The kingdom of Sabaʾ in the second century CE — A reassessment

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At the turn of the Christian era, South Arabia went through unprecedented political changes. The kingdom of Maʾīn vanished and its main cities were abandoned. The kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt reinforced its presence along the southern shore (foundation of Qanīʾ; reorganization of Sumhuram). Several tribal federations broke away from the kingdom of Qatabān: to the east the kingdom of Awsān became independent again; to the south, the tribes of Madḥā, Radmān-and-Khawlān, and Ḥimyar became autonomous principalities. The latter soon became a major kingdom, probably thanks to the growth of the recent, lucrative maritime trade with Roman Egypt and India. Coinage showing Ḥimyarite kings appeared as soon as the late first century BCE.1 The city of Ṣafār was the Ḥimyarite capital at the latest in the first century CE.2 And in the same century, the Ḥimyarite kings — the dynasty of the banū dhū-Raydān — took control of the kingdom of Sabaʾ.3 This union gave rise to a new royal title: “king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān”.4

In the first century CE, the kingdom of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān gathered together:
- The old Sabaeans aristocracy settled in the region of Maʾrib, ʿIrwāḥ, and the Jawf (Nashq, Nashshān).5
- Sabaeans tribes from the western highlands: Samʿī — including Ḥāshid, Yarsum, and Ḥumlān; Bakīl — including dhū-Raydat, dhū-ʾAmrān, and dhū-Shibām; Maʾdhin, Tanʿim-and-Tanʿimat, Ghaymān, Dhamarī (fraction of Samhar), and other minor groups;
- Ḥimyarite tribes from the south-western highlands: Dhamarī (fraction of Qasham), Muḥaʾnif, Shaddād, Muḥaqraʾ, Maytam, Maʾʾāfir, and other minor groups.

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1 Robin, 2010.
2 Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* vi, 26, 104: “Intus oppidum, regia eius, appellatur Sapphar”; *Periplus Maris Erythraei* § 23: “And after nine days more there is Saphar (Σαφάρ), the metropolis, in which lives Charibael, lawful king of two tribes, the Homerites and those living next to them, called the Sabaites”.
3 Bāfaqīh, 1990.
4 In its very first occurrence in inscription Leiden 26, in the late first century BCE–early first century CE, it was “mukarrib of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān” (*Ydʿl Byn mkrb S¹bʾ w-ḏ Rydn*). The ancient title of “mukarrib”, meaning “federator”, was abandoned and replaced by “king” thereafter.
5 The so-called “old Sabaeans aristocracy” is referred to by the word ’sḥʾʾn (litt. “the Sabaeans”) in the Sabaeic inscriptions from the second century CE; on the meaning of ’sḥʾʾn, see Bāfaqīh, 1990: 71–77; Robin, 1996: 1104–1105.
Contrasting with this relatively peaceful century, the second century CE was a period of epidemics and endless conflicts between all the South Arabian political entities: the kingdoms of Sabaʾ, Ḥimyar, Qatabān, Awsān, and Ḥaḍramawt, and the principalities of Madhā and Radmān-and-Khawlān (Fig. 1). It was also a time when the tribal aristocracy in the western highlands and the principality of Radmān fought with the dynasty of dhū-Raydān for the control of the Sabaean territory and also claimed the title of “king of Sabaʾ”/“king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān”, leading to the ludicrous situation of three people claiming the Sabaean throne at the same time (c.159 CE). The outcome of this century was the disappearance of both the kingdoms of Awsān and Qatabān, and the revival of a Sabaean kingdom headed by the tribal princes of the western highlands.

Figure 1: Tribal and political map of South Arabia in the second century CE (J. Schiettecatte).

Much has been said concerning the broad outlines of the sequence of rulers and events in this century 6. However, the chronology remains incomplete: the fact that a Ḥimyarite king and a Sabaean king bore the same title at the same time — that is, king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān — has been a source of confusion; the fact that the succession was rarely dynastic

but rather effected by co-option/adoption among the ruling families of the different tribes also complicates any chronological reconstruction; finally, some chronological gaps are still waiting for new epigraphic material to be filled. In this paper, the recent discovery of three new Sabaic inscriptions sheds new light on three grey areas of this century: 1) the beginning of the reign of the Sabaean king Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz; 2) the date of the reign of the Sabaean king Rabbshamsʾum Nimrān; and 3) the moment when the Ḥimyarite king Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr took control of the Sabaean territory.

Chronology of Sabaʾ in the second century CE

At the very beginning of the second century CE, the territory of Sabaʾ was under the control of the Ḥimyarite king ʿAmdān Bayyin Yuḥaqbiḍ (c.100–120 CE). In the meantime, Ilisharaḥ Yaḥḍub prince (qayl) of the tribe of dhū-Shibāʾum, fraction of Bakiʾum, rose up against the kingdoms of Qatabān, Ḥimyar, Ḥaḍramawt, and the principality of Radmān (CIH 140) and claimed the title of “King of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān”. He ruled over a newly independent Sabaean kingdom, with the support of families belonging to the old Sabaean aristocracy of Maʾrib (Ir 3, RES 4150) and tribes from the western highlands: Dhamarī (Ja 568), Maʾdhīnʾum (Fa 94 + 95, Gar Ḍulaʾ 1), Ḥāšidʾum (Gr 184), dhū-Hagarʾum (Ja 413) (Fig. 1). From then on, a succession of Sabaean tribal leaders from the highlands ascended the throne with the assent both of their peers (the qayls) and of the old Sabaean aristocracy of Maʾrib. The chronological sequence of the Sabaean and Ḥimyarite royal succession during the second century is shown in a synoptic table (Table 1). This table is based on the work of Bāfaqīh and Robin ⁷, and was completed thanks to the new dated inscriptions published by Khalḍūn Nuʾmān ⁸ and those published below.

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⁸ Noman, 2012.
### Table 1: Chronological sequence of Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar in the second century CE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Sabaʾ</th>
<th>Ḥimyar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. AD 200</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 140 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 120 CE</td>
<td>Banū Ḥammāda</td>
<td>Dhammarʾ al-ʿIḥyāʾ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **War:** Sabaʾ vs Ḥimyar
- **Mention:** Ḥimyar ibn Ṣabīʿ vs Banū Ḥammāda

### Diagram Description

- **Conflict in the Sabean capital city Maryab**
- **War:** Sabaʾ vs Ḥimyar
- **Attack:** in the land of the tribe of Ḥabša (Kingdom of Ḥabša)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attack by Sabaʾ on Ḥimyar</td>
<td>c. AD 200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MS =** milk Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ ibn Ṣabīʿ (King of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān)
Wahabʾîl Yaḥūz king of Sabaʾ: beginning of his reign and origin
How Wahabʾîl Yaḥūz ascended the Sabaean throne is obscure. It is generally admitted that it happened after the truce called by Yarīm Aymān among the fighting kingdoms of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān, Qatabān, and Ḥaḍramawt (CIH 315) ⁹.

Inscription al-Ḥadāʾ 2017-1
A new inscription, al-Ḥadāʾ 2017-1, provides an accurate terminus ante quem for the enthronement of Wahabʾîl Yaḥūz. Only a copy of this inscription was provided to Muhammad al-Ḥājj in 2007 by the discoverer, ʿAlī Nāṣir Şawāl. It is said to come from al-Ḥadāʾ area, north-east of Dhamār. Neither the provenance nor the content could be verified. The transcription is reproduced and a translation is given.

Transcription
1 ḥyrt b-hw hyrw ḏmrʾly Yhbr ḏ-
2 Rydʾ w-sʾ2ʾbʾ ḥmyrw w-ʾsʾ2ʾb-hmw b-brf
3 [...] b-ywm [...] b-
4 ḏrʾ b-ly ḡhbʾl mlk ṣʾbʾ w-hmsʾ w-ʾsʾ=
5 ḏʾ mlk ṣʾbʾ b-wrḥʾ ḏ-tbrʾ ḏ-b-hrfʾ [d-l-
6 w-sʾty w-ṭty mʾrʾ bn ḥṛf M= 7 ḣd bn ḥd

Translation
1 Camp where had camped Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr dhū-
2 Raydān and the tribe of Ḥimyarʾ and their tribes during the military campaign
3 … … the day when … … in
4 the war against Wahabʾîl king of Sabaʾ and the army and the
5 tribes of the kings of Sabaʾ in the month of dhū-thābatān in the year
6 two-hundred sixty […] of
7 Mabḥūd ibn Abḥāḍ

Philological comment
L. 1-2, ḏmrʾly Yhbr ḏ-Rydʾ: Himyarite king ḏmrʾly Yhbr mlk ṣʾbʾ w-d-Rydʾ without the royal title, as in Gl 1228, BynM 3, Zubayrī-alʾ Awd 1 and Kh-Umayma 1.
L. 4, ḡhbʾl mlk ṣʾbʾ: Sabaean king ḡhbʾl Yhz mlk ṣʾbʾ. Wahabʾîl Yaḥūz and Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr are also mentioned together in inscription Gl 1228.
L. 5, b-wrḥʾ ḏ-tbrʾ: “in the month of dhū-thābatān”, that is, April in the Ḥimyarite calendar ¹⁰.
Ll. 5-7, [d-l-
6 w-sʾty w-ṭty mʾrʾ bn ḥṛf Mḥbd bn ḥbd: “in the year two-hundred sixty […] of Mabḥūd ibn Abḥāḍ”. Only the century and the decade are legible; the unit is missing. The year falls between 261 and 269 of the Ḥimyarite era, that is, between 151 and 159 CE. The range might be shortened to 155–159 CE (see below).

Dating the beginning of the reign of Wahabʾ il Yaḥūz king of Sabaʾ

This text is of major interest in several respects: it mentions a war between two rulers, the Ḥimyarite Dhamarʾāli Yuhabbirr and the Sabaean Wahabʾ il Yaḥūz, and provides a calendar date for it.

The inscription was found in the Ḥimyarite area. It is dated according to the Ḥimyarite era, mentioning the eponym Mabḥūd ibn Abḥad (Mḥḥd bn ḏḥḥd) 11 and starting in 110 BCE 12. Its author was therefore on the Ḥimyarite side, although the writer does not explicitly give a royal title to his lord, Dhamarʾāli Yuhabbirr. This is frequent in Ḥimyarite inscriptions of the time (see Kh-Umayma 1, Kh-Jarf an-Naʾīmīya 15, Zubayrī-al-ʿAwad 1, BynM 3), either because the title is implicit 13, or because the title was then denied to Dhamarʾāli Yuhabbirr and was still held by Saʾdshams ʿum and his son Marthad ʿum.

Considering the two rulers mentioned in the text, its date would fall between 155 and 159 CE; the sequence can be summarized as follow (Table 1):

1) From 146 CE at the latest (MAFRAY-Sāriʾ 6) until 155 CE (MAFRAY-al-Hijla 1), Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar were apparently united and ruled by Saʾdshams ʿum Asraʾ and his son Marthad ʿum Yuhahmīd. During this decade, they fought against the kingdoms of Ḥadramawt, Qatabān, and the principalities of Radmān-and-Khawlān and Awsān (Ja 629, Ir 5, CIAS 47.82/o 2 et 95.11/o 2) 14. The latest confrontation of this long-lasting war is reported in MAFRAY-al-Hijla 1, which mentions:

- The building of a house in the year 85 (Radmān era – 159 CE)
- An epidemic in the town Grw in the year 81 (Radmān era – 155 CE)
- The building of two structures “when there was a war between the king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān and the king of Ḥadramawt and the king of Qatabān and when there was the infection in all the lands”.

The date of the war is not precisely given. Robin believes that the war took place in 159 CE. However, it is likely that the epidemic in the town Grw in 155 CE corresponds to the general infection mentioned during the war, in which case this war would date to 155 CE.

2) This 10-year conflict came to an end when Yarīm Aymān qayl of Hāshid ʿum called a truce among the belligerents, namely “the kings of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān, Ḥadramawt and Qatabān” (CIH 315).

3) Thereafter, the leadership of the banū Gurat (Saʾdshams ʿum Asraʾ and his son Marthad ʿum Yuhahmīd) over Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān was contested by both the banū dhū-Raydān (Dhamarʾāli Yuhabbirr) and a coalition gathering the tribes of Humlān, Radmān, Yarsum, Khawlān, and Ghaymān headed by Wahabʾ il Yaḥūz king of Sabaʾ (Gl 1228, Gar AION 1976-III, CIH 220, CIH 203+182+183, Ja 561 bis). Al-Ḥadhāʾ 2017-1 is certainly related to these events: it mentions the conflict between two of the three protagonists. According to al-Ḥadhāʾ 2017-1, dated to 15[.] CE, the conflict clearly happened before 159 CE but is unlikely to have taken place before 155 CE.

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11 See also Av. Būsān 4, CIH 46, CIH 448, MAFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 2, etc.
13 Cf. the Ḥimyarite inscription Kh-Umayma 8, dated to the early fourth century CE, where Ṣʾmr Yhrʾs ʿd-Rydh son of Ṣʾmr Yhnʾm is the well-known Ḥimyarite king.
Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz started to fight with both Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr and Saʾdshamsum Asraʾ and his son Marthadum Yuhahmid for the title of king of Sabaʾ during this four-year period. Inscription Ir 9 mentions that he was enthroned in Maʾrib a year after the end of this conflict, in other words he was recognized by the old Sabaeans aristocracy as their leader sometime between 156 and 160 CE.

**Origin of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz**

As previously noted, all the Sabean kings of the second century CE originated from the highland tribal aristocracy and Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz is to be sought in this area. South Arabian inscriptions mention only two Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz: the Sabean king and the prince (qayl) of the tribes Radmān-and-Khawlān, of the lineage of Maʾāhir-and-dhū-Khawlān. The qayl is mentioned in an inscription dated to 146 CE (MAFRAY-Sāriʾ 6), the king in a text dated to 15[.] (al-Ḥadāʾ 2017–1). The identification is clear from the homonymy and contemporaneity.

This identification was questioned on the basis of the following arguments:

1) The son of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz (qayl), Luḥayʾ athat Yarkham of the banū Maʾāhir-and-dhū-Khawlān, qayl of the tribes Radmān-and-Khawlān does not mention his father with the royal title (MAFRAY-al-Miʾsal 1, YMN 3, YMN 4, YMN 7).

Counter-argument: Luḥayʾathat Yarkham does not mention his father as a qayl either, while this was the usual habit with the previous qayls of Radmān (BaBa al-Ḥadd 2, Ja 2861, Ja 2862, MAFRAY-Sāriʾ 6). This would fit in with a father being king at that time. All the more so that Robin and Bāfaqīḥ themselves stated that Luḥayʾ athat Yarkham seems to have been qayl while his father was still alive, according to palaeographic observations.

2) Two sons of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz (king) ascended the throne after him: Anmarum Yuhaʾmin and Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim.

Counter-argument: if both the kings are claiming to be “son of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz king of Sabaʾ”, this is probably a way to legitimate their ascent to the throne rather than a natural family tie. We know other examples of this kind of alleged filiation, for example, king Saʾdshamsum Asraʾ who claimed to be the son of Ilisharaʾ Yaḥdb king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān, while it is clear that the first belongs to the lineage of the banū Gurat and the second to that of the banū dhū-Kabīr Aqyān.

It is highly likely that Anmarum Yuhaʾmin comes from the lineage of the banū dhū-Ghaymān, princes of the tribe of Ghaymān. This hypothesis is valid if we accept that this king was later demoted to the grade of qayl, a practice echoed in the Arab tradition.

The origin of the second “son”, Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim, remains unknown. Ja 564 mentions Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim king of Sabaʾ “and his brother Rathadum of Maʾdhinum” (ʾḥ-hw ṭrṭm d-M ḏnʾm). The word “ḥ” translated by “brother” may also have the meaning of “ally”; there are not necessarily family ties between Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim and

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Rathadüm. However, the hypothesis that Karib’il Watar Yuhan’im originated from the lineage of the banū dhū-Ma’dhīnüm princes of the tribe of Ma’dhīnüm is appealing. This would fit in with the regular change of tribes at the head of the Sabaean kingdom during this century (Table 1). Until fresh evidence is available, this remains hypothetical.

3) Wahab’il Yaḥūz was hostile to the legitimate Sabaean kings.
Counter-argument: he was only hostile to a single Sabaean ruler, Sa’dshamsüm Asra’ and his son/coregent Marthadüm Yuḥaḥmid. These rulers came from the lineage of the banū Gūrat qayls of the tribe Dhamarī (Ja 753), a tribe on the margin of the Sabaean historical territory (Fig. 1), whose southern half joined the Ḥimyarite kingdom after these rulers were deposed.

4) The tribe Radmān-and-Khawlān is located on the south-eastern edges of the highlands, outside the historical Sabaean territory.
Counter-argument: indeed, Radmān-and-Khawlān cannot be considered as part of the historical Sabaean tribal federation. However, Wahab’il Yaḥūz did not usurp the title of “King of Saba”; he seized power within the frame of a wide tribal alliance gathering his tribes of Radmān-and-Khawlān and those located in the heartland of the Sabaean highlands. This association appears repeatedly in four inscriptions, two of which are explicitly connected to the events of 155–159 CE: Gl 1228 and Gar AION 1976-III; and the other two probably connected to them: CIH 220 and CIH 203+182+183. The four show the same authors and mention the same sequence of tribes, either by their names or that of the lineage of their princes (Table 2). The sequence is always in the same order: Ḥumlān, Radmān, Yarsum, Khawlān, and Ghaymān. It corresponds to the alliance constituted by Wahab’il Yaḥūz, then claiming the title of “king of Saba”, in order to fight against Sa’dshamsüm Asra’ and his son Marthadüm Yuḥaḥmid “kings of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān” supported by their tribe of Dhamari, and the Ḥimyarite Dhamar’āli Yuhabīr “king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān”.

The association of the tribes of Radmān and Khawlān with Ḥumlān and Yarsum in Gl 1228, plus Ghaymān in CIH 220, is therefore a strong argument to identify Wahab’il Yaḥūz qayl of Radmān-and-Khawlān attested in 146 CE (MAFRAY-Sāri’ 6) with Wahab’il Yaḥūz king of Saba’ of Gl 1228 and al-Ḥadā’ 2017-1 20.

20 See Bron, 2002: 422 who has already chosen to identify Wahab’il Yaḥūz king of Saba’ with the Radmanite qayl on the basis of the tribal alliance mentioned in Gl 1228.
Origin and reign of Rabbshams^um Nimrān king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān

Rabbshams^um Nimrān is the only Sabaeans ruler whose reign cannot be precisely placed within the long line of the second-century CE Sabaeans kings. Iwona Gajda 22 worked on the assumption that he originated from the lineage of the banū Bataʾ and that his reign might be placed either between those of Watar^um Yuhaʾmin and Saʾdshams^um Asraʾ (c. 140 CE) 23, or even earlier, at the turn of the first–second century CE, after that of Karibʾil Bayyin son of Dhamarʾalī Dharīḥ. The discovery of two new inscriptions — Jabal Riyām 2006-19 and Kanin 2017-1 — confirms the origin from the lineage of the banū Bataʾ, although it has now become clear that his reign happened much later.

Rabbshams^um Nimrān the Bataʾ ide, qayl of the tribe of dhū-Ḥumlān

Inscription Jabal Riyām 2006-19 24 (Fig. 2)

It is a rectangular limestone stela photographed on the hilltop of the Jabal Riyām, among the stones covering the surface of the ancient temple of Taʾlab Riyām. The final line of the text is heavily weathered and not legible. The inscription reads:

\[(1)\text{(Ra)bshams^um Nimrān banū Bataʾ, qayl of the (2) tribe of Samʾī third of dhū-Ḥumlān dedicated to his patron (3) Taʾlab Riyām^um master of Rahbān this (4) statue in praise because He gratified him and because (5) He bestowed on him the favours he sought from...}\]

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21 In Gl 1364, Sʾdʾlb and Mḥlrn are mentioned as members of the lineage of the banū Bataʾ.
23 Hypothesis already proposed by Robin 1992; 229.
24 Jabal Riyām 2006-19 was recently published in Arbach and Schiettecatte, 2017: 181–184. For the transcription and the philological comments, refer to this paper.
transcription lines is not preserved rectangula the J According to engraved Several years below). territory under the reign of. Interestingly, this text shows that Rabbbshams Nimrān (qayl) is identical to Rabbbshams Nimrān (king) who ascended the Sabæan throne in the second century CE.

This inscription provides a synchronous occurrence of both Rabbbshams Nimrān when he was still a qayl and the Ḥimyarite king Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr. Although several dates can be proposed for this event, it most probably took place in the troubled period of 155–159 CE (see below).

**Inscription Jabal Kanin 2017-1**

Several years after the previous inscription, a second inscription, Jabal Kanin 2017-1, was engraved when Rabbbshams Nimrān had become king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān. The text was recently discovered and photographed by Mahdī Maqwala, inhabitant of the town of Na ḍ, who sent the picture to the Facebook group “Nuqūsh Musnadiyya” (Fig. 3). According to ʿAli ʿAbdallāḥ al-Shāmī, the inscription was found on the southern side of the Jabal Kanin, near the town of Na ḍ, c.30 km south-east of Sanaʾa. The stela is rectangular and broken in two pieces. The lower left corner is missing; the end of the last lines is not preserved.

**Transcription**

1. ‘lhḥ Nhph bn Hmdḥ ḥqny ttr ’zzw w-dt Zhrn b’ly ’r[Kmn ... ...mr]=
2. ‘-hmw Rbs²ms²m Nmrn mlk Sʾbʾ w-d-Rydḥ b-sʾtqhn w-tbr w-dr n ’s²b[ḥ-Rydḥ ...]
3. hmw w-gbd ḡḥḍ ’n ’sʾrr-hmw b-dr tns² Tʾrṭ d-Rydḥ w-ʾs²b-hw (w)-[... ...]-
4. t w- [s²](θ)[b d-R]y(d)n mʾ-hmw Rbs²ms²m mlk Sʾbʾ w-d-Rydḥ l-t w[ln b-wfym]
5. b(n) ʾrd Dmr l-yqhn ḍ-yrdwn w-yt(θ)w[l mʾ-hmw Rbs²ms²m Nmrn] [ ...]
6. w- wfym w-ykb ’n ’sʾb ḡzwy b-ʾrd [Qs²]mᵐ k-ynhbnn byt Rymn [ ...]
7. [ ...]d bn ḫms²m ḡhr[g]w bn-[h]mw ḍ-hwkbw w-sʾr-hmw (r)[ ...]=
8. bʾ( ṭr) h(hmw) Rbs²ms²m Nmrn m[l]k Sʾbʾ w-d-Rydḥ h-hmsʾ-hmw w-z[wr ...]
9. [ ... ] yrʾynn k-ʾl h-mw klʾnʾ m-w-ybrwrw w-ʾḥdn ṣd-w-hmwn[ ...]
10. w-d-Rydḥ w-hmd ’lhḥ hyl w-mqm (θ)ttr ’zzw w-dt Zhrn [ ... ṭr-h]=

This is the third inscription mentioning Rabbbshams Nimrān as a member of the lineage of the banū Bataʾ, with CIH 164 and RES 4412. For the first time, he explicitly bears the title of prince (qayl) of the tribe of Samʿī third of dhū-Ḥumlān. It is therefore highly likely that Rabbbshams Nimrān (qayl) is identical to Rabbbshams Nimrān (king) who ascended the Sabæan throne in the second century CE.

This inscription provides a synchronous occurrence of both Rabbbshams Nimrān when he was still a qayl and the Ḥimyarite king Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr. Although several dates can be proposed for this event, it most probably took place in the troubled period of 155–159 CE (see below).

11 mw Rbs²ms⁰m Nmr⁰ mlk S¹bʾ w-ḏ-Ry(d)⁰ w-hmd⁰m b-ḏt s¹’dy ḱb[d-hw …]=
12 y-hmw w-gzyt sdq⁰ m’d w-m[q]yht sdq⁰ b-kl ḱb(r)(s’)b[mw b- m]
13 mr-’hmw Rbs²ms⁰m Nmr⁰ mlk S¹bʾ w-ḏ-Ry⁰ b-’rd Ḟmr w-kl […]=
14 m ʾitr ’zz⁰m w-ḏt Zhr⁰ b’lyʾ r⁰ Knn b-s’twfyn (kl) […]

Translation
1 ‘Alḥān Nahfān (of the lineage of the) banū Hamdān dedicated to ‘Athtar ‘Azīz⁰m and dhāt Zahrān Masters of the mountain [Kanin … his]
2 lord Rabbshams⁰m Nimrān king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān, for having triumphed, destroyed and defeated the tribes of [dhū-Raydān …]
3 and sacked and damaged their valleys during the war Tha’rān dhū-Raydān and his tribes had caused […]
4 and [the tribes of dhū-Rayd(?)ān, his lord Rabbshams⁰m king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān for a return [in safety]
5 from the land of Dhamārī; may he order what will satisfy [him]; and his lord Rabbshams⁰m Nimrān returned in safety […]
6 and safety; and they made contact with the tribes who had taken up their positions in the land of [Qash]a⁰m in order to storm the house Raym⁰m […]
7 […] and the army and they killed those who they encountered and the rest […]
8 […] his lord Rabbshams⁰m Nimrān king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān and his army and they be[sieged…]
9 […] they showed that no contingent shall be left and they were fought in open air; and pledged allegiance […]
10 and dhū-Raydān. And ‘Alḥān gave praise to the might and the power of ‘Athtar ‘Azīz⁰m et dhāt Zahrān […] his]
11 lord Rabbshams⁰m Nimrān king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān and in praise because he granted his servant […]
12 and a successful mission in the town of Na’ḍ and a perfect success in all the fights he carried out [with]
13 his lord Rabbshams⁰m Nimrān king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān in the land of Dhamār and all […]
14 ‘Athtar ‘Azīz⁰m and dhāt Zahrān Masters of the mountain Kanin in giving protection to all […]
Figure 2: Inscription Jabal Riyām 2006-19 (J. Schiettecatte).
Philological comment

L. 1: `lh\n Nh\n bn Hmd\n: prince of the tribe of Ḥāshid\n and member of the banū Hamdān (CIH 2, Ghul-Ḥūth 2, CIH 326, Ja 561 bis). He later ascended the Sabaean throne, toward the end of the second century CE (CIH 308, CIH 308 bis, CIH 312, Nami NNSQ 19, …).

\ntr `z\n w-dt Zhr\n b ly `r\n[Knn]: restitution after l. 14, as in Ir 5§7. Variant in Gl 1193/3: b-Knn.

`r\n Knn: Jabal Kanin is located near the town of Naʿḍ (Ja 559/19, Ja 568/25–27, Ja 606/22–23, Ja 723/9, etc.).

L. 2: Rbs\n Nmr\n mlk S\b \n-d-Ryd\n: Rabbshams\n king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān is mentioned in six other inscriptions: Ja 645, Ry 542, YM 18307, Gl 1193, RES 4138, RES 4713) 25.

b-s'tqhn: verb in the infinitive meaning “to achieve success, triumph” (see Ja 559/8 and Ja 644/19).

w-tbr w-dr\n `s\b [d-Ryd\n]: for the two verbs in the infinitive tbr w-dr\n, see other reports of military expeditions from the reign of Ḥālān Nahfān (CIH 2; CIH 308; CIH 308 bis) and his son Sha’r\n Awtar (Ja 631). According to l. 3, the defeated tribes were probably those of dhū-Raydān. In other inscriptions of the second century CE (e.g. YM 18307 and

25 On this king, see Gajda, 2013.
GI 1228), the tribes of dhū-Raydān (ʾs²b ǧ-Rydən) are similarly mentioned as the opponents of Sabaean expeditions.

L. 3: b-ḍr tns² T rʾa ǧ-Rydən w-ʾs²b-hw: “during the war Thaʾrān dhū-Raydān and his tribes had caused”. Thaʾrān dhū-Raydān can be identified as the Himyarite king Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʾim king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr. Thus, in Jabal Riyām 2006-19, Rabbshamsum Nimrān (qayl) is contemporary with Dhamarʾalī Yuhabirr king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān; in Jabal Kanin 2017-1, Rabbshamsim Nimrān (king) is contemporary with the son, Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʾim king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān.

L. 5: ṭd Dmr: also l. 13; Dmr is the defective spelling of Dmry, as in Ir 49/1, Ry 614/8 and Ja 631/29. The tribal confederation of Dhamarī comprised two tribes: Samharum and Qashamum 27 (Fig. 1). Samharum to the north was part of Sabaʾ and headed by the banū Gurat. Qashamum, to the south, was part of Himyar and headed by the banū Dharāni, not to be mistaken with the town of Dhamār (Dmr – Ja 576 + 577/14–18, Ja 584/3, Kh-Sayyah 3/3), 80 km south of Sanaʾa, which belonged to the territory of the tribe of Muḥaqraum 30.

l-yqhn ǧ-yrḏwn: “may he order what will satisfy [him]”, the subject of the verbs wqḥ and ṭrdw refers to the king. To be compared with the expression “ṭw yqhn mlkn ǧ-yrḏyn” (Ry 507/9), where the troops are standing guard “until the king decided that he was satisfied”. L. 6: w-ykbn ʾs²b gzyw: “and they made contact with the tribes who had taken up their positions”, with the verb wkb, “make contact with, force back (enemy)” (see Ja 576 + 577/8) 31, and the verb gzy, “acquit oneself (of a task)”, interpreted here as “accomplish a mission, take up one’s position”.

b-ʾrd [Qs²]m⁹: “in the land of [Qasha]mnum”, restitution of the name of a tribe belonging to the tribal confederation of Dhamarī (l. 5: Dmr) and whose territory was located immediately to the south of the Jabal Kanin. Also mentioned in Ja 576 + 577/4, 7; Ja 586/20; RES 4196/1; Ir 49/2.

byt Rym⁹: the house Raymum could have been one of the palaces of the banū Dharāniḥ, princes of the tribe Qashamum. Two other palaces belonging to this family are already known: byt Šnʾ (RES 4708) in the second century CE, and byt ʾhrm (Ir 49) in the third century CE.

L. 9: yr ʾynn: the Sabaic verb rʾ means “see”; the imperfect yrʾyn (inf. rʾy) means “show to s.o. – identify” (Ja 567/7, Ja 570/5, Ja 643/15, CIH 456) 32.

yḥbrʾw: conjugated verb, 3rd person plural in the factitive (ḥfʾl), meaning “make a sally, come open (to fight)”.

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26 Both Sabaeans and Himyarites used to shorten the name and title of an enemy; e.g. in al-Hadāʾ 2017-1, Whbʾl refers to Whbʾl Yhz mlk Sʾḥ; in Ja 576 + 577, Sʾmr ǧ-Rydʾn refers to Sʾmr Yḥmd mlk Sʾḥ ʾw-ǧ-Rydʾn, etc.
31 Beeston, Ghul, Müller et al., 1982: 159.
\'hdn \'ydw-hm\'w: infinitive of the verb \'hdn, meaning “covenant, make known”, followed by the substantive \'ydw, usually meaning “fealty, loyalty” 33. We render the locution by “pledge allegiance to s.o.”

L. 12: b-hgr\' N\'d: the town of Na\'d was the seat of the banū Gurat, princes of the tribe of Samharum, fraction of Dhamarā (Av. Na\'d 9, Ir 19/24, Ja 631/19).

**The military campaign against Ḥimyar in the land of Dhamarī**

Inscription Jabal Kanin 2017-1 commemorates the success of a Sabaean military campaign headed by the king Rabshams\'m Nimrān with the support of ʿAlḥān Nahfān of the lineage of the banū Hamdān. Both belonged to the same tribal confederation, Samʿī, respectively the third of dhū-Ḥumlān and the third of Ḥashid\'um. They confronted a Ḥimyarite coalition headed by Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʿim king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān, son of Dhamarʾāli Yuhabirr, which included the tribe of Qasham\'um, fraction of Dhamarā. The conflict took place in the territory of the tribe of Dhamarā, at the border of its two components, Samhar\'um and Qasham\'um. After repelling a Ḥimyarite offensive in the region of Naʿd, the Sabaean coalition hunted the enemy down in the plain of Dhamār, up to the palace of Raym\'um, possibly in Yaklaʾ (actual an-Nakhat al-Ḥamrāʾ), the main location of the tribe of Qasham\'um. Soon afterwards, they withdrew to the town of Naʿd.

Three Sabaean inscriptions dated from the reign of Rabshams\'m Nimrān seemingly refer to this same event. Inscription Gl 1193, also left in the temple of ʿAthtar ʿAzīz\'um and dhāt Zahrān Masters in Kanin, mentions a conflict with the Dhamarītes (\'dmrn). Inscription RES 4138, in the temple of Almaqah Lord of Ḥirwan\'um in Maʾrib, mentions the safe return of the king in the city of Naʿd. Finally, YM 18307 mentions an expedition to the land of Ḥimyar, during “a war between the kings of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān” (b-dr kwn bnyht mlk Sb b [w-d-Ry]dn).

In the mid-third century CE, the land of Dhamarā was once again the setting of a war between Sabaʾ and Ḥimyar (Ir 49, Ja 576 + 577/4, 7, Ja 586/20).

It is exceptional for a prince of Ḥashid\'um to make a dedication reporting a military success outside the tribal sanctuary of Taʾlab Riyām on the Jabal Riyām, or in the Awam temple in Maʾrib. We may assume that the text was left in the temple of ʿAthtar ʿAzīz\'um and dhāt Zahrān Masters of the mountain Kanin as the Sabaean army was returning from the battlefield. Since ʿAlḥān Nahfān ascended the Sabaean throne after Rabshams\'m Nimrān (see below), it was likely an intentional way to reflect his growing influence on the Sabaean political stage.

**Dating the reign of Rabshams\'m Nimrān king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān**

Jabal Riyām 2006-19 and Jabal Kanin 2017-1 contain clues for dating the reign of Rabshams\'m Nimrān in the second half of the second century CE.

1) Rabshams\'m Nimrān was still a prince of the tribe of Ḥumlān in the reign of the Ḥimyarite Dhamarʾāli Yuhabirr (Jabal Riyām 2006-19), that is, at the earliest a few years before 137 CE, and at the latest shortly after 157 CE (Table 1).

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33 Beeston, Ghul, Müller et al., 1982: 14, 167.
2) Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān was king of Saba’ and dhū-Raydān when Tha’rān Ya’ub Yuhan ‘im son of Dhamar’āli Yuhabirr was ruling Ḫīmyār alone (Jabal Kanin 2017-1), in other words, after he reigned alongside his father. Tha’rān Ya’ub Yuhan ‘im had a long reign, starting at the earliest shortly after 157 CE, together with his father (Ir 6, \textit{CIH} 457, \textit{RES} 4775 + 4776, \textit{RES} 4708); he was still on the throne when Ilī ’azz Yalūt bin ’Āmmīdhakkar became king of Ḥḍāramawt (Ja 923), shortly before 218 CE (YMN 10, \textit{RES} 3958).

Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān preceded ʿAlhān Nahfān on the Sabaean throne since the latter was still a \textit{qayl} under the reign of the former (Jabal Kanin 2017-1). The first mention of ʿAlhān Nahfān with the title of \textit{qayl} dates back to the reign of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz (Ja 561 bis). In this inscription, he is mentioned as a newcomer among the princes of Ḫāshid\textsuperscript{um}, pushed into the background behind his father Yarīm Aymān and his uncle Barīg Yuhrīḥīb. He was then not in a position to lead a major military operation such as that described in Jabal Kanin 2017-1. We can therefore assume that the reign of Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān happened after that of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz.

To sum up, it is now certain that the reign of Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān was posterior to that of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz (c.155/159–165/170? CE) and happened prior to that of ʿAlhān Nahfān (c.190–200 CE).

Between the reign of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz and that of Yarīm Aymān, inscriptions provide an unbroken succession of kings. Firstly, two putative sons of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz succeeded him: Anmar\textsuperscript{um} Yuhaʾmin and Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim. Later, Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim brought Yarīm Aymān banū Hamdān, \textit{qayl} of Ḫāshid\textsuperscript{um}, together with him to the throne. Although a reign just before/after Anmar\textsuperscript{um} Yuhaʾmin cannot be precluded, it is highly likely that Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān ascended the throne immediately after the joint reign of Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʾim and Yarīm Aymān, c.180 CE, and before ʿAlhān Nahfān. A body of evidence supports this hypothesis:

1) If Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān had reigned before Yarīm Aymān, ʿAlhān Nahfān would have mentioned his father, Yarīm Aymān, in Jabal Kanin 2017-1, in accordance with custom. ʿAlhān Nahfān does not mention the name of his father probably because he wrote the text after Yarīm’s reign. The only royal name he could display was that of the reigning monarch, Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān.

2) The Sabaean king Yarīm Aymān was originally a prince of the tribe of Ḫāshid\textsuperscript{um}, from the lineage of Hamdān. His successor Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān — according to our chronology — was originally a prince of the tribe of Ḫumlān, from the lineage of Bataʾ. ʿAlhān Nahfān, who was the son of Yarīm Aymān from the lineage of Hamdān (\textit{CIH} 312, \textit{CIH} 326, Ja 561 bis), claimed at one point to belong to the two lineages of Bataʾ-and-Hamdān (\textit{CIH} 2, Ghul-Ḥūth 2). If, as we think, he succeeded Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān on the Sabaean throne, his integration within the banū Bataʾ would make perfect sense: it was a way to make him the heir of both Yarīm Aymān and Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān and to prepare the succession. His integration within the dynasty of the banū Bataʾ could have been a reward for his involvement alongside Rabbshams\textsuperscript{um}, especially on the battlefield.
3) Finally, the successive reigns of Rabbshams\\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān, ‘Alḥān Nahfān alone and in association with his son Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar illustrate a continuous war opposing the Sabaeans to the Ḥimyarite king Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʿim:

- Rabbshams\\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān vs Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʿim (explicitly in Jabal Kanin 2017; probably in Gl 1193, \textit{RES} 4138, YM 18307);
- ‘Alḥān Nahfān and his son Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar in alliance with Yadaʾib Bayyin king of Ḥaḍramawt vs. Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʿim (ʿAbdallāh-Maḥram Bilqīs 2005).

Discussion

We propose the following Sabean royal sequence in the second half of the second century CE:

1. Wahabʾil Yaḥūz king of Sabaʾ [banū Maʾāhir and dhū-Khwālān]
2. Anmar\\textsuperscript{um} Yuhaʾmin king of Sabaʾ [banū dhū-Ghaymān]
3. Karibʾil Watar Yuhanʿim king of Sabaʾ [banū dhū-Maʾdhinim (?)]
4. Karibʾil Watar Yuhanʿim + Yarīm Aymān kings of Sabaʾ [banū Hamdān]
5. Rabbshams\\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān [banū Bataʾ]
6. ‘Alḥān Nahfān king of Sabaʾ [banū Bataʾ and Hamdān]
7. ‘Alḥān Nahfān and his son Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar kings of Sabaʾ [banū Hamdān]
8. Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān [banū Hamdān]

This reconstruction clearly shows that the succession on the throne was primarily the result of a common agreement between the tribes from the highlands to choose (or elect?) one of their qayls to ascend the throne, with the agreement of the old Sabean aristocracy (ʾsibʾ). The association of a qayl as viceroy (Yaʾrīm Aymān) or the choice of an heir by a king thanks to his integration within the royal lineage (ʿAlḥān Nahfān) was probably a king’s reward for alliances and for the great deeds performed by these qayls.

A real dynastic succession, from father to son, rather than the election of a \textit{primus inter pares}, was only established by the end of the second century CE, with the banū Ḥamdān, from the reign of ʿAlḥān Nahfān onwards. It lasted only two generations: ʿAlḥān Nahfān, ʿAlḥān Nahfān and his son Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar, Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar alone, then Shaʾr\\textsuperscript{um} Awtar with his brother Ḥayūthīthtar Yaḍaʾib. Power then shifted to Luḥayʿ athat Yarkhum, whose origin is unknown, and to the new dynasty of Fāriʾum Yanhub, his sons Ilīshara Yaḥḍub and Yaʾzil Bayyin, and his grandson Nashaʾ karīb Yuʾmin Yuharḥīb, the last Sabean king.

Our historical reconstruction of the second century CE leaves a few unresolved issues. Firstly, why did Rabbshams\\textsuperscript{um} Nimrān adopt the long title of “king of Sabaʾ and dhū-Raydān” when all the other kings before and after him held the short title of “king of Sabaʾ”? We can only speculate on this.

Secondly, at a certain point in their reigns, the Ḫimyarite kings Dhamarʾālī Yuhabīr and his son Thaʾrān Yaʿub Yuhanʿim controlled the Sabean territory. This period is not precisely dated. Inscription \textit{RES} 4775 + 4776 mentions hydraulic works in the oasis of Maʾrib taken in charge by these kings. Four more inscriptions show members of the highland Sabean aristocracy and of the old Sabean aristocracy pledging allegiance

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\textsuperscript{34} The \textit{banū} Bataʾ (Jabal Riyām 2006-19); the \textit{banū} Saʾran (Ir 6).

\textsuperscript{35} The \textit{banū} Ḥaẓfar\\textsuperscript{um} (CIH 365); the \textit{banū} dhū-Saḥr (CIH 457).
to the Ḫimyarite king Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr alone (Jabal Riyām 2006-19; CIH 365), or together with his son Thaʿrān (Ir 6; CIH 457). It cannot be determined whether this corresponds to one or two different periods of Sabaean control by Ḫimyar.

Inscription Ir 6 shows that Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr and his son Thaʿrān controlled Sabaʾ at a time when a conflict pitted the *qayls* and the old Sabaean aristocracy (*ʿsbn*) against a plausible *qayl* of the tribe of Bakīlum (fraction of dhū-Shibām), Luḥayʿath of the banū dhū-Kabīr Aqyān. In the second century CE, the sharing of the Sabaean throne by the main Sabaean tribes of the northern highlands had clearly stirred up tension between them. A reversal of alliances including temporary allegiance to the Ḫimyarite kings did happen, going so far as to allow temporary control of part of the Sabaean territory by Ḫimyar. This/these episode(s) did not appear to last. Two periods were particularly favourable for such a reversal:

1) The end of the reign of Saʿdshamsʿum Asraʿ and his son Marthadʿum Yuḥaḥmīd (c. 155 CE), assuming that the Sabaeans resolved to join Dhamarʿalī Yuhabirr before they finally sided with Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz, *qayl* of Radmān. In both cases, the leadership is sought outside the Sabaean area.

2) The interregnā between Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz, Anmarʿum Yuḥaʿmin, and Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʿim, a period during which Maʿrīb was often the setting of conflicts (al-Jawf 04.15, Ja 564).

**Conclusion**

With numerous conflicts involving most of the South Arabian kingdoms and tribal confederations, many reversals of alliances, and only a limited number of inscriptions to write its history, the second century CE is both exciting and frustrating. In this paper, three Sabaeic inscriptions — Jabal Riyām 2006-19, Jabal Kanin 2017-1 and al-Ḥadāʾ 2017-1 — shed new light on specific moments of this century. The new dated inscription al-Ḥadāʾ 2017-1 allows us to date the beginning of the reign of Wahabʾīl Yaḥūz between 155 and 159 CE. A reassessment of this king convinced us of his Radmānīte origin.

Inscription Jabal Riyām 2006-19 definitively proves the Bataʿide origin of Rabbshamsʿum Nimrān. And inscription Jabal Kanin 2017-1 provides enough clues to date the reign of Rabbshamsʿum Nimrān sometime between c. 165 CE and c. 190 CE, very likely after the joint reign of Karibʾīl Watar Yuhanʿim and Yaʿrum Aymān, and before that of ʿAlḥān Nahfān. In this way, it is clear that the adhesion of the Hamdānīte ʿAlḥān Nahfān to the lineage of Bataʾ was a political move by Rabbshamsʿum Nimrān to make ʿAlḥān Nahfān his natural heir and prepare his succession.

It is only at this time that the second-century CE Sabaean royal succession shifted from the recognition of a *primus inter pares* chosen among the *qayls* to a real dynastic one, from father to son.

**Bibliography**

**Sources**


Details regarding most of the inscriptions can be found in the Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions of the Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions (DASI) developed by the University of Pisa (http://dasi.cnr.it):

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Av. Būsān 4 Ir 5 Ja 2862
Av. Naʿd 9 Ir 6 MAFRAY-al-Ḥijla 1
BaBa al-Ḥadd 2 Ir 9 MAFRAY-al-Miʿsal 1 =
BynM 3 Ir 19 Ja 2867
CIAS 47.82/o 2 Ir 49 [= Ir 40 in Robin, MAFFRAY-al-Miʿsāl 2
CIAS 95.11/o 2 1987] MAFFRAY-Sāriʿ 6
CIH 2 Ja 413 Nami NNSQ 19
CIH 46 Ja 559 RES 3958
CIH 140 Ja 561 bis RES 4138
CIH 164 Ja 564 RES 4150
CIH 203+182+183 Ja 567 RES 4196
CIH 220 Ja 568 RES 4412
CIH 308 Ja 570 RES 4708
CIH 308bis Ja 576 + 577 RES 4713
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CIH 315 Ja 586 Ry 507
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CIH 456 Ja 643 YMN 4
CIH 457 Ja 644 YMN 7
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