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DIVINE REVENGE IN SABAEAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN LIGHT OF MUSNAD INSCRIPTIONS

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Abstract:

The study aims to highlight a major aspect of religion in South Arabia, i.e., divine revenge, which was highly important in the thought and rituals of the ancient Yemeni. It adopts a descriptive and analytical aspects of the Musnad inscriptions, primarily concentrating on the Sabaean texts, Musnad inscriptions employed a set of vocabularies and terms denoting divine revenge using direct forms, e.g., "Ifth nam" take revenge, another suggesting the stages and patterns of revenge, including guidance and material revenge, and a third moral set, e.g., the base form "INSIPP" denoting deprivation from divine care. Hence, Sabean texts utilized rhetorical forms and structures for the concept and stages of divine revenge lexically and contextually, similar to the Arabic language and Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh). Additionally, the study tackled the stages of divine revenge, revenge conflicts among deities in South Arabia, the deities of administering revenge, and causes and methods of divine revenge, including the transmission of diseases and pandemics, inciting enemies, or kings. It addressed the philosophy of divine revenge, either retaliation or punishment and its impact on the improvement of human behavior in South Arabia.

1. Introduction

Religious belief had the greatest influence on material and spiritual life of the ancient Yemeni, His inscriptions clearly demonstrate how deeply he was connected and attachment to deities, which were present in all aspects of his private and public life—surrounding him and affecting everything, from his residence and movement, to his happiness and sadness, and even his health and disease. Thus, the ancient Yemeni linked his happiness in both this life and the afterlife to the satisfaction of those deities. This deeply rooted concept made the ancient Yemeni constantly alert and watchful of divine anger, the causes of divine displeasure, and the vengeance of the deities that he could not bear. Accordingly, the present significant study analyzed this human feeling and the fear of the ancient Yemeni, as expressed in his inscriptions. Based on the descriptive and analytical study of the Sabaean inscriptions, the study aims to answer some questions that have not been previously addressed or analyzed yet about the vocabularies denoting divine revenge and their origins and implications, And what is its connotation in expressing the degree and intensity of divine anger, For example, "nqm" take revenge, which agreed in form and meaning with the Arabic word (intqm / al-niqmah), causes of divine revenge and rage, degrees of such revenge, stages from educational to retaliation, And what was the reflection of the stages of revenge on the concept of divinity in ancient Yemen that these stages revealed new concepts of divinity, making it as a standard for mercy and pardon more than being an expression of wrath and revenge. This contrasts with human behavior, which is often motivated by a desire for revenge. In contrast, divine conduct, through all its stages, represents a unique expression of the sacredness and sublimity of the deities.

2. Methodology

This study dealt with divine revenge and its stages in beliefs in ancient Yemen through an analytical and descriptive study of the Musnad inscriptions in general and the Sabaean inscriptions in particular, with comparisons to some Minaean and Qatabanian inscriptions.

3. Results

The study highlights the importance of the Musnad inscriptions as primary sources for reconstructing the history and philosophy of divine revenge among the ancient Yemenis, particularly the Sabaeans, especially given that the authors of these inscriptions were direct witnesses to the

events they documented. Sabaean inscriptions involved rich vocabulary with various meanings and indications of the concept and stages of divine revenge, such as explicit, e.g., the verb "nqm", implicit ones indicating the earliest stages of revenge, and a third type with emotional significance highlighting mental revenge. In total, they indicated divine ability and revenge. The reasons for divine revenge in the texts showed the ancient Yemenis' inner essence and complete trust in deities and their absolute divine justice. Inscriptions highlighted three successive or mutual stages of divine revenge in ancient Yemeni beliefs. The first was warning punishments, which were intended to warn humans against violating the prohibitions of the gods by imposing minor or severe punishments. Their purpose was to return the guilty to the right paths with mercy and without inflicting divine oppression. Grace was the second stage of divine revenge, which was an indefinite period whose goal was for the guilty person to remember their sins and hasten to repent. Its goal was not to be a period of temptation toward destruction and divine revenge. The 3rd stage of revenge was the most severe. Gods inflicted people with various forms of punishment, including diseases, epidemics, famines, volcanoes, or the destruction of homes. This stage aimed to get rid of the evils of humans. Its goal was to be a strong warning to return and repent of sins, as clear proof of the sublimity and elevation of deities from the total destruction of people. Sabaean inscriptions highlighted that Sabaean deities (especially Almaqah) inflicted revenge on the enemies of the state and the rebellious peoples, such as burning, captivity, killing, siege...etc. Rather, revenge, including humiliating gods, was one of the cruelest types of revenge that befall rebellious peoples. Hastening to repent, offering atonement, confessing sins, and pledging not to repeat them was the way to ward off divine vengeance. It was also a way to calm the anger and revenge of the gods. The study points to the urgent need for further archaeological excavations, as many aspects of the concept of divine punishment, such as divine revenge in the afterlife, remain unclear. Moreover, numerous features of ancient Yemeni civilization are still unknown and have not received adequate scholarly attention.

4. Discussion

4.1. Revenge: lexically and contextually

Lexically, alintiqām "revenge" is derived from "to take revenge", denoting denial and criticism of something. It is sometimes said, "Lam arḍa minhu httá naqamtu wantaqamtu", i.e. I was not satisfied until taking revenge; alniiqmtu "revenge" means punishment; intaqam Allhu minhu means Allah punished him; naqamtu wnaqimtu means I severely hated something [1], and imply the infliction of punishment with hatred and indignation or depriving blessing by torment [2]. Similar to the concept of revenge in Arabic, revenge in the beliefs of South Arabia expressed the relation between deity and people. Musnad inscriptions extensively expressed revenge directly or indirectly to denote the divine will and ability that could take revenge whenever and however choo-

ses. Such rich vocabulary expressed, using eloquent rhetorical forms, divine revenge and discontent, as well as its degrees and manifestations, which sometimes align with the concept of divine revenge in Islam, as demonstrated in the following examples: *)] | nqm. v, i.e., punish, take reprisals on; present በቅዛየ yhqm, i.e., avenge; imperative በዕዛዛየ yhqqm to take revenge [3]; n. nqm, i.e., vengeance, reprisals [3]. It appeared in Aramaic lexis in the field *nqm* to avenge or take revenge. Additionally, the people of al-Shihr used to say "namt", suggesting a misfortune or evil that befalls someone. The infinitive namm was used to indicate a deity or mountain [4]. Its examples appeared in the Minaic Inscriptions, e.g., (Haram 12/1) [5] and the Oatabanic Inscriptions as a part of the proper nouns (CIAS $95.11/o2n^{\circ}2/4$) [6]. In the Sabaean language, it expressed the highest degrees of divine rage. Furthermore, it appeared in contexts (Ja 574/12-13, CIAS 39.11/ o 2 n° 2/8-9, Ir18/10, Ja 576+Ja 577/3) related to a set of verbs " $\lambda d s^2 kr$ ", i.e., crush/break/vanquish, " $\lambda d qt l$ ", i.e., killed, and "O18 tl", i.e., destroyed to complete the idea and manifestations of revenge and denote the divine anger and discontent related to revenge. *) \\ \text{hg } t'r. v, i.e., exact revenge on; n. "t'r" blood-revenge [3], pl. (ኦትዩት 't'r) [7]. It took the same meaning in inscriptions (Ja 725/7-8- CIH 344/7). *) > No 'dr, v. means bring to account, exact reprisals on [3] or take revenge from someone as (4) in the inscription (CIH308/22) [8], add to it is L of reasoning, i.e., and to take revenge from and the inscription (Ja601/7-8). *) >ሰዛ nkr. v, i.e., afflict, punish; n. tnkr, i.e., affliction, suffering from malady [3]. It was used with these meanings indicating divine punishment and revenge in the (Ir 9/5-CIH 81/6) inscription. Its examples appeared in the Minaic and Qatabanic Inscriptions(A-20-850/3- RES 4337A/24- RES 4337B/21- CIAS47.82/j1/7) [9] *) **ዕ**ቶ**1** *V. Lşq*, i.e., hunt down (deity) [3]. It took the same meaning in the Minaic Inscriptions *) (al-Jawf04.23A/4) [10] and Qatabanic Inscriptions (RES 3854/8-9) [11].

4.2. Stages and degrees of divine revenge

Musnad inscriptions highlighted fear and hopefulness among the people of South Arabia as the most significant causes of life. Their hopefulness was uninterrupted in deities, as they always sought from her satisfaction and happiness in this life and the hereafter. On the other hand, they were full of fear of their deities' anger, indignation, as well as severe punishment, causing eternal misery in life and the hereafter. This well-rooted feeling made them link their calamities and disasters and their mistakes. That is, anything that triggers deities' anger is a sin, causing divine punishment and revenge. This concept of the divine power denoted another aspect of the ancient Yemeni's confidence of the ultimate divine justice, as their deities were universal powers that did not commit mistakes or punish but due to a sin by common people of the royal family, not for personal desire or characteristics, as perceived in the beliefs of contemporary cultures, e.g., Mesopotamia^(a) [12]. Divine justice was always related to human sins by common people or kings. Studying Sabaean inscriptions showed that deities did not afflict revenge on offenders directly. Instead, revenge was preceded by degrees and manifestations of such revenge in accordance with the degree of anger causing revenge. Consequently, such stages indicated the enforcement of divine will and desire by afflicting revenge. Stages were consecutive or included in others as follows:

4.2.1. Warning punishments

They were the first stages and degrees of divine anger and revenge in the ancient Yemeni beliefs. However, they were not associated with revenge but with retaliation that was mostly aimed at warning and guidance. They included two types. *Firstly*, reduced warning penalties: Sabaean inscriptions rhetorically expressed this type that could equal (reward by punishment) in Arabic [1] because divine revenge only aimed at educating and mercifully regaining the wrongdoer to the right path of the deity. For instance, inscription (Haram 36= RES3957/5-6) refers to the owner lady, 1ት ሀጠ አካበ አካበ አካበት S¹mnt bt Bn 'l" as an offering to the god Dhū Samawi because she defiled one of the temple officials (perhaps a priest) by touching him ($\P h s^i lht$) [3]. However, the inscription does not mention the nature of the impurity she had. Perhaps this woman was on her period, which led to the anger of the god Dhū Samawi [13]. The text reports [5,14] that:

⁴┧◇ҶФ │╁ጷ๊╁ฝ∏│҈ҴҰヿ҉≻ ≾∫≻ヿ◊◊│Ф҈҈Ҵ҇Ӌ҄Ҁ҅ѺФӋ│**イ**┟Ф

⁸'l hwfyhmw ffg ⁹ r s²rghmw bd<u>t</u>'n whr ¹⁰ fn "Because she defiled someone under the protection of Dhū Samawi⁵, which led to the anger of Dhū Samawi⁶ (which led to) her correction (i.e., punishment that corrects the sinner)." Although the text indicates that this act that S¹mnt bnt Bn 'l committed angered the god, the god did not descend revenge on her but only contented the god with causing a mild punishment (the text does not defend the nature or amount of this punishment, it may be a simple financial compensation). This punishment was guidance from the god to her to spare her his anger and displeasure and, in turn, revenge on her. This was in beautiful rhetorical forms expressed by one word of the text, i.e.," ቸኳፈን rs²dh" (a close form of the word "إرشاد" and "إرشاد" in Arabic): a masculine adjective like (فعال) with the implicit pronoun meaning correction (punis-hment) [5] (i.e., the god punished her with guidance to reform her), and guidance rightly [15]. Inscription (Haram56= CIH 568/4-8) illustrates this type of punishment. It mentions [5]: 4 95 6 | ФYX>NOXH | XIII | የነገጠበዕ | ንብት: "⁴b₫t s¹t ʿ₫rthw k ⁵ ys¹kr f ʿ₫bm nh", meaning., "4and she asked for his forgiveness (she asked him for forgiveness) in order⁵ (to pleased) and be satisfied, which necessitated a punishment from him (God)." When analyzing the text, such as ">fho ys¹kr" in line 5, which means in Sabaean "god is pleased" or satisfied [3], which has evidence in Minaean (as-Sawda 36/1), the effect of seeking forgiveness from god in calming the god's anger is clear. Thus, God pardoned and was satisfied with the wrongdoer. The text indicates that this peace involves a punishment that must not be violent, which coincides with the vocabulary mentioned in the text. As well as the punishment that was not

mentioned (probably was a small financial fine). It confirmed that the punishment that resulted in the god's anger was a guiding punishment to the worshiper to gain satisfaction and not to commit this sin again. Inscription (CIH 547/8-10) reveals that the punishment inflicted by the god Halfan on the clan 'ttr was a guiding one so that they would not delay the time of his sacred hunting again beyond its time. It seems that their mistake was unintentional, as illustrated by the verb "**ወ**ከተነው wns¹'w", i.e., delayed or postponed [5,16]. The author argues that this verb may mean forgetting about something. Accordingly, the meaning of line 7 is "and they forgot to hunt for *d-'ttr*." which agrees with the punishment that God Halfan inflicted on them, i.e., water scarcity, as water in their canals decreased [16], but God did not take revenge on them withholding water totally. The text reads [5,16] "⁸> ገዕዕ | Φ] ነተየዕወት | 1ሕወ ነዕት ወ | ሕዩሕዝ | ፲፱፻፲ ፯, "8'l hwfyhmw ffg 9 r s²rghmw bdt'n whr 10 fn", i.e., "And (God did not grant them water) that would over-flow their canals (with the rains) of spring and summer." Using the verb "wfy" in the previous text means granting or giving someone something. It was mentioned in the text in the negative form to mean "they were not granted". Comparison reveals that when the writer wanted to express drought in the Sabaean inscriptions, he used the verb "hhb", which means "to withhold or retain rain" (J 735/5) [3] or the noun (hhby/hhbtm) (GI14441/3,5 [17]- Ir 24/3) [18]", meaning drought or retention of rain [3] or the verb " $s^{1}qy$ " in the negative form to mean lack of watering [3], indicating that god employed the scarcity of water as a punishment and guidance against Dhu Athtar so that they did not commit such a crime again. Secondly, Warning/severe punishments: Previous Sabaean texts illustrated that deities inflicted guidance and warning punishments on worshipers who erred. However, most of them neglected the amount and type of these punishments, suggesting that the gods might pardoned sinners without any moral or physical punishments. Other Sabaean inscriptions highlighted another type of warning or severe punishment, given the keenness of gods to revenge by inflicting physical punishments, while mentioning the methods and amounts of such punishments (including material fines, beatings, flogging, etc.). Physical punishment was a stage and manifestation of divine revenge and punishment against humans and a demonstration of divine power over humans through earthly authorities represented by the ruling authority, such as the king or the cleric. Physical punishments, regardless of their degree and severity, primarily aimed to maintain the sanctity and temples of gods, preserve her sanctity, and ensure the enforcement of human laws legislated by concerned authorities. Thus, they aimed to preserve society by deterring any aggressor of divine or human laws. They were not revenge but warnings and corrective punishments to benefit society. This aspect becomes clear when relating the texts to divine legislation and comparing them with the texts of public confessions. Public confessions rarely mentioned exp-licit physical punishments, e.g., flogging or beating. Rather, most punishments were limited to material (reduced) fines or

retaliatory punishments (diseases, epidemics, drought, etc^(b). Sometimes, punishments were not mentioned (as previously mentioned in the guidance punishment). In contrast, most texts mentioned strict material punishments in the form of divine documents and laws and other human laws under divine care enacted to regulate specific matters related to deities or society. Such laws regulated the rules intended to be implemented and the punishment for violating or not implementing them. Additionally, punishments included in the divine laws and commands were mostly limited to financial fines, beatings, flogging, etc. They indicated guidance and reform and did not reach complete indignation against their worshippers, which had to coincide with the degree and severity of punishment through human powers. These punishments were carried out by the ruling authority or the priest according to the sin or offense, as well as its type and place. Here, we give some examples to indicate the type of punishment contained in Sabaean inscriptions with divine commands and laws. For instance, the inscription (Haram 13= CIH 548/ 3-7,10-15) indicates the prohibition of entering the temple of the god Halfan, especially on the feast, with an impure weapon stained with blood (blood was impure in the ancient Yemeni belief). The laws of this temple involved a financial fine if the visitor violated the limits and prohibitions therein. Notwi-thstanding, the fine increased according to the crime and sin. If a visitor had a weapon, the penalty would be five coins only. If the weapon and clothes were impure, the legislator doubled the financial penalty. The text reads [5]: " 3 lyngs 1 n s^1 lhhw wdmwm bs^2 4 y hw (l) y(z)l $^{\circ}$ n l' 1 lt 'ttr 5 w'rs²wwn 's²r ḥy'lym w 6 hm lm ydmw lyz(l')n hm 7 s1 hy'lym" i.e., 3" (as) his weapon becomes impure (and there is) 4blood on his clothes shall pay a fine to those of 'ttr, 5 and to the priests ten hy'l-coins, and if ⁶he did not spill blood, [he shall] pay the fine of five hy'l-coins." Note that the financial fines were doubled in the case of violations and sins (in the inscription). For instance, a sinner had to offer food, milk, honey, and palm hearts. He also had to offer a bull and perform the pilgrimage ritual for ten years because his actions disturbed the peace of the temple and the worship therein, and he would be violating the sanctity of this sacred place [5]. The inscription (Robin/al- Mašamayn1/11-13) indicated the punishment of flogging against those who disobeyed the commands of goddesses, such as bathing in the sacred pool in the temple of Nawšum. without permission. A sinner, in this case, was flogged fifty lashes in the same place of the violation. The text reads [19]

"11 wdyrhd bhw lys' btn hms' y12 s'btm bmqmn", i.e.,

"and the one who washes in it is to be flogged fifty¹² in the same place." The inscription (Nāmī NN7/12-13) highlighted the punishment of flogging and a fine for transgressors of the etiquette of visiting the temple of the goddess Dhat-Badan [20,21]. Some Sabaean inscriptions highlighted the punishment of stealing from temples, ranging from a financial fine, as in inscription (CIH522(BM 102457)/4) [22] to murder, as in inscription (CIH 972=RES 3247/1), indicating

that murder was the divine punishment for anyone who dared to transgress and steal the temple of the god Sumou (the short name of Dhū Sa-mawi) [23]. This preview of the divine commands and laws shows that punishments indicated two things. Firstly, legislated punishments were limited to financial fines or floggings. Secondly, they were enacted as a sophisticated form of divine discipline to deter and warn those tempted to violate them. However, the inscriptions highlighted harsh punishments, such as murder, execution, or amputation of the hand, denoting divine wrath. These divine punishments were only mentioned in a few instances. The author argued that such scarcity was due to two reasons. *) clerics desired to show their deities in a sublime and transcendent form, who could avenge their rights when they wished to do so, but accompanied by endless forgiveness, and that when they wanted revenge, they did so in more harsh ways using divine soldiers, such as diseases (as highlighted later) not worldly authorities. *) reviewing the texts on severe punishments, such as murder, revealed that this punishment was prescribed in part for those who attempted to steal the temples of the gods, as in the inscription (RES 3247= CIH 972). In contrast, the punishment for theft was in other texts a financial fine and the return of the stolen item, e.g., inscription (CIH 612=CIH 522), or the return of the stolen item only without a financial fine (CIH 30/5^(c)), or not mentioning the nature of punishment and revenge (CIH398/11). Was divine punishment and revenge enforced due to the specific nature of each deity? Was theft for Dhū Samawi something that could not be tolerated and was punished by death? Was it taken less and punished differently by other gods? Theft was unacceptable to most gods, whose temples were homes for them and their worshipers. How could they not preserve and defend them? It could be argued that the general rule for all deities was to establish rules to preserve the sanctity of their temples and the etiquette of visiting them and performing rituals. Violating such rules was not common among ancient Yemeni because they considered the temples' sanctity and prestige. Thus, there was no urgent need to establish strict divine laws to protect temples from theft. Some laws, such as those mentioned in the inscription (RES 3247=CIH 972/4), could be discussed that Dhū Samawi was prompted to do so due to the frequent attacks on his temple, probably due to wars, famines, or drought at certain periods. In inscription (CIH522 (BM 102457)/4), this god's punishment was limited to a fine and returning the stolen item to a temple. Punishment also included the amputation of the hand that Nawsum dedicated to grazing on the lands of the god "T'lb Rym" during drought (MAFRAY-al-'Adan 10+11+12/12-13) [24]. In sum, physical retaliation punishments from the gods, such as killing and amputation of the hand, were not the same. Most were applied because of specific circumstances and reasons.

4.2.2. Grace period and luring

Grace is the second stage of divine revenge before the final form of revenge. Sabaean inscriptions indicated that this stage included salvation and destruction; salvation for the one who repented from the transgressions committed against god as the path to salvation and divine satisfaction, or des-

truction for sinners who did not care about god's anger, deserving anger and severe revenge. We did not recognize this period (some texts made it days, and others made it years) in religious texts of deities in which they talked about themselves and their pardon. Instead, people mentioned it in the texts of confessions and repentance. For instance, the inscription (CIH 81/5-7) mentioned that "'bd s²ms¹m bn Hvzm" was subjected to the revenge of Almagah because he delayed fulfilling a vow to Almaqah on saving him and his family from a prevalent plague. The text reads [8]: | ሀየዕወት | ወ 6 ኦኒት ት ወ 5 | አፋዛወ| ዛ1ሐወ]], "5 wh hr 6 whwfyn mwkln w nkr" i.e., "And they delayed fulfilling the vow, so he took revenge on them." Analyzing the text revealed using the verb increased with ha "h'hr", denoting that those who offered the inscription acknowledged the delayed offering of the vow to the god. Additionally, it suggested the [grace] period given to them to fulfill their obligation. It highlighted negligence on the part of the worshipers and grace and pardon on the part of the deity before revenge. The inscription No. (Ja 669/10-11) revealed that the god Almaqah did not take revenge on the owners of the inscription except after a grace period of six or seven years. The owners of the inscription vowed a bronze statue, two bulls, and taking the wife on pilgrimage if Almagah gave them a son and survived, as they were probably given male children who could not survive. The text reads [7]: lh¹¹ mw bnm wyhywn" i.e., "(they promised Almaqah)¹⁰ that if they had a son¹¹ and (if) he lived." Almaqah fulfilled their hope and blessed them with a healthy son. However, they did not fulfill their vow, as God allowed them time until the child reached the age of playing with others and took revenge that almost brought their child to retribution as he killed a boy named "Yhmd". The text reads [17]:

"18 wlqbly <u>d</u> 'dw Yḥmd 'd ¹⁹ y 'rḍhmw wts¹bṭ b 'm 'wl ²⁰dhmw wmyt byd bnhmw", i.e., ¹⁸

In return, Yḥmd¹⁹ attacked their land, fought with their children²⁰, and died at the hands of their son." The inscription (MB 2002 1-28) revealed the king of Saba' and dū-Raydān *Ns*²'*krb Y'mn Yrḥb* and all people, Saba' and Fayshān, and the inhabitants of the valleys, committed mistakes and transgressions. They committed a common transgression for a period without declaring repentance or offering atonement. The text did not specify its exact time but indicated that (the previous seasons of fall and summer). That is, vengeance occurred in these two seasons. The sky did not rain, and God completed revenge by sending locusts and insects. Henceforth, the people remembered the sins they had committed and hastened to the revelation of deity to avoid vengeance (for the text, see page no.10. understudy).

4.2.3. Destructive revenge

It is the final stage of divine revenge on the guilty, whether a king or a common person, a woman or a man. Even children were not excluded from revenge. All were equal in reward and punishment. Inscriptions showed that when gods inflicted revenge, it was extremely brutal and unbearable because gods used to forgive and tolerate those who quickly repented. Furthermore, the gods did not take revenge on anyone who made a mistake out of forgetfulness or who did not immediately rush to repent. Rather, they would send several warnings through calamities and some indicative and corrective punishments, giving the guilty some time to repent. In case of stubbornness, although the guilty knew that gods could see and understand everything, gods revenged, as illustrated below.

4.2.3.1. Diseases and epidemics

They were one of the most severe tools of divine punishment inflicted on sinners to get rid of their evils and take revenge. Diseases, especially epidemics, were imagined in ancient civilizations, especially ancient Yemen, as a manifestation of overwhelming divine wrath and bitter revenge on humans, whether individuals or groups. The texts reported that the gods did not send diseases to a specific group, but rather, they were a harsh and deadly punishment that included all groups. For instance, the inscription (Ja 702/11-14) illustrated the revenge of Almaqah on a person called "Twb" of 'zz" [7]. It reads:

Ⴤ ¹³ ዛያወ|ወሃሐ>(目)ሕ|(目)Π>]Π|1 ¹² ሕ∏ወያ|ወሃሐ∏○|]]ዕዛወ ¹¹ " ዛ1○|ወሃየዛያወ ¹⁴ |ወሃሐ>[]ሕ| ዛ >ሦሕХ|ወ

"11 wnqm 'bdhw Twb' 12 l bmrb(d)) '(d)rs' hw wtn 13 hw t'hrn 'drs' h 14 w wtnyhw 'ln'', i.e.,

"11And (the god) took revenge on his servant Twb ' l^{12} (by infecting him) with pulpitis¹³ and gingivitis¹⁴ for his sins." Analyzing the text revealed the severe revenge of Almagah on his servant Twb 'l, as he inflicted on him an incurable gingivitis, which could cause its decay [25]. Twb 'l took some time to make this confession and to be certain that what happened was the result of a sin^(d) he committed. He was certain that we would see him hoping at the end of the text from his god to show him the way to salvation from the disease that afflicted on him, as expressed through revelation. The text reads [7] "15 And here he was (seeking) 16 oracle (dream) (from god)." The text was not the only source that reported the revenge of deities on individuals using diseases. For instance, the text (MB 2006 I-73/9-11) highlighted Almagah's revenge on a person called " s^1 'd s^2ms^1m ". It reads [26]: "9 fnqm wnkrn 'bdhw s¹ 'd¹0 s²ms¹m hlz wsn' *'nyhw w'*¹¹ *l ys1thnn bnhmy ktnhw''*, i.e., "⁹He punished and took revenge on his servant $s^{I'}ds^{2}ms^{I}m^{10}$ with a disease that affected his eyes¹¹ and he was unable to see until he confessed (his sin)". Analyzing the inscription revealed Almagah's anger against Confession giver and his resentment for his actions. Therefore, he inflected him by an incurable eye disease, which almost caused blindness. Some authors suggested that this disease was trachoma. The god's revenge was a result of the sinners' wrong actions. For example, tortured and humiliated a female slave by dragging her to the ground, probably before people and for a long distance. The text mentioned [26] "along the city of Dūbyān" Additionally,

he beat her as a kind of humiliation. The text added that he beat her with his feet. Such transgression would not be accepted by a god who preserved the dignity and freedom of his servants. As the legislation and laws of the Arabian Peninsula maintained the freedom of women, even if they were slaves, forbidding attacking or beating them, the divine laws were more concerned with women's freedom, which might explain the anger of the god Almagah at the violating actions by "s¹'d s²ms¹m", who felt the anger of his god. At the end of the text, he appealed to the god to ask for forgiveness for his penance, as his only wish was calming divine anger, suggesting that these actions were not characteristic of pre-Islamic Arabs and that society rejected and forbade them morally. Furthermore, it highlighted the extent of the god's keenness to preserve the dignity of male and female slaves in society. The text (CAIS 39.11/03 n0 6/12-13) reported that the god Almaqah took revenge on the offerors of the inscription by imposing a severe punishment for two years. However, the text did not state the type of revenge. It reads [6]:

"11 \underline{dh}^{12} lf Sn 'w $bmlbs^{1}m$ mgybm wnqmh[w] 13 'lmqh $ws^{2}mhw$ btwd 'm $\underline{t}ny$ hrf[n]", i.e.

"11the city of 12Sana'a in a torn dress so she was punished by Almaqah and He imposed on her a punishment for two years." Analyzing the text revealed that the deity's revenge on the mother and her daughter took a long time because they committed several transgressions. First, the mother failed to fulfill a vow she had made to her deity that if the god cured her daughter of a nine-month illness, she would bring her daughter with her to his prayers, perhaps (for pilgrimage), but she did not fulfill her vow. The daughter probably accompanied her mother to another temple of Almaqah in Sana'a in a torn robe. Consequently, she aroused the wrath of the deity, so he took revenge and made the girl sick for two years, highlighting that failing to fulfill the gods' vow was one of the most severe causes of the gods' wrath^(e). It is noted that this divine revenge was bitter for two reasons. First, it was against the mother through her daughter (as shown in several texts, such as the inscription (CIH 504/1-6) [27]. It included two types of torture, sick for the daughter and revenge from the mother. It was a severe psychological and material revenge, especially with reference to the love of parents for their children. Yemeni society was most keen on reproduction and offspring, as shown in the inscriptions and vows. Second, revenge lasted for two years. It indicated the mother's lack of submission and confession of her sin to the deity, which lasted for a long period and denoted the god's revenge and hatred for the actions of the mother and daughter.

4.2.3.2. Natural phenomena

Natural phenomena were a means employed by deities in ancient Yemen to take revenge on humans by destroying the property of the guilty, such as devastating floods, drought, agricultural pests, e.g., locusts, or lack of crops. Musnad ins-

criptions, either religious or literary, indicated severe fear among the inhabitants of ancient Yemen of the deadly effects of those phenomena, such as drought and famine, that afflicted the areas subjected to thirst and drought. Although literary texts were rare, the discovered texts might be called religious literature in ancient Yemen and took the form of two poems or hymns, each of which was supplications for rain and seeking divine help in order to relieve the drought and thirst that afflicted them [28]. Sabaean confession, atonement, and war inscriptions included several examples of seeking divine help against drought and giving them safe rains and floods. Although gods kept people from drought and gave them floods, they caused them drought and rare rains as the most important means to take revenge on sinners. This type of revenge was not directed at humans as a result of individual sins and transgressions but was a result of collective sins. It affected all, including the royal class. For instance, the inscription (MB 2002 1-28) indicated the supplication of the king of Saba' and dū-Raydān Ns²'krb Y'mn Yrhb and all people from Saba' and Fayshan, and the inhabitants of the valleys to the god Almaqah to reduce his revenge. The text reads [29]:

⁷ ፯५/◊ኦ५४/ሕଃଖ/◊ኦ미/፲ਖ਼ୈଡ଼ିଆ Y የዕሐ/ብሕ/ ፲५ኦ º ሕ ⁵ የበኦሕወ/፲୪୪፲(1) º ዕ/፲ሐወወ/ԿየԿଃ/ԿΨፀ◊ |ԿП/ Пኦናቀወ፲/ԿП/Пኦ(ናሕ) . | ወ፲፱୪፰୪ኦሕጠ/Կወና/ዘ/ ፲,

"⁵' ⁶rḥm 'l s'qyhmw qdm brq d<u>t</u>' <u>d</u>ḥrf Ns² 7 ['k]rb bn M'dkrb bn Fḍḥn tnyn w's'm q⁸ [l]mtm w'rbym <u>d</u>kwn b'rdthmw", i.e.,

"⁶A matter (harmful to the lives of people and society, namely) the retention of rain during the $d\underline{t}$ and hrf (fall and summer) seasons preceding the year of Ns² 7'krb bn M'dkrb bn Fdhn II , and from the extent of (the spread of)⁸ insects and locusts in their lands". Analyzing the text revealed that collective punishments for a group of people were often harsh because they might cause the destruction of the society in which the sin occurred without distinction. The goal of divine punish-ments was to eliminate people's evils and sins. For instance, the previous text mentioned three types of punishment by Almaqah against the people of Sheba, namely drought, locusts, and insects. Interestingly, these types of revenge are mentioned in the Holy Qur'an and the Torah [30] on Bani Israël (the Children of Israel). The Holy Qur'an reports that Allah imposed on them years, i.e., barrenness and lack of water "And We certainly seized the people of Pharaoh with years of famine and a deficiency in fruits that perhaps they would be reminded." (Al-A'raf 130). In another verse in the same surah, Allah Almighty says, "So we sent upon them the flood and locusts and lice and frogs and blood as distinct signs, but they were arrogant and were a criminal people" (Al-A'raf 133). Tracking these retaliatory punishments mentioned in the text illustrated that in the beginning, drought and rain retention were imposed on them, which resulted in a shortage of crops, and, in turn, their destruction and the spread of diseases and epidemics. This punishment was followed by another punishment, which is ('rbym), i.e., locusts, which had an inexorable effect as destructive as drought, as locusts continued the elimination of the remaining crops. If they survived drought, they would not survive the devastation and famine caused by locusts, which were most feared by the ancient Yemenis because they recognized their impact and destruction of crops, plants, and pastures, destroying their entire lives. The texts expressed such destruction in the worshipers' constant calls for help from gods to protect them and their pastures from the disasters caused by locusts. The text illustrated revenge with (glmtm), translated by the Sabaean dictionary as harmful insects and locusts [3]. The author argued that the meaning of this word with the addition of the tanween on meem means in Arabic lice that infect wheat or small insects that cling to and harm animals. This insect was another type of divine revenge, as it would destroy their remaining crops or animals. Thus, the god caused them various forms of revenge. This text described three natural phenomena linked in rhetorical formulas to express the punishment and divine revenge, as mentioned by other Sabaean texts that linked them on more than one subject or linked one to the other^(g). In total, natural phenomena were characteristics of deities, which they sent whenever and however they wished to destroy the disobedient and the rebellious, even though this was not mentioned explicitly. For example, deadly natural phenomena, including storms, volcanoes, and torrents, were divine tools for taking revenge on humans, as shown in the call for divine help by the ancient Yemeni in the (CIH 323/3) - RES 3144/6), denoting their firm belief in the ability and control of these deities. Deities were the only protectors from such natural phenomena that they could not confront except by the protection of deities that could also destroy the sinner in case of revenge. Additionally, physical diseases were not the only diseases that deities used to take revenge on sinners. Rather, there were implicit indications in the Sabaean inscriptions of psychological diseases as a means of revenge. Many texts described the state of the sinner and their moral and psychological feelings, including grief, anguish, and distress as a result of committing misdeeds and sins. Sinners felt deprived of their livelihood and the ability to communicate with their deity. Although Sabaean inscriptions the type of deprivation on the sinner, whether deprivation of closeness and divine help? Was it a deprivation of communicating with deities and taking their opinions? Was it a deprivation of material things, such as money and children? Was it a deprivation of calmness and stability? Was it a deprivation of civil rights? This question could be answered when examining the ancient Yemeni's view of deities and their role in his life. They believed that they were the main driver of the course of life. For their protection, ancient Yemenis dedicated everything they had, including life, family members, children, business, agricultural land, crops, livestock, and all money. They even sought the protection of their afterlife and tombs. Such firm belief made them dissatisfied unless being certain and endeavored to gain divine satisfaction and opinions. Therefore, deprivation of closeness and divine care were the closest to the severe psychological status of the wrongdoer and the guilty. The feeling of not being accepted by God was the most severe punishment and the most devastating to the soul, which might

cause obsessive-compulsive disorder, in addition to other diseases that could cause death. For instance, the inscription (CIH 612+CIH 522= Ry 31) reads [22]: "4 (w)dw S'mwy fnkr w 'dbn b 'ly s^2 ' 5(bhw)... wtfn wdS'mwy fr 'khzm, i.e. As for Dhū Samawi, he avenged and punished his people...8 This decree, and the prohibition of Dhū Samawi...". Analyzing the text revealed that Dhū Samawi took revenge and punished the entire tribe by depriving them of contact with him and his temple. He abandoned the temple "Bqrm" where some transgressions occurred, angered the god and prompted him to take severe revenge (4) hkr, \(\begin{aligned}
\text{NO 'db}\). Consequently, this tribe became without divine protection and exposed to disasters, diseases, and calamities. This opinion is affirmed when tracing the connotations and meanings of the verbs of supplication and humiliation that accompanied the texts of sin confession, e.g., the verb (dr', i.e., "beseech/humiliate/ surrender/submit", "'nw" "disappointed/dismayed/disturbed) followed or preceded with the act of expiation (" hl'", i.e., repented from a sin/paid the expiation for sin) [3]. Thus, depression and grief were the first psychological illnesses that plagued him because of god's anger and being deprived of contact with him. Oppression and distress were weapons employed by gods to take revenge on sinners. In the inscription (CIAS 39.11/r1-3-4), the lady አካጋቸት " 'hmdt" made an offering to Almagah because he saved her from distress and grief due to committing a wrong against the god when she visited the temple with an unclean robe. It reads [6] "Because he (Almaqah) had helped them from the distress (oppression) that affected her and her brother."

4.3. Revenge against enemies

Sabaean texts reported two types of enemies, namely civil enemies and political enemies, who were enemies of the state. Against them, the ancient Yemeni sought the help of gods to take revenge. Firstly: Revenge against civil enemies: The ancient Yemeni believed in the ability and strength of gods therefore he always seeks to obtain two things: Preservation, i.e., preservation and protection from all enemies and revenge, as they summoned supernatural power to take revenge on and destroy their enemies. Such revenge took the form of hope and wishful thinking from all groups, common people or the upper classes, including the king, who sought refuge from the evil of enemies of all kinds and groups, and to take revenge on and harm them, as shown in inscriptions (Ja 574/12-13, CIAS 39.11/o 2 n° 2/8-9, Ir 18/10, Ja 576+Ja 577/3). When analyzing the verbs and words in these texts, such as the verb ($\sqrt{104} \, ngm$) took revenge, ($\sqrt{100} \, s^2 kr$)/ crushing, killing, ($1 \times 4 \times 10^{\circ}$ killing, destroying, and ($2 \times 10^{\circ}$) crushing [3, 6], the kings' desire for revenge, crushing, annihilating and destroying their enemies by such cosmic, i.e., Almagah, became clear. All people sought divine help, from the king to senior statesmen such as the "qyl", and the common people. Many religious or political texts were concluded with a wish for the destruction of enemies by Almagah. For instance, the inscription (Ja 646/5-7) [7] reads:

7 ወ|〗◊५|〗५◊1ሕወ|>ሕያየ|ЫП|〗 ሐ Ψ >〗 6 ወሃ אП०|>〗५|ХИ1 Υሕ>〗|>ПОП|ФҰТ|>₩ 6 Ο ΝΦ Χ "5ldt hmr 'bdhw⁶ S²rḥs¹md bn Yt 'r w'lfnm nqm w ⁷ tws³' dhr-ghw b 'br mr'hw ", i.e.,

"5 Because he granted his servant 6 S²rhs¹md, of the family Yt'r and 'lfnm revenge⁷ and defeat of the accused one before his master". Perhaps these wishes and supplications were nothing but a kind of curse, as they sought the help of divine power to expel and curse those enemies who attacked them. They were one of the most severe types of divine revenge. Cursing meant expulsion from the mercy of the god, and expulsion agreed with the power of the most powerful gods that they sought help from. This definition probably depicted that type of revenge when concluding that most invocations were directed at Almaqah and 'Attar, the most powerful Sabaean gods. Furthermore, these curses were a way to intimidate enemies, denoting the inability of the owners of these texts to avoid the evil of their enemies. Thus, the Sabaeans established their tombs and gravestones with examples of these curses, seeking the protection of the god 'Attar, so that they and their possessions would not be tampered with, as they could not defend them in the case of death. The latter form of curses appeared in many texts, such as the inscriptions (CIH 419, CIH 420, CIH 442, CIH describe punishment by the god 'Attar against anyone who vandalized the tombs under his protection, whether by expulsion (tlw), deterrence and suppression (qm), or stalking and tracking (lsq) (DJE 10/3-4) [32]. Second: Retaliatory revenge against the enemies of the state: Southern Arabia had many wars with various goals and causes, from expansion and glory to defensive and vengeful reasons. Generally, they constantly endeavored to give their campaigns and wars a religious form. Belief played a key role in consolidating the foundations of rule in ancient Yemen. For example, the kings of Sheba fought and concluded alliances under the umbrella of religion and divine commands. Thus, their lands and alliances belonged to the god Almaqah primarily, the king, and then the Sabaean people, known as the Sabaean unity or tribal union. This alliance linked the state with a single bond, and any transgression or rebellion was against Almagah. Sabaean inscriptions showed various forms of revenge against the enemies of the state, as follows: a) Revenge against rebellious peoples: Rebellion against Sabaean sovereignty was a reason for the god's anger and revenge through the king, his representative on earth, as the tool that expressed the god's desire and a means of expressing anger and taking revenge on those who infringed on the sanctity of his lands. The command came from the god to wage war on rebels against his authority or breaking his covenant, with divine promises, securing success, victory, good spoils, and safety. Once declaring rebellion against the sovereignty of the god, revenge was the most severe, as illustrated in the words of the Sabean inscriptions, e.g., (defeated- oppressedburnt- killed- captivated- destroyed), which totally highlighted the divine wrath on such peoples and cities. For instance, the victory inscription (RES 3945) of King "Krb'l Wtr"

revealed the dominion of this king, by the commands of Almaqah and 'Attar, over the enemies of the Sabaean state, such as killing, burning, captivity, and destruction. In some examples of this long inscription, "And he defeated Dbhn of Qs²rm and S²rgband and burned their cities...and gave them to Almagah and Sheba... And on the day of defeating Awsān, he killed sixteen thousand (Paragraph 4)." Another part reads, "He destroyed its fields... He destroyed Awsān (5).", "As for the people of Awsān, he sentenced them to death and captivity (5).", "he demolished his palace (called) Ms¹wr (6).", "took their children captive (13).", "and took and seized all their livestock and possessions (14-15)" [29]. Analyzing these paragraphs and verbs revealed that the king's wars on rebels against his authority and the authority of Almaqah were wars of revenge in which he employed many methods of violence, such as killing, burning cities, capturing people, and abolishing some cities. He employed other methods of intimidation, e.g., sieges, transferring the inhabitants to other cities, and settling the Sabaeans in the cities of their enemies, as was the case with Osan. He also humiliated some kings of these cities and took their children captives. Such methods appeared in many Sabaean inscriptions^(h). b) Revenge against the deities of the Sabaean state's enemies: The revenge of Almaqah included the enemies' deities as the ultimate revenge. It was a religious humiliation for those peoples, which was an undesirable aspect of the psychological wars and a harsh test for the clergy and deities of these cities, indicating the inability of these (defeated) divine powers. They could not protect their lands, which were viewed as the property of deities, as well as their homes and sacred places (temples), which deeply impacted those peoples, as they lost some respect for their deities who could not preserve their lands or defend themselves or their temples against the victorious gods, such as Almaqah. That revenge was achieved by demolishing the temples of the rebels against the sovereignty of the Sabaean state and attacking their sanctities, such as the inscription (Ja 629/28-29) [7]:

 $rac{1}{2}$ አለት $rac{1}{1}$ የተወ $rac{1}{2}$ የተወ $rac{1}{2}$

"²⁸ hgrn Ḥlzwm wgbzw kl 's¹rrhmw ww<u>t</u>r wqm ' mḥrmt why²⁹ klt'', i.e.,

"28 The Hlzwm city, destroyed all valleys and demolished and suppressed temples." Analyzing this text showed that "Dṛḥn of the family Grſm" attacked some Awsān cities in support of the two kings S¹ ds²ms¹m s¹r and his son Mṛḍm Yhḥmd in their war. It illustrated that he destroyed Ḥlzwm city and all its property, including temples. This total destruction suggested that the temples were attacked in wars with their valuable belongings, as shown also in the inscription (Ja 576) that reads: "wwtrw kl 'b'r-hmy wqm'w hgrn Qrs¹", i.e., "¹²They filled up all their wells and suppressed the city of Qrs¹." The case was not limited to destroying temples and taking their valuable belongings. The texts illustrated that some rebellious cities were forced to convert to the worship of Almaqah. Hence, the god could take revenge by imposing

religious dominance on worship to complete the political dominance of the Sabean state. It is shown in the previous text that reads, "And that a person called S1mhyf, and (the inhabitants of) Ns²n, shall build Almaqah Temple in the center of the city of Ns²n". When analyzing this inscription, it becomes clear that the rituals of worship of the god Almagah, the victorious god, were imposed in the heart of the lands of Ns²n [29], and building this temple was obligatory for the king and the people. On a similar face, it happened in the reign of Minaean King "Waqah'il Sadiq", whose Kingdom was forbidden from establishing temples to its main deity and was forced to accept the doctrine of the temple of Wad, built in the lands of the Kingdom of Sheba. It was also forced to accept the religious and political subordination to Almaqah by performing pilgrimage. Those affiliated with the Kingdom of Sheba had to perform a pilgrimage to Almaqah in Dhu Abha. Such issues were illustrated in the decree of "T'lb Rym" (RES 4176/1) [33], in which he instructed the people of S¹m'y to perform the pilgrimage to the God Almaqah in the main temple in Mrb. Such gatherings added to the political character and purpose of the pilgrimage rituals, i.e., gathering in a central temple of the kingdom or the tribal entity to demonstrate its control and authority over the tribes and political entities affiliated to the union of the kingdom, on the one hand, and to renew political loyalty annually, on the other.

4.4. Warding off divine revenge

Hastening to confess sin was the first aim of every sinner who feared the wrath of deities. The ancient Yemeni believed that there would be no revenge if there was haste in repentance, humiliation, submission to deities, and a pledge not to repeat that, as confirmed by the inscriptions that indicated the lack of divine vengeance directly after disobedience. They highlighted this aspect in several instances despite the transgression of the sanctity of deities if the guilty hastened to repent and offer atonement. Many texts indicated such issues, including the inscription (Haram 40= CIH 523) that Twbn" against his deity that were worsened by being committed in the temple of Dhū Samawi. That sinner had intercourse with a woman in the temple sanctuary during the pilgrimage period, another during the postpartum stage, and a third while she was menstruating. However, he did not wash. The text reads: " $^2qrb m ^3r tm bhrm(h)w$ ", i.e. [5], "he had intercourse with a woman in the temple sanctuary". In another context, it reads: "wmlt hyd(m)", i.e., he had interecourse with (a menstruating woman). In a third text, it reads [5], "4whn bh' 'ly nfs¹m", i.e., he had intercourse with a postpartum woman. Analyzing these transgressions illustrated two issues. First, the deity Dhū Samawi forgave the sinner when hastening to repent, as was the case of most deities in Southern Arabia. The inscriptions demonstrated their forgiveness and mercy in this case. The text did not mention any type of punishment or revenge on that person. Second, it highlighted the mental status of the sinner after committing

a forbidden issue, including a feeling of grief, distress, and humiliation (See page. 11-12 in the paper). This feeling that overwhelmed him after worry, grief, and anticipation of the anger of God was replaced by great psychological relief because he was confident in the divine pardon and forgiveness in case of confession and offering atonement. Moreover, his fear was changed to see-king blessings and goodness from god, as seen in the text understudy [5]: "w 'nw wyhl(')n wlytwbn i.e., "he felt distressed and offered atonement that Dhū Samawi would bless him with grace". In other texts, the sinner begged gods for good for himself, as well as his money, children, and livestock (YM 10703/7-8) [34,35]. Perhaps this human behavior and trust in the pardon of gods remind us of what is stated in Islam about changing sins into good deeds if the worshipper hastens to repent to Allah (Al-Furqan: 70). Hastening to repent and offering atonement was the basis for warding off revenge. It was also a way to calm the anger of the gods, ward off their revenge, and gain their satisfaction and protection. For instance, the inscription (MB 2002 1-28) illustrated that Almaqah, after taking revenge from the classes of its people, pardoned and protected them all when they realized their mistake, pledged not to return to those sins again, and offered atonement. It mentions: "35 fsry 'bdhw (...the name and title of the king, the name of his father, and their people) ³⁸bn rġm wfqd wġlyt ³⁹lbhw b'lmqh", i.e., "Let him protect his servant (the name and title of the king and the name of his father and their people) ³⁸from oppression, impatience, and anger ³⁹of Almaqah.

5. Conclusion

This study has revealed the extent to which divine revenge permeated the religious doctrine of ancient Yemen, particularly within Sabaean beliefs, and its deep interconnection with the intellectual and behaveioural framework of the ancient Yemeni people, as reflected in the Musnad inscriptions, especially the Sabaean texts. Divine revenge was not merely a punitive act but a complex religious phenomenon with educational, psychological, and spiritual dimensions, indicating an advanced and sophisticated conception of divinity in the Sabaean consciousness. The study further showed that the Sabaeans did not perceive divine revenge as an immediate and constant punishment but rather as a gradual process aimed at reforming human behaviour, achieving divine justice, and preserving the moral and religious order. Moreover, the inscriptions clarified that certain deities most notably Almagah and Dhū-Samawī played a central role in inflicting divine revenge, whether upon individuals, groups, or even the deities of rebellious cities. This clearly reflects the dominance of Sabaean religious beliefs over the intellectual and cultural life in ancient Yemen and highlights the political and religious sovereignty of the Kingdom of Saba across the entirety of ancient Yemen. The findings of this study affirm the critical importance of the Musnad inscriptions as primary sources for reconstructing the ancient Yemeni conception of the relationship between humans and the divine. At the same time, they call for continued archaeological research and excavation to uncover additional texts that may broaden our understanding of religious thought in South Arabia, particularly concerning the concepts of justice, punishment, and mercy within the divine context.

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Endnotes

- (a) The myths of Mesmotopia, e.g., the flood, illustrated that divine justice was criticized, even by gods themselves, as shown in the speech of goddess Aya, suggesting that the flood was an unjust and foolish action. Concerning people, the ancient Iraqi did not find nor feel divine justice in the decision of Anlil to destroy all by flood.
- **(b)** See the paper pp. 175-177.
- (c) CIH I, 49.
- (d) Albert Jamme's translation of the inscription highly-ghted that the owner of the inscription caused seduction and incitement to illegal acts, as well as not giving water to animals. In contrast, Atboush argued that Almaqah's revenge was on a priest called Thob-il because he did not prepare his water bowls (water supply) in the middle of the sacred storeroom (Abtoush, 65-66).
- (e) Compare: Gr 137/12-15, CAIS 39.11/03 n⁰ 6/12-13.
- (**f**) For texts on qmlmtm, see CIH 352/17-CIH74/ Cullen 2/11- FB-al-Bayda1/21- Ja 567/27-Ja 610/9-MB 2002-1-28/8.
- (g) Compare between these Inscriptions: (Ja 567/7- Ir24/3)- (M\$1/11, Ja 610/8, FB-al-Baydā 1/21)
- (h) Compare: (Ja 576, Ja 629, Ja 601)

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