

“His Word Soars Above Him”
Biblical and North-West Semitic Studies
Presented to
Professor Charles R. Krahmalkov

Edited by
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Abbreviations

ABD	D. N. Freeman <i>et al.</i> , eds., <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> I-VI
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> , Oxford, 1907
BZAW	Beihefte <i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CAL	<i>Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon</i> (http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/)
CHLI	J. D. Hawkins, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> , Vol. 1, Berlin, 2000
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
DB	Behistun Inscriptions of Darius I
DISO	C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i> , Leiden, 1965
DNa	Darius' Inscription A at Naqsh-e Rostam
DDD	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. van der Horst, eds., <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> , 2 nd ed., Leiden, 1999
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , Leiden, 1995
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets
ENA	Epigraphic North Arabian
ESV	English Standard Version
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
GKC	E. Kautzsch, <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , translated by A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 2 nd 1910
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson</i> , 4 vols., Leiden, 1994-99
HIn	G. L. Harding, <i>An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names & Inscriptions</i> , Near & Middle East Series 8, Toronto, 1971
HNPI	K. Jongeling, <i>Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions</i> , Tübingen, 2008
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
ICO	M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, <i>Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente</i> , Studi Semitici 28, Rome, 1967
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
ILS	H. Dessau, ed., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , 3 vols. in 5 pts., Berlin, 1892-1916; Reprint

JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> 2 nd ed., Wiesbaden, 1966-69; 3 rd -4 th ed., 1973-79; Vol. 1, 5 th , enlarged and revised ed., Wiesbaden, 2002
KTU	<i>Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> , vol. 1, edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartin, <i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> 24, Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976
KUSATU	<i>Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 th edition with revised supplement, Oxford, 1996
MT	Masoretic Text
MUSJ	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i>
NESE	R. Degen, W. W. Müller and W. Röllig, <i>Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i> , 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1972-78
NEAEHL	E. Stern, ed., <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 4 vols., New York, 1993
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PPG ³	J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, <i>Phönizisch-punische Grammatik</i> , 3 rd ed., revised by M. G. Amadasi Guzzo and W. R. Mayer, <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> 55, Rome, 1999
RÉS	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEL	<i>Studi Epigraphici e Linguistici, sul Vicino Oriente antico</i>
SIG	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum</i>
SP	Studia Pohl
ThWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WdO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WH	F. V. Winnett and G. L. Harding, <i>Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns</i> , Toronto, 1976
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

A few remarks on the Neo-Punic text from Wadi Freshiha, Libya¹

K. Jongeling

Some eight years ago, Elmayer (2008) discussed the then recently found Neo-Punic text found in the Wadi Freshiha, some 30 km southeast of Lepcis Magna (fig. xx). It is a dedicatory inscription, probably commemorating the building of a sanctuary for *mylkt* 'rš, a goddess hitherto unattested, at least not under this name.

With regard to both form and style, as well as palaeography, the text shows some resemblance to Labdah N 10 (fig. xxi), also a building inscription for a divinity described with an epithet containing the word 'rš. The form and style of the letters are comparable to those found in officialesque Neo-Punic texts from Labdah–Lepcis Magna, although, perhaps, just a little bit less well formed, and especially not as well outlined horizontally. We read the text, as much as possible, in the following manner:²

<i>l'm hrznt mylkt 'rš bn'</i>	1	For the god, the princess, <i>Milkaṭ-Arš</i> , built
<i>mqdš n/t' mb'l mq'm --t/n wkd/rw' b'lt</i>	2	the sanctuary <i>Nambal</i> ?? and for <i>Korwa</i> , the lady
<i>y't dpb'h' ršt 'y' ----p'h' t bh---r-</i>	3	?
<i>p' [?] nm-dl' --wb'-----h</i>	4	?
<i>'lt' š--lr/h'g m-'rt/n'st/n-----lb'h'</i>	5	?
<i>'dr mqm--bt btštm b't' m' -b' bšt</i>	6	?? completely at his own expense ?? in the year of
<i>šp'tm 'bdmlqrt hr/dqn/t wm'n bn 'n' hglb</i>	7	the suffetes <i>Abdmelqart</i> , the miller, and <i>Mān</i> the son of <i>Anno</i> , the barber.

Remarks

Line 1

We mainly follow the first editor in his interpretation of this line. The only other attestation of *l'm* to indicate a goddess is to be found in *KAI* 48, and this text shows that this use has endured for a very long time, despite the existence of the word *'lt*.

–*hrznt*: We suppose that the same word is used to describe a divine being in *KAI* 145 (= Hr Maktar N 64), and, according to the present author, in *KAI* 162 (= Constantine N 50); in both instances in the masculine form *rzn*.³

–*mylkt* 'rš can be explained, as the first editor did, as “Queen of the Land,” or, rather, as “Queen of the Earth;” cf. Labdah N 10, which commences: *l'dn l'l qn*

¹ We dedicate this article to Professor Krahmalkov, because, although we are unable to follow his interpretations of Neo-Punic and related texts in many instances, he has done much to bring these texts to the attention of numerous scholars and others. For Neo-Punic texts referred to by N numbers, see *HNPI*.

² A supra-linear question mark (?) indicates that the reading of the preceding sign is uncertain; a slash between two letters indicates that two different readings are possible (*t/n*; *r/d*); a hyphen indicates a sign of which the reading is undecided, and where several hyphens follow each other, this indicates, tentatively, the number of unreadable signs.

³ Note that the same word occurs in Phoenician, in *KAI* 26, where it, however, denotes a human prince.

ʾrṣ bnʾ wʾyqdš..., “for the lord, to El the creator of the earth NN built and consecrated ...”; *mylkt* (/milkat/) is, most probably, a feminine counterpart of *mlk*, ‘king’; in this spelling, it is attested as the theophoric element in the personal name *ʾhtmylkt*, in texts from Hr Maktar.⁴ In case there is a direct correspondence between these two texts, one wonders whether both start with the same construction: preposition (*l-/l-*) + descriptor of the divine being (*ʾlm/ʾdn*) + direct information about this divine being (*hrznt/ʾl*) + epithet (*mylkt ʾrṣ/qn ʾrṣ*); the difference lies in the repetition of the preposition *l* before *ʾl*, and, therefore, the use of the common noun *rznt* cannot be invoked to change the traditional translation *El* into ‘god.’⁵

-bn is, of course, the 3rd m.s. suffix conjugation Qal of the verb *bnj*; the form ending in [-ʾ] is attested both for the singular (*l-ō*) and plural (*l-ū*).

Line 2

The first word of line 2 was read as *mqdš*, which seems to be the most probable solution.⁶ The word following *mqdš* can be read *n/tʾmbʾl*, a personal name, as did the initial editor. The name *nʾmbʾl* is otherwise unattested, but the formation is known from names construed with *nʾm-* + theonym/divine epithet such as *nʾm ʾl* and *nʾmgdʾ*, the first one being attested in Phoenician, the second one in Punic.⁷

It is perhaps possible to read the next word as *mqm*, yet note, however, the difference in style of the [q] in this word, and the second grapheme of this line.⁸ The signs following are, at least in the photograph, unreadable, which makes the interpretation of *mqm* impossible.

The last few signs begin with *wl-*, which seemingly introduces a second divinity, especially since this letter sequence is followed by the epithet *bʾlt*. The divine name was read as *krwʿ* by Elmayer, which name he rendered with Persephone, pointing to *krwʿ* in *CIS I 5987*, which has been explained as a loan from Greek *Κόρφα*, >*Κόρη*, i.e. *Ceres*;⁹ both the reading and the interpretation are not impossible, though it should be noted that, as far as we remember, no building inscription describes the consecration of a building to two different divinities in

4 Hr Maktar N 32, 34; the fact that the name occurs with *-y-* must be taken into account when considering the idea of infixed *-y-* as discussed by the present author (Jongeling 1984, 42-44).

5 *ʾl qn ʾrṣ* is of course known i.a. from the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gn 14:19) and the Hittite *Elkunirša* (*KUB 36.35 I = ANET 519*); cf. e.g. Miller 1980 and Singer 2007. Might *Milkat-Arṣ* have been seen as the consort of the former in the Punic world?

6 At first we supposed that, the *d* being less distinct, the reading *mqm* for the first three signs should at least be considered; reading *mqm* one might read the next two signs as *st*, the demonstrative well-known in Punic, and in that case, one could read the following personal name as *ʾmbʾl*; this name may be explained as a combination of the divine epithet *bʾl*, preceded by *ʾm*, attested in Punic in names such as *ʾlm* and *ʾmyyhn*, signifying ‘paternal uncle, kinsman,’ e.g. Arabic *ʾamm*, cf. Benz 1972, 379. In this case, one could also think of *ʾm* with the meaning ‘people’ (re. Hebrew *עַם*), supposing that the building activity was the result of a collective decision by the people of a place mentioned, as e.g. *ʾm ʾlpqy* in Labdah N 19, 22; however, a toponym beginning with *bʾl* would be somewhat unusual (though note the existence of a Punic sanctuary known in the Roman period as (*Mons*) *Balcarnensis*, modern-day Jebel Boukornine); a combination of *ʾm* and *bʾl*, which then has to be explained as a plural construct, meaning ‘the people, the masters of ...’ is, as far as we know, not attested hitherto.

7 Cf. Benz, 362.

8 Compare in the overview of the Neo-Punic signs at the end of this article, p. 162 figure xxii: for the form of *q* we have to suppose then, looks similar to the one attested in Hr Brighita N 1 (see column 6) or Hr Maktar N 11 (see column 8), as against the form with the longer downstroke (cf. the beginning of this line *mqdš*).

9 Cf. Lipiński 1995, 374-375.

two separate clauses, as seems to be the case here, especially since we see no reason to suppose that the “princess,” *Milkaṭ-Arṣ*, and *Korwa*, the “lady,” are the same divine being. Note also that, again in case the reading is correct, the references to the two divinities are in different order, the first one an ordinary noun, an epithet, followed by a combination interpreted as a name, and the second one a name, followed by an ordinary noun used as an epithet.

The words *btṣtm btm*, in line 6, most probably form the final dedicatory clause indicating by whom the sanctuary was built, and a conclusion in this type of text, rendering the year in which the building took place, is not entirely anomalous. This leaves us with the supposition that the lines in between give a more complete overview of the building activities commemorated. However, a reading and interpretation of the next three lines is hardly possible; the rendering of these three lines by the first editor are, in our opinion, less probable.

Line 3

The first sign in this line can be read as *y*, followed by *t*, or, by combining these two signs, as *ṣ*. The next two signs can be read as *d* followed by *p*. Then a *b*, followed by a sign first sight reminiscent of *ʔ*, though which might be a *g*. The reading of the following word(?), *hʿrṣt*, seems more or less certain. Then follows *ṣ*. The next sign, if depicted correctly by us, is not readily identifiable as a Neo-Punic grapheme. Nonetheless, it looks more or less like the letter read as *y* in the word *yqr* in Qalat Abi s-Siba N 1 (*KAI* 165). The following three or four signs are illegible. Then follow *ʔp*. The next sign, of only half-height, might be an example of the shortened form of *h*, composed of just three short strokes, although this remains highly debatable. The following signs, *tbh*, are more or less clear in the photograph. The next five signs are indistinct, apart from the last but one, which most probably should be read as *r*. We are unable to propose any interpretation.

Line 4

In this line, almost nothing can be read with any certainty. The first sign looks like *p*, but it could also be a *b*, with its head missing. The next signs can be read as *ʔnm*, however, instead of *ʔ*, a reading *g* must not be excluded. Following *m*, we read after an indistinct sign *dlʔ*, and, after at least two unreadable signs, *wbʔ*. Subsequently, there is room for ten or eleven signs, and the last sign of this line may be an *h*.

Line 5

Of the fifth line, only a few signs at the beginning and at the end are preserved. Although a bit short for an *ʔ*, we follow the first editor in his reading of the first word(?) as *ʔlt*, yet the next sign looks rather like an *ṣ*. After two or three indistinct signs, we read *lr/hʔ/g*. Then, strangely enough, there then seems to be a small space, followed by *m-ʔrt/nʔst/n-----lbʔhʔ*. Again, we are unable to propose a translation, of even a single word.

Line 6

At the beginning of line 6, Elmayer read *ʔdr*, which is not impossible, although the first sign might rather be an *r*, or even *b*. Then, we read *mqm*, as did the first editor. The following two signs are lost, then, most probably *bt btṣtm*. Note that *btṣtm* is attested several times, always with the possessive suffix 3ms -*m*; in

at least one instance of this expression, the reference is without doubt to a plurality and in that case the form is *btštnm*.¹⁰ Following *btštm* one expects *btm*, but we are rather uncertain about this reading. Following an uncertain sign, we see the downstroke of what looks like a *b*, but which might be, eventually, *p*. The line ends with *ʾbšt*, although there is perhaps room for another sign before the *ʾ*.

Line 7

Although the quality of the stone at the beginning of line 7 is less than one would like, the reading *šp̄tm* cannot be in doubt, although the last two signs are indistinct, nor the name following, *ʾbdmlqrt*. The name is not followed by the patronym, but by the article *h-*, indicating that the subsequent word denotes some occupation. We are inclined to read *hd/rqn*, instead of *hršt*, as read by the initial editor and explained as ‘chief.’ As the length of the downward stroke of the sign following *h* is uncertain, one may read either *d* or *r*; *dqn* might be explained as a derivation of the root *dqq*, ‘to grind’ *daqqān* possibly used with a meaning comparable to Arabic *دقاق* *daqqāq*, ‘grinder, flour merchant,’ leading us to a tentative translation ‘miller, mill-owner.’¹¹ The next name remains without explanation,¹² but the name of the father of *mʾn*, *ʾnʾ* (/annō/), is undoubtedly a spelling variant of the well-known name *hnʾ*, a hypocoristic form of Hannibal (=Annobal). Furthermore, concerning the occupation of the second suffete, we do not doubt the reading *hglb*, ‘the barber,’ although the *l* is not in the same style as e.g. the lameds in the first line. It is interesting to note that the occupation of barber, possibly in a cultic capacity, was probably not an inferior one in the Phoenico-Punic world, as the word is attested several times, both in Phoenician and in Punic.¹³



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¹⁰ Ksour Abd el-Melek N 1.

¹¹ Another possibility, in light of the primary meaning of Arabic *دق* “to crush, grind, beat, pound, etc.” (e.g. *دقة* “hammer”) may be a similar semantic development in Punic as with the English *nomen professionis* ‘smith,’ (as Dr Kerr has pointed out to me).

¹² It is, of course, possible that the stone cutter, or the foreman who wrote the text on the stone, found that he wanted to complete the text with this line and that he therefore abbreviated the name of the second suffete; many Libyan names begin with *m-* and quite a number of these name end in *-n*, as e.g. *msgryʾn*, *msdysʾn*, as well as an abbreviated name *mn* is attested on a coin with Neo-Punic legend, cf. *HNPI* 305.

¹³ For the attestations, see *DNWSI* 222 sub radice *glb*.

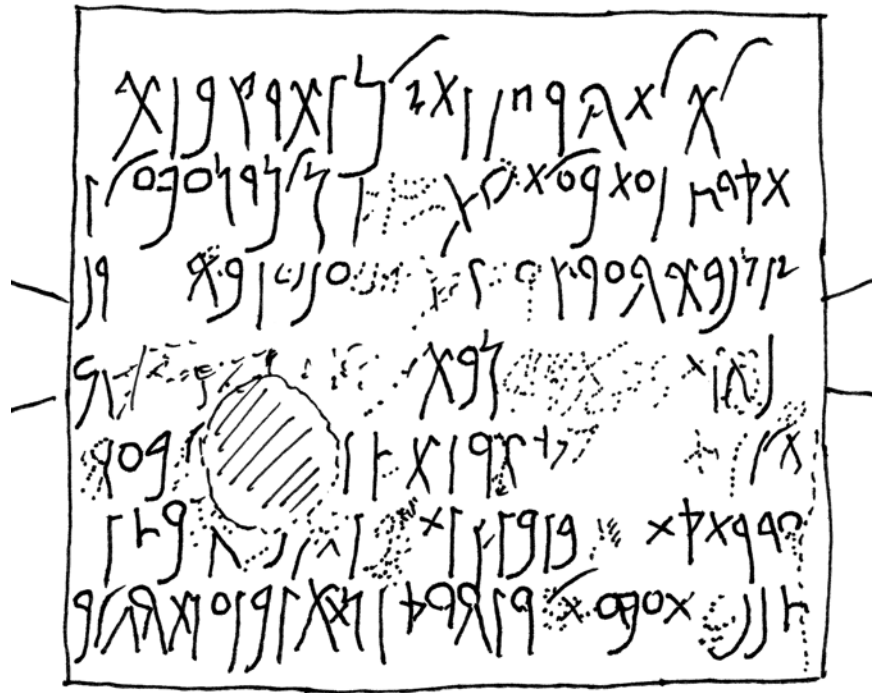


Figure xxi: Neo-Punic Inscription from Wadi Freshikha (K.J.)



Figure xxii: Labdah N 10 (K.J.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
B	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
G	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
D	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
H	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
W	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Z	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Ⲭ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
T	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Y	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
K	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
L	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
M	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
N	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
S	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
P	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Ⲥ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Q	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
R	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
Ⲩ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ
T	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ	Ⲁ

Figure xxiii: Tabular Overview Neo-Punic Palaeography (K.J.)

1 = Punic (for comparison)

2 = Chia N 1

3 = Ras el-Hadagia N 1

4 *left* = Guelma N 19

right = Guelma N texts cited

5 = Cherchel N 1

6 = Hr Brighita N 1

7 = Al-Qusbat N 1

8 = Hr Maktar N texts cited

9 = Constantine N texts cited