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Source: *Orientalia*, NOVA SERIES, Vol. 76, No. 1, Munuscula amicitiae phoenicia et punica:

Mélanges d'épigraphie et de philologie phénico-puniques offerts à Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo (2007), pp. 64-72

Published by: GBPress- Gregorian Biblical Press

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A Fifth Century BCE Graffito from Ghizène (Jerba)¹

(TAB. X-XI)

Philip SCHMITZ – Roald F. DOCTER – Sami BEN TAHAR

1. Introduction

The Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (APM) houses an important collection of North-African Antiquities that had formerly been on loan to the University of Utrecht². These artifacts had been collected in Tunisia in the sixties and seventies of the last century by two Dutch travelers, Mr. A. W. de Groot and R. Leuven. The bulk of the material consists of Roman pottery, but some fragments are clearly to be attributed to the period of Phoenician and Punic influence over these territories. Of particular interest is the fact that most of the fragments, collected on various sites in Tunisia, had carefully been glued by De Groot and Leuven on small panels with an indication of their provenances (photo 1).

The present study centers around one of these fragments, a base of an Attic skyphos of the 5th century BCE that had been incised in antiquity with a short inscription (photo 2). It stems from the site of Sidi Ismaël (Jerba), which is better known as Ghizène or Rhizène³. It is discussed both from a paleographic and onomastic point of view and also in relation to its ‘archaeological context’.

2. Evidence for Punic presence on Jerba

Located on the coastal sea route between the Fair Promontory and the Bay of Syrta, Jerba afforded water and stores for local sea traffic as well

¹ We would like to thank the staff of the Allard Pierson Museum, in particular Dr. R. A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Mr. R. Van Beek and Mrs. G. Jurriaans-Helle, for help in studying the fragments from Ghizène and for their kind permission to publish them here. Mr. J. J. V. M. Derksen (Vianen) provided us with additional information on the collection. W. D. J. van de Put (Amsterdam) kindly helped us out by providing high resolution photographs of the skyphos fragment and the tablet.

² On the collection see particularly: J. J. V. M. Derksen, “Kannen, kruiken, schalen en lampen uit Noord-Afrika”, *Mededelingenblad Vereniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum* 48 (1990) 2-10.

³ On the toponyme, see especially J. Akkari-Weriemmi, “La nécropole libyco-punique de Ghizène (Djerba-Tunisie)”, *Africa* 13 (1995) 64 n. 42.

as to ships plying the Gadir-Tyre long distance route⁴. The island's western shore, the harbors of which seem to have been preferred in antiquity, offered good shelter in relatively shallow water.

The archaeological record of Jerba island is best viewed in the context of other coastal sites of Tripolitania and Byzacene: to the east, Bu Kam-māš (ancient Taricheiai), to the north, the islands of Kerkenna, Ras Dimass (ancient Thapsus), and Sousse (Hadrumetum). Only the last of these has produced artifactual evidence of Punic occupation before the fifth century BCE⁵. The Kerkenna archipelago was well known to Carthage in the fifth century BCE, as reported by Herodotus (4.195). F. Chelbi's investigations on the Kerkenna islands produced pottery evidence from the fifth century BCE onwards⁶. From Kerkenna to Ghizène (east of Houmet Essouq) is about 90 km across the mouth of the Gulf of Gabès, about a day and a half's sailing in good weather.

The current evidence does not permit the Phoenician occupation of Jerba island to be traced earlier than the fifth century BCE; evidence of Punic occupation begins in the following century⁷. Finds of fifth-century BCE Attic pottery at four locations on Jerba island (Ghizène, Henchir Bourgou, Meninx, and Hares [Guellala]) provide the earliest material evidence of trade or travel⁸.

3. The site of Ghizène

Ghizène (or Rhizène or Sidi Ismaël) lies on the north Coast of the island, six kilometers east of Houmet Essouq, and may have served as the harbour town for inland Henchir Bourgou⁹. The settlement tell had been occupied at least from the fifth century BCE as the present study shows and is characterized by ample archaeological surface evidence of Roman and Late Roman occupation (cf. photo 1). The hill now lies some 14 meters above sea level and is heavily exposed to erosion on the seaside (photo 6)

⁴ "The most suitable route to the east is one running close to the African coast", M. E. Aubet, *Phoenicians and the West* (Cambridge 2001), 191; on provisioning, E. Fentress, "Jerba", in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford 1996) 3:219.

⁵ L. Foucher, *Hadrumetum* (Tunis 1964) 36; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven 2004) 368.

⁶ The Kerkenna finds have been the subject of a thesis by S. Garsallah of the year 2005 and are currently being prepared for publication by F. Chelbi.

⁷ E. Fentress, "The Jerba Survey: Settlement in the Punic and Roman Periods", *L'Africa Romana* 13 (Rome 2000) 73-85.

⁸ Akkari-Wereimmi, *Africa* 13; Fentress, *L'Africa Romana* 13, 77; Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* 357.

⁹ See most recently: H. Slim – P. Troussset – R. Paskoff – A. Oueslati, *Le littoral de la Tunisie: Étude géoarchéologique et historique* (Études d'Antiquités Africaines; Paris 2004) 101.

and by the modern road construction over its southern summit (photo 5). Except for excavations in French colonial times (1952-1954) by P. Quoniam in the nearby Libyco-Punic necropolis and a survey of J. Akkira-Weriemmi¹⁰, only limited investigations have taken place on the site. The said survey on the site by J. Akkira-Weriemmi apparently yielded Attic Black Glaze pottery of the late fourth or early third centuries BCE as earliest dateable material, but nothing was illustrated, unfortunately. The geoarchaeological investigations of H. Slim and others confirmed the precarious state of preservation of the site and documented surface finds from the second century BCE to the sixth century A.D.¹¹.

A recent survey of the site of Ghizène by one of the present authors (Ben Tahar) yielded three Punic amphora fragments of Carthaginian production. The first was discovered on the sea shore (see photo 6) and is characterized by its rounded incurving rim that forms a direct continuation of the shoulder from which it is separated by a groove. It belongs to a bag-shaped amphora, which is near in shape to Ramón's T.1.4.4.1¹², dating to the fifth century BCE and assigned by Ramón a Sardinian provenance¹³. This fragment clearly shows that Carthage or its immediate territory produced amphorae of this type as well, as has recently been suggested also by B. Bechtold¹⁴. To date, it constitutes the oldest amphora fragment from Jerba and, moreover, a clear indication for early relations with the Carthaginian metropolis¹⁵.

The two other fragments are distinguished by their horizontal rim plates. They are part of the 'first generation' of the cylindrical amphorae around Ramón T.4.2.1.5, formerly known as amphora type Mañá D¹⁶. Effectively, these two fragments show undeveloped lips with flat upper

¹⁰ See Akkari-Weriemmi, *Africa* 13, 51-74.

¹¹ See Slim et al., *Le littoral de la Tunisie*.

¹² J. Ramón Torres, *Las ánforas fenicio-púnicas del Mediterráneo central y occidental* (Barcelona 1995) 175-176, 371, 513, 604, figs. 22, 150, 238.

¹³ A near complete amphora of the type and of certain Sardinian production was found in a fifth century BCE Carthaginian settlement context (c. 480-425 BCE): R. F. Docter, *Archaische Amphoren aus Karthago und Toscanos: Fundspektrum und Formenentwicklung. Ein Beitrag zur phönizischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Amsterdam 1997) 218-219, fig. 452; B. Bechtold, "Transportamphoren des 5.-2. Jhs.", in: H. G. Niemeyer – R. F. Docter – K. Schmidt – B. Bechtold et al., *Karthago: Die Ergebnisse der Hamburger Grabung unter dem Decumanus Maximus* (Hamburger Forschungen zur Archäologie 2; Mainz a. R. 2007) 667-668, Abb. 366, Cat. 5504, with references for Carthage.

¹⁴ Bechtold, in: *Karthago* 668 n. 24.

¹⁵ All fragments will be published and illustrated in a forthcoming article on the site (S. Ben Tahar, "L'occupation du sol à Rhizène à l'époque antique: les données de la prospection", *REPPAL* 14 [2005], forthcoming). Another fifth century BCE fragment has recently been found during a survey of the site of Souq el Guebli in the South-East of the island of Jerba. It is of J. Ramón's T.1.4.2.2, for which see Ramón Torres, *Las ánforas* 174-175, 369, 512, 603, figs. 20, 149, 237 (inv. SG.0.3; see S. Ben Tahar, "Nouvelle découverte dans la nécropole punique de Souq el Guebli", *AFRICA*, Nouvelle série [Séance scientifiques de l'INP, Tunis], forthcoming).

¹⁶ Ramón Torres, *Las ánforas* 189, 524, 615, figs. 161, 144-148, 249, map 44.

surfaces, typical of the type, and date to the fourth and first half of the third centuries BCE.

Although not yet numerous, these finds clearly witness the existence of commercial relations between Ghizène and Carthage during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. One should bear in mind that systematic excavations in this area have not yet taken place, so that for the time being these few surface finds will probably offer just a glimpse of what may still lie buried in older and deeper layers. Once such archaeological excavations take place, it may be expected that they can clarify the information provided by the literary sources that speak of the well-kept monopoly Carthage held over the Small Syrta¹⁷.

4. The Attic fragments from Ghizène

The tablet in the Allard Pierson Museum (photo 1) contains several black glaze pottery fragments, only three of which are of certain Attic origin and rather early date.

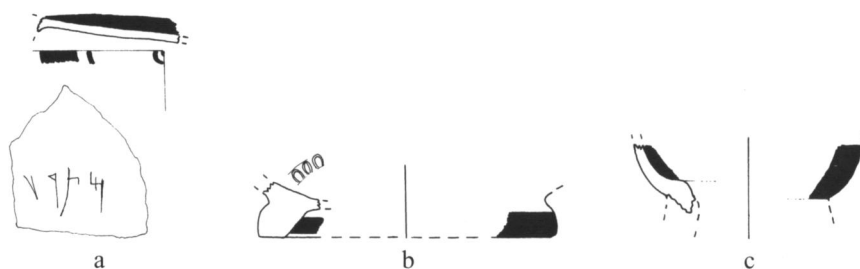


Fig. 1 – Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, a: inv. no. 12.554 base fragment of Attic skyphos (orientation uncertain); b: inv. no. 12.555-4 base fragment of Attic stemless cup with inset lip ('Castulo Cup'); inv. no. 12.555-24 wall fragment of Attic small bowl (drawings by R. F. Docter, inked by J. Angenon).

No. 1. APM 12.554: Base plate of Attic skyphos base with Punic graffito (photos 1, 2, fig. 1a). Dimensions 3.9×3.6 cm, preserved H. 0.5 cm, max. diameter 7 cm. Interior black glaze, exterior reserved with wide painted zone and three lines.

No. 2. APM 12.555-4: base fragment of Attic stemless cup with inset lip ('Castulo Cup') (photo 1, fig. 1b). Preserved H. 1.4 cm, diameter base

¹⁷ In the first treaty between Carthage and Rome of the end of the sixth century BCE, Carthage forbade the Romans and their allies to sail beyond the 'Fair Promontory' (the Cap Bon). Such a clause would prevent the Romans from knowing the *Byssatis* (future Byzacène) and the *emporía* (the Small and the Great Syrta).

8 cm. Interior black glaze, exterior reserved with painted bands on both sides of the ring base. Decoration on interior consists of concentric row of stamped ovules between two concentric lines.

- No. 3. APM 12.555-24: Wall fragment of Attic small bowl, broken off at the transition to ring foot (photo 1, fig. 1c). Preserved H. 1.8 cm, max. diameter 6 cm. Black glaze on both sides, reserved (line?) at exterior, just at the transition to ring foot.

The skyphos fragment with the inscription (No. 1) shows a combination of a rather wide, fairly flat base plate and a thin wall. Also in view of the decoration, this seems to be a good indication for an attribution to Attic skyphoi of Type A, especially to those of the fifth century BCE¹⁸. Given the thinness of the base plate, one might even consider an attribution to the earlier Attic skyphos versions of the so-called Corinthian type, where similar decoration of the reserved undersides occurs¹⁹. In that case a dating to the sixth century BCE would be possible too. Similar flat base plates are also attested in another fifth-century BCE class of drinking vessels, the bolsals, but their walls are normally not that thin²⁰. Recently, the occurrence of skyphoi of Type A in Carthage has been discussed on the basis of the settlement finds by B. Bechtold²¹. Typologically, two-thirds of all Attic skyphoi are to be attributed to the fifth century BCE. Stratigraphically, however, they are more commonly found in fourth-century BCE layers. This may perhaps be an indication of the prolonged lifespan of such fine table wares in Punic contexts in contrast to the Attic contexts as e.g. the Athenian Agora ones on which our chronology is based.

The second base fragment may have belonged to an Attic stemless cup with inset lip²², a type also known as ‘Castulo Cup’, on the basis of their occurrence in the South of Spain and particularly Castulo²³. Especially the wide strong ring foot is typical for these vessels. Stamped decoration of ovules is attested but not frequently²⁴. The recent discussion of

¹⁸ B. A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.* (The Athenian Agora 12; Princeton 1970) 84-85, 259-260, fig. 4, pls. 16-17, nos. 334-354.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 81-83, 256-258, fig. 4, pls. 14-15, nos. 303-329.

²⁰ See e.g. for Carthage: F. Chelbi, *Céramique à vernis noir de Carthage* (Tunis 1992) 197, fig. 447, pl. 447, from the Odéon necropolis.

²¹ B. Bechtold, “Die importierte und lokale Schwarzfirnis-Ware”, in: *Karthago* 506-507, fig. 270.

²² Sparkes–Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery* 101-102, 268, nos. [469], 470-473, fig. 5, pl. 22.

²³ B. B. Shefton, “Castulo Cups in the Aegean, the Black Sea Area and the Near East with the Respective Hinterland”, in: O. Lordkipanidze – P. Lévêque (éds.), *Sur les traces des Argonautes. Actes du 6^e symposium de Vani (Colchide) 22-29 septembre 1990* (Paris 1996) 163-186; B. B. Shefton, “The Castulo Cup: an Attic Shape in Black Glaze of special Significance in Sicily”, in: *I vasi attici ed altre ceramiche coeve in Sicilia* (Cronache di Archeologia 29-30, 1990-1991; Catania 1997) 85-98. Both articles with full references.

²⁴ Sparkes–Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery* 102 with n. 19.

the class in the Carthaginian settlement showed that these vessels are not that uncommon as formerly thought²⁵. Moreover, they seem to occur earlier than in the South of Spain. They have been found in stratigraphical layers of 480-425 and 425-350 BCE.

The small wall fragment (No. 3) is probably to be attributed to the Attic small bowl type 'Later and Light' of the last thirty years of the fifth century and the fourth century BCE²⁶. In Carthage, these small bowls have recently been discussed on the basis of the Hamburg University settlement excavations²⁷.

Finding Attic black glaze pottery on a Punic North African site as Ghizène is hardly surprising, if one takes the recent statistics for Carthage into consideration²⁸. In the excavations of the Hamburg University below the *decumanus maximus*, more than 42% of all black glaze pottery is of Attic origin. About 75% of this percentage may be attributed to fifth- and fourth-century BCE types. Other, more recent excavations in the settlement yield comparably high percentages²⁹.

5. The inscription on the Attic skyphos base (photos 2, 3)

In the light of the overview of archaeological evidence on Jerba, above, it is quite possible that the inscription published herein provides the earliest evidence of Phoenician or Punic presence on the island.

Given the portability of the inscribed object, however, we cannot determine exactly the place where it was inscribed. Its script could represent a local Phoenician-Punic orthography or the script style of one of the major Levantine or, less likely, Cypriote cities. The writer of the label scratched the inscription through the slip covering the ceramic surface of the vessel, exposing the lighter gray reddish fabric beneath. The resulting contrast makes the inscription very clear to read. The reading, MTR, is unambiguous. The word is undoubtedly a personal name, but the interpretation of this name requires further discussion. Before turning to the name, paleographic analysis is necessary.

²⁵ Comparably few examples from Punic North-Africa (Leptis Magna, Sabratha, Kerkouane, Carthage and Gouraya) are cited by Shefton, in: *I vasi attici* 94-95. Now: Shefton, in: *Sur les traces des Argonautes* 182; Bechtold, in: *Karthago* 508-509, fig. 271, 4314-4318.

²⁶ Sparkes-Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery* 134, 297-298, fig. 9, pl. 33, nos. 863-876.

²⁷ Bechtold, in: *Karthago* 518-519, fig. 278, 4366-4367.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 493-528, esp. 493-504, figs. 266-268.

²⁹ B. Maraoui Telmini, in: R. F. Docter - F. Chelbi - B. Maraoui Telmini et al., "Carthage Bir Massouda: Second preliminary report on the bilateral excavations of Ghent University and the Institut National du Patrimoine (2003-2004)", *BABesch. Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology* 81 (2006) 50-62, figs. 22-24, 27-28, 30.

The letter shapes closely approximate the *linear form* of the *script style* employed by the scribe³⁰. The script style derives from the Tyrian-Sidonian formal series as described by Peckham and recently augmented by Sader³¹. Influence from contemporary atramentary (ink-written) cursive script styles is evident in the vertical elongation of letter shafts, the tapering of the shaft of *mem*, and the very slight flaring of the shaft of *reš*³².

With respect to the inscription on the APM fragment, the letter *mem* has the most complex ductus (see photo 3). Viewed closely, the horizontal stroke (“baseline”, in Peckham’s terminology) resolves into two halves, divided by the central vertical stroke. The half of the baseline stroke that is to the right of the central stroke angles slightly upward to the left. To the left of the central stroke the baseline stroke is level. This “split-level” character of the baseline results from and reveals the order in which the lines were cut: (1) the scribe began on the right, cutting the vertical stroke from top to bottom; (2) the second cut produced the top half of the central stroke, and (3) the third cut produced the right half of the horizontal stroke; (4) the fourth cut produced the left vertical stroke; (5) the fifth cut connected with the lower left corner where strokes 2 and 3 intersect; (6) the sixth cut continued the central stroke below the horizontal stroke. Note the “seam” from the cutting that is visible horizontally across the left half of the central stroke — a significant clue to the relative order of cuts 2-3 and 5-6.

This process of incision produced two salient effects: the “split-level” horizontal, and the increasing height of the vertical strokes leftward. The central vertical stroke is about a single line-width taller than the right stroke, and the left vertical is about two line-widths taller than the central stroke.

Peckham’s observation that the form of the letter *mem* found in the late eighth-century Phoenician inscription from Karatepe-Aslantaş (*KAI* 26) “is preserved relatively unchanged in the formal script until the fifth

³⁰ The phrase *script style* is used to designate the ductus of inscriptions “written by different scribes of the same place and period” (A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script* [Jerusalem 1997] 133). The phrase *linear form* refers to a conceptual abstraction: “the central line running through the strokes of the actual existing form” (ibid. 134). The calligrapher Edward Johnston (*Formal Penmanship and Other Papers*, ed. H. Child [New York 1971]) referred to this abstraction as the “skeleton-form”, a usage followed by P. Daniels, “A Calligraphic Approach to Aramaic Palaeography”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1984) 55-68, and A. van der Kooij, *Early N. W. Semitic Script Traditions* (Leiden 1986).

³¹ J. B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 65-101; H. Sader, *Iron Age Funerary Stelae from Lebanon* (Barcelona 2005) 90-96.

³² For examples of atramentary cursive script styles, see G. Pisano and A. Travaglini, *Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche dipinte* (Studia Punica 13; Rome 2003); M. Szynger, “Inscriptions phéniciennes inédites”, in: M. Yon (éd.), *Kition dans les textes* (Kition-Bamboula 5; Paris 2004) 217-28; and idem, “Idalion, capitale économique des rois phéniciens de Kition et d’Idalion”, *CCEC* 34 (2004) 85-100, esp. 95, fig. 4 (fourth century BCE).

century³³ provides a starting point³⁴. The diagnostic features of the formal *mem* involve the shaft, the baseline, the center line, and the right shoulder. The shaft is straight or slightly curved to the left, and tilted right of vertical. The baseline is “drawn down at an angle from the left or, more usually, ... horizontal”³⁵. The center line is short and descends below the baseline. The right shoulder rises above the horizontal. The *mem* under analysis here has a particular array of these features.

Because so few Phoenician or Punic inscriptions are precisely dated, our discussion begins by setting a chronological framework using datable inscriptions. Funerary stelae from Tyre and vicinity are datable primarily by paleographic comparison. In this corpus, all but one of the diagnostic features of the formal *mem* had developed by the eighth century: the right shoulder became clearly defined; the shaft straightened and generally tilted to the right; the baseline became horizontal. The center line, however, did not descend below the baseline until the end of the seventh century³⁶.

The large Phoenician inscription from Abu Simbel, datable by internal and external criteria to 593 BCE³⁷, was cut by soldiers rather than professional scribes. The ductus of *mem* in this inscription shows cursive influence in the semi-formal direction, as evidenced in the lowering of the right shoulder³⁸. The *mem* that concludes the word *ḥlm* in CIS I 112.b² is the only *mem* of the nine in the inscription showing a right shoulder, but the central stroke intersects the left corner and descends only a line-width below the baseline (see photo 4)³⁹.

Closer in form is the *mem* on face B of Motya *tophet* inscription no. 11⁴⁰. The baseline is drawn down at an angle from the left, giving a tilt to the entire head. The center stroke is short and descends below the baseline, and the vertical strokes increase in height leftward. By the end of the sixth century, cursive influence is more evident in the *mem*. The Phoenician inscription from Pyrgi (ca. 500 BCE), for example, employs a script style whose *mem* has a curved baseline. The formal Sidonian script of the Tabnit inscription (KAI 13,

³³ Peckham, *Development* 156.

³⁴ The inscription on the North Gate portal lion shows several clearly legible examples of this “Karatepe *mem*”; see H. Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, vol. 2. *Karatepe-Aslantaş* (Berlin 1999) pl. 18 (photograph) and pl. 19 (drawing).

³⁵ Peckham, *Development* 156.

³⁶ Sader, *Iron Age Funerary Stelae* 93.

³⁷ The date 593 BCE is now widely accepted; see K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster 1986; reprinted Oxford 2004) 406 § 368 n. 962, and L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush* (HO 1/31; Leiden 1997) 67, 360 and n. 103.

³⁸ Peckham, *Development* 157.

³⁹ Schmitz autopsied the Abu Simbel inscription in August 1995.

⁴⁰ M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Scavi a Mozia – Le iscrizioni* (Rome 1986) 22-23, Tav. V, 1. Inscription 11 is from Stratum IV (mid-sixth century BCE; *ibid.* 14 n. 11).

mid-fifth century BCE) is somewhat resistant to the cursive tendency, maintaining a straight shaft, a horizontal baseline, a short center line descending below the baseline, and a vertical right shoulder⁴¹. Some examples of *mem* curve at the left shoulder, however⁴². These comparisons warrant a date between 550 and 450 BCE for the of the *mem* APM fragment inscription, which seems in line with the typological date of the vessel.

Benz records eleven occurrences of the name MTR in Punic inscriptions from Carthage⁴³. The name MTR also occurs in Motya stela no. 27 A.3⁴⁴, (from Stratum IV, dated to the mid-sixth century BCE)⁴⁵. Another instance is in an epitaph of fourth-century date discovered at Motya in 1799⁴⁶. The honoree of this volume has discussed the etymology and meaning of the name MTR⁴⁷. The vocalization *mē/ītor* based on the name ¹*Me/Mi-tu-ru* (CT 33, 15a 12; SAA 6, 142 seal 3) points to the root *Y-T-R* I, which produces several biblical personal names⁴⁸.

It is a great honor to add this morsel to the store of knowledge from Phoenician and Punic inscriptions to which Prof. Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo has given us all access.

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⁴¹ Peckham, *Development* 96, 156; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 3, *Phoenician Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash* (Oxford 1982) pl. III.2 (photograph).

⁴² Tabnit inscription (*KAI* 13), line 2, third letter, for example. Schmitz autopsied this inscription in Istanbul in 1994 and again in 1995.

⁴³ F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl 8; Rome 1972) 146.

⁴⁴ Amadasi, *Scavi a Mozia* 33, stela no. 27.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 14, n. 11.

⁴⁶ *CIS* I 137.1-2; M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente* (Rome 1967) 55-56, Tav. XIV. For additional details, including a reported duplicate of the text of this epitaph, see eadem, "Epigrafia fenicia in Sicilia", in: M. I. Gulletta (ed.), *Sicilia Epigraphica: Atti del convegno internazionale, Erice, 15-18 Ottobre 1998* (Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, ser. 4, Quaderni 1; Pisa 1999) 36; photograph, *ibid.*, Quaderni 2, 619, no. 34.

⁴⁷ Amadasi, in: *Sicilia Epigraphica* 36-37.

⁴⁸ Gesenius¹⁸ 515b.



Photo 1 – Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam inv. nos. 12.554 and 12.555. Tablet with 28 pottery fragments from “Sidi Ismaël, Djerba” (photo W. D. J. van de Put).

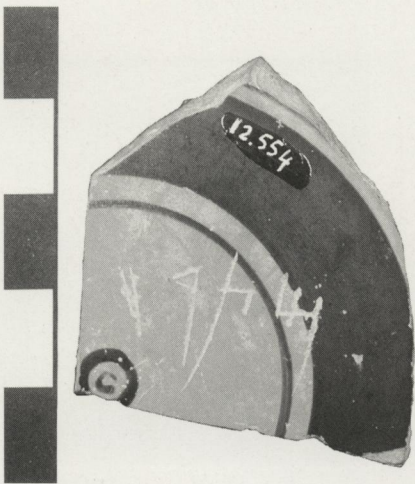


Photo 2 – Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam inv. no. 12.554. Attic skyphos base with Punic graffito (photo W. D. J. van de Put).

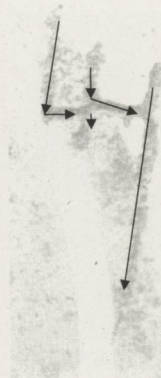


Photo 3 – Graffito of APM 12.554 (graphic rendering by P. Schmitz).



Photo 4 – Abu Simbel inscription (CIS I 112), detail of squeeze.



Photo 5 – The site of Ghizène in 2006, with road track cutting the settlement hill, viewed to the north-east (photo S. Ben Tahar).

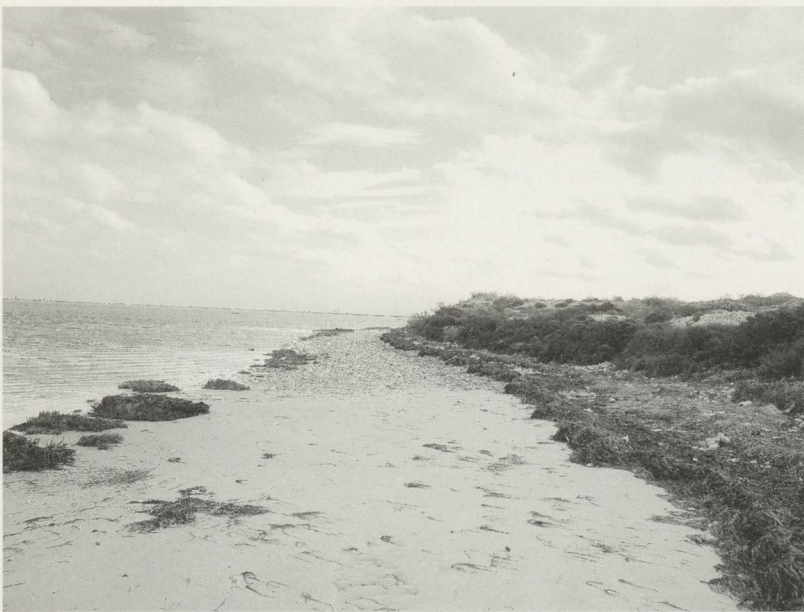


Photo 6 – The site of Ghizène in 2006, with coastal erosion of the settlement hill, viewed to the north-east (photo S. Ben Tahar).