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"I wrote forty-three characters"

Karel Jongeling, Leiden University

1. A text found at the hill El-Hofra in Constantine, Algeria, and known since the last century, contains the following text, according to the reading of Chabot[1]:

1	*lʾdn lbᶜl ḥn ndr ʾš ndr*	*/ladun ləbal amun nədar əš nador/* [2]
1a	*m*	
2	*bdᶜštrt bn bnḥdš kʾ*	*/boštar bən bənudš ko/*
3 š	*mʾ qlʾ brkʾ*	*/šamo qulo barako/*
4	*wktbt msprm ʾrbym*	*/wəkatabti misporom arbaim/*
5	*wšlš .y.y*	*/wəšaluš ...../*

In translation: *1) To the lord Bal Amun, a promise made by 2) Boshtar the son of Benudsh, because 3) he listened to his voice and blessed him 4) and I wrote their number: forty 4) three ...*

We will try to make some useful remarks on the problem of stone and text, but before we start with the subject proper, a few general remarks on the text just quoted. The first three lines are, apart from the corrections made by the scribe, highly stereotyped and in this or related form this part of the text may be found on scores of texts. One expression in this part of the text calls for our attention, while the lines four and five are far from stereotyped, although there some related expressions to be found.

In North Africa hundreds of votive steles have been found in which a vow to Bal Amun, Tinnit Fane Bal or to both (in which case both deities may be mentioned first) is mentioned. Only a few times other gods are mentioned. In many instances the choice for the order in which the deities are mentioned or for just one god has not been really a personal choice, because at the same place frequently the same god or deities are found. In these texts normally the name of the dedicant, or a description of a group of dedicants, is stated, and the reason to erect the stele is mentioned: because he has listened to his voice and blessed him. In this formula quite some variation is possible, both in length and in the use of tenses, but, apart from the question whether the vow is redeemed before or after the deity listens to one's plea (in case this is indicated by means of the tense variation), these formulae do not give really important insights. We will leave the interesting grammatical questions raised by these formulae.

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[1] CRAI 1916, p. 244, cf. id. sub RES 1543.

[0] The pronunciation of the Punic texts is the one used during the actual lecture, it is based on our present knowledge of Punic, as e.g. expressed in Friedrich-Röllig, PPG.

Then the non stereotyped part of the text. It is a pity that the last word is not easy to read; the rest of the words, however, is and there can hardly be any doubt that the translation we just gave is correct. *wktbt* has been explained by several authors as a 1 p. sing. of the G-stem of *ktb*[3], which is the most probable explanation. Février has supposed[4] that *wktbt* should be explained as a perfect consecutive form of the 2 p. sing. masc.: you must write. The uncertainty on the point of the existence of consecutive tenses in Punic[5] makes this solution less attractive, however. *msprm* has been explained as a plural of a word *mspr*, meaning a character from the alphabet. This solution seems to have been influenced by the fact that we might express ourselves in such a way in a case like this. But what is meant with these few words is the precise number of characters that has been written. When we count the characters in the first part of the inscription we find that forty-three characters have been written before the stone mason added the two missing characters. One might suppose a situation like the following one: the stone mason gets a note (e.g. an ostracon) from his boss with the text he has to incise on stone, with a remark on the number of characters in this text. Twice something went wrong in this case. In the first place the responsible scribe has made two mistakes, which were corrected afterwards (the *m* in *ḥmn* was forgotten, and the first character of line 3 was left out). In the second place the stone mason, not realising what was meant by it, has incised the control text as part of the votive text.

2. This example points to an interesting relationship between stone and text. From the above it is clear that there is indeed a very special relationship between this text and this stone. By two elements which are manifest in this text we are enabled to visualize the stone mason and his superior in the votive stele factory working on this stone, the stone mason not realizing the character of the second half of his text and his superior counting the number of characters in a corrupt text which afterwards needs correction on the stele. A manifest relation between text and stone, but an accidental one. There is no internal relationship between text and stone.

This text is not the only one in which mistakes are found, or which contain an element not meant to be incised on the stele. Another stele from Constantine has the following text[6]:

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[3]Cf. Chabot o.c.

[4]Février, BAC 1951-1952, p. 361ff., FS Dupont-Sommer p. 192f.

[5]Cf. Friedrich-Röllig, PPG §266.1, p. 134.

[6]NP 87, Chabot, Punica xviii i 15; cf. Lidzbarski Handbuch p. 433 d 1; drawing published by Judas, ASAC 1860-1861, pl. 1 n ii.

1	*1^{c}dn lb^{c}l nd^{c}r $^{\supset}$š ndr*	*/ladun ləbal nədar əš nador/*
2	*yknšlm bn b^{c}dš hrp lb^{c}l*	*/yakunšallim bən badš arope ləbal/*
3	*ltnt b^{c}lm šl$^{\supset}$ šm$^{\supset}$ $^{\supset}$*	*/lətinnit balim šelo šamo ət/*
4	*t ql$^{\supset}$ ktb n^{c}mtp^{c}m$^{\supset}$ ḥd/b$^{\supset}$*	*/qulo katob namefamo a.../*

which may be translated thus: *1 To the Lord, to Bal, a promise made by 2 Yakunshallim, son of Badsh, the doctor, to Bal, 3 to Tinnit, his Lords, they listened 4 to his voice Namefamo wrote (it) ...*

Also in this text the last word remains obscure. Février's reading *ḥt$^{\supset}$* "his sister" seems highly improbable, at least if some importance may be attached to the drawing published by Judas, which is corroborated by Chabot's reading[7]. Février's reading follows from his differing interpretation of the preceding words, read by him as: *ktb n^{c}mt p^{c}m$^{\supset}$ ḥt$^{\supset}$*, and translated as: *n^{c}mt* wrote (it), and with him (or: her) his (or: her) sister. Apart from the drawing several other objections may be made: the use of the conjunction *p* is, to say the least, remarkable in a Punic text, and it remains unclear how Namat has written this text together with his sister. The *n^{c}mt* gives the impression to be feminine, and this seems to be a problem too, but this problem remains in our explanation. We are convinced, however, that this strengthens our argument that Février's interpretation of the first text is incorrect. These words must indicate that the writer of the first text made a note for the stone mason: so and so wrote this text, giving the opportunity to ask for the correct assistance in case the stone mason had any problems in interpreting the text. This indicates that the last word in the first text (*.y.y*) most probably also contains the name of the scribe.

Note how part of this text was written in the Punic variant of the Westsemitic alphabetic script, while the concluding remark, which was not meant to be incised on the stele, is written in the Neo-Punic variant of the same. This Neo-Punic cursive script, in the last period of Punic North Africa also used in inscriptions, was originally probably only used for more ephemeral notations. In this case it strengthens the view that these concluding words were not meant for the stele. So this is another stele with a strange, accidental but strong relation between stone and text.

Apart from this type of relationship we must ask ourselves whether there is some less accidental relation between stone and text. Or is the text only a communication by means of a stone, but not in any way related to this carrier of its meaning? The first words of the text, *l$^{\supset}$dn lb^{c}l ḥmn*, are clearly not related to the stone in any way. The next words, however, are important for the solution of our problem: *ndr $^{\supset}$š ndr*, a vow which vowed. What type of vow do we have to imagine? Not only on these stones but on

[7] Punica xviii,i,15; Chabot proposes to emend the text to *ḥn$^{\supset}$*.

hundreds of others this announcement is made, without any explanation. Does the first *ndr*, the vow, perhaps indicate the stele ? Has the faithful promised to the deity to erect a stele in his temple, in case his plea was heard ? Or is it a question of a vow with some unknown implication in all these cases ? Although the second solution seems to be the easiest, we think that the first one is probably correct, the stele being (at least part of) the vow mentioned. Both the external features of these stelae and the places where they are found strengthen this supposition. On many of these stelae images are found, while at the same time many stelae go without text, but carry some image. These images mainly relate to the religious world of the Punic speakers and therefore we must conclude that erecting such a figure happened within a religious context. As erecting a stele without text must have had some significance, in which the stone with image itself had some function, then the same will be true in those cases where the stele also contains some text. For the few steles with not much more than only text the same will be probably true in the end. Many stelae were found in places where the remains of molk-offerings were buried in urns. Erecting the stele must have been at the occasion of such an offering, and when one sees the relation between the urn with cremation remains and the stele one must conclude that it took place at the same time as the burial of the remains of the cremated child (or its substitute) as part of the ceremony.[8] Some examples are given in our figure 1. The stelae Cb 114 and Cb 513[9] both show an image of an erected stone, a betyle. The text of Cb 513 is a stereotyped one. The same holds true for two stelae with the so-called Tinnit sign, one with, the other without text: Cb 158 and 577. Looking at their dates, we find that the number of stelae with text is slowly growing at the expense of stelae without text. In the later period the text also gets a more prominent place (cf. e.g. Cb 836).

We may conclude that the votive stelae, with their illuminations, have functioned within a religious context, the text originally only giving some extra information, viz. who was, or were, to be connected to the remembrance of a specific religious ceremony.

3. The second important group of Punic texts, found in North Africa are the tomb inscriptions. To begin with we give a simple text as an example[10]:

1 *ṭnʾ ʾbn z l* */tanu abn ze lə/*

---

[8]Cf. e.g. article Stèles, in: DCPP; cf. D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 88-89 (and fig. 23).

[9]Drawings according to photographs in C.G. Picard, Catalogue du Musée Alaoui, nouvelle série, collections puniques t. i, planches (s.l., s.a.).

[10]NP 17; Chabot, Punica iv A 4.

2 *lqy bn b^{c}lytn* */luki bən baliton/*

1 This stone was erected for 2 Lucius the son of Baliton.

Here we find a very clear relation between the text and the stone on which it is incised. The text refers to the stone, and the stone is not only a means to convey the text but also the end of the action mentioned in the text. Many burial inscriptions contain a comparable or sometimes a little more elaborate text. One of the possible extensions is mentioning the name of the one who erected the stone, a not unusual addition. Another extra found regularly is the indication of the age of the deceased[11]:

1 *ṭnḥ ^{c}bn z* */tunna abn ze/*
2 *lzlk^{c} bt ^{ɔ}šm* */ləzileka bət ešm/*
3 *w^{c}w^{c} š^{c}nt ^{c}s^{c}r* */wawa šanut əsar/*
4 *wšš* */wəšeš/*

1 This stone was erected 2 for Zileka the daughter of ešm 3 and she lived years ten 4 and six.

And further[12]:

1 *ṭ^{c}n^{ɔ} ^{c}bn z lt^{ɔ}[* */tanu abn ze ləto[/*
2 *s^{c}ṭr ṭn[^{c}] l^{ɔ} ^{c}by^{ɔ}* */satur tinno lo abyo/*

1 This stone was erected for To[the son of] 2 Satur, his father erected (it).

Only in a few instances another verb is used to describe the action, or another substantive is used to indicate the monument, cf. e.g.[13]:

1 *nbn^{c} hmnbṣbt z* */nibna amənṣibt ze/*
2 *lšb^{c} bt y^{c}skt^{c}n* */ləšeba bət yasuktan/*
3 *^{c}št m^{c}grs^{c}n bn* */ešt magarsan bən/*
4 *lqy ^{c}w^{c} š^{c}nt šš̌m* */luki awa šanut šišim/*

1 This masseiwo was built 2 for Sheba, the daughter of Yasuktan, 3 the wife of Magarsan, the son of 4 Lucius, she lived sixty years.

This stele is interesting because of the use of *bny* to indicate the erection of the stele. This proves that the use of the same root with object *maṣṣebah* in Ex. xxiv 4 is less of a problem than people have thought[14]. Then the word *maṣṣebah*, mainly used with the meaning stele, in many instances a tombstone, cf. e.g. the following combinations: *mṣbt qbry*, the

[11]NP 64, Chabot Punica xii 32.
[12]NP 63, Chabot, Punica xii 31.
[13]RES 162, KAI 149.
[14]*wayyiben mizbeaḥ uštem ^{c}esreh maṣṣebah* ... ; for this doubt, cf. e.g. Gamberoni in TWAT iv 1067.

stele of (i.e. on) my grave[15], *mṣbt skr bḥym*, a remembrance stele among the living[16]. The combination *mṣbt skr* is attested several times in Phoenician[17] and indicates the tombstone in its function as a memorial stone. In later texts, in which *skr* sometimes occurs on its own, this word has the same meaning. This is clearly shown in the still difficult text from Guelaa bou Sba[18]:

1	*sbq yᵓ ᵓlk wqrᵓ*	*/səboq yo olek wəqəro/*
2	*ᵓt pᶜs ᵓš ᶜl hmnṣbt*	*/ət pas əš al amənṣibt/*
3	*st tkl bn ᶜdm kn nḥr*	*/sət takol bən adom kon nar/*
4	*wᶜlk lktm mᶜṣᵓ lᵓqmt*	*/walok liktim maṣo loqmut/*
5	*tsdt bn mtᶜt bn gwṭᶜl*	*/tasdat bən metat bən gauṭal/*
6	*hngry dl ᶜṭrt wdl šm*	*/anagari dal aṭirt wədal šem/*
7	*tᶜṣmt wᶜwᵓ šᶜnt ᶜmšm skᶜr*	*/taṣimot wawo šanut amišim skar/*
8	*drᵓ lᵓlm*	*/duro lulom/*

The Latin counterpart of this bilingual text offers no problems:
RVFO METATIS F(ilio)
NVM(idae) HONOR(ato)
VIX(it) ANNI(s) L FECER(unt)
FILI H(oc) L(oco) S(epultus) E(st)
O(ssa) T(ibi) B(ene) Q(uiescant)

Translation: *1 For Rufus, the son of Metat 2 the honourable Numidian 3 he lived 50 years; made (this monument) 4 (his) sons; he is buried here 5 may your bones rest well.*

The first four lines of the Punic text are more or less problematic; Röllig translates[19]: *1 Bleibe stehen, Vorübergehender, und lies 2 die Inschrift, die sich auf 3 dieser 2 Stele 3 (befindet), alles darauf bis zu ..... 4 und (die) auf allen KTMM neben dem (den ?) QMT!*
Levi Della Vida gives the following translation[20]: *1 Férmati, o passeggero: leggi 2 l'iscrizione che è su 3 questa 2 stela 3 tutta quanta: Era un uomo (ancora) giovane 4 e su tutti i Ketam trovò per sè preminenza.*

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[15]Cf. NESE i 3.

[16]KAI 53, the well known Greek-Phoenician bilingual text from Athens.

[17]Cf. KI 15, DD 5, 10, 11.

[18]KAI 165; cf. on this text: Chabot, Punica xvi 1; G. Levi Della Vida, Parerga Neopunica 2, A proposito della bilingue latino-punica di Guelaa bou Sba, OA iv, 1965, pp. 62-68; J.-G. Février, BAC 1951-1952, pp. 38-43; Röllig, BiOr xxvii, p. 379; van den Branden, Quelques notes concernant le vocabulaire phénico-punique, RSF ii pp 137-147, cf. p. 145f.

[19]KAI Band ii p. 154.

[20]OA iv p. 67-68.

And Van den Branden translates[21]: *1 Arrête-toi, ô passant, et lis 2 les textes qui sont sur 3 ce 2 monument, 3 tout ce qu'il y a dessus jusqu'au socle du dauphin 4 et sur toutes les plaques près du sommet.*

The following lines are less difficult, and may be translated: *5 Tsdt, the son of Metat, the son of Gautal, 6 the Ngrite, owner of a crown and owner of a name 7 of heroism; he lived fifty years; a monument 8 of his family for ever.*

Also in this text both *skr* and *mnṣbt* occur. Both words indicate the stele together with the text incised thereon. The rest of this text has also a certain interest for our subject. The first line begins with the word *sbq*. This reading is accepted by Chabot[22] and Levi Della Vida[23]. The meaning must be something like: stop. This translation is of course prompted by the Latin parallels of this expression, cf. e.g.[24]:

Resta viator et lege ...[25]
Stay still, traveller, and read

Te rogo, preteriens, cum legis ut dicas: sit tibi t(erra) l(evis)[26]
I ask you, passer-by, that you read and then say: may the earth be light for you.

Siste, precor: quaeso, cipum cognosce uiator. antisporus a(nnorum) viii carus omnibus hic situs est, et precor ut dicas: antispore, sit t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).[27]
Stay still, I implore, I ask you, traveller, to look at the stone. Here lies Antisporus, 8 years old, beloved of everybody, and I implore you to say: Antisporus, may the earth be light for you.

d.m.s. quisque preteriens titulum scribtum legeris tactus pietate hoc praecor ut dicas: ianuaria sit tibi terra levis; vixit annis lxv iulius messor coniugi et iuli rufus et ianuarius matri piissimae fec(erunt)[28]
D.M.S. whoever passes by and reads this written text, I implore you, strikken by pity, to say: Ianuaria, may the earth be light for you; she lived 65 years; Iulius Messor made this for his spouse and Iulius Rufus and Ianuarius made

[21]RSF ii, p. 146.
[22]Punica xvi 1.
[23]Levi Della Vida o.c., p. 65.
[24]The Latin texts are quoted according to ILS, CLE; cf. also CCLE.
[25]ILS 2783.
[26]ILS 81831; there is another text containing more or less the same text, mainly abbreviated: t.r.p. dicas s.t.t. levis, CIL ii 1752.
[27]CLE 1193.
[28]CLE 133 = CIL viii 3727.

it for their most pious mother.

The last text quoted was found in Algeria like the Punic-Latin bilingual text we are discussing now. Several other texts, which invite the passer-by to read aloud (part of) the text contain comparable phrases[29]. Even longer poems have been found with this type of construction[30]. Not only the word *qrʾ* from our text finds its parallel (in: lege, legeris etc.), but also *pʿs* (titulum scribtum). For our first word, *sbq*, we encounter in a comparable location in these Latin texts words meaning something like: stay still, stop (siste, etc.). There are however also several texts which rather invite the passer-by to stop and look and only then to read, cf.:

hospes resis[te et] tumulum contempla meum, lege ...[31]
stranger, stay still and contemplate my tumulus, read ...
or without reference to stopping:

adulescens tam etsi properas hic te saxsolus rogat ut aspicias deinde ut quod scriptust legas[32]
young man, even if you are pressed, here this small stone asks you to look well and then to read what has been written.

Note how in this text the tombstone itself is speaking to the passer-by. A direct start with the appeal to read the text on the stone is also attested:

lege nunc viator nomen in titulo meum[33]
now read, traveller, my name in this text.

For the first word, *sbq*, one might perhaps think of a relation to arabic *sabaqa*, meaning: to do or say something spontaneously. The following *yʾ* must be a vocative particle as supposed by Levi Della Vida, followed by a derivation of the root *hlk* (a noun or a participle) meaning: passer-by. The last word of this line cannot be anything but the imperative qal of the root *qrʾ*: *Stay still, passer-by, and read.*

The second line combined with the first word of the third line indicates what the passer-by should read: *The text which is on this stele.*

The following lines are more difficult. We leave Van den Branden's explanation aside as being too speculative. Levi Della Vida and Röllig both explain *t kl* as the nota objecti followed by a noun, 'all, everything'.

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[29]Cf. e.g. CIL viii 4120, 4122; CLE 117-135.

[30]Cf. e.g. CLE 434 (in hexameters), which begins with the following words: Tu pede qui stricto uadis per semita, uitaor, siste rogo, titulumque meum ne spreueris oro ..., and 465 AB (in hexameters), etc.

[31]CLE 1876*, cf. 82, 83.

[32]CLE 848.

[33]CLE 84.

Although the characters in question may be explained this way, it seems less probable, as one has to assume that the object of *qrʾ* has been split. Completeness is expressed by means of *kl* in many instances, but mainly preceding the element the completeness of which must be stressed. In this case the author would have chosen for an appositional construction which is, to say the least, not common. Therefore, we might ask whether *tkl* cannot be the first word of the next phrase: *tkl bn ʿdm*. *bn ʿdm* is most probably explained as 'son of man' as has been proposed by Levi Della Vida[34]. *tkl* we may connect with Akkadian and Syriac *tkl*, to trust. For the following words we again agree with Levi Della Vida: *kn* being a form of the root *kwn*, followed by a word */nar/* = *nʿr*, young man. The next line begins with the words *wʿlk lktm*, which may be translated as: he went his going, *ʿlk* for */alak/* < *hlk*, and *lktm* an inf. of the same verb followed by a suffix 3 p. sing. m. Then follows *mʿṣʾ*, a spelling pointing to a pronunciation */maṣo/*, probably the 3 p. sing. m. pf. qal of the root *mṣʾ*, "to find" (thus also Levi Della Vida). The last word, *lʾqmt*, remains obscure. We think of a nominal derivation of a root *lqm*, attested in Arabic, which may be translated with 'to hinder'. As a translation for these lines we propose: *1 Stay still, passer-by, and read 2 the tablet which is on this stone 3 man is trusting when he is young 4 and he goes his way, but he finds opposition.*

If correct this final opponent is death, of course. Also among the Latin funerary inscriptions we find many pointing to the transient character of our earthly existence, cf. e.g.:

vita bonum est et vita malum, mors neutrum habet ho[ru]m[35]

life is something good and life is something bad, but death has none of these characteristics.

We return to the *mṣbh*. As has been pointed out, the *mṣbh* may refer to the tombstone, although the most common word is *ʾbn*. To find the difference between these two, it is well to look at the classical Hebrew use of *mṣbh*. In many instances this word is left untranslated, and it indicates a raised stone with a religious and/or cultic function and mainly without any architectural one. The word may be used to indicate a tombstone, cf. Gen. xxxv 20, the *mṣbh* on Rachel's grave and cf. ii Sam xviii 18, the *mṣbh* raised by Absalom, a memorial not a tombstone, but occurring in a context in which also Absalom's grave is mentioned. The *mṣbh* in the Punic world had, apart from its referential function, also a religious function of its own,

[34]The combination is not attested in Phoenician nor Punic; *ʾdm*, however, is attested several times and therefore the combination is quite possible; for this word group one may compare Ps. viii 5: *mh ʾnwš ky tzkrnw wbn ʾdm ky tpqdnw*.

[35]CLE 1497.

as the home of a god, a *bet ʾel*, a betyle (cf. Gen. xxxv 14-15). This cult of the stone appears e.g. from the explanation of the name abaddir[36], as mentioned by Priscianus: abaddir o baitulos .. lapis quem pro iove devoravit Saturnus, Abaddir is the betyle, the stone which Saturnus devoured instead of Iupiter. The abaddir, whether to be explained as *ʾab ʾaddir*, the mighty father, or as *ʾabn ʾaddir*, the mighty stone[37], has remained important in North Africa, even St. Augustine speaks of abaddires (in plural), explained by him as numina.

However this may be, in the case of the tombstone the relation between text and stone is direct: together they form the memorial for the deceased.

4. To conclude we want to ask attention for the only text in which a plural of *ʾbn* is attested[38]:

1 ly[g]wᶜkny bn knrdᶜt bn */ligwakani bən kənardat bən/*
2 msyᶜln ṭnʾ ʾbnm ʾlʾ */masialan ṭunno abonim ele/*

1 For Igwakani, the son of Kenardat, the son of 2 Masialan these stones were raised.

Accepting that in the text discussed earlier *ʾbn* indicates the stone on which the text is incised, this text gives the impression that the funerary monument consisted of more than one stone (thus Chabot[39] and Röllig[40]). Sznycer does not agree but has no better explanation to offer; his remark that the plural might refer to the two different texts, one Punic, the other Libyan, seems less attractive[41]. Both texts are clearly on the same stone, even on the same side of the stone. Probably this was a grave not only marked by the memorial stone but also by a heap of stones, a custom also known from elsewhere.

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[36]For references to abaddir in classical sources, cf. Jongeling, JEOL xxix, 1985-1986 [1987], p. 130 n. 21.

[37]Cf. St. Gsell HAAN iv p. 374: père puissant ou pierre puissante.

[38]Cf. M. Sznycer, Le texte Néopunique de la bilingue de Bordj Hellal, Semitica xxvii, pp. 47-57.

[39]Punica xxv 5, RIL 72.

[40]KAI 139.

[41]Sznycer, o.c., p. 56f.: J'avoue que cette explication ... me laisse perplexe .. le mot *ʾbn* ait été employé dans son sens le plus courant et aussi, dans ce contexte, le plus naturel, celui de "pierre tombale" = "stele funeraire". Pourquoi alors le pluriel ? Est-ce parce qu'il y a deux inscriptions, l'une en libyque, l'autre en néopunique ? Je n'ose pas me prononcer.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

ASAC Annuaire de la Société Archéologique de Constantine.

BAC Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.

BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis.

CCLE Concordanze del Carmina Latina Epigraphica a cura di Pasqua Colafrancesco & Matteo Massaro con la collaborazione di MAria Lisa Ricci, Bari 1986.

Punica J.-B. Chabot, Punica, i-v, JA 1916, xi/vii, pp. 77ff., vi-x, ibid., pp. 443ff., xi, JA 1916, xi/viii, pp. 483ff., xii, JA 1917, xi/ix, pp. 145ff., xii-xviii, JA 1917, xi/x, pp. 5ff., xix-xxv, JA 1918, xi/xi, pp. 249ff. (also published separately).

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1863ff.

CIS Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Paris, 1880ff.

CLEF. Buecheler, A. Riese and B. Lommatzsch, Anthologia Latina, pars posterior 1-3, Carmina Latina Epigraphica, Lipsiae 1895, 1897, 1926 (reprint Amsterdam 1972).

CMA C.G. Picard, Catalogue du Musée Alaoui, nouvelle série, collections puniques t. i, planches (s.l., s.a.).

CRAI Comptes Rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

DCPP Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique, s.l., 1992.

DD M. Dunant & R. Duru, Oumm El-'Amed, une ville de l'époque Hellénistique aux échelles de Tyre = République Libanaise, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Direction Générale des Antiquités, Etudes et Documents d'Archéologie, Tome iv, Paris, 1962, pp. 181-192.

FS Dupont-Sommer, Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer, ed. A. Caquot & M. Philonenko, Paris, 1971

HAAN St. Gsell, Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, vol. i-viii, Paris, 19201928.

Harris Z.S. Harris, A grammar of the Phoenician Language, New Haven, 1936.

ILS H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, Berlin, vol. i 1892, vol. ii/2 1906.

JEOL Jaarbericht 'Ex Oriente Lux'.

KAI H. Donner & W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften, vol. i-iii, Wiesbaden, 1968-1969/2.

KI M. Lidzbarski, Kanaanäische Inschriften, Moabitisch, Althebräisch,

Phönizisch, Punisch, = Altsemitische Texte, Heft 1, Giessen, 1907.

Handbuch M. Lidzbarski, Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphie, Weimar, 1898.

NESE Neue Ephemeris für semitischen Epigraphik.

NP Neopunic inscriptions according to the numbering by Harris, p. 160ff. (cf. Schroeder, pp. 63ff.).

OA Oriens Antiquus.

PPG J. Friedrich & W. Röllig, Phönizisch-Punische Gramatik, Roma, 1970.

RES Recueil d'Epigraphie Sémitique, Paris, 1900ff.

RIL J.-B. Chabor, Recueil des Inscriptions Libyques, Paris, 1940-1942.

RSF Rivista di Studi Fenici.

Schroeder P. Schröder, Die Phönizische Sprache, Entwurf einer Grammatik, Halle, 1969.

TWAT Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.
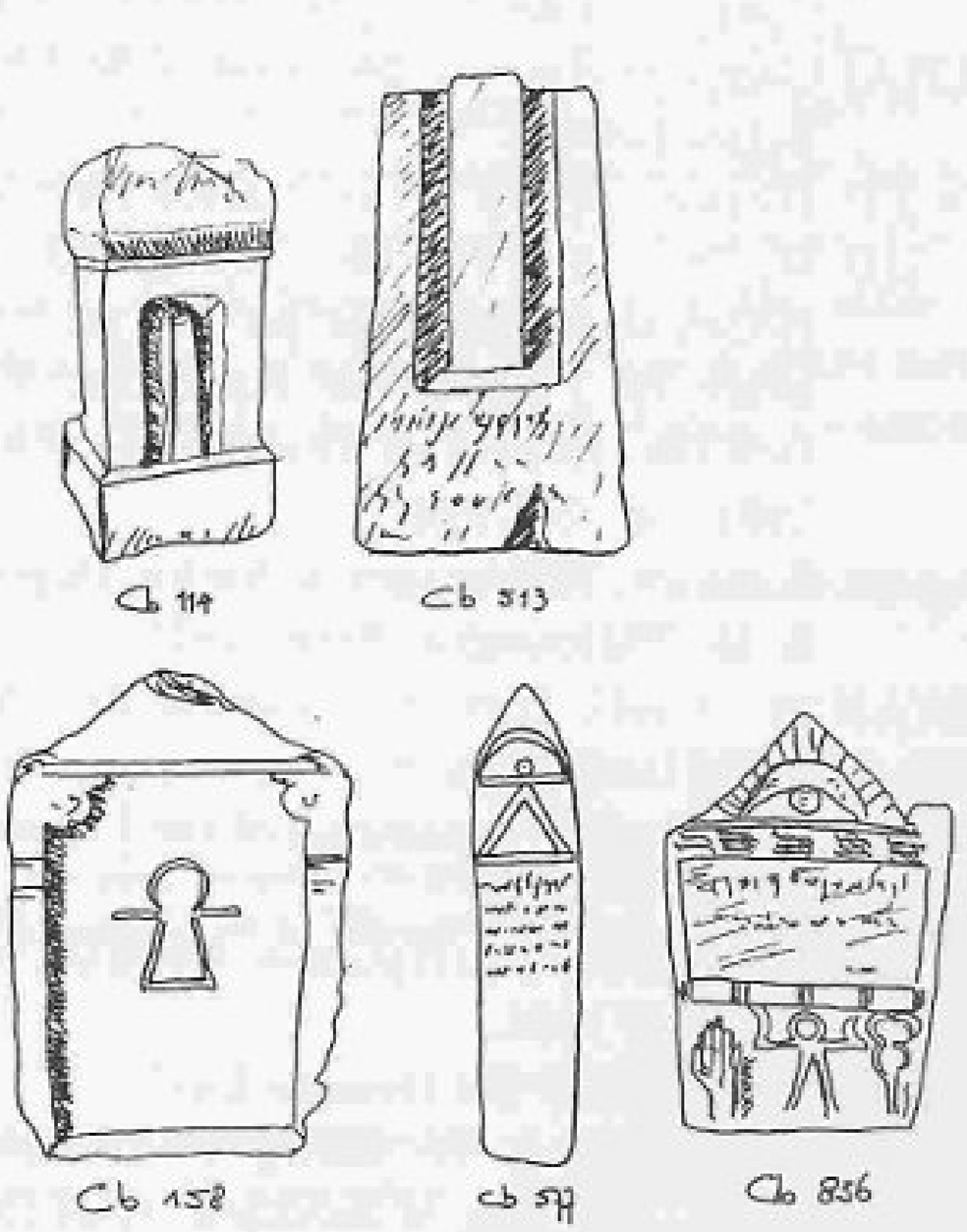
Figure 1.