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ON THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF EDUARD GLASER'S EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH ARABIA.

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As I propose to write for this journal a number of short articles on the importance of the South Arabian inscriptions for the study of the Old Testament, I send now a general survey of the material, from which can be seen how rich are the results which are still to be expected from the old ruined cities of the Sabæan empire. The name at the head of the article is that of Dr. Eduard Glaser, which connects itself with the greatest additions, in recent times, to our knowledge of the history of ancient Arabia. This traveler, in his three journeys (1883, 1885 and 1887) has not only collected far more inscriptions—the number amounts to 1032—than any of predecessors,* but he has explored, geographically, countries until now almost inaccessible—especially Mârib itself, the ancient Saba—in a way in which no other explorer has been able to do. It is to be hoped that he will be able to publish, at an early date, his different materials, so as to bring them before the eyes of scholars. He has already made a beginning in his Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens von der ältesten Zeiten bis zum Propheten Muhammad,† of which the first 102 pages are now in print. Many of these sketches were given to friends and colleagues at the Oriental congress in Stockholm. One can see from the contents of the first volume the vast amount of new material contained in it. The index of the first six chapters in pages 3–102 is, viz.: (1) The date of the South Arabian inscriptions [settled with certainty for the first time, by Glaser, by which, at the same time, a clever conjecture of Joseph Halévy is also confirmed]. (2) Jewish and Christian inscriptions. (3) The kingdom of the Mineans. (4) The fall of the Mineans [cira 900 B. C.] and the rise of the Sabæan empire. (5) The Mâkarib [plural of the singular Mukarrab] of Saba, the founding of Sirwâth and Mârib. (6) The kings of Saba; the first appearance of the Habashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; the kings of Hadramaut.

When one remembers that, from Arabian sources, everything pre-Mohammedan comes from the very dim Arabian traditions of the last century before

* Among these, Joseph Halévy, had done the most before Glaser's time. He copied 686 inscriptions in South Arabia, among which are the numerous Minean inscriptions from the so-called Dachôf.
† Not yet to be obtained from booksellers. The whole (over 300 pp.) will probably appear before the end of this year.
Mohammed,* and that the much more important notices in the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions offer very little compact information. and when one compares with this what the most learned and trusted scholar in this department has been able to accomplish toward the clearing up of Arabian history;† he is greatly astonished and compelled to give most ample acknowledgment to that man, who, at the risk of his life, has more than doubled the number of available inscriptions, and, who, at the same time, is in a position, on account of his historical and philological knowledge, to draw the conclusions from these new inscriptions and thus introduce a new epoch, not only in the study of Sabæan antiquities (as one of the most important branches of the Semitics), but also in the study of ancient history in general.

Jealousy and envy, which always show themselves, where any really great thing is accomplished, may, perhaps, also diminish this last-mentioned service of Glaser, viz.: his happy interpretation of his inscriptions, for one can say that it is not strange that he, with so much new material, can make additions to the old views. Even if this were so, Glaser would have enough fame left. The one chapter, viz., the empire of the Mineans, pp. 46–55, is sufficient, however, to show that Glaser knows how to deal, in a different way from all his predecessors, with material, which has long been known (already by Halévy in 1870), and so no one has the right to make more of Glaser's activity in exploring than of his scholarship. In my opinion, Glaser has proved, with conclusive reasons,‡ in this chapter, that the Minean empire§ antedated that of Saba, and was not contemporaneous, as D. H. Müller has accepted up to this time, and also that the greatest part of the Minean inscriptions—and of course the seventy-three smaller inscriptions‖ recently brought by Euting from North Arabia—indicate a much higher age, or in other words, they are to be placed between 1000–2000, B. C.

Up to this time three great periods of history have been accepted in regard to South Arabia, viz.: 1) that of the Makarih, or priest kings; 2) that of the real kings of Saba and finally, 3) that of the kings of Saba and Dhū-Raidān (from about 100 A. D. on), in which the Dhū-Raidān were directly identified with the Himyarites of Arabic tradition. Along with the kings of Saba (especially also

* Some short, mutilated notices in old Arabian poetry are more reliable, as they date from contemporaries; they are, however, too disconnected to be brought forward as of any value.
‡ In one of my following articles, I will call the attention of the readers of this Journal to the particulars.
§ The ancient—from a linguistic as well as orthographical stand-point—inscriptions, which Halévy brought back from Deshōf, give an account of the Mineans.
‖ Among which are about a dozen each containing a fragmentary text of circa 5–8 lines; the others are either very fragmentary or consist of only 1–2 lines of proper names. Cf. now the edition of D. H. Müller, Epigr. Denkmäler (Vienna, 1889), pp. 21–55.
‖ D. H. Müller reads the sing. Mukarrab (or Mukarrib, i. e. = the one blessing = the priest) incorrectly Mukrab and translates "the honored" (north-arab. Mukram) which is impossible from a grammatical stand-point, as Glaser pointed out in 1886 in his Mittheilungen.
Saba and Dhû-Raidân) reigned* as hostile brothers, the Mineans in Dschôf, lying north of Mârib. Glaser proves, as shown above, a fourth great period of history, viz.: that of the Mineans before the rise of Saba. Again he proves from dated inscriptions (whose era is definitely settled at 115 A. D.), that a short time before 300 A. D., the kings of Saba and Dhû-Raidân still reigned; further, from the number of these kings and the probable lengths of their reigns, that the first of them is to be placed about the time of Alexander, the Great, in all probability 100 years earlier, and that Dhû-Raidân and the Himyarites can, by no means, be regarded as the same. Finally, in addition to the proposal of a new Minean period before the beginning of the Sabaean, he adds an unexpected period to the history of Saba, viz.: a fifth, that of the "kings of Saba, Dhû-Raidân, Hadramaut and Yemen" [and especially "and the Arabs in the mountains and the Tihâma"] whose dated inscriptions render possible a most exact chronology. Although this period is the youngest, it is also the most interesting, because the texts belonging to it are much more complete,† and for the first time Judaism and Christianity make their appearance. Already in 1884, it had been conjectured that the expression Raḥmânân (i. e. Raḥmân, merciful, with article = North Arabian al-raḥmân, pronounced ar-raḥmân) occurring here and there in the inscriptions—alwasy in pieces where the usually occurring names of the heathen gods are wanting (Derenbourg)—pointed to monotheism and perhaps to Judaism. This has been proved to a certainty now by a number of new inscriptions, all of which date from the fourth and fifth centuries, A. D. In these is found, in addition to the expression "the merciful," still another, viz., "the [one] God, Lord of the heaven [and the earth]," from which one can see the expressions ar-raḥmân and allâh (al-ilâhu, "the god" = South Arabian ilân) are much older than the time of Mohammed. That we have to do with Judaism here, is plainly shown from a fragment, Gl. 395 (Skizze, p. 13), of the same date, where we read, "[in the name of the Lord] of the heavens and Israel." Now, for the first time, the traditional news that the South Arabian king Dhû Nu’âs, killed in 516 A. D., was a Jew, is placed in its true historical light, for already some time before his reign, Judaism had found its way into the land. Again the Jews now living in Yemen, according to their own traditions, as Glaser informs me, emigrated from Palestine before the Christian era, and hence this influence does not appear so astonishing.

Christianity also gradually gained an entrance into South Arabia, but not in so active a state as in Axum (Abyssinia). Already under the Emperor Constantius (337–361), Christian missionaries worked with success in Yemen, at least they gained the permission to build three churches in Saba. We find also, in Ethiopic inscriptions, a king who adds to his own title that of king of the "Him-

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* D. H. Müller in his Die Burgen und Schlösser Stidarabienths.
† One, for example, has 102 lines (cf. Glaser 407 and 410).
yarites, of Raidân, the Ethiopians, Sabæans, etc. Up to date, we have regarded
the ruling of Axum over South Arabia as only nominal, without being able to
say anything certain as to its beginning, its real spread and its end. Glaser
proves in chapter two, that it is king Aizanas, mentioned in this Axum inscription,
who for a short time (between 360–378) actually conquered the Sabean empire.
Christianity was probably introduced into Yemen at this time, since Glaser
has proved that Aizanas was the first Christian Abyssinian king.* But already
378 we find another native king in South Arabia, who was not a Christian, but
perhaps monotheistic. This non-Christian (Jewish) monotheism remained in
the country probably to 525 A. D. There were, however, some Christian settlements,
part of which, according to Glaser, belonged to the Ethiopian empire and part
were under its protection. The molestation of one of the Christian communities
(Nejrân) by the Jewish rulers, gave occasion to the entrance of the Abyssinians in
525, by which the king of Yemen, Dhâ Nu‘ âs lost his throne and life. From this
time on, Christianity became a state religion in South Arabia. One of the longest
and most complete of the inscriptions of Glaser (Gl. 553, 555, 556 and 618), which
is placed in the time of Ramîjis Zû-bi Yaman,† the successor of the Axum con-
queror, and, in which the Axum vice-king Abraha, celebrated on account of his
journey on elephants against Mecca, is mentioned, begins with the words (Skizze,
p. 4), "In the power and help and mercy (רומאיה) of the all merciful (רומאיה) and
his Messiah (רומאיה) and of the holy ghost." The inscription is dated in
two places, 657 and 658 of the above-mentioned era, which according to Glaser,
corresponds to 542 and 543 A. D. That many contemporaries of Abraha,
known to us from Arabic tradition, e. g., Ḥarîth ibn Galaba, are mentioned, and
that there is also mention of a king of Byzantia (malik Râmân), and a Persian
king (malik fars), agrees very well with this.‡

A few words on the contents of the sixth chapter of Glaser's Skizze, which is
also of the greatest importance historically. The title is: the kings of Saba; first
appearance of the Habashat (Abyssinians) and Himyarites; kings of Hadramaut." As
the title shows, the first mention of the Abyssinians—at the time still living
in Arabia, and not yet in Africa—is of the most importance historically. Glaser
gives a transliteration of the following part of an inscription decisive as to this
point, and its translation is: "out of thankfulness for the fact that Djadarat,
kings of Habashat, saw it to be necessary, in his own interests, to ally himself with
him (the king of Saba) and that this alliance between him and Djadarat and the

* Glaser has proved that the supposed relapse into heathenism in the fifth or sixth centuries did not take place, but that Christianity, in accordance with the Axum traditions of the middle of the fourth century, remained continuously in Axum.
† Glaser, who has, up to date, allowed no one to see his collections (with the exception of 276 numbers of his first trip, two collection of stones in Berlin and London, and Nos. 418-420 and 1,000) has promised to leave to me the treatment of this highly interesting inscription (Nos. 553, 555, 556 and 618).
land of Ḩabashat was brought about, and that they agreed (to assist each other) as one man in their critical as well as peaceful times against everyone, who should attack their interests, and for protection(?), security, an alliance was made between Salhán, (Salḥán or Salḥîn?) and Zirārân and 'Athán* and Djadarat for the sake of all their interests (lands?) and they they thanked (God) therefore, that their alliance with the king of Ḩabashat was accomplished, and (as a result?) their alliance with Jeda'ab Ghâilân, king of Hadramaut, was accomplished; (they thanked God) by the presentation of this dedication (dedicatory inscription . . . ).”†

This offensive and defensive alliance of South Arabian states raised itself against the Himyarites dwelling in the southwestern part of Yemen, as Glaser shows from another inscription. The Himyarites appear here, on the inscriptions, for the first time as the enemy of Saba. There cannot be any doubt, according to the results of Glaser, that 1) the above-mentioned Habashat are identical with the Habash (Habesh) known through the mention of the Arabs, and 2) that they, at that time, were still in Arabia,‡ and namely to the east of Hadramaut as far as 'Omar, and 3) that their immigration to Africa took place within the time between the writing of the inscription translated above and that of the so-called *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (about 70 B. C.), i. e., possibly not long before the Christian era.

These are the most important results of the first volume of Glaser’s *Skizze*, and they awaken the earnest wish that the remainder may appear very soon. The contents of the later chapters, as given by Glaser, show that the material to be handled is no less interesting, e. g., chapter 16, “geography of the Bible, as relating to Arabia, comes into consideration.” The Old Testament relations with South Arabia—think only of the queen of Saba’s visit to Solomon, leaving out the geographical names in the lists of the peoples—are well known, but Hebrew lexicography, especially, will receive, through the South Arabian inscriptions, when Glaser has published and interpreted his materials,|| a mass of parallels, etymological explanations, etc., such as one could scarcely dream of now.¶ I will notice here one example, the name of a god, which I found a short time ago in the Sabean in one of the 276 numbers belonging to Glaser’s first trip,** viz., Gl. 119. It has to do with the well known Syrian god Rimmûn—also often met in the cuneiform inscriptions, Bab.-Assyr. Rammânu—and the passage in the Sabean inscription reads: . . . [has erected] this statue, because Rammân (written ﺔٌٌٌٍٍٍ)
had made him happy with many killed and captives." From the context, which calls for the name of a God, it is seen that also in the other passages of this inscription, Ramman means nothing else than this same god, not perhaps pomegranate or Rûmân = Romans. This inscription belongs to the middle period of Sabaean history, about 800 B. C.

After all that has been said, I can only repeat what I have already published, viz., that such unexampled success as that of Glaser has not been reached by any of his predecessors. This can be emphasized all the more now, as, from the important published inscriptions brought by Julius Euting from North Arabia, can be seen the still greater importance of Glaser’s finds. Euting’s Minean inscriptions from El’Ola (northwest of Medina) are valuable 1) because of the place of their discovery (South Arabian inscriptions in North Arabia), by which the interesting find of Glaser, viz., that Ghaza and other northern localities belonged to the Mineans in olden times, is confirmed, in as much as ‘Ola was only a way station on the road between South Arabia and the Philistine coast; and 2) because of the antiquity of this colony and of its inscriptions, which, however, was first placed in its right light by Glaser. While Euting’s journey was rendered possible by the munificence of the Alsatian government, the service of Glaser is to be rated higher, as he was compelled to earn the large sums necessary for his three trips through trade. Glaser has shown so much enthusiasm and such good results, that it would be to the interest of science if he could be well supported on another trip, since there is no one in Europe so well acquainted with the Arabian peninsula and the custom of the Arabs as he. His fourth trip, for which he is now making preparations, would then lead to still more wonderful results.

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* I spoke in a few words about this discovery at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm, and I will speak more at length in the Proceedings of the Congress.