NORBERT NEBES, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

Article

A Hitherto Unattested Ethio-Sabaean King in a Woman’s Altar Dedication from Šerhan (Tǝgray/Ethiopia)—Edition, Translation and Commentary

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by Alessandro Bausi
in cooperation with
Aaron Michael Butts, Bairu Tafla, Ludwig Gerhardt, Hewan Semon Marye, Susanne Hummel, and Alexander Meckelburg

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A Hitherto Unattested Ethio-Sabaean King in a Woman’s Altar Dedication from Ṣarḥan (Tǝgray/Ethiopia) —Edition, Translation and Commentary

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Introduction

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

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

1 *RIÉ 1* – 179.
2 On the state of research, see most recently Gerlach 2023 and Nebes 2023.
3 Cf. the map in Nebes 2023, 136.
4 DAI Grat 2019-1 = Yeh 19 B 102, Henze 1, Afse 1–2. For the term ‘Ethio-Sabaean’ see Gerlach 2023, 22 and Nebes 2021, 318–319.
5 HG Fārās May 1 from Guldam, ḌAddi Ba’ekel 1 (see also the map in Dugast and Gajda 2014, 181).
6 Manzo 2002, joined to RIÉ 28 from Gobo Čela (kind reference Helen Wiegleb), see also Nebes 2021.

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

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

GE Šarḥan 1

Object: Altar block, probably limestone, dimensions unknown.

Provenance: Šarḥan, 17 km north-east of ēntačchō.

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

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

Transliteration
1. [Symbol] / tʿtrt / hqn
2. yt / l-ḏt / hmn /
3. mslmm / b-ql / ḏ-
4. lkn / mlkn / bn / bn
5. / lmn / mlkn

Fig. 1 The inscription stone

8 DAI ʿAddi ʾAkawəḥ 2008-1 = MG 3.
9 See, most recently, Nebes 2021, 323–324.
10 DAI Grat 2019-1 = Yeh 19 B 102.
Translation
(1) Taʿattarat, has dedicat- (2) ed to ḏāt Ḥamēn (3) a Maslam altar by instruction of ḏū (4) Lakkān, the king, the son of the son of (5) Lāmān, the king.

Comment

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

11 Grohmann 1914, 51.
14 Littmann and Höfinger 1962, 471.
15 Kane 2000, II, 1881.
16 Leslau 1987, 76.
17 Noth 1980, 179. See also Frank and Rechenmacher 2020, 130, § 0352.
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Line 2: For ḥqny with the preposition l- preceding the indirect object compare, for example, RIÉ 51, RIÉ 47, but without a preposition RIÉ 24 + RIÉ 26, RIÉ 23 + RIÉ 27 (written by Sabaean stonemasons). — The name ḏāt Ḥamēn (ḏt / ḥmn) derives from the ancient South Arabian deity ḏāt Ḥamyim/Ḥimyam (ḏt / ḥmym), which is commonly understood to be a manifestation of the sun goddess. The deity belongs to the official Sabaean pantheon, but is also found in the other South Arabian polities. At the Ḥaḍramite site of Raybūn in the Wadi Dawʿan, the two large temple complexes of Raḥbān an Kafas/Naʾmān are dedicated to her. Dedications to ḏāt Ḥamēn or mentions of the deity—in so far as she does not appear as ḏāt Ḥamyim along with the other Sabaean deities in the final invocations of the Ethio-Sabaean ruler inscriptions, as in RIÉ 1, RIÉ 5, RIÉ 10—have come to date from Akkālā Guzay, i.e. from the north of the Ethio-Sabaean cultural area. The altar dedication RIÉ 53, in which a person called Haʿḏabʾil, the son of ʾIlmataʿ, dedicated (an altar) to ḏāt Ḥamyim, also comes from this region, namely from ʿAddi Kramatən.

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

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18 See, for example, Robin 1996, 1162.
20 See, for example, RIÉ 71–75.
21 The short inscription is of particular idiomatic interest, since the main text (RIÉ 53/Text 1) is palaeographically and grammatically clearly written in Sabaean with the name of the goddess ḏt / ḥmym, while an accompanying inscription (Text II) in smaller letters above the dental frieze shows instead the Ethio-Sabaean variant l-ḏt̊ / ḥm̊n̊, i.e. with the preposition l- and the local spelling of the deity. The person of Haʿḏabʾil is almost certainly a Sabaean stonemason. The graph WRʿN of Text III is a misspelling of (the king) Waʿrān, who may have commissioned Sabaean stonemasons to erect a local sanctuary of ḏāt Ḥamyim, from which the altar originates; for further information see Nebes 2021, especially 324 with the inscriptions of the stonemasons listed there.
22 Cf. Stähle 2022 pass.
23 See, e.g. RIÉ 9, RIÉ 10 and RIÉ 37, RIÉ 47, respectively.
24 See Sabäisches Wörterbuch s.v.
which is not necessarily related to the sacrificial object being offered. Maslam altars are dedicated to different deities, as in Sabaean, with the most evidence, to Āṯtar and ʾAlmaqah, and in one case also to ḏāt Ḥamyim. In terms of form, the large number of Maslam altars, unlike the Maqṭar altars, cannot be clearly distinguished from one another or from altar forms with different names. They are often rectangular table altars with one or two outlets, rarely without outlets or cubic stone blocks on a truncated pyramidal base. According to the photograph, our altar is represented by a rectangular altar block with more width than height, with a stepped base and a protruding table top.

The noun ql attested for the first time is to be placed under the root QWL, which is well known from Arabic. It is also common in Sabaean, where its verbal derivation from ʿāṯ (“command, to order”) which is also the appropriate translation here. For the prepositional expression b-ql “by order, by instruction” we otherwise find the phrase b-nḥ(y) with a similar meaning.

Line 3–4.: DLKN is the name of a king who has not yet been attested. The graph can be segmented into ḏ-LKN and ḏ-LK-n, whereby in both cases the initial ḏ- can be interpreted as the determinative /ḏū/. The following letters may be assigned to a root LKN or resolved into a root LKK with the afformative /-ān/. The latter seems more plausible, since derivations from a root LKK—in contrast to Goʾaz—are well attested in Tagre. Compare LKK for the verbal derivatives of ʿāṯ meaning ‘dumm sein; vermischen, kneten; die Zähne zubeißen’ with reference to Tǝgrǝñña läkko ‘Zaum’. It is possible that behind the graph LKN is a family or clan name, ‘the one (from) the Lakkān clan’, meaning the head of that family or clan. Quite similar compounds of ḏū + clan name (without a preceding personal name) are known from Sabaean and are attested from early times, such as ḏ-mʿnm (DAI Ṣirwāḥ 2005-1A) ‘the (leader) of Maʿīnum’. They occur more frequently in later times, for instance ḏ-rydn Ja 576/15 ‘the (leader, i.e. Šammar) of Rayḍān’.

25 Cf. the translations and literature given in Sabäisches Wörterbuch in the section ‘Etymologische Hinweise’.
26 See Sabäisches Wörterbuch.
27 See DASI under the siglum MŠM 4511.
28 See Stähle 2022, 452.
29 See Sabäisches Wörterbuch s.t.
30 Thus, for example, in the dedications of the (Sabean) stonemasons in RIÉ 24 + RIÉ 26, RIÉ 23 + RIÉ 27, DAI ‘Addi Akawəḥ 2008-2 = MG 4, and RIÉ 63.
31 Littmann and Höfinger 1962, 43 s.r.
32 See also Kane 2000, l, 109 s.v.
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g-ḥmr Mi’sâl 5/10 ‘the (tribal leader) of Ma‘āfirum’, or g-ḥmdn (CIH 541/85) ‘the (tribal leader) of Hamdān’. Also to be compared in this context are the royal names formed in the Aksumite Go’az with ‘ālla/‘alle.34

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

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

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33 Other examples from the great ʿAbraha inscription are given in Gajda 2009, 132–133, 207–208.
34 See also Nebes 2017, 361–362, and Nebes 2018 for additional references.
35 This Waʿrān without epithet is to be distinguished from Waʿrān Ḥaywat, the son of the son of Sālimum Fatrān, for various reasons.
36 See Tables 1 and 2.
37 See also Table 2.
38 See Caskel 1966, 376.
Tağrǝñña according to the relevant dictionaries.\textsuperscript{39} On the other hand, a root LMM is well attested in these languages, but derivatives formed from it as proper names are unknown in Arabic or Old South Arabian. To my knowledge, there are also none in any of the Ethiopian languages mentioned above.

**Significance of the inscription**

(1) The text is written in the South Arabian-Sabaean tradition and follows the Sabaean standard in form and grammar. Thus, nunation and mimation in \textit{mlk-n} and \textit{mslm-m} respectively, are attached according to the rules for determination and indetermination. Likewise, the Status constructus in \textit{b-gl / lmn} is observed with the 0-morpheme at the regens. In contrast, Ethio-Sabaean influence is evident in the lack of filiation of the dedicant which is unusual for dedications of South Arabian provenience. The spelling of the name of the goddess ḏāt Ḥamēn (\textit{ḏt / ḡmn}) instead of ḏāt Ḥamyim (\textit{ḏt / ḡmym}) is also to be considered as a local peculiarity. It is introduced with the preposition \textit{l-} as is the rule in dedications from the Ethiopian region, unless they are aligned by Sabaeans. The palaeography differs markedly from the Sabaean standard. The N is mostly, the K is always written in reverse direction, as can be seen in some royal inscriptions\textsuperscript{40} and may be attributed to a local tradition of writing.

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

\textsuperscript{39} See Leslau 1987, Littmann and Höfner 1962, Kane 2000 s.r.

\textsuperscript{40} Thus, the letter forms N and K, but also the Alif, appear against the direction of writing, e.g. in RIÉ 1 the N in l. 2, 6 (\textit{frtn, bʿdn}), the K in l. 2, 4 (\textit{ʿrk, hmlk}), or the Alif in l. 5 (\textit{ʾlmqh}).

\textsuperscript{41} Helen Wiegleb draws my attention to another example, RIÉ 69, where the deity Ḥōbas is addressed by a woman called FŠT.

\textsuperscript{42} The majority of the female dedications comes from the temple of ʾAwām in the oasis of Mārib, see e.g. Maraqten 2005.
female dedications. However, they are kept so brief that the ‘sphere of responsibility’ of this deity can only be guessed at. Although, apart from the two examples just mentioned, women have not yet been documented as dedicating inscriptions, they nevertheless played an important role in the Ethio-Sabaean community, as can be deduced from their mention in the filiations of the royal inscriptions. There they are called ‘female companions’ (ʾrkym) after the king in question in the first degree (bn) or second-degree (bn / bn) of descent. Such female companions are, for example, Samʿī atum (RIÉ 1: smʿ tm), Ṣalahjatum (DAI Ṣakers 2008 = MG 3: ᵃštm), Baṣṣamat (RIÉ 36: bšm), and Ḥaddatum (RIÉ 36: ᵃḏtm). The female figure which is depicted on one side of the throne of Ḥawwālī and is inscribed with the name Rafaš (RIÉ 14: ᵃfš) may also belong in this context.

(3) With ḏū Lakkān, another royal name is now attested that can be clearly assigned genealogically. According to the findings made so far, two genealogical lines can be distinguished on the basis of the first- and second-degree filiations. At the head of these lines are Sālimum Faṭrān and Waʿrān Raydān, but no inscriptions are known of them to date. The lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān starts with Waʿrān Ḥaywat and Rādiʾum. Both of them were referred to as ‘the son of the son (bn / bn) of Sālimum Faṭrān’. Waʿrān (without epithet), who, according to the altar inscription at Māqbar Gaʿwa in Ṣakers ʿAddi ʾAka ṭahun, is the builder of the Great ᵃʾAlmaqah sanctuary at Yǝḥa, calls himself the son (bn) of Rādiʾum, followed by ʾAqnay as the son of Waʿrān and an unknown king who is identified as the son of ʾAqnay, the son of Waʿrān.

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

44 See ‘Ḍāt Ḥimyam’, EAe, II (2005), 107b–108b (S. Frantsouzoff) on a possible function.
45 See also Table 1.
46 See, most recently, Gerlach 2023, 34–36.
47 YMNT in the short inscription on the base of the two seated female statuettes RIÉ 52 and DAI ʿAddi ʾAka ṭahun 2008–3 = MG 2 is to be interpreted less as a proper name than as a feminine noun meaning ‘happiness, prosperity’. The fact that such a female name is not attested in the Ethio-Sabaean and Aksumite corpus or in the onomasticon of neighbouring languages would not be a convincing counterargument. However, it would be an extremely prosopographical coincidence that in YMNT it is the same epigraphically unknown woman who made two almost identical dedications in two ᵃʾAlmaqah sanctuaries, far apart from each other, namely in ʿAddi Gālāmo and ʿAddi ʾAka ṭahun. The text is unusual in its writing direction and syntax, for details see Nebes 2010, 227–228.
48 This was already stated by Schneider 1973, 389, who speaks of two different families.
49 For this and the following compare Tables 1 and 2.
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How the two lineages relate to each other, how they are to be placed chronologically, and what relationship lies behind the second-degree filiations is currently the subject of further research which is being prepared for publication. It seems that the line of Sālimum Faṭrān is the older one. One indication of this may be that in the filiations of the kings of this line, the women are always listed as well, and are also given the indigenous term of ‘female companions’ (ʾrk(y)t-n). On the other hand, the matrilineal line is thus far absent from the lineage of Waʿrān Raydān. In its place, however, we find the gentilicium Yagʿāḏīyān (yg ḥv-n), which in turn is absent from the lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān. Formulated as a working hypothesis, ḏū Lakkān would thus be the last Ethio-Sabaean king to date assuming that the Ethio-Sabaean culture came to an end around the middle of the sixth century BCE.50

Sigla of Inscriptions

For CIH, Ja, Miʿsāl 5 and RES see Kitchen 2000.

Other sigla used are:

50 This is also indicated by the destruction by fire of all the administrative and sacral monumental buildings in the region known to date, see most recently Gerlach 2023, 17 with footnote 7.
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Manzo 2002: Manzo 2002, Fig. 3.

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Summary

An altar block found not far from Ǝntaċço bears an Ethio-Sabaean inscription which documents the dedication of the altar to the goddess ɗīt Ḥāmēn by a female. This new find is of particular historical significance as it gives the name of a previously unattested king, who can be assigned genealogically to one of the known lines of rulers.
Table 1: The Lineage of Sālimum Faṭrān

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siglum</th>
<th>King name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Gentilicum</th>
<th>Mukarrib</th>
<th>Paternal lineage</th>
<th>Maternal lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 1</td>
<td>wʿrn ḥywāt</td>
<td>mlkn srʿn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn bn sḥmn fṛn the son of the son of Sālimum Faṭrān</td>
<td>w-smt mʿrkt bnt sḥltm and of Samiʿatam, ‘the female companion’, the daughter of Šubān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 7</td>
<td>[wʿrn] ḥywāt</td>
<td>mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn bn sḥmn fṛn</td>
<td>w-[.] m[.] [r] [r] kytym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 11</td>
<td>[wʿrn] ḥywāt</td>
<td>mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn b(n sḥmn fṛn)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 9</td>
<td>rdʿm Rādiʿum</td>
<td>[mlbn ɡ]rʿn</td>
<td>srt</td>
<td>m[krb] dʿmt</td>
<td>bn b(n sḥmn fṛn the son of the son of Sālimum Faṭrān</td>
<td>w-ṣrʿt r[kt]n and of SRʿT, ‘the female comp[anion]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAI 2008-1 Addi Akawe</td>
<td>wʿrn</td>
<td>mlkn srʿn the king who overthrows (the enemies)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn rdʿm the son of Rādiʿum</td>
<td>w-ṣḥlm ṣ[k]yrʿn and of Šahjatum, ‘the female companion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 37</td>
<td>[qny] AqRAY</td>
<td>[ ... ]</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>[bn wʿrn [the son of Waʿrān]</td>
<td>w-bṣmt and Baṣāmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RİÊ 36</td>
<td>[ ... ]</td>
<td>[mlbn ɡ]rʿn the king who overthrows (the enemies)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn qny bn wʿrn the son of AqRAY, the son of Waʿrān</td>
<td>w-bṣmt w-ṣḥlm ṣ[k]yrʿn and of Baṣāmat and AqRAY, ‘the female companions’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: The Lineage of Waʿrān Raydān

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Siglum</th>
<th>King name</th>
<th>King titulary</th>
<th>Gentilicum</th>
<th>Mukarrib Title</th>
<th>Paternal lineage</th>
<th>Maternal lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RIÉ 8</td>
<td>[rb]ḥ</td>
<td>mlkn šrʾn</td>
<td>ygʾ dbn</td>
<td>mkrb dʾmt w-shʾ</td>
<td>cn bn wʾn ṛydʾn</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Rabṭān]</td>
<td>the king who</td>
<td>of (the clan)</td>
<td>the Mukarrib of</td>
<td>the son of the son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>overthrows</td>
<td>Yagʾāʾd</td>
<td>of Diʾ amat and Sabaʾ</td>
<td>of Waʾrān Raydān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(the enemies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIÉ 5</td>
<td>lmn</td>
<td>mlkn šrʾn</td>
<td>ygʾ dbn</td>
<td>mkrb dʾmt w-shʾ</td>
<td>bn rbḥ mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lāmān</td>
<td>the king who</td>
<td>of (the clan)</td>
<td>the Mukarrib of</td>
<td>the son of Rabḥāh,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>overthrows</td>
<td>Yagʾāʾd</td>
<td>of Diʾ amat and Sabaʾ</td>
<td>the king</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(the enemies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIÉ 13</td>
<td>lmn</td>
<td>mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn rbḥ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIÉ 10</td>
<td>lmn</td>
<td>mlkn šrʾn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn rbḥ</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GE Ṣḥāṭan 1</td>
<td>ḡ-lkn ḡū Lakkān</td>
<td>mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>bn bn lmn mlkn</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The sequence Waʾrān Haywat-Rādīʾ um is based on palaeographic evidence and does not necessarily imply the chronological sequence Waʾrān Haywat-Rādīʾ um.