waqifa*: "fiscal impost" (cf. Abd 'Ubayd, *'Amwâl*, 16), also = *'abd*: "covenant" and *shârîf*: "contract" (Qumâl, art. *wqf*). Cf. also Beeston, "Four Sab. Texts", 272; J. Ryckmans, "Himyaritica I", 95; and Hôfner, *ZIAI*, I, 86 n. 1, ad *waqf*; *CIH* 584, 3. Cf. also under article *dyn*, ad "dynhmw", Istanbul 7626, 7.
absence of a more satisfactory explanation of both words, it seems
that we have to take them as such. CIH renders mahya here as: "via"
by comparing Arabic mahya: "road"; cf. CIH ad CIH 338, 3–4. The
sense of mahya: "road" is feasible here, and it is easy to link it
with the basic sense of hy*: "to proceed, to extend"; cf. p. 3
of this article.

V. Ry 507 reads: ...n [tʃ̣wʃ/ mh/]. G. Ryckmans, Mus., 66 (1953),
287, leaves this untranslated, and in the note thereto, p. 292,
he adds, "mh? de hy?"

Etymologically ESA hy* is to be compared with Arabic ha*a, as has
been done by a number of scholars; cf. above, and cf., e.g., Rhodo-
kanakis, St., II, 14, 161. Specific comparable Arabic usages are:
ha*a = ittasa’a wa-intaqhara: "to spread, to extend"; ha*a al-qawmu
ba’qum hum ‘ilā ba’q = hammu bi-l-wuthub: "the men advanced against
one another ready to fight"; tahayya’a and inha*a = inbasata: "to
spread, to extend"; and mahya* = al-ṭariq al-wasi* al-munbasat:
a wide and long extending road"; Lisan, art. hy* and art. hw*.
With mahya*: "extension, addition" to a structure, CIH 338, 3, 4, 10,
I like to compare semantically, and perhaps architecturally, the
use of siyāda: "addition, extension" in this passage from Khasrajī,
‘Uqūd, II, 23: wa-fl shahri ramaḍāna baraza’ amru al-sulṣānī
bi-‘imārati al-siyādati al-sharqiyati allati fī jamii’i ‘udaynata
min madīnati ta’issa wa-istahāththa al-nāsa ‘ala farāghi-hā ḫattā
faraghat ka-mā hiya al-‘ana fa-intafa’a al-nāsu bi-hā intifa’an
‘agīm-an bi-khilāfī al-siyādati al-gharbiyyati allati ‘ammara-hā
al-sulṣān al-maliku al-mujāhidu fī ‘ayyami-hi: "And in the month
of Ramaḍān was issued the order of the Sultan concerning the
construction (or, building) the eastern extension (or, addition),
siyāda, which is (now?) in the mosque of ‘Udaynā in the city of
Ta’izz; and he exhorted the people to complete it until it was
completed as it is now and the people benefited greatly from it,
that is, apart from the western extension (or, addition) which
the Sultan al-Walik al-Mujahid had built in his days." This previous "western extension" is mentioned earlier in the work, ibid., 126, in the simple statement: wa-ibtanā al-ziyādat al-gharbiyyata fī jāmi‘i ‘udaynata bi-ta‘izz. Was ziyāda here simply "extension", and the identification thereof was left to familiarity with the place? Or, could it have been an architectural term, something like "wing, aisle" or even "portal, portico"? Cf. "ziyāda: Portail d'église, ... Portique,..." and al-ziyāda: "nom d'une porte d'une mosquée à Damas"; Dozy, Supplement, I, 618. This sense of ziyāda: "portal, portico, doorway", semantically developed from the sense of "extension" or "addition", might give some clue or some hint as to a possible sense of mhyā in texts of building and constructions; e.g., CIH 338,3 mhyā/rhn/rhn/, and CIH 439,2 ywm/qdm/mhyā/qwnhn/wmhyā/qblt/1. I do not feel that this view can be more than a remote and faint possibility.
(Nasar Achoury)

Footnotes 1

(1) This text was kindly brought to my notice in 1959 by Professor D. J. Wiseman, then of the British Museum. Later I had the opportunity of visiting Mr. A. Nasar Achoury at the above address and he kindly allowed me to examine the plaque. He let me also have a photograph of the inscription and gave his permission to me to publish it.

(2) Fakhry 3,8: waly^n/whwaln/lkl/mbk/wmwt/wqht/*mr'hmm/bny/d(h)bb/
bhgrm/wbrrm/bkl/brtm/qrbm/wr(h)qm/. G. Ryckmans, in Fakhry, Archaeological Journey to Yemen, II, 5, renders this passage as:

"Et que s'étende et s'adresse à toute prohibition et statut et ordonnance de leurs seigneurs les banû Du-Ḥabîb, en ville et à la campagne, en tout lieu proche ou lointain". I render it, as given above in the text, as: "and to proceed on, and give succour to, every despatch (or, mobilisation) and commission and order of their lords banû d-(H)BB within (the territory) of the town and the open country, in every expedition, near and distant".

Notes to my translation:

whwaln: "give succour to"; cf. Ry 502,6: *alr/hmm/ylwhwlnw/, which should be rendered: "the expeditions in which he gives succour", but which G. Ryckmans, Mus., 66 (1953), 271, renders as: "Les expéditions (?) par lesquelles il réunisse (?)", and in the note thereto, 1. cit., 273, adds, "cf. Fakhry 3,8 "réunir, étendre". Cf. Arabic wağala and ittağala: "to cry for help by shouting out ya la-fulan, to seek support through tribal links", a practice denounced by the Prophet, according to a tradition; Lisan, art. wgl. Cf. also Hamilton 7,2: ....tw/*wq/l/wkl/mw[d], and ibid.,4s kl/mwq/swt/whaln/1'tts/ Beeston, JRAS, 1954, 55, renders /wq/, 1. 2, and /wq/, 1. 4, as: "offerings" and "offering" respectively. In the note thereto, 1. cit., 54-55, he says, "with /wq/ compare the verb hwal in Fakhry 3,8; although it appears in that context as a legal term, the fact that it is there associated with hy' (a verb
which commonly means "consecrate") suggests that it may also have had a sacral connotation." Beeston's comparison of ḫwāl in Fakhry 3,8 is misplaced, as made clear in this article. But cf. Arabic ṭwāl and ṣīla: "gift", and ṭwāl al-raḥim and ṣīla al-raḥim: "help, succour, kindness, to kindred". Cf. also Arabic ṭaṣīla, mentioned in Qur'ān v, 103: mā yaʿala allāhu min

Feminine passive faʿīl adjectives do not have tāʾ of the feminine. Grammarians are divided about feminine faʿīl words, passive in sense, when they have tāʾ, like naḥīa: "an animal that died of goring", Qur'ān v, 3. One group, Kūfans, say that feminine passive faʿīl is without tāʾ only when it is an adjective qualifying a feminine noun, but when used as a substantive it should take tāʾ, hence naḥīa. Another group, Başrans, say that the presence of tāʾ makes naḥīa like ṣawīla; cf. Tābarī, Taṣfiṣr (NE) IX, 499-500. Tābarī, ibid., construes the Başrans' view as implying that naḥīa has an active sense, being thus the equivalent of naḥīa, and that since the reference in Qur'ān is clearly to a dead animal, it would be interpreted as "an animal that butted (another) and died as a consequence of that". He rejects the Başrans' view in favour of the Kūfan. Arabic sources explain ṭaṣīla as an ewe that was delivered of ten female offsprings in five successive births and was, therefore, described as ṭaṣīalat: "did (it) in succession"; or as a female offspring that had a "twin brother"; such a brother was prohibited for killing, and the twin female, therefore, ṭaṣīalat ḥāk diá: "suckoured her brother"; cf. Tābarī, Taṣfiṣr (NE), XI, 125-6; Liṣān, art. ṭwāl; and A. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muḥammad, 40. These two explanations of ṭaṣīla give the word an active sense, and one wonders how much of these explanations was influenced by grammarians' considerations. I think a passive sense, in line with the Kūfan view favoured by Tābarī, is more appropriate, and ṭaṣīla should have simply been explained as "what is given, what is offered", hence "offering, gift" to the deity or god.
These terms refer to categories of domestic animals that were consecrated to the gods and prohibited from being killed and/or used; cf. A. Guillaume (tr.) Life of Muhammad, 40. Thus, had, and pl. wajal: "offering", in Hamilton 7,2,4, can be compared with Arabic wasilha, wajal and gila, cited above, which in their turn can be etymologically and semantically linked with wajal: "to give succour, to bring help".

FH: "despatch, mobilisation". Beeston, NOSAL, V, 109 ff., assigns to ESA FSH the sense "command", which is definitely more feasible than "to prohibit", as rendered by G. Rycmams. I render FSH here as: "despatch, mobilisation" by comparing Beeston's FSH: "command", and by comparing Arabic hashaka al-qawm = hashadu wa-tajamma'u: "the (fighting) men, al-qawm mobilised their forces and gathered", and ja'udi bi-hashakati-him = bi-jamati-him: "they came as a group"; Taj, art. FSH. Two usages from ESA FSH can be explained by comparing these Arabic usages: (1) FSH: "wife", in late Sabaeae texts. This use must have been a polite expression, by referring to the wife as al-jama'a, a form of expression to be found in current Arabic colloquial. (Cf. also the more common expressions 'ahl and 'ahl al-dar: "household", and al-ila and al-ayla: "the family", for the wife. Cf. Talmudic Aramaic bayit for "wife"). (2) mFSKT: "embassy", CIH 541,88: mFSKT/ngsyn/, and 89: mFSKT/mlk/rmn. Beeston, ibid., explains mFSKT as "persons in authority". But compare it with hashaka = jama'a and compare both semantically with wafid: "embassy, envoy", originally meaning "group"; cf. Qur'an xix,85: yawma mahshuru al-muttaquina ila al-rahmani wafid-an.

gawm: "(fighting) men"; this is the real sense of gawm in Arabic, originally collective for "those who rise, can rise" for fighting; cf. rakb, collective for "riders", and gharb, collective for "drinkers". gawm: "people, group of people" of a common kindred or identity is a developed sense; cf. Lisan, Taj, art. gawm.
(Nasar Achoury)  Footnotes 4

qht: "order, command"; G. Ryckmans: "ordonnance"; cf. CIH 332,2: kl/sb*t/sb*w/bqht/*mr'hmw.

brtms: "expedition"; G. Ryckmans, "lieu". The context here requires "expedition", a sense which is well attested; cf. the following note.

(3) Ry 533: w(28)[b] l*brt/bhw/yhwathmw/mr'hmw/s*rm/*w(29)tr: "and (28) [in] the expeditions with (or, on) which there commissions them their lord S*rm "w(29)TR". G. Ryckmans, Mus., 68, (1955), 301, renders this as: "et (28) [dans] les expeditions qu'entreprendrait leur seigneur Sa'irim "Aw(29)tar". His translation leaves the suffix -haw in yhwathmw unaccounted for and does not seem to take full account of bhw. In the note thereto, 1. cit., 307, he adds, "bhw, faute pour bhmw?" But cf. RES 4842: (1) bdt'/tw/bwfyym/b(2) n/kl/s*brt/bhw/sb*(3)[w]/wâb'/wâw*n/mr*hm(4)[w]/s*rm/*wtr. Ry 533, 28: bhw/yhwathmw is syntactically the equivalent of Arabic ya'muru-hum bi-hâs: "which he orders them to do".

(4) Cf. my NQI,II, 420, ad Van Lessen 9,1-2: wâw*nm/bkl/tm(2)n*.

A short word about the etymology of ESA wât. Höfner, "War der sabaëische Mukarrib ein "Priesterfürst"?", WZKM, 54 (1957), 80, examined the etymology of ESA wât and compared it with Hebrew root yat, and added that Arabic and the Semitic languages of Abyssinia do not have the root wât (yat). She compared, therefore, Arabic wâsad and other forms from the same root. But the exact etymological Arabic equivalent of ESA wât is the root wad, which has a semantic range comparable to that of ESA wât. The change of d is easy to account for under the influence of the voiced g. Arabic wad has a variant form *gd. Cf. Arabic wasada = thabata: "to stand firm, to be established", and *aqama: "to stay", and compare ESA hwât in the formula: ywm/hwât/kl/gwm/d*lm/wyym/wdhblm/whörm: "at the time when he established" etc. Cf. also Arabic awgada al-kalba wa-ghâyra-hu bi-l-qayd = *aghra-hu: "to set, to incite, a dog and the like on or against the game", and compare ESA hwât: "to
commission, to entrust, to despatch" in Gl. 481,2: \textit{ywm/hwghw/ykrb-mlk/}, and Ry 533,28: \textit{brt/bhw/yhwghw/mr*hw}.

(5) By 586,3-4: \textit{ywm/*lm(4)ttr/ddbn/}: "at the time when he sacrificed for a banquet for \textit{ttr}". Cf. also By 585,3-5: \textit{y(4)wm/*lm/*ttr/dd(5)brn/}. G. Ryckmans renders *lm in both cases as: "il convoqua la réunion", Mus., 72 (1959), 165, 167; and in the note, 1. cit., 166, he says that he compares Hebrew *lm, Pi. "to bind" and Aramaic *alam, "to connect", and then adds, "Nous traduirions *lm par "réunir", soit à des fins politiques ..., soit en vue d'une fête au cours de laquelle est offert un sacrifice". By the offering of a sacrifice G. Ryckmans is referring to his translation of whnrhw/btrbh/, which follows the above passage in both texts; cf. the following note. Gl. A 710 reads: \textit{qy/mstruction/wn*ywn/*lmhw/ywm/*lm/*(2)ttr/ddbn/whnrhw/btrbh/}, which Solá Solé renders: "[... hat errichtet] den Stelenaltar seiner Vorhalle, am Tag, da er die Vorhalle baute (des Tempels) des \textit{A(2)ttar d-BBN und ihm (ein Opfer) anzundete in Gehorsam (?)", cf. Höfner und Solá Solé, Sammlung Eduard Glaser II, 32. In the note thereto, ibid., 33, Solá Solé refers Höfner and Rhodokanakis, ZIAI, III, 213 and n.2, where they render m*lm, RES 4635,4-5, as: "Vorhalle", and then adds that the verb *lm is perhaps denominative from m*lm and suggests the restoration of RES 4906,1-2 as: \textit{bny/qyf/*lm[ml]}, instead of Beeston's restoration as: "\textit{lm} mh". But cf. p. 16 of this article. Solá Solé does not refer to *lm in Ry 586 and Ry 585. In my NQI, 8, n. 3, in the note to my rendering of ESA mhtn as: "banqueting hall", I added, "cf. RES 4635,4-5, which reads: \textit{ywm/nql/mbny/m*lm/smh*ly}, where m*lm is rendered "Vorhalle". I compare it with Arabic wâlimah: "a banquet, a feast"; cf. also *lm, RES 4176,8, where it should be translated "banquet" or "feast", the occasion there being the end of the pilgrimage, which is the subject of all the preceding prohibitions and injunctions, and the breaking of the vows of abstinence; cf. *ayyam al-tashriq, which are "Tage der Lust, des Essens und des Trinkens, wo man der wieder
erlangten Freiheit nach der langen Karezns sich freut", J. Wellhausen, 
Reste arabischen Heidentums, Berlin, 1897, 80." P. Boneschi, "Tres 
tituli sabaei iterum interpretati", RS0, xxxiv, 1-2, (1959), 29, 
writing ad m'lmnt, RES 4635, 5-4 (= Jamme 538), says, "Vocem m'lmnt, 
ad modum obscaram, ita ut si esset "convivia" hic verti, qui a 
radice sabaea 'lm (arabice wlm = "convivia, celebrare, epulas 
stituere") vere, ut opinor, procedet". The sacrificing for a 
banquet for 'TTR d-DBN must have been in the nature of killing 
sacrificial victims dedicated to the deity but partaken of by the 
pilgrims or the congregation, like the sacrificing of al-hadya 
in the Maccan pilgrimage, where the pilgrims were considered dayf 
allah, or like the rifada, the food which Quraysh provided for the 
pilgrims; cf. A. Guillaume (tr.), Life of Muhammad, 55. Thus we 
have three attested usages from the ESA root 'lm: (1) 'lm: "to make 
a banquet, to sacrifice victims for a common meal", Ry 585; 586; 
Gl. A 710; (2) 'lm: "a banquet, a feast, a common meal", RES 4176, 8; 
and (3) m'lmnt, Gl. A 710, and m'lmnt (pl.?), RES 4635: "banqueting 
hall, place of feasting, hall for common meals".

(6) RES 3945, 1: w(h)nr(hw)/btr/(b), restored so by Beeston, Appendix to 
Philby, Sheba's Daughters, 447, after Philby 79 (=RES 4906), 2: 
whnrhw/[b]tr/(b). Cf. also Ry 585, 5 and Ry 586, 4-5: whnrhw/btr/(b), and 
Gl. A 710, 2: whnrhw/[b]tr/(b). Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 21, rendered RES 
3945, 1: wynr/btr/f: "so dass es leuchtete (?)....", and in the note, 
ibid., n. 1, suggested that it was perhaps possible to read hnr/. 
He obviously derives it from a root n-w-r, comparable to Arabic 
nur: "light". Beeston, op. cit., renders RES 4906 (Philby 79), 2: 
whnrhw/[b]tr/(b) as: "and offered a burnt sacrifice (?) to him 
(publicly?)", and in the note thereeto, ibid., 447, he says, "hnr/ 
means "to make a burnt offering", obviously deriving it from the 
same root as Arabic nr: "fire". In SI, 66, ad ynr/, RES 3945, 1, 
Beeston, who does not translate this word in the text, ends his 
note by saying, "possibly it may be connected with mnr:/ "fire— 
places (of the altar hearth)" RES 2869, 5." As for btr/(b) (publicly?)
according to Beeston, he says, "the meaning is still obscure. Purely
conjecturally, I suggest that it may be compared with Arabic barāb
as in ja'a bi-'asai'i barāhan "he did, or said, a thing openly,
or publicly"; Appendix, (Philby, op. cit.), 447. G. Ryckmans
renders whnrhw/btrf, Ry 585 and Ry 586, as: "Et il lui offrit un
sacrifice par combustion en public", l. cit., 165, 167, following
Beeston's rendering of RES 4906 (Philby 79); cf. note thereto, ibid.
166. Solé Solé, op. cit., 32, renders Gl. A 710,2: whnrhw/btrf as:
"und ihm (ein Opfer) anzündete in Gehorsam (?)", and in the note
thereto, p. 33, he indicates that he takes hnr as Form IV from a
root nwr, and after referring to Beeston's rendering and suggested
derivation of btrf adds, "Vielleicht wäre es aber besser zu inter-
pretieren als b-trf und zu übersetszen mit "in Gehorsam", nach ar.
trf (vgl. auch ḥfr), "beinrbt sein", tarāhun "souci, chagrin",
tarīḥun "jeté par terre, abandonné, neglige" (vgl. Kazimirska,
Dictionnaire)." I render whnrhw/btrf as: "and he covered (or, dress-
ed) him with a hood (or, cover, curtain).

Notes to my translation:

hnr: "covered, dressed"; cf. Arabic nīr: al-gaṣabu wa-l-khayūtu
ʿidhā ijtamāt: "(a textile in which) gold (or, silver?) threads,
gaṣab, are (woven) together with yarn", and ʿalam al-thawbs: "a
stripe in a cloth, or garment, (made of gaṣab)"; cf. also
nīrtu al-thwaba and ṣanartu al-thwba: "to weave a cloth with
stripes (made of gaṣab)", and the variant Form IV hanartu,
where the prefix ha- suggests or betrays a South Arabian origin.
In the tradition about Tubba' in Maccá, it is said that he was
the first to cover al-Ka'ba and that after covering it with
skins and plain cloth he finally covered it, in compliance with
a vision, with al-waṣā'il, explained in sources and lexica as
"fine striped Yamani cloth"; cf. Aṣrafī, Akhbar Makkah, (Maccá
edition), 165-6, and A. Guillaume (tr.) Life of Mūhammad, 9.
It is most probable that such cloth was used for "covering"
or "dressing" the god in ancient South Arabia. hnr is probably
denominative, from a possible substantive nyr or nwrt: "striped cloth, made with gold (or, silver) thread", meaning "to dress" in such cloth. Cf. the usage kasa al-Ka'ba: "dressed the Ka'ba", for covering it with hangings; cf. the note to trh below. As for RES 2869,5: nwrt, which Beeston, SI, 66, compares with ynr (for hnr), RES 3945,1, and renders as: "fire-places", following Rhodokanakis, St., II, 30: "Feuerstelle", I render it "embankments, sides" of a channel; cf. my NQI, 20, and article arh, p. 28, and footnote 5 (u) thereto.

trh: "hood, veil, cover, curtain"; cf. Arabic ṣarha = ṣaylasan: "a robe, a cloak, a wrap", Taj and Lisān, art. ṣarh, and in later and colloquial usage: "a shawl, a scarf, a long wide hood"; cf. Dozy, Supplement, II, 31, and Manjīd, s.v. ṣarha is used in modern Yaman for a big shawl made of fine coloured (or, striped (?), mulawwan) silk cloth worn by women; cf. Wasi'ī, Tarikh al-Yaman, Cairo, 1947, 122. The ESA trh with which the deity was "dressed" or "covered" might have been in the form of a hood or a veil, or even a wrap or cloak, put on the image of the deity, or it might have been a cover or a curtain for the temple of the deity or for a part thereof, most probably for something inside the temple, e.g., an altar. Cf. my remarks and comments on RES 3340,3-4, pp. 31-34 of article ṣarh and cf. the following footnote.

(7) RES 3945,1: wwhb/tlr/whws/hlfm/ "and he presented to TTR and HWBS a pregnant she-camel (or, pregnant she-camels)"; cf. Arabic khalifa, pl. khalif; "a pregnant she-camel"; Lisān and Taj, art. khalif. Cf. also RES 4176,6: whhr/t'lbdhlfn/ndhrwm/wrymn/wnnttm/ mhwhn/ssrm/lyst/dbm/khrwm, which I render: "and T'LB has prohibited the (vowed for sacrifice) pregnant she-camels of (or, from) MHRWM and RYMN and MNTTM from being driven in a strenuous manner which would hurt them, for they have been vowed"; cf. the examination of this translation under article hlf. Rhodokanakis, AST, I, 21 renders hlfm, RES 3945,1, as "Kleid": "garment", and in the note
thereeto, *ibid.*, 59, says, "hlfm zu (heb.) hālīfah, (akk.) nahlapu, etwa ἱττὸσ zum Bekleiden der Statue: Ephod." One could have also compared Arabic makhluʿf and khalīf = thawb malfūq: "a garment made of sewing too lengths of material together". But the equivalent of the Greek ἱττὸσ and the Biblical ephod is ἱττο; cf. the preceding footnote.
APPENDIX II

INCOMPARABLE "SOUTH ARABIAN MATERIAL"
Abbreviations

القاح، العروض، الزيدية

الرسالة في ما ورد في القرآن الكريم لمجلة التدريس العلمي

علي بن عمر بن نسيب

النحاس، 3:6

الله، إنما الأعداء في السموات والجحيم

الله، له ما في السماوات والجحيم وله الأثر الأكبر
أبو مازب، حجاج بلغة حمير، رأت (قرية) 1820

يحبون امرأة بديعة تارة لغة حميري لملت،

نظرت البصر بطبع نسكون الخاتم محمر، جمعه بغض قال شاهير، كما حل البصر من الشنائر، والشمار الأكشاد حل.

 жизى: الجحمة إلى مرحختا الإنسان، ورحطا الأسد عيناء بلغة حمير.

قال ابن سيده بلغة أهل اليمن خاصة قال:

أيا جحتما يكي على أم مالك أكيله قلب بأعلى الدواب.

القلب الذئب، قال ابن بري صوابه بما نقله وما بعده.

أنيج لها القلب من أرى قريب، وقد يجلب الشر البعيد الجواب.

نها جحتما يكي على أم مالك أكيله قلب كبعض المذاب.

łe يبيك منها غير نمف حسابها وقنتها مما واحد للذباب.

1000 قال الأزرمي جحتما الأسد عيناء لكل له، لجميع

خطه: من حما سنين: الحما الحين وحسن الشنر بلغة حمير، ر. (قرية) 1812

خبب: والخبو كذا في التحزل العطرة ذكر ابن الكيلب أنها لغة حميرية والله

أعلم - ج (قرية) 2112

خربح: خرجا بغير ألف جعلا بلغة حمير، ر. (قرية) 2112

ختى: الخبيز السبوع محمر - لعلى

ذبوق: الذرع الكتبة المحمرية يكتب في الحساب، جمع حبة وهو خيوت النخل - عم.

قلب مذفر متحل يمانية - لعلى

بوقع: قد كنت بها مرجوا، حفرية بلغة حمير - ر. (قرية) 1121

بوقع: كتاب موثق مختم بلغة حمير - (قرية) 1881

بوقع: من المجاز اليمنان الرزق، تقل، خرجت أبلفبحي ريحان الله أي رزقه 200.

قال شيخنا عن بعضهم أنه لغة حمير - ت.

قال ابن الجوبي في اثنان الأثنان في القرآن بلغة مدنان نيحان.

الرقق - ر. (قرية) 121921 (قرية) 1019
نيلت فيتليا بينهم؛ فعتبرنا بلغة حمير -ربئ (قره ١٨١٠)

سخم: السخام الفحم ٣٠٠ وروى الآصمي عن معترق قال لفيت حميرها ١٠٠ قلته
ما مك قال سخام قال والسخام الفحم -

السخام الفحم لغة بحامية - ج.

سرطات السرطاط الفالوج، وفي الحديث قالت أمة لا ينتهيملك من ملك حمير ما
تشتهين قالتا مستفيضة: بما شهتنا سرطاط الخ - ش.

السرباط ١٠٠ الفالوج، شامية - لل -

شفخ: الشاخ اللبن حريرة، قال أبو صور الشخف صوت اللبن عند الحلب -

ل، ي، (انظر أيضا شخب، لغة بحامية)

شقل: النذيب في الرملي، الشرشلة كلمة حريرة لحج بما صيارة أهل العراق
يغ في تبيير الدنانير يقولن قد شكلنا نا أى عزرنا، أى عزرنا دينارا
وينت، ليست الشنشلة عربية محضة. ابت سيدة شققل الدنانير عرِّبة عجيدة.

ل، ي، من الكبير، عنا نحولا بلغة حمير -ربئ (قرة ٤١٦١)

مجر: أمهج نخل؛ أجهذ، الواحد إجذ بكسر الفين، بلغة حمير -ربئ (قرة ١٧١٢)

والنسبة بلسان حمير المعجزة - أبو نحم الأصبهاني: دلائل القدرة: ١٩٠،
والطبري: تاريخ (طبعة لندن), ١١: ١٩٢٠. (انظر أيضا عجز، لغة بحامية)

كفي: العلس حب معروف معتدل في الحرارة واللبن وهو أفضل الحبب وكان
علم ملك حمير -ش.

وقال أمهج حنيفة العلس ضرب من البر جيد غير أن حسر الاستنقاء، وبين هو
ضرب من القمح يكون في الكلم شه. حبظان يكون بناحية اليمن وهو ضرب
وملك حميرة، أهل ضنة، أهل فيت، عند

الويل، الساع، اللب، حمير -لل -

الويل ابن آوى، لغة بحامية - ج.
قال: يقال أن الملوك بالفداء المعجمة ابن آبي بلغة حمير -ش، أتت
الملوك، وهو ابن آبي، لغة يابانية - ج
لمع، وقال ابن الكلبي اللعنة السواد حول حلبة الثدي، وهم سي ذر لومة
قبل من أقيال حمير - ش، أتت
غلا، فراعوا، بلاء بلغة حمير - ش، (قر : 202)
فشت، تفشلا، تجينا بلغة حمير - ش، (قر : 211)
كما: الكم بالكسر الصاحب، حميرية - ق، تو
ليت، في التمهيد في نزهة، إذا قال الرجل لمدته لا يأت عليك فقد أناده
لأنه فق البأس منه، وهو في لغة حمير ليات عليك أي لا يأت عليك قال
شاموم
شرينا اليوم، إذ عصبت فلاب، بتصيد وقد ذه بERY
تادر إلى غدرهم ليات، وقد بررت مخازن دب بين
قال كذا وجدته في كتاب شمر - تل م
لقطة: الملتقى بالكسر القيم، قال شمر: سميت أمرة حميرية قيل لكلمة أخدتها
عليها قد لقطتها بالملتقى، أي كتبها بالقلام - ل، ت،(قر : 202)
ميل، تميل، ميلا عظما، تخطين خطأ بينا بلغة سانا - ش، (قر : 211)
نطرو: انت ابن أجت لغة حمير - ل، تون
 tứcرا، تسينضغون: يحركون بلغة حمير - ش، (قر : 211)
همغ: كا جارية بالحمرة هما، 300 والصبي الخضر النام بلغة حمير - ش،
شر، يبتكر أصلكم أجري ينقسم بلغة حمير - ش، (قر : 202)
وك أن: قال بعضهم: وكان في رحلة لك بلغة حمير - ابن تقية: تأول مشكل
القرآن، 11120
أخلاقهم.

>{ Achab: أهل اليمن يسمون الكبر الأصف - ج.

> 1. بخت: شرب بخوة خالية، بلغة - ج، ت.

> بررة: البرق السكر الطير، وهو لغة اليمن - ج، ت.

> البرد الفئس، بلغة - ت، ج.

> 2. اللهو الأعد الذي فيه تلع يئس وسوز، بلغة يمانية - ج، ت.

> بنغج: البنغ السواحات، بلغة يمانية - ج، ت.

> بلاد: البلد الدار يمانية - ل، ت.

> بيس: البلس الذي يلبس اليمن - ش، ص، ل، ت.

> بنن: البنين المدس، بلغة بعض أهل اليمن - ش (في عين).

> بنين: ينقل أهل اليمن للنساج البنيبط - ل، ت.

> بيدمان: بيدمان يزور من النبات، بلغة يمانية - ج.

> تقدير: التقدير الحب الذي ي새 الكروات، أهل اليمن يسمون الأجزاء كلها

> تقدير - ج، ت، ل.

> بدين: الشابة كي تتخذ في المرأة مراثها وأدواتها، بلغة يمانية - ج، ت.

> جيجل: أهل اليمن يسمون اللية - ج، ت.

> جن: جن الذي إذا سحبه بلغة اليمن - ج، ش، ل، ت.

> كل شجر ينساب على وجه الأرض فهو تحتمه الج - ج، ت، ل.

> جهر: الجم زوج من زوارق اليمن - ل، ت.

> جنجر: الجنجر البحر الذي تدور فيه المحاولة يمانية - ج، ت، ل.

> جيحي: الجنيب تشير اليمن لغة يمانية - ج، ت، ل.

> جمل: الجملة مزج الول (ولد النحل) لغة يمانية - ج، ت، ل.

> جفري: لغة لاهل اليمن يغلبون فعلت ذلك من جفر كذا ون جفر كذا ون جفر كذا}،}
جنز: الجنز السرى في الشي، لغة يمانية، لا أدرى ما صحتها - ج لت.
جنز: جنشت الشيء، إذا جمعته، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جلب: الجلبة لغة يمانية، وهي الروية التي تصب على اللبن الحليب ليربو - ج لت.
جبن: الجبن البطن، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جنز: الجنز مدام الحنطة والشعر، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جنز: جنوز اللم يمسى البيت الصغير جنزة - ج لت.
جهل: الجهل والجهيلة الخشبة التي يحرك بها الجبر، لغة يمانية، وتعني الجهل أيضاً جهلًا - ج لت.
جهل: الجهة موضع الدبر من الانتكان فيه، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: رأه اليم والغر يعنى ساخط العمال الأجرام - ج لت.
جهل: الحين الدقل، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: الحرب، حركة، طلع، يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: حصل بطنه، يحمل حملًا إذا أصابه الله، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: كال الفراء، ذكر أن الحص في لغة أهل اليمن الحطب - ل.
جهل: والحبش لغة في الحمص والحبش الحطب في لغة اليمن - ل.
جهل: الحفزة عند أهل اليمن خشبة ذات أصلاى يذكر بها الكدس العدوان.
جهل: وينقى بما البر من التراب - ل.
جهل: الحفزة: سكن الريح، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: الحتم ضرب من الحبر يشبه الحلم، وقال بل هو الحلم بعينه، وهي لغة يمانية صحيحة - ج لت.
جهل: الحكو ماء الحكر، حكى مثل حكر، فه - س يرجل حوكة، الواور زائدة، إذا كان يحتكر، لغة يمانية - ج لت.
جهل: الحفزة: الحدائق 300 الstrike-through هو نقع كالمب والريحان بلغة بعض أهل اليمن - ش.
جهل: الحنطة النبل الذي يروى به يمانية - ج لت.
الهالي يملون، حسب الجهل. أما إذا فنلته... 

الخفّ: الخفّ السّذاب، يُطلق عليه ج. 

خُطْر; يتالف الفم في خُرّاح أي في اختلاط وخبِّي، لغة يُمانية 

الخفّ: الخفّ الخطر باليد، يُطلق عليه ج. 

في الطريقة "الخط"، وهو خطأ، 

انظر: الخفّ الخطر باليد عند الشيء... 

خفّ: يُسمي بعض أهل اليمن الخفّ الخفّ، واحسبيهم يخشون بذلك ما 

ما يفظ منه... 

خُضُر: الخصين يُطلق عليه صغير، لغة يُمانية - ج. 

خفّ: الخفّ عند أهل اليمن نع من خُبَّة الذرة محص مخصر، نقله الصَّغَّانِي.*

خلّاء: قول: "وزج"، ولدان مخزلون. قال أبو عيدة: "سوسون لغة يُمانية - ج.

خلّاء: يقول أهل اليمن هو خلد نبأ والخلد الصديق وجمعة أخلاق - 

(التالي: الأولملي، ص 426). 

خُمْع: الخجّ الفنّر من موض أو تعب يُمانية - ج. 

خُطْط: الخنَّاقة مشي فيه تثبّتا، أقبل يخنظته، لغة يُمانية - ج. 

خفّ: بعض أهل اليمن يشي الزفاف خانقًا - ج. 

دمّر: الدفع أحسبي لغة يُمانية، وهو الوَطَّ الشديد - ج. 

بجر: اللعأة الدجّرة بلغة أهل اليمن - ش. في مادة حلول. 

سحق: دحجه مغمة كمرك الإمّام يُمانية والذال، لغة هي أهل - ج. 

سحق: الدحّن الدفع بلغة أهل اليمن - ش. 

الدحنة الأرض المرفعة لغة يُمانية جاء بها أبو مالك [الأنساري] لم يعرف بها سائر أصحابنا - ج. 

سحق: بعض أهل اليمن يقول دخش العظم إذا تفقات ولي - ش. 

بعض: وسع الجبل إذا قال يدسع دسعا لغة يُمانية - ج. 

دَّخَشُ: الدهش هو الشّل بلغة أهل اليمن دُغم في الحرب ٢٠٠ طرهم، 

يُمانية - ل. - ش.
الذهب 3000 ثور نبت من ابن دريد، أو هو النبت بنفسه، وهو عب

التملب بلغة اليمن – ج

أ biệt يمنية، ذفن عليهم، أي هجم – ج. هل ت

دفني الدخر 3000 الدخف في الصدر والنعم،يمنية – ج، هل ت

دفني: وأهل اليمن يسخرون في الذرة الدخفاء – ج، هل ت

دفني: الدخف ضرب من البيتان، بلغة يمنية – ج، هل ت

دفني: المذخية 3000 الذخف بلسان خولان، وم قيلة باليمن – ج

رج: الرجاح بالباء الفرد بلغة أهل اليمن – ج

في الأساس: أملح من رباح، مخفن، وثقيلاً، وهو القدر، قلت والتخفيف

بلغة اليمن – ج

فاً: ومدان تقول: رثبت البيت همزة في مهني ريثمة – ج (2: 118)

أهيل اليمن يقولون: رثبت البيت في مهني ريثمة – ج (2: 212)

رج: الرجل ضرب من البيت وليسه مولد، وهو الذي يبنى البكلة الحقا،

فالاً: أهل نجد نسواها الفرح، أما أهل اليمن نسواها الرجلة – ج

الرجل في كلم أهل اليمن الكثر الجامعة، كان الفرخاء يقبل ذلك

ليت.

بعض: القصرة خشبة الفصائر التي يدق بها الخبا على الحجر في الباء، وأهل

اليمن يسخرونها الرجلة وسخاالمحفاة أيضاً – ج (2: 58)

المحفزة خشبة صغيرة تضرب بها المرأة الثوب إذا وصلته وسخا

المحفاة أيضاً وسخاها أهل اليمن الرجلة وسخاها أهل نجد

المحفاة – ج (2: 117)

فخذ: ربيت أبو زيد الأنصاري أن من أهل اليمن من يقول رخته رخية بمعنى

رحمة – ج، هل ت

رضف: رفعت السعادة شيءها، بلغة يمنية – ج، هل ت

رضف: رفعت الأرض أرضاً، رضاً إذا أثرتها للنزع – ج، هل ت

رضف: الأرض السهلة، بلغة يمنية – ج، هل ت
رغم: الرفع 300 الكبي، يمانية -ت.
رغم: الرفع الأم وضع في الودى شبر، أنشدنا أبو حامد عن أبي نجید
 عن الحرب من أهل اليمن -ج.
رغم: الرفع agrees, يمانية -ل.
رغم: الركمة البهلاء من الأرض ونوا، لغة يمانية -ج.
رغم: الركمة البهلاء في الأرض، يمانية -ل.
المراكح حجازة صلة مستقلة يهن على بها وحدها مرك، يمانية -ت.
رغم: الركمة، والجمع النظيف، قالوا الركمة، وهو البلح، لغة يمانية -ج.
والركمة، والركمة البلح وحدها ركمة، لغة طائية -ل.
رغم: لغة يمانية: روى عوض يره، إما إذا اشتد حره -ج.
رغم: قال الصفار، هو التجرة، لغة يمنية -ت.
رغم: وفزع الدابة إذا تبع في التربة، لغة يمانية -ج.
الركمة البهلاء، يمر، لغة يمانية -ج، ل.
رغم: لغة يمانية: يقولن رأوا الهاء إذا اضطراب على وجه الأرض يعرفه.
رغم: رواه، وهو الرواية -ج، ل. ع.
سير: النبي الذكر بلهجة أهل اليمن -س، ل.
سير: النبي اللهمية بلهجة اليمن، أو مقدمها عند بعض أهل اليمن -ل، ت.
قال شمر رقيب النبي الأنف بلهجة أهل اليمن - ل.
سخ: النزيف النار، لغة يمانية -ج (انظر التالي، الأمازيغ 136).
سخ: زلح جلده، بالتار لغة يمانية في زلح -ش.
سخ: الزلح العريص بلهجة بعض اليمنيين -ج.
سخ: الزلح المارد بلهجة بعض اليمنيين -ش.
سخ: الزلح السحية للغة بعض أهل اليمن -ش.
سخ: التزهيب النخل لغة يمانية -ج.
سخ: الركز لغة يمانية، وهو الشلل، والثعلل الأمر يقال زاك الثعلل إذا
أطر نيه -ج.
سخ: قال شمر أهل اليمن ومن يرك البهر فيما بين جدة وبعد يسمن الجنوب.
الأوتاد لا يَغُيرون لها اسمًا آخرًا، وذلك لأنها تصف الرياح ومشكلة البحر تسمى بالشجر، وقلب أسفله يتوجيه أعلاه ـ سجح.

سجح: سج الحائط إذا سمح بالالتباس الرياح فلاحة به والسحابة الخشبية التي تظل في الحائط، لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: تم بالأسفل لكي تكن لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السحارة تعلق من الشجر قبل هو الخلاف، لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السحارة شجر الخلاف ١٠٠ وهو الخضوف أيضاً، لغة يونانية، و قد تقدم بالجيم ـ سجح.

سجح: أهل اليمن يقولون انسلخ شث عن يدي إذا أليس شتم ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: والسلام الفم لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السعد صنم الذي ـ بالشي، لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: وساع الرجل سعدة شديدة، إذا تكب، لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السطح مكان سعت عليه السعر، وساع الجريء، لغة يونانية ـ ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السفارة العلم الذي لا يزل به، لغة يونانية، ج، ل، ت.

سجح: السومر ضرب من الشجر يشبه الخلاف وليس به للحفيز، لغة يونانية ـ هكذا ذكره أبو زيد ـ قال أبو بكر: يحمل كالفهين الصفار ـ ج.

سجح: السكك اجتمع الخلال، لغة يونانية ـ ج.

سجح: السليم بلغة أهل اليمن الزيت ولغة من سهامة من البحر ـ ج.

سجح: السليم ـ ج.

السليم الزيت عند فأهة العرب وندر أهل اليمن ـ ج.

السليم ـ دن الزيت عند أدار العرب وهو دون السليم عند أهل اليمن ـ ج.

السليم ـ دن اسم شجر لغة يونانية، وهي التي تسمى الشب ـ ج.

سجح: السنة الكثير، لغة يونانية ـ ل، ت.

سجح: السرعة عند بعض أهل اليمن بيت صغير كالخزانة ـ ش، ل، ت.

سجح:
الشجرة والشجرة المثمرة تداخل الشوك الشجر بعضه في بعض، يقال تشبع
الشجرة تشبع إذا دخل بعضه في بعض، اللغة يمانيَّة – ج، ل، د.
الشيماء المثمرة لغة يمانيَّة – ج، ل، د.
الشبة: بعض أهل اليمن يسمون الطلب شبا – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة ضرب من الشجر لغة يمانيَّة، وهو شجر الذيل – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، شرب قَبَّة إذا شرب، يقال شبا – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، شرب قَبَّة شبا – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، شرب قَبَّة منها لاهل الجوف مركز باليمنيَّة، يقال شبا – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، وهو يقال شبا – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
الشجرة: الشجرة لغة يمانيَّة، لاهل الجوف – ج، ل، د.
صعف: الصعف شرب يتخذ باليمين من العنب يفخ ثم يلقى في الأوبئة 500.

قال ابن دريد: هو شرب يتخذ من العسل في العش.

صعف: أضفي الحب سهبة أي أماله، وأضفي الإناقة أي أماله أيضاً.

وهذين أهل اليمن يقولان. أصي بالعين غير معوجة.

صفق: في كتاب محاوية إلى الملك الروم لانتزاعه من البلدية الأص芬اقية,

من الخيل بلغة اليمن، يقال صفقهم من بلد إلى بلد إلى أخريهم.

شهدها فعلاً.

صعف: والمعنح عند أهل اليمن الذله من كراع لملت.

صعف: وأهل اليمن يسمون الدوز صنارة للملت.

عند حذر ولشج، ولشج في جنل اللخاصل بلج.

صفق: من الصورين يبخن فيه لغة يمانية، وربما أن قوله تعالى إلى نفخ في الصور من هذا، والله أعلم.

صعف: رقم من أهل اليمن يسمون غزيا من الصدف أي دم صئاخ.

صعف: والصادق الساق بلغة أهل اليمن للملت.

هذا: ضبك الرجل وضبته، إذا غزرت جدها، لغة يمانية.

هذا: ضبك الرجل وضبته غزرت جدها، لغة يمانية.

ضجج: الضجج فاسدل لثلث، قال ابن دريد: هو صنع نفخ أو نفخ تخلص به.

ضجج: الضجج فاسدل لثلث، قال ابن دريد: هو صنع نفخ أو نفخ تخلص به.

الثاب، لغة يمانية، الواحدة بالابة والضفف.

ضرف: الضرف التين، لغة يمانية، ذكر ذلك أي حامت في كتاب التنات.

ضدن: الضدن فعل مات يقول ضدن الريح 500. إذا أصححت وسعته،

لغة يمانية.

ضعف: الضعف فعل مات، وهو الوضع الشديد لغة يمانية.

ضرف: الصغر شجر البازج بالفارسية، لغة يمانية.

ضرف: والضرف غرب من البلد يقال ابن البازج، لغة يمانية.
طقس الطارقة سيره ضيقة (ليس) يسع واحدا، لغة بحرينية.

طقس؛ قال أبو علي قال أبي العباس قال لي أبو البليس، الطواس الأظفار.

وم أو أحدا من أصحابنا يحرمهم، ثم أخبرني رجل من أهل اليمن تال:

يقال عندنا، فسه إذا تناوله بأطراف أصحابه، القالي؛ الأمل: 561.

طقس; طوق الطلقتين البيض لغة بحرينية، ج، ل، ث، ت، طلس.

طقس؛ الأطفس الخفيف العاربي، 300 تلوه الكورج، بحرينية.

طقس؛ الطوف، جنس من الشجر يزدد به اليمن له حب صنار أحمر، أصغر.

طقس؛ الطوق زعفران لغة بحرينية، وهو سرقة في الشي، ج، ل، ث.

طقس؛ الطواس الفضة بلغة اليمن، ج، ل، ث.

طقس؛ أثار الشي، إذا خرجت لغة بعض أهل اليمن، فتره، إذا خرقه بلغة.

بعض البحرينية.

ظرف: أهل اليمن يسمون الحاذق بالشري، ظريفا، ج

 مجر: المجزر من الزئب محرمة تكن باليمن، ج، ل، ث.

مجزر: المجزرة المنطفقة في لغة اليمن، تل، ث.

بها، والله أعلم، ل، ث.

عدرك: العدد لغة بحرينية، زعفران له ضرب الصرف بالطريق، ج، ل، ث.

عدرك: المجد البعيد بحرينية، ج، ل، ث.

عدرك: أهل اليمن يسمون الأراك المجتمع عينا، ج، ل، ث.
المساءة الطيبة بلغة بعض أهل اليمن:

العصب؛ العصب بوردي اليمن لاتلته، تتنغ بالعصب، ولا يبت العصب بالورين، واللبان الا في اليمن،-

العصب ضرب من بوردي اليمن سي้าย، ي红楼؛ لا ينذل، يعصب؛ أي يدرج،

ثم يلدغ ثم يحال – ل مت-

ذكر 999 بعض أهل اليمن أن العصب سن دابة يجربة تسيلب، مت-

يتنزع منها الخزف ويزن الخزف من نصاب سكن، مت-

صبح، رجل أصبات وهو الأصغرة لغة شتاء، لتم من أعراف اليمن لا ينذل، م-

جل مت-

عضل؛ العضل الجردي بلغة بعض أهل اليمن، والجمع العضلان-

علبة؛ العلبة القطن لغة يمانية، والصعب القطن أيضا – ج.

فلك； يقال في لغة بعض أهل اليمن كثرك إذا كثر عليه العضل وهو الدخان.

مثل ذكر-

سكر؛ الكلاب الذكر من الرمايع يمانية – ج.

عليا؛ العلوس وهو ابن آوى، لغة يمانية – ج.

ملك； الملك الباب يمانية، وهنالك الباب وأهله أغلبه يمانية – ج. عدل-

عود； العودة الفرس، التي قربت بلغة أهل اليمن،-

عيساء؛ والهواشان صخرات رجل يمانية – ج.

طيب； والطيب لغة يمانية يقال: عيساءٌ أرضه عيناه، إذا ساقه

تيمية – ج.

후； بعض أهل اليمن يقل عالم الغابة، أى غلبت-

فتيل؛ فتيل فتيل مطلف لغة يمانية – ج. عدل-

غذاء؛ والغذاء يرمح لغة يمانية، والمذقة والمذكرة المذكرة بلغتهم-

ج. عدل-

حنين؛ القضيب الذي تحلق عليه التليل في البيت يشبه أهل اليمن، وحدود-

ج. عدل.
في لغة عربية، فإن شجرة لغة يمانية تسمى بـ "الشجرة"، ولا أحقه -ج -، وله.

ويقال: "الخيار والنبرة" في النبرات، بلغة يمانية -ج -، وله.

وفي لغة عربية، فإن شجرة لغة يمانية تسمى بـ "الشجرة"، ولا أحقه -ج -، وله.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة المقدمة.
تشذى: التشذى السماوي اليمنية - ج
تشذى: القصد، الذي يرى الحريج - ج، ل، ت.
قصص: قصص: قال أبو حنيفة القاضي شجر بال اليمن تجره النحل فيقال: فقبلت عقد قمصان - ل، ت.
قصص: القصى الخبز الذي يطرحها الحائك من أطراف الثوب إذا نع منه - ج.
لغة يمانية - ج
قصص: القضاء السبور يمانية.
قصص: القوانين الحديدية اللسان تجري بينهما البكرة - 200 (أما أهل اليمن يفسرون
البحر إذا كان حديدا قموا - ج.
البحر - 200 هو البحر من الحديد، خاصة، مدنية - ل.
قصص: القصى للغة لبضع أهل اليمن في القفص - ش.
اللغة للغة يمانية، تفحت الثوري - 200، إذا سفتها - ج (لعل صلى الله الفتح).
فصا: فصال اليمن يتسن الصنع القفص - ج، ل، م.
فصا: الفصا الربل لغة يمانية - ج، ل، م.
فصا: بعض أهل اليمن يسعى بغير البقرة تقرأ لاقتراح أمه، وهو اتباعها - ش.
قصص: قصص: قال إذا مات بلغة بعض أهل اليمن، وقال ابن دكين القفص الجمع - ش.
ثلث: القالب والقلاب، والقلاب والقلاب، لغة يمانية - ج.
قليل: وأهل اليمن ينسى غير الألف قلبل وهو شبه باللعبة - ج.
قصص: القائمة بلغة اليمن سارة صغيرة يعقد باب سقف أو نحوه - ت.
قطار: قطاع هذا الطائر الذي يسعى الديسه، لغة يمانية - ج، ل، ج.
فقه: فقه: تنان القمي رضته، لغة يمانية - ج، ش.
فقه: الدخان الجبل - ج.
فقه: فهم سود باليمين، في الخذف - ت، في له، في الخرف - ت.
لا: القافية منع السارة عند منتهى الدلواء، لغة يمانية.
كهك: الكهان جمع من الذرة لاليمنيين - ج، ل، ت.
كهك: الكعذب ينسل أهل اليمن - ل، ت.
كهك: الكهف، الكعبة واحدة كعبة وهو الحصم - ج، ل، ت.
الكم لغة في الكعبة وهو الحسم لغة يمنية صحيحة -ج، ل، ت، ش، ل، ض، ز، خ، س، م، ي، ع، غ، ف، ق، ك، ح، ت، ر، ل، م، و، ه، ت، تق، م، و، ه

لم يتم تقديم أي محتوى مميز أو موثوق ضمن الصورة المقدمة.
ضطل: الضح بالضم 333 قال الكصي هي لغة في الشط 333 قال الكصي هي
لغة لربية واليمن يجعل الشبل بين الشين والضاد في خالصة
أي ليست صحيحة ولا شا صحيحة يقولون اضطر لي مثل اشتر لي
لفظا ومعنى، نقله المعاني مكذا -
معص: معص بلغة بعض اليمن: إذا غشت -
كم: الصف من آلة الحرث خشب تندب إلى ( الشعر) وقف طيها أنسان ثم يجذبهما
الثور: لبى بما الأرض للنزع وسبها بعض أهل اليمن: الكرم وحضم
عيتها العدد - ( في الأصل: البقر في البامش: الشعر، لعل صحتها
( الليث).

ليس: ليس مع الكصي شاكت، وهي كلمة نامية -ل، لغة-
معص: المعص باللام: مظا: ظة لغة نامية -ل، نظا
نتاك: نتك شبيه بالنف: نامية -ل، نتاك-
نجب: نجب الأرز: إذا اشترته، وما لغة نامية -نجب:
ندمع: الندم المتعفع في السما، لغة نامية -ندمع:
ندمع: الندم الذي يندفع القطن، عضيف لغة نامية -ندمع:
نسم: نسم تنفس نامية -نسم، نسم-
نضف: ينفلون في السوء يا ابن النصفة: أي الضرا، لغة نامية -نضف-
نطان: الاطاط في الاعط: وهو لغة أهل اليمن: الناطحة النائمة بلغة أهل
اليمن: اطاط: أي تناوله بلغة أهل اليمن -طان:
نضف: النضف النسية تحذ من خص لغة نامية -نضف
نفرح: النجاح زوج المرأة نامية -نفرح:
نضف: النضف الجذر بلغة أهل اليمن -نضف:
نتك: نتك زوجا لغة نامية، يبكي في حلقة: إذا لمجز، وليس بشت -نتك:
نتم: النتم من قولهم: نتم وهو نامه، وهو شيء بالحيرة لغة نامية -نتم:
نفرح: نرفح دأس العلم بالناحية والناحية والناحية والناحية، الأخيرة نامية، كل ذلك
ما يداس به الأكاس: 333 من خشبر كان أور حديد -نفرح.
الشهر شجر ١٠٠٠ وهي لغة يمانية، وسماها صاحب اللسان إلى ابن دينار وقيل ليس بينهم مقتنا من خبر الجزء لأبيه دينار، ولكنها صممت من نسخة الجميرة التي عندنا.

الرفيق خبر شهيده باللائر أو هو بعضه لغة يمانية - جملة.

الرفيق السبب شاهد يوحنا يرحمه وصنا لغة يمانية - جملة.

الرفيق رؤه في أخاه وفي لغة كتي وكثير من أهل اليمن.

ما كلا إلا خيرهم ١٠٠٠ لا حيل بلغة أهل اليمن - رواد (قر: ٢٨٥١)

المزد علوجة لغة يمانية، عزفها أزعم وظفها إذا استمعت إلى جملة.

المزد لغة يمانية، خصبة يجري بها أسهل البيت إذا خافوا أن يشمل جملة.

الجما وأحدتها وصلة، مثل نبي زواة، وهو جيد النسل الصفار الذي يشق وريث به القلقة، وأشبها لغة يمانية، وقد تكلم بها أهل تجد - جملة.

المزد الطاقة القدم يمانية، صفة غالبة - لمل.

المزد النعم لغة يمانية يشار بها إلى الشيء، يشير - جملة.

المزد الورم توج النص على الأرض حتى ترى لها اضطربا كالبخار، لغة يمانية - جملة.

المزد: الوجه خشبة تعرض على سنام منثور إذا كرب عليه الأربين، لغة يمانية - جملة.

المزد: الوجه خشبة الفدان بسانية - جملة.
أمي إلى أمه معدودة؟ ستين بلغة أزرد شنوة—رئات (قرآن 121:8)。
حبل الحابل هذا الذي يصعد به النخل لغة أزردية، وهو الفريد—ج
فحص: الين بلغة أزردية وهو سهف يضم بعضه إلى بعض بريل بالشرطة
ويبسط عليه الترجمة—ج

ليس: الرس، البقر بلغة أزرد شنوة—رئات (قرآن 128:2).

قال: أبو عم الزوية بلغة أزرد شنوة نهر الندان يحتمر بما—ل
فchina: الزنن لغة أزردية وهي عب من عشب النخل يضم بعضه إلى بعض
شيما بالحصير المربى—ج

شجف: وبشرائ وسرايات وهو تشر طلخة الفحل من النخل لغة أزردية—ج
لم
شهبة: لا شيء: لا وضع بلغة أزرد شنوة—رئات (قرآن 121:2) انظر أيضًا وث.
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قال: أي اشترى من شيء—ج

فضل: تعصولون، تحسون بلغة أزرد شنوة—رئات (قرآن 122:2).

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رئات (قرآن 121:2).

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فوفق: الفروع 500 ولد الأسد لغة أزردية—ج
نهر: أزرد السرايا يسمى النيل فيما—ج
قفز: القدر الكرب إذا قطع الجريد فه نبثق له أطراف طوال لغة أزردية—
ج

قيصر
قطر في القطر، اقترب من القطر.

الشريعة: لغة العربية

<الأنبياء> (قرآن) (برامج)

تالى: بثينةحوية من الأقرباء من السياح في لغة بلحاثة بين كنب الحش.

من الحوار: لـ<الأنبياء> (قرآن) (برامج)

شريعة الشريعة من الشريعة المذكورة في لغة بلحاثة بين كنب لـ<الأنبياء> (قرآن) (برامج)

حقوق: الأقوال الروي بلغة حضروت، وقائع (قرآن) (برامج)

بيرون: جنود بلغة حضروت، وقائع (قرآن) (برامج)

لهذه اللباس في لغة أهل حضروت، وقائع (قرآن) (برامج)

لغة: وما صننا من لغة أي من أهياء بلغة حضروت، وقائع (قرآن) (برامج)
يأتي فلا تتشد يحزن بلغة كدة رماد (قرآن 11:111121). 

ومن هو بش لجبال سا يعني نتبت بلغة كدة رماد (قرآن 0:5). 

فجوم نجاحا للترك بلغة كدة رماد (قرآن 21:21).

Madkhali

حقبة حقيبة دها بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 21:18). 

خطرة الخروج الأنف بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 16:18). 

رما فلا رما يحتفظ حال بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 22:17). 

ظلمته بظاهر من القول بكذب بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 22:20). 

كلب كلب لنا بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 8:58). 

قرن قرن يحتفظ لنا مثحبة بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 8:8). 

ومعاد يعد بالعدم لله بلغة مثحبة رماد (قرآن 18:18). 

Shihri and Mahri

وزي الوروز يكفي بين الجبال بلغة مفيدة بين عجمان - ج. 

ملت النص لغة أهل الشجر مفيدة بلغة أهل الشجر - ج. 

قلح الشلحان السيف بلغة أهل الشجر، وهي قبضية لبني يمن تاب تابي الأمريكي هو السيف الجديد وقصة شلح ي đừng نسكون قال الأزرى ما أرى الشلحان والشلح عرقية محترم - ج. 

شلحى لغة مفيدة فيها وهي السيف بلغة أهل الشجر - ج. 

وزيزة وكيمة شنساء لأهل الشجر يقولون حズى لقد كان في كذا وذا وحزمك كفوك لمس حمسه ومحرك - ج. 

عنم، والعنم لغة مفيدة فيها يكلم بها بنو مدة بين عجمان يقولون حزى كانها
كلمة ينتلف بها وكذلك يقولون يعني -ج-

يجب أن يمتع للغة أول الشحر منها كأن تفسيراً الفعل والرب -ج- لله.

Hamdani

حفظ: راحلة عائشة بلغة مدانا، ر (ق: 2:218).
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>