die Nähe zur christlichen Logos-Theologie, und so wurde schließlich mit der möglichen christlichen Deutung auch der Memra selbst aus der jüdischen Literatur hinausgedrängt. In den Midraschim, die einer etwas späteren Phase angehören, wird bei den entsprechenden Bibelstellen stets betont, dass Gott der allein Handelnde sei.

H. Regensburger belegt mit seiner Miszelle „Drei hebräische Jod als christliches Symbol" das Vorkommen dieser Abkürzung des Tetragramms an Kirchen der Barockzeit im mitteldeutschen Raum.

Der Beitrag von Th. Küttler „Das dunkle Jahrzehnt 1935 bis 1945. Beklemmende Lektüre einer Leipziger Kirchenakte" belegt anhand eines dünnen Heftes aus den Archiv-Beständen der Leipziger Superintendentur mit dem Titel „Israelitische Religionsgemeinde/Judentaufen/1935–1945", wie diskriminierend in der Kirche in jenen Jahren mit Mitchristen jüdischer Herkunft umgegangen worden ist. Die von den Deutschen Christen beherrschte Sächsische Landeskirche hatte der Judenpolitik des nationalsozialistischen Staates nichts entgegenzusetzen, bis hin zu dem Kirchengesetz vom 28. 12. 1941, in dem bestimmt wird, dass Juden mit ihren Abkömmlingen im Bereich der Landeskirche von jeder kirchlichen Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen seien.

Mit dem „Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft" befasst sich der Beitrag von M. de Schepper, dem Werdegang dieses wissenschaftlichen Mammutunternehmens, seinen mit jedem Herausgeber wechselnden Konzepten, seiner Tendenz einer ständigen Erweiterung und den sich aus verschiedenen Gründen ergebenden Lücken. Auf eine dieser Lücken wird besonders eingegangen, das Fehlen einer „Kulturgeschichte Syriens und Palästinas", die zu verfassen Albrecht Alt zugesagt hatte, aber auf Grund vieler anderer Verpflichtungen nicht fertigstellen konnte.

Abgeschlossen wird das Heft mit einer Rezension von T. Arndt über den Sammelband „Stimmen aus Deutschland: Antworten, Aufsätze, Essays, Reden, armenische Augenzeugenberichte. Zum 90. Gedenkjahr des Völkermordes an den Armeniern 1915–2005".

Semitistik

Frantsouzoff, Serguei: **Raybūn.** Kafas/Na'mān, Temple de la Déesse Dhāt Ḥimyam. Avec une contribution archéologique d'Aleksandr Sedov et de Jurij Vinogradov. Paris: Boccard; Rome: Herder 2007. 8° = Inventaire des Inscriptions Sudarabiques, 6. Kart. Fasc. A. Les documents. 309 S. Fasc. B. Les planches. 174 Abb. 79,00 €. ISBN 978-2-87754-185-1. – Bespr. von Giovanni Mazzini, Pisa.

This book presents the epigraphic documentation discovered in the course of the excavation campaigns (1988–1991), carried out by the Russian mission (EPSY, Expédition pluridisciplinaire soviéto-yéménite) at the temple Kafas/Na'mān in the Ḥaḍrami site of Raybūn V.

Frantsouzoff, a specialist of Ḥaḍramitic, one of the most difficult sections of the Ancient South Arabian

(thereafter ASA) epigraphy, offers a very careful and detailed analysis of this documentation. This book is the volume 6 of the prestigious series "Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabique", edited by Christian Robin. Volume 5, also by Frantsouzoff, is devoted to the epigraphic documentation from another temple in the site of Raybūn.[1]

In this volume Frantsouzoff introduces the inscriptional material with five chapters in which the principal linguistic (chapters 3, 4), historical (chapters 1, 5) and cultural (chapter 5) features have been carefully analysed. In chapter 6 the texts are edited, translated, commented and ordered according to chronological criteria; a full photographic documentation of the original texts is also provided in an additional volume (fascicule B).

A. V. Sedov and J. Vinograd provide a detailed archaeological description of Raybūn V in Chapter 1. Raybūn V is a complex of three buildings which have been identified as a sanctuary of the goddess dt $Hmym$ (édifice 2), a refectory for ceremonial celebrations (edifice 1), and a domestic quarter, possibly accommodation for temple staff, (edifice 3). The authors suggest that a series of calibrated radiocarbon dates indicate that the construction of the whole complex can be dated to a period between 400 and 250 B.C. The existence of a previous historical stage, however, was suggested on the basis of polychrome ceramics on the surface of the site which the authors date to the ancient phase of Raybūn (XIIth–VIIIth century B.C). Significant traces of fire indicate that there was a conflagration at the site, probably at the very end of the 1st century B.C. and the complex was then abandoned. It is interesting to note that in this chapter the authors state that the furniture and decorations of the temple (pp. 21) "était pauvre et monotone". Frantsouzoff uses this archaeological information in chapter 5 in addition to the fact that no images of the goddess dt $Hmym$ have been found in the excavation of the temple in order to support his hypothesis of aniconism (see below in detail the analysis of the inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Na'mān 148). Yet, a direct connection between the absence of any divine image in the temple and a certain type of furniture and decoration does not seem to be reasonable. The destruction of the temple should be considered and the possibility that it was emptied or looted, undoubtedly a quite common occurrence in the ancient Near East (e.g. example Ugarit and Mari) and possibly in ancient South Arabia.

According to Frantsouzoff the name of the temple is Kafas/Na'mān on the basis of the epithet dt Kfs^l and dt N^cmn borne by the goddess dt $Hmym$ in the inscriptions Kafas/Na'mān 35, 2 and Kafas/Na'mān 148, 9, although the author points out that it is never made explicit that these are temple names. A more cautious approach would have been preferrable. It should be noted that these names are vocalised (Kafas/Na'mān) according to

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[1] Frantsouzoff S., Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques. Tome 5. Raybūn. Ḥadrān, temple de la déesse ʿAthtarum/ʿAṣtarum, Paris – Rome 2001.

criteria which are not explained. A vocalisation is also used for all the onomastic data in the texts according to a system which has been adopted for all the books of this series. This method is not satifactory in the reviewer's opinion because most of the ASA vocalic system is unknown so any vocalisation of any ASA form is very doubtful and tentative. When some forms are vocalised, this should be presented as highly hypothetical and the philological reasons for their use should be clearly provided (in this review vocalised names are reported only if they are directly quoted from the book).

In chapter 2 the author proposes that there is a chronological division in the epigraphic documentation between an "ancient phase" (divided into three sub-phases An. 1, VIIIth–VIth century B.C.; An. 2, VIth–V[th] century B.C.; An. 3, V[th]–IVth century B.C.) and a "recent phase", most probably connected with the entire rebuilding of the site. Frantsouzoff links a purely palaeographic analysis with some linguistic features, diagnostic for dating. Accordingly, a recent phase is characterised by a systematic replacement of the grapheme t, through the grapheme s^3, while the ancient phase is defined by the use of the H Sabaic morphemes. Although this chronology appears to be generally correct, the distinction of the ancient sub-phases as well as an exact dating of the recent phase still remain quite uncertain and requires further discussion.

The inscriptional material presented in Chapter 6 is quite laconic and mostly fragmentary. These are largely dedicatory texts comprising the name of the dedicator, the dedicatory verb ($hqny/s^1qny$, to which the further dedicatory form td^3 can be also added), the name of the goddess (as the recipient of the dedication) and the object of the dedication (which is often omitted, especially in the ancient phase). The texts of the ancient phase are largely fragmentary and were reemployed in the pavement of the temple, according to a custom which is quite widespread in ancient South Arabia. Considering how often this occurs, the author advances the hypothesis that (pp. 31), "l'écriture sudarabique ait été sacralisée et que la destruction d'un bloc inscrit, ne serait-ce qu'avec une seule lettre, ait été prohibée". This observation is interesting and could be further discussed in view of the whole ASA epigraphic documentation.

A further textual typology is the so called "textes commemoratifs" which consist of stone blocks reporting the personal name of one or several individuals.

Particular attention should be paid to one special document, inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Na‘mān 148, for its outstanding linguistic and cultural significance (see below).

Even though the inscriptional material of the temple Kafas/Na‘mān does not provide particularly original documents, some new data are successfully singled out by Frantsouzoff and are worth discussion.

Onomastics

The author particularly focuses on the onomastic data (Chapter 4). They are outlined in detail (pp. 50–54; 58–59) and any previously unattested names in the Hadramitic documentation are singled out. The examination of these data provides some important historical information. The distribution of the personal names indicates that a very few personal names from Raybūn V are common to both the temples Hadrān and Rahbān (in the same site of Raybūn), a very striking phenomenon which leads the author to state (pp. 57), "que chaque temple de Raybūn était fréquenté par une communanté bien individualisée de fidèles, reconnaissable à son onomastique particulière. Ce n'est pas sans évoquer les communautés paroissiales de l'Église chrétienne". Apart from the problematic comparison with the Christian religious practice, this information could shed new light on the social implication of the ASA religious sphere. Furthermore, the author points out that each historical phase of the temple is characterised by an independent onomastics which might point to significant social and political changes in the Hadrami society. These socio-political aspects could also explain, in the author's view, the strong onomastic continuum linking the onomastics of Raybūn V with that of the temple of Mayfa‘ān (in the same site of Raybūn). According to Frantsouzoff the latter would account for the puzzling expression $thtn S^1yn$ d-$Myf^c n$, occurring in the documents of Raybūn V, which would indicate (pp. 56–57), "une relation institutionelle entre ces deux temples". This hypothesis should be seriously evaluated because it could prove to be a general pattern in the religious organisation of ancient South Arabia.

Frantsouzoff also states that a significant part of this onomastics is common to the rest of ASA, reflecting (pp. 57) "l'existence d'un fonds commun". This observation confirms that the civilization of the ancient Hadramawt belongs to the larger linguistic and cultural ASA continuum, despite its strong peculiarities. This is particularly significant in view of Frantsouzoff's observation that the majority of the anthoponyms of the most ancient phase are composed of two elements such as ^3b, ^cm, dd, sdq (possibly mlk, sbh) tied with ^cly, s^1m^c, yt^c, hmw. This pattern of onomastic formation is typical of the so called Amorite onomastics (first half of the II millennium) and is diagnostic for a quite archaic formation of ASA as well as for its classification within Semitic.[2] Some scholars have recently recognised that several isoglosses link ASA with II Millennium Northwest Semitic[3] which leads us to confirm the classification of ASA within Central Semitic.[4] This implies that we need to substantially revise our thoughts on the origin and development of the South Semitic branch. Noteworthy is the name Fs^2ms^1 which, according to the author (pp. 55), "présente l'intérêt d'offrir la première occurrence du substantif F/P, «bouche», qui n'était connu jusqu'ici que dans l'o

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[2] See the recent observations on this issue by Avanzini A., Ancient South Arabian anthroponomastics: historical remarks, PSAS 36, 2006, 79–85.

[3] See more in general Avanzini A., Origin and classification of the Ancient South Arabian languages, JSS 54/1, 2009, 205–220.

[4] Voigt R., The Classification of Central Semitic, JSS 32/1, 1987, 1–21.

nomastique ouest-sémitique". This observation is particularly significant because the anthroponyms with the noun *pu* ("mouth, command") are widespread in the Levant and Syria[5] from a very early stage, as the onomastic of Ebla shows.[6]

Sabaeans in the Ḥaḍramawt?

In the analysis of the onomastics of Raybūn V Frantsouzoff identifies a series of personal names as specifically Sabaic anthroponyms which would indicate (pp. 57) "de contacts assez étroits entre les Sabéens et les habitants de Raybūn à l'époque ancienne". This point is very important because it is an issue of much wider historical interest. The author combines the existence of these Sabaic names with some other data emerging in the documentation of Raybūn V in order to present an argument for Sabaic presence in the Ḥaḍramawt. Frantsouzoff has three main arguments, 1) the cult of the goddess *dt Ḥmym* is a typically Sabaic cult, necessitating the question (pp. 64) "si le culte de Dhāt Ḥimyam à Raybūn ne trahirait pas une forte influence de Saba'", 2) in the archaic phase the H Sabaic forms (*hqny* and *-hw*) are used which are replaced in the later stages by the Ḥaḍramitic S forms, 3) the Sabaic nisba form *S¹rmyn* (with suffix *-n*), instead of the Ḥaḍramitic *S¹rmyhn* (with the suffix *-hn*) occurs in Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 42. Some of these data are controversial and need to be discussed further.

It should be noted that the majority of the personal names mentioned by the author (pp. 57) as Sabaic are in fact attested in the rest of ASA (namely *ʾbkrb*; *ʿmyt*ʿ; *Ḥywm*; *Lḥyʿtt*; *ʾlwhb*; *ʿmʿly*; *ʿms²fq*; *ʾbʾns¹*; *Ḍrḫʾl*), with the exception of only two, *Brhmw* and *Ṣbḫʾmr*. Furthermore, the onomastic evidence as such can be dangerous in proving the presence (or the direct influence) of the Sabaeans in the Ḥaḍramawt. Even the two aforementioned personal names peculiar to the Sabaic onomastic can be misleading. Indeed, they exhibit the onomastic formation characterisitc of all ASA so that it cannot be ruled out that these names belong to the onomastic layer common to ASA and that they might emerge in non-Sabaic documents in the future.

As for the cult of *dt Ḥmym* (argument 1), this goddess is not peculiar to the Sabaic religion. The author remarks that this deity is attested in Qataban too but always associated with the god *ʿttr*. This is not an argument against the attestation of the cult of this deity in Qataban and it should be also noted that *dt Ḥmym* occurs as an independent deity five times in Qatabanic (CSAI I, 41=BA 6–7; CSAI I, 91=MuB 745, 2; CSAI I, 138=Ja 2195, 7–8; CSAI I, 154=JRy.WBrashear 1, 4; CSAI I,

194=VL 20, 2). The author claims that this deity is not attested in Maʿīn, seemingly unaware of references to her in the Minaic site of Haram (Haram 12, 15; Haram 16, 5–6, 6–7; Haram 17, 6; Haram 23, 2).[7]

Of special interest is Frantsouzoff's discussion of the nisba form *S¹rmyn* (argument 3). The author is correct in specifying that the nominal nunation is systematically written *-hn* in the archaic phase and that this form is the only exception. Accordingly, Frantsouzoff is inclined to view the location of the still unidentified toponym *S¹rm* outside of the Ḥaḍramawt. Consequently the dedicator bearing this nisba would have used a non Ḥaḍramitic form as he was not from the Ḥaḍramawt. Frantsouzoff advances the hypothesis of a Sabaean living in the Ḥaḍramawt. He also remarks, however, that *S¹rm* is attested as a family name in Qataban and that in the inscription R 3945 the toponym *S¹rm* is mentioned in connection with military campaigns within the territories of wādī Markha and Dathīna. Therefore, a dedicator from Qataban may have also borne the nisba *S¹rmyn*.

The use of the Sabaic H forms (argument 2) seems to be the only clear indication of a Sabaic feature influence in the Ḥaḍramawt. This can be linked to a parallel phenomenon occurring in the earliest Qatabanic documentation reflecting a historical phase when Saba exerted a certain political control over Qataban.[8] However, the occurrence of this Sabaic linguistic trait as such is not necessarily evidence for a Sabaean presence in the Ḥaḍramawt nor for political control of any particular significance.

Thus, it appears that the new data from Raybūn V are quite ambiguous with regard to the presence of the Sabaeans in the Ḥaḍramawt. A more cautious approach in the evaluation of them would be preferable. Certain elements of these data could fit the well-known historical scenario of a military and political expansion of the Sabaeans in ancient South Arabia during the VIIIth and VIIth century B.C., but the specific role played by Saba, if any, in the Ḥaḍramawt remains uncertain and it still deserves further linguisitic and archaeological investigation. Furthermore, it should be noted that, regardless of the historical significance of the Sabaean influence in the Ḥaḍramawt, it is problematic to think of a deep and large-scale process of acculturation. If there was a certain influence of the Sabaean civilisation on the whole area of South Arabia, this was more ephemeral than it has been supposed. The several variants of ancient Yemen (Qataban, Minaic Jawf, High Plateau, Ḥaḍramawt etc.) were already well shaped and strongly connoted linguistically, culturally and politically from the very beginning of

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[5] Hess R. H., Amarna Personal Names, Dissertation Series 9. American Schools of Oriental Research, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1993, in particular, 210.

[6] Krebernik M., Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte: Eine Zwischenbilanz. Berliner Beiträge zum vorderen Orient 7, Berlin, 1988, in particular, 103.

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[7] See Robin Ch., Inventaire des inscriptions sudarabiques. Tome 1. Inabbaʾ, Haram, al-Kāfir, Kamna et al-Ḥarāshif, Paris-Rome, 1992, in particular, 42.

[8] The recently discovered inscription in the temple of Ṣirwāḥ confirms this reconstruction at least for the the VIIIth century B.C., see Nebes N., Itaʾamar der Sabäer: Zur Datierung der Monumentalinschrift des Yitaʿʾamar Watar aus Ṣirwāḥ, AAE 18/1, 2007, 25–33 (the inscription is still unpublished, but I examined this text thanks to the kindness of Prof. Nebes).

the I millennium and they survived practically intact much longer than the historical period of the Sabaean expansion.

Numeral *tmnw* and verb pattern *fᶜlw*

Frantsouzoff singles out the form *tmnw* for the cardinal *eight* occurring for the first time in Ḥaḍramitic in the inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 53, 2 (and possibly in Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 32, 1–2). According to the author the additional element *w* attached to the root *tmn* should be taken as a mater lectionis for *-ū* and suggests a parallel with the Akkadian form *samānū*. The author states correctly that (pp. 37) "dans les langues sémitiques, la forme de base de ce numéral se termine par un *-ī* ou, parfois, par un *-e* qui remonte étymologiquement à un *-ī* ", then draws the conclusion (pp. 37), "on aurait ici un premier isoglosse akkado-ḥaḍramoutique". It should be noted, however, that the Akkadian form *samānū* is an ordinal one whose final ending *ū* results from the contraction of a pattern *samānī* with the nominative ending *-u*, while the usual cardinal for eight in Akkadian is *samāne* in line with the rest of Semitic. As a consequence, the unusual element *-w* in the numeral *tmnw* cannot be explained in view of Akkadian and the "isoglosse akkado- ḥaḍramoutique" appears to be inconsistent. By contrast, the Ḥaḍramitic form *tmnw* can be compared with a similar one occurring in the Sabaic texts from al-Misᶜāl (see for instance al-Misᶜāl 4, 3). As these texts exhibit several linguistic traits borrowed from Qatabanic (and partially from Ḥaḍramitic), it is reasonable to match the form *tmnw* with the Qatabanic cardinal for two *tnw*. Both forms can be compared with Sabaic *tmny*, *tny* which indicate that the writing *-y* of Sabaic corresponds to the *-w* in Qatabanic and in Sabaic of al-Misᶜāl (influenced by Qatabanic and Ḥaḍramitic).[9] It is important to remember that the writing of a final *-w* replacing the final *-y* in Sabaic is a graphic tendency peculiar to Qatabanic. In view of this, and as the writing *-w/-y* of the cardinal *tnw/tny* certainly does not reflect a vocalisation *-ū*, the *-w* of the Ḥaḍramitic and Sabaic of al-Misᶜāl *tmnw* should not be necessarily taken as a mater lectionis for *-ū*. One may rather identify a writing tradition common to both Qatabanic and Ḥaḍramitic in which the grapheme *w* can be also used to render a sound such as *-ī/-e*.

These observations can also contribute to settling the question of the verb pattern *fᶜlw* as a dual. Frantsouzoff draws attention to the inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 71 in which the verb form *hqnyw* is introduced by two subjects. The ending *-w* normally marks, as a mater lectionis for *-ū*, the plural masculine of the perfective verb conjugation in all the ASA languages. The author points out that a *fᶜlw* verb pattern with a subject in dual is a linguistic feature peculiar to Ḥaḍramitic; such

a feature would be further confirmed by this document. This construction raises the question whether the *fᶜlw* pattern is a plural or a dual form. The author suggests (pp. 37) "la disparition du duel du verb qui est typique dans le développment des langues sémitiques", while he seems to be inclined to reject the hypothesis of a dual form because it would be based on only one occurrence of the use of the grapheme *-w* for *-ā* (see toponym *ᶜrmw* interpreted as the modern *wādī ᶜIrmā*, near Shabwa). However, since the dual system in ASA generally appears to be well preserved, it is the reviewer's opinion that the hypothesis of a *-w* used as a mater lectionis for *-ā* is much more reasonable. Again, the parallel with the Qatabanic writing tradition may support this hypothesis. There the verb pattern *fᶜlw* is used as a dual (recall the puzzling form of dual feminine *fᶜltw* occurring in Sabaic), and the *-w* grapheme is mostly used to mark the dual ending. If this is true, this interpretation can be applied to all the cases of verb pattern *fᶜlw* introduced by dual subject occurring in Ḥaḍramitic, in line with the rest of ASA.

The two cases examined above demonstrate a certain degree of inconsistency in the use of the matres lectionis. The grapheme *-w* in Ḥaḍramitic (Qatabanic and Sabaic examples have also been cited) appears to indicate both *-ī/-e* and *-ā* reflecting a writing tradition which still remains quite unclear. A systematic approach to this issue, still lacking in the filed of ASA epigraphy, would certainly contribute to a better understanding of these languages.

This phenomenon, however, is not surprising when we recall that similar inconsistencies may occur in the writing tradition of the Northwest Semitic languages where the graphemes *h* and *ʾ*, traditionally used for final *ā*, can be also employed for final *e* (from *ī*). Some examples concerning the cardinal eight can be cited: Ancient Hebrew *šmnh* and Classical Hebrew *šemône* (written *šmnh*) with *-h* contrasts Syriac *təmāne* (written *tmnʾ*) with *-ʾ*, while Palestinian Jewish Aramaic exhibits the forms *tamne* (written *tmny*), *təmane* (written *tmny*), and *təmanā* (written *tmnʾ*) with both *-y* and *-ʾ*.

Mater lectionis *h*

Frantsouzoff points out that the grapheme *h* is used as a mater lectionis for *-ā*. Evidence for this is the feminine external plural ending *-ht* marking the term *bḥḥt* within contexts of plural accusative (the votive objects dedicated in Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 32, 2; 37, 3). This datum is linked by the author to marking the nominal determination (suffix *-n*) through a grapheme *h* so that one can come across of forms such as *grby-hn*, *mtnd-hn*, *mfrᵗt-hn*, a feature peculiar to Ḥaḍramitic. The author points out that this phenomenon is typical of the most ancient phase of Ḥaḍramitic while an oscillation between *-hn* and *-n* forms can be identified in a later period ("recent phase"). Frantsouzoff takes this *h* marking the determination as a mater lectionis for *-ā*. Apart from the question of why the grapheme *h* is often omitted in the recent documentation (the "affaiblissement" of the

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⁹ As also suggested by Stein P., Untersuchungen zur Phonologie und Morphologie des Sabäischen, EFAH 3, Rahden/Westf. 2003, in particular, 101.

"phoneme" *h* evoked by the author as a purely "graphic" phenomenon is questionable), the author's proposal is significant because it has a crucial bearing on a larger and much disputed linguistic issue, namely the origin of the nominal determinative marker (*-n*) in ASA. In recent years certain scholars have assumed that this marker should be linked to the **han-/*hal-* morpheme marking the notion of nominal determination. This phenomenon would characterise the majority of the languages of Central Semitic from the very end of the II millennium (first elements in Ugaritic), including ASA. The determination would be indifferently affixed both as a preformative (Hebrew, Arabic) and an afformative (Aramaic, ASA) marker.[10] The inclusion of ASA within this wide innovative process is substantially based on the recognition of this *h* in the Hadramitic determination *-hn* and on its interpretation as the common base for determination mentioned above.[11] Yet, in view of Frantsouzoff's interpretation of *h* as mater lectionis, this reconstruction would be invalid so that the issue of the origin of the ASA *-n* determination still remains controversial. Further evidence for this is the fact that the rest of ASA exhibits only a *-n* suffix (in the singular) and that in Hadramitic, as already said, the *h* is often omitted in the recent documentation. This would confirm the idea of a writing tradition (quite rich in the use of the consonantal graphemes for vocalic sounds) specifically peculiar to Hadramitic which even tends to simplify in a later period. The significant role played by the use of the matres lections in the writing system of Hadramitic is also indicated by the occurrence of the form *rdwt*, which the author considers to be the first case in Hadramitic of a mater lectionis used in the inner part of a word (extremely rare in ASA as a whole).

Prepositions *b-yd* and *thtn*

In the inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Naᶜmān 148, 4, the author singles out the first occurrence in Hadramitic of the compound preposition *b-yd* unattested elsewhere in ASA. Frantsouzoff proposes the reasonable rendering "au lieu de qqn", "à la place de qqn". He also suggests to compare this proposition with its parallel in Classical Hebrew, *bə-yād*. This parallel seems to be convincing and can be further supported by a similar compound particle attested in II Millennium Northwest Semitic (Ugaritic, *bd* and in Tell el-Amarna, *ba-di-ú*). Considering that a parallel formation can be also found in Ethiopic (see the forma *ba-ʾəda-*, *ba-ʾədawa*), it is clear that this form reflect a linguistic feature peculiar to the early stage of West Semitic, hence revealing a conservative tendency of ASA.

The author singles out the preposition *thtn* in the inscription Kafas/Naᶜmān 148, 3 correctly rendering

(pp. 38), "par le pouvoir de qqn". In doing so, Frantsouzoff notes a similar meaning occurring in Sabaic. It is useful to point out that the same sense is also attested in Qatabanic, namely the expression *bn tht* used in a passage of CSAI I, 198=R 3689, 2 (literally repeated in CSAI I, 199=R 3691, 1; CSAI I, 200=R 3692, 2) referring to the divine authority as in Kafas/Naᶜmān 148. In the reviewer's opinion, the significance of this form actually lies in the occurrence of the *-n* suffix attached to the base *tht*. Indeed, this feature appears to be peculiar to Hadramitic because it is unattested elsewhere in ASA. Although a *thtn* form is reported in the Sabaic Dictionary (pp. 147), there are only three cases which may be taken as this preposition and completely uncertain.[12] We can view this linguistic peculiarity in the light of a tendency typical of the ASA languages, which is to enlarge preposition and conjunctions through this *-n* suffix, as is the case with *ᶜm/ᶜm-n*, *ᶜl/ᶜl-n* (prepositions), and *k/k-n* (conjunctions). Accordingly, this trait is diagnostic for a classification of Hadramitic within the ASA family group.

Term *bht*

The Hadramitic documentation, largely similar to the Qatabanic documentation[13] exhibits the special term *bht* whose interpretation is disputed. Frantsouzoff translates it as "?phallus votive?", in line with a tradition quite well widespread within the ASA studies. The addition of the ?, systematically used throughout the whole work, indicates that the author considers such a rendering hypothetical (pp. 68), "l'interprétation de ce term, en effet, se fonde non pas sur la découverte de répresentations figurées de phallus, mais sur des arguments philologiques". In the footnote 138 the author mentions the critical analysis made by Sima[14] on this specific issue but he seems to underestimate the fact that Sima demonstrates, on a strictly philological level, the inconsistency of the traditional interpretation "phallus". As no archaeological evidence is available, and considering that the philological data do not support this interpretation, the reviewer suggests that this rendering is rejected. The discussion on the meaning of the term *bht* is important because it has a significant bearing on our understanding of the ASA religion. If we agree with Frantsouzoff that (pp. 68) "l'existence d'un culte phallique dans les temples de Dhāt Himyam à Raybūn, particulièrement à Kafas/Naᶜmān, ne peut être prouvée", a new hypothesis

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[10] See the reconstruction proposed by Pennacchietti F., Ripercussioni sintattiche in conseguenza dell'introduzione dell'articolo determinativo proclitico in semitico, AuOr 23 1/2, 2005, 175–184.

[11] See in particular Tropper J., Die Herausbildung des bestimmten Artikels im Semitischen, JSS 46/1, 2001, 1–31.

[12] See in particular Fa 121, 1; C 615, 4; MQ al-Jifjif 1, 5. According to Stein P., op. cit., 224–225, the form *tht-y* is the only variant.

[13] Note in Minaic one unclear example occurs in as-Sawdāʾ 20, 4 and one very uncertain example occurs in Maᶜīn 76, 2; an additional case is attested in the fragmentary Late Sabaic inscription Gl 1194, 6 from the Southern high plateau (a possible Qatabanic borrowing).

[14] Sima A., Tiere, Pflanzen, Steine und Metalle in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften. Eine lexikalische und realienkundliche Untersuchung, Wiesbaden (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 46), 2000, in particular, 298–299.

which has been recently advanced,[15] deserves special attention. It has been noted that the ASA term *bḫt* can be paralleled to the term *buḫt*, attested in the modern Arabic dialects of Yemen, which designates a kind of gum similar to the myrrh. Considering the widespread use of the incense burner in the ASA world and its importance in the religious sphere, it has been suggested that *bḫt* can be interpreted as a type of censer used for burning this gum which was devoted to the deities during a dedication. This linguistic parallel may be also supported by Qatabanic documents which mention two types of material from which these objects were made, *blq* "limestone" and *mrt* "clay". Despite this suggestion, we have not gained a definitive and clear understanding of this puzzling term, and a more neutral translation such as "votive object" is still preferable.

Inscription Raybūn-Kafas/Naʿmān 148, 6–8

This inscription is the most important document discovered in the excavation of the temple.

The text is a dedication to the goddess *dt Ḥmym* to whom the dedicator asks forgiveness for certain sinful actions. The significance of the document lies in the textual section (lines 6–8), reporting a particular infraction, *w-bn-mw⁷ Kwfʾl ysᵌtwr ḏ-yhlk⁸ msᵌl-sᵌ*; translated by Frantsouzoff as (pp. 191): "et de Kawfʾil soit emporté (et que Kawfʾil soit délivré de) ce qu'il érigea Sa statue (son image)". According to the author the sinful action was creation of an image of the deity. Frantsouzoff suggests this implies that the Ḥaḍramitic religion prohibited the representation of deities and also states (pp. 67), "l'interdiction de fabriques des images de divinités semble avoir été générale en Arabie méridionale". This reaffirms an observation that Frantsouzoff made in an article published one decade ago.[16] The implications of these conclusions are clearly far reaching and have significant historical and cultural implications for the ASA religion. However, in the reviewer's opinion, the expression *ḏ-yhlk msᵌl-sᵌ* is controversial and needs to be discussed further. The meaning "to set up, to construct" ("ériger") proposed by Frantsouzoff for the root *hlk*, hapax in Ḥaḍramitic, is based on the parallel with the expression *ygsᵌm mṯl-sᵌ* (considered similar) occurring in Rb I/88 n. 130, 3 and with the Qatabanic use of the verb *sᵗhlk* and the noun *mhlk* (reasonably deriving from the same root) both referring to the completion of buildings. The parallel with the expression *ygsᵌm msᵌl-sᵌ* is convincing only if one interprets *msᵌl* as "statue", which is uncertain (see below). The comparison with Qatabanic may be misleading because in the Qatabanic documentation this root is used specifically to indicate the final completion

of a large building such as house, temple, or gate which does not necessarily apply to the context under examination. Furthermore, root *hlk* is also used in Qatabanic in an abstract sense to convey the juridical connotation of "to conform, to comply".[17] Given this, it cannot be completely ruled out that the text is simply referring to at an incorrect behaviour (*hlk*) of *Kwfᵌl* (the subject of the wrong action) implying an infraction not directly mentioned in the document. This idea may be linked to the sense of the term *msᵌl*. It should be noted that the meaning of statue for this term occurs only in Sabaic but it is unattested in the rest of ASA. Furthermore the suffix pronoun -*sᵌ* attached to *msᵌl* is problematic because it refers to an understood "something/someone" which (who) is not specified in the text. The author suggests it is the goddess (-*sᵌ* is feminine) but the passage is too cryptic to be clearly understood. We should recall the very puzzling use of the same expression (*mṯl-sᶦ*) in the Minaic inscription YM 10886, 11 and the similar one in Haram 8, 7 (*mṯl-hw*). In both cases the texts do not appear to refer to a statue. It is better understood as a certain fixed idiomatic expression such as "in line with that" or "a same action (similarly)".[18] This interpretation would be suitable to the juridical sense of *hlk* discussed above. Therefore, given these interpretational incertainties, a hypothesis of an interdiction against the divine images appears to be particularly risky. Furthermore, the explanation proposed by Frantsouzoff of this reconstruction, in view of an aniconic custom widespread throughout the whole of ASA society, is not based on any actual data. It is important to note that representations of deities on monumental stelae have recently been recovered in the Jawf (each image is specifed by the god's name); these point to a completely different historical scenario.[19] The idea of an "aniconic" ancient South Arabia is adumbrated by the author who poses the question (pp. 67): "peut être sous l'influence de

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[15] Shaolan A., Nuqūsh jadīda min matḥaf qism al-ʾāthār. Dirāsa taḥlīliyya lughawiyya li-thalāthat nuqūsh, Al-ʾIklīl 26, 2002, 100–110, in particular, 102. This parallel has been also confirmed by Dr. Yusuf Abdallah (pers. comm.).

[16] Frantsouzoff S., A parallel to the Second Commandment in the inscriptions of Raybūn, PSAS 28, 1998, 61–66.

[17] See in general Mazzini G., La radice semitica HLK in sudarabico e alcune riflessioni comparative, EVO 25, 2002, 327–336; note that in a recently published Minaic text (30. YM 26106, 3 in Arbach M. – Audouin R., Ṣanʿāʾ National Museum. Collection of Epigraphic and Archaeological Artifacts from al-Jawf Sites. Part II, Ṣanʿāʾ 2007, in particular, 52), this root is attested with a meaning which could be parallel to the juridical one occurring in Qatabanic (the interpretation of this difficult text is still very uncertain).

[18] As for this interpretation see Stein P., Materialen zur Sabäischen Dialektologie: das Problem des amiritischen ("haramitischen") Dialekts, ZDMG 157, 2007, 13–47, in particular, 24 footnote 32 (YM 10886, 11) and Robin Ch., op. cit., in particular, 72 (Haram 8, 7).

[19] Arbach M. – Audouin R., La découverte du temple d' Aranyadaᶜ à Nashshān. Rapport préliminaire d'une opération de sauvetage franco-yéménite, CRAIBL 3, Juillet – Octobre, 2004, 1287–1304. In this connection the mention of the god *ʾmydᶜ* coming back to its original town *Nsᵌn* (*ywm ʾtw ʾmydᶜ bn Kmnhw ʾd Nsᵌn*), occurring in the bronze altar AO 31929, 2 (recently published by Gajda I., Deux autels en bronze provenant de l'Arabie méridionale, CRAIBL Juillet – Octobre 2003, in particular, 1225–1233) seems to point to the worship of divine statues and may be considered as a further argument against the hypothesis of an "aniconic" ancient South Arabia.

l'idolâtrie des nomades et semi-nomades ?". Despite this quite generic reference to the supposed influence of an unknown nomadic people, the author also draws a precise parallel with the Second Commandment in the Bible (Ex. 20, 4; Deut 5, 8). In doing so, however, Frantsouzoff underestimates the uniqueness of ancient Israel aniconism within the ancient Near East[20] and its essential connection with the late Deuteronomistic revision of the Old Testament.[21] Accordingly, to use the biblical data as a support for a supposedly widespread aniconic cult in ancient Arabia appears to be incorrect both methodologically and historically. This is particularly true when we recall that aniconism in the ancient Near East is a very marginal and rather insignificant phenomenon[22] which certainly cannot be explained as Frantsouzoff does in the following statement (pp. 68), "l'origine serait un même tabou archaïque, observé par certaines tribus sémitiques à l'aube de l'historie".

In conclusion, the book is a useful edition of new epigraphic material which contributes to a better understanding of the language and history of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt. This area is the most intriguing and least understood in ancient South Arabia and scholars are grateful to Frantsouzoff for his essential contribution over the years.

Islam

Herzog, Thomas: **Geschichte und Imaginaire.** Entstehung, Überlieferung und Bedeutung der Sîrat Baibars in ihrem sozio-politischen Kontext. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2006. XVIII + 972 S. m. zahlr. Tabellen. 8°. Hrdb. (Diskurse der Arabistik 8). 138,00 €. ISSN 978 3 447 050890. – Bespr. von Peter Heine, Berlin.

Die umfangreiche Untersuchung entstand als co-*tutelle* Promotion an den Universitäten Aix-en-Provence und Halle-Wittenberg. Anschließend wurde sie noch intensiv überarbeitet und erweitert. Sie nimmt eine wissenschaftliche Tradition wieder auf, um die es zumindest in Deutschland seit den 1970er Jahren ruhig geworden war, die der Erforschung von arabischen Volksromanen. Wohl noch nie ist ein Produkt der arabischen Volksliteratur mit einem derartigen philologischen und theoretischen Aufwand untersucht worden wie in diesem Fall die Sîrat Baibars, wenn man einmal von der Märchensammlung 1001 Nacht absieht. Hier kommen offensichtlich eine deutsche philologische und eine französische theoretisch-methodologischen Tradition zusammen.

Nach einer Einleitung, die das Forschungsziel, den Stand der Forschung, literaturwissenschaftliche und methodologische Überlegungen verdeutlicht, wird in einem ersten Abschnitt die Textgrundlage der Untersuchung beleuchtet. Dabei werden die zahlreichen inhaltlichen und formalen Varianten des Textes festgestellt und ihre Unterschiede herausgearbeitet. Die zahlreichen Abweichungen der einzelnen Textzeugnisse von einander dürfen bei einem Volksroman, der vor allem auch oral verbreitet wurde, nicht verwundern. Schon hier wird deutlich, mit wie vielen Versionen man es bei der Sîrat Baibars zu tun hat. Dem folgt eine ausführliche Untersuchung eines zentralen Abschnitts des Romans („Das Herz der Erzählung"), der Entführung des Helden nach Genua. Herzog schreibt diesem Teil eine Scharnierfunktion für die Struktur und Entwicklungsgeschichte des Romans zu. Dem geht eine kursorische inhaltliche Wiedergabe dieser Episode voraus. Im Übrigen wird die inhaltliche Struktur des Volksromans in allen Einzelheiten analysiert. Insgesamt wird deutlich, dass die zentrale Gestalt der Sîrat Baibars zunächst nicht deren Namensgeber ist, sondern sich erst im Lauf der Entstehungsgeschichte des Romans diese Person in den Vordergrund der Handlung schieben kann.

Eine wichtige Erkenntnis der Untersuchung bezieht sich auf den Quellenwert von arabischen Volksromanen und analog auch der Märchensammlung von 1001 Nacht. Herzog spricht von den „imaginären Welten der breiten Masse der Bevölkerung der arabischen Welt in ayyubidischer, mamlukischer und osmanischer Zeit" (S. 167). Mit Hilfe der Volksliteratur lässt sich ein Eindruck von der Weltsicht, aber auch von den Lebensumständen bis hin zur materiellen Kultur der einfachen Menschen in diesen Epochen gewinnen. Diese Vorstellungswelt bezeichnet der Vf. als das *Imaginaire*. Diese Vorstellungswelt wandelt sich natürlich je nach Zeit, Ort und Gesellschaftsschicht. Den Adressaten der Volksromane musste schließlich die Umgebung, der kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Kontext vertraut sein, in dem die Geschichte spielt. Nur so konnte sie deren Interesse gewinnen. Die Volksromane können dann gewiss als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle nützlich sein, wenn sie mit anderen Quellen in Bezug gesetzt werden. Eine weitere Frage wäre, ob der soziale oder der kulturelle Wandel, den die mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften des Nahen und Mittleren Ostens ebenfalls erfuhren, sich auch in dieser Literaturgattung nachvollziehen lässt. Herzog untersucht das *Imaginaire* an den handeln Personen des Romans ebenso wie an den geographischen, technischen und gesellschaftlichen Aspekten der Sîrat Baibars. Als Beispiel sei auf den Kettenturm von Alexandria hingewiesen. Hier und an anderen Stellen des Romans geht es um die Praxis, eine Hafeneinfahrt durch eine Kette gegen angreifende Gegner zu sperren. Diese Technik wurde in zahlreichen Mittelmeerhäfen genutzt. Die Geschichte der norditalienischen Häfenstädte wie Genua und Pisa berichtet davon. So musste Pisa die Überlegenheit Genuas anerkennen, als die Genuesen den Pisanern die entsprechende Kette abnahmen. Auch die Darstellung der städtischen Gesellschaft in der Mamlukenzeit in

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[20] This aspect is stressed by Lewis Th. J., Divine images and aniconism in ancient Israel, JAOS 118/1, 1998, 36–53, in particular 52.

[21] See the study by Dohmen C., Das Bilderverbot: seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im alten Testament, BBB 62, Frankfurt, 1987, in particular, 154–180; 262–273.

[22] See more in general Mettinger T. N. D., No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in its Ancient Near Eastern Context, Stockholm, 1995.

den Volksromanen ist eine wichtige Quelle für die So-
zialgeschichte der islamischen Gesellschaften. Dass mehr
über die Schichtung der städtischen Gesellschaft zu
erfahren ist als über die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse
auf dem Lande ist dabei nicht erstaunlich; denn schließ-
lich wendet sich der Roman an eine städtische Zuhörer-
schaft, denen diese Situation näher liegt als Bauern und
Beduinen. Herzog sieht im *Imaginaire* auch eine Quel-
le für die Geschichte der drei Perioden der Ayyubiden,
der Mamluken und der Osmanen. Verschiedene histori-
sche Ereignisse spiegeln sich auch in der *Sîrat Baibars*
wieder. Das gilt zunächst vor allem für die Auseinander-
setzungen zwischen Muslimen und Christen, aber auch
für den Mongolensturm auf Baghdad oder auch für histo-
rische Einzelpersonen wie Aibak oder Shajarat al-Durr.
In diesem historischen *Imaginaire* konstatiert Herzog
einen Austausch zwischen den arabischen Historiogra-
phen und den anonymen Schöpfern der Volksromane. In
einem umfangreichen abschließenden Kapitel werden die
Überlegungen, Ergebnisse und Folgerungen der Unter-
suchung noch einmal zusammengefasst.

Damit ist ab erst knapp die Hälfte des Buches erreicht.
Es folgen noch zahlreiche Anhänge. Unter der Über-
schrift „Materialien" werden zunächst in einer immen-
sen Fleißarbeit nahezu alle erhaltenen Handschriften
und Druckfassungen der *Sîrat Baibars,* die sich in
Bibliotheken in Syrien, Ägypten, vor allem aber in
Deutschland in Berlin, Gotha, Wolfenbüttel, in Paris,
London oder im Vatikan befinden, zusammengestellt
und beschrieben. In einer umfangreichen Konkordanz
werden dann die verschiedenen Szenen des Romans, die
Namen von Orten, Völkern, den Taten der beteiligten
Helden bis zu denen der Djinnen zusammengestellt.
Neben den üblichen Aufstellungen von Quellentexten
und Sekundärliteratur werden auch noch Indices zu
Ortsnamen, Personen-, Familien- und Völkernamen.
Literarischen Werken und sozialen und historischen
Begriffen und Personen angefügt.

Insgesamt haben wir es bei der vorliegenden Arbeit
mit einem beeindruckenden Werk zu tun, das von der
Originalität, der Findigkeit, aber auch vom Fleiß und der
Schaffenskraft des Vf. zeugt. Mögen ihm diese nicht aus-
gehen.

Sidorko, Clemens P.: **Dschihad im Kaukasus. Antikolonialer
Widerstand der Dagestaner und Tschetschenen gegen das Zaren-
reich (18. Jahrhundert bis 1859).** Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007.
483 S. 82,00 €. ISBN 978-3-89500-571-8. – Bespr. von Dina Wil-
kowsky, Berlin.

Die Monografie *Dschihad im Kaukasus* von Clemens
P. Sidorko ist eine der wenigen deutschsprachigen
Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Islam im Kaukasus.
Obgleich es sich, wie aus dem Titel hervorgeht, um eine
historische Studie handelt, birgt die Thematik eine tiefe
Aktualität. Sie steht in enger Verbindung zu dem tragi-
schen Konflikt, der nach dem Zerfall der Sowjetunion
bekanntermaßen das Verhältnis zwischen der Moskauer

Zentralmacht und der kaukasischen Teilrepublik Tschet-
schenien bestimmt.

Der Autor argumentiert, dass die historischen Wur-
zeln dieses Konflikts im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert zu
suchen sind. Die Eroberung des nordöstlichen Kaukasus
durch das russische Zarenreich rief den aktiven Wider-
stand, den Dschihad (*ǧihād*), der islamisierten Völker
Dagestans und Tschetscheniens hervor (IX). Sidorko
analysiert die Gründe für das Entstehen der Dschihad-
Bewegung in der Kaukasus Region, arbeitet die Voraus-
setzungen für ihre weitere Ausprägung heraus und
untersucht die Besonderheiten dieser Bewegung. Die
zentralen Fragestellungen sind: War der Dschihad das
Ergebnis innerer Entwicklungen der islamischen Völker
des nordöstlichen Kaukasus, oder muss man ihn eher
als eine Reaktion auf den russischen Kolonialismus be-
trachten? Welchen Einfluss hatte diese Bewegung auf
die Entwicklung des staatlichen Administrationssystems
(*Imamat*) im untersuchten Zeitraum?

Ausgehend von umfangreichen Quellenstudien weist
Sidorko nach, dass sowohl innere als auch äußere,
sowohl politische als auch sozialhistorische Faktoren
diese Entwicklung beeinflusst haben. Zu den Quellen,
die der Autor konsultiert hat, gehören zahlreiche lokale
Werke, Texte kaukasischer Autoren, Zeugnisse und Dar-
stellungen lokaler Muslime, die zum großen Teil erst seit
kurzer Zeit zugänglich sind (XIX). Der zentralen Frage
seiner Untersuchung nähert sich der Autor aus unter-
schiedlichen Blickwinkeln und mit unterschiedlichen
methodologischen Herangehensweisen. Die Studie ist
chronologisch aufgebaut und besteht aus 11 Kapiteln.
Der Autor führt seine Leser unfassend und detailliert
durch die Geschichte des Dschihad bis hin zur erfolg-
reichen und langwierigen Etappe in der Entwicklung
dieser Bewegung, die mit den drei dagestanischen Ima-
men Ġāzī Muḥammad, Ḥamza Bek und Šāmil verbun-
den ist, die von 1829 bis 1859 die Armeen der russischen
Zaren bekämpften.

Im ersten Kapitel konzentriert sich der Autor vor
allem auf die Beschreibung der sozial-politischen, reli-
giösen, ethnischen und topografischen Voraussetzungen,
die die geopolitische Bedeutung der Region begründen.
Der Autor bemerkt, dass die Bergregion „immer zu-
gleich Brücke und Grenzwall" (5) war und dass die
schwer zugänglichen Gebirgstäler den ethnischen Grup-
pen immer die Möglichkeit gaben, ihre Sprache und Kul-
tur zu bewahren. Beides führte zu einer besondern Viel-
falt von Sprachen und Völkern, die für Kaukasien bis
heute charakteristisch ist (6). Ein aktiver Prozess der
Islamisierung fand in Dagestan zwischen dem 12. und
15. Jahrhundert statt, als die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung
im Nordkaukasus bereits Muslime waren. In Tschet-
schenien setzte diese Entwicklung erst ab dem späten
16. Jahrhundert ein. Dieses informationsreiche Kapitel
endet mit einer Analyse des breiten Spektrums sozialer
und politischer Organisationsformen, die die histori-
schen und regionalen Besonderheiten des nordöstlichen
Kaukasus ausmachen.

In den folgenden zwei Kapiteln gibt Sidorko einen
historischen Überblick über die Geschichte Kaukasiens