# The Large Neo-Punic Inscription from Hr. Maktar
## A Narrative of Military Service

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Abstract

This study maintains that the Neo-Punic Inscription Hr. Maktar 64 (KAI 145) is not a typical votive dedication, but reproduces an epistle claiming that the *mzrḥ* (line 1) built the temple at Maktar. A blessing then introduces a story about thei military service in Syria, good treatment by the king of Hatra and an outbreak of factionalism leading to armed confrontation. The *mzrḥ* was excluded from a celebration at the temple. In protest they sent the dissenting document with their thirty-two signatures. The *mzrḥ* can be identified as a Roman cavalry unit (*turma*).

The longest inscription in Neo-Punic script discovered at Mactar in Tunisia has taxed those scholars who have attempted to read it[1]. By observation the text falls into two sections: lines 1-15 (columns i-iii) appear to be a narrative, followed in lines 16-47 (columns iv-x) by a list of personal names. The condition of the inscribed surface is reasonably good; only four lacunae require restoration (in lines 6, 7, 8, and 32). The Neo-Punic script has inherent ambiguities of form (JONGELING – KERR 2005: 10-12), leading to variations in the material readings of certain letters. A new and meticulous edition of the text of Hr. Maktar N 64[2] by Jongeling (JONGELING 2008: 116-123), the fifteenth publication devoted to this Late Punic document[3], has expertly consolidated readings. The ample discussions of text-critical and philological questions provided by this new edition create a stable base for additional interpretation.

The present study offers a translation of the first fourteen lines of Hr. Maktar 64 and a very limited analysis of the personal names in lines 16-47. The result of this exercise is somewhat unexpected. The text is not a votive dedication in the usual vein. It appears rather to be a transcript of or excerpt from an epistolary document authored by a group

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[1] Grammatical abbreviations precede the tables and the reference list. On the site of Mactar, see M'CHAREK 1982.

[2] The label and numeration follow JONGELING 2008.

[3] Previous studies include BERGER 1893: 1901; CLERMONT-GANNEAU 1900a-b; HALÉVY 1901; LIDZBARSKI 1902: 45-50; FÉVRIER 1956; SZNYCER 1972: 25-43; VAN DEN BRANDEN 1973: 165-172; KRAHMALKOV 1975; GARBINI 1986 [1987]: 33-34; NSI 59a; RES 2221; KAI 145. In the present discussion, *Neo-Punic* refers to script and orthography; *Late Punic* classifies the language represented. AMADASI GUZZO 2005 and JONGELING – KERR 2005: 1-5 provide the rationale.

designated a *mzrḥ*. The text specifies that the *mzrḥ* built the temple at Maktar (prescript), invokes a blessing on the temple and its populace (another epistolary convention), and undertakes a narrative about military service in Syria, gratitude for regular rations, and an outbreak of factionalism leading to armed confrontation. The course of events apparently resulted in the expulsion of the signatories from a celebration at the temple, giving rise to the dissenting document sent in protest. Thirty-two signatures conclude its text.

The text's first line introduces the party responsible for the document. The phrase *hmzrḥ ʾš ldrt ʾš* discloses the historical context. The word *mzrḥ* means literally "indigene", and appears to be a mass noun designating a group of limited size[4]. From the clause *hmzrḥ ʾš ldrt ʾš* "this *mzrḥ*, which has existed for generations", we infer that the *mzrḥ* is an autochthonous local community of long standing.

Previous discussions of Hr. Maktar 64 have overlooked an important detail: the number of names of members listed in lines 16-47 is thirty-two, not counting the patronyms but including the name of the person designated *rb*, a title of leadership. The number thirty-two leads to the deduction that the persons listed were members of a Roman cavalry unit, or *turma*. The *turma* is "the smallest unit of an *ala* or mounted contingent of a *cohors equitata*, commanded by a *decurio* and probably containing thirty-two men" (SOUTHERN 2001: 341)[5]. The group of thirty-two signatories to Hr. Maktar 64 was probably a *turma* of the *equites Numidarum* that had served Rome since the Second Punic War[6].

It might be argued that the *mzrḥ* was not part of an *ala* in active service, but one of the numerous military *collegia* in Africa and Numidia[7]. Among the many roles of military *collegia* were charitable and religious activities of a fairly broad scope (GINSBURG 1940: 149-150; CAMPBELL 1994: 136). To my knowledge, however, there is no evidence that the membership of military *collegia* was a fixed number. The number of members of the Mactar *mzrḥ* may better suit its identification as an active military unit. Below I will also point out references in the text to service at Sura on the Euphrates (lines 4-5), receipt of regular rations (lines 6-8), and an armed confrontation

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[4]   For detailed analysis, see the commentary on S1 (line 1) below.

[5]   Arrian (*Tactica* 18) states that 512 men comprised an *ala quingenaria*. This is 16 *turmae* of 32 persons (including officers) per *turma* (DIXON – SOUTHERN 1992: 23-24, with additional examples). Varro derived *turma* from *terima* "because it was originally composed of thirty (three times ten) horsemen from each tribe" (*De Lingua Latina* 5.91. SMITH 2006: 189 and WISEMAN 2009: 89] note the idealizing character of this derivation. (See also comments on S12). Latin *turma* = Gk. ἴλη, Dor. ἴλα "crowd, band, troop, company"; MHeb. *ṭûrmî* "turma, a squadron of horse" (JASTROW 1985: 527; cf. KRAUSS 1898: 596).

[6]   The word *turma* circulated outside military contexts: note the phrase *turmas messorum* "gangs of harvesters" in the 'Harvester' epitaph from Mactar (CIL 8.11824 = ILS 7457 = CLE 1238; ROSTOVTZEFF 1957: 687 n. 95; PICARD – ROUGÉ 1969: 224-227; tr. by WHITE 1977: 93; LEPELLEY 1981: 290-291; FENTRESS 2006).

[7]   This approximates the views of FÉVRIER 1956: 16 and SZNYCER 1972: 36. Active servicemen were barred by law from membership in *collegia tenuiorum* (GINSBURG 1940: 150). Epigraphic evidence concerning military *collegia* comes mainly from the Severan period, "largely from the camp of the III Augusta at Lambaesis in Africa" (CAMPBELL 1994: 136, citing CAGNAT 1892: 394-395, 366). For a survey of research on Roman *collegia*, see LIU 2009: 4-11). Concerning Gk. συσσίτια and Lat. *collegia*, and Caracalla's suppression of συσσίτια in Alexandria, see BURASELIS 1995: 173-180. On African sodalities more generally, see BESCHAOUCH 1977, 1985.

(lines 9-11)[8]. To some degree these details weigh against the view that the members of the *mzrḥ* were retired veterans, although certainty is impossible.

From this point on, the word *mzrḥ* will carry the gloss *turma*. The Latin word will remain in italic font both to indicate that it is a foreign lexeme, and to remind the reader that the identification argued above is – although likely in my view – not certain.

Onomastic evidence in Hr. Maktar 64 adds contour to the emerging historical scene. The *mzrḥ* and its leader are mentioned later in the text: *rb hmzrḥ shlkny* ... "the commander[9] of the *turma* is *Selikaniye* … " (line 16). This name *shlkny* is likely to be a gentilic formed on the Hellenistic toponym *Seleukia*[10]. Two other members of the *mzrḥ* have the name (lines 20, 31), and it is the patronymic of another member (line 28). The other names in this list (lines 17-47) can be examined for information about the ethno-linguistic composition of the *turma*. That examination takes place later in this paper.

The text that follows is reproduced from JONGELING 2008: 116 with several differences of word division and three restorations not proposed by that author: *b[ṣ]rtm*, line 6; *[h]*, line 7; and *[q]š*, line 8.

## Text of Hr. Maktar 64 (= NSI 59a; KAI 145), lines 1-14, 16

| 1 | *hmzrḥ ʾš ldrt ʾš bn ʾmqdš ḥṣrt* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *p ḥnt qdšm mḥzt š t ʿt ʾl ʿmt* |
| 3 | *ʿṭrt ʾdrʾt lʾ wl ʿm ʾyšb ʾdmt* |
| 4 | *l ʾlm hqydš lšʾt ʾḥt šmm bswr̊* |
| 5 | *mlk ḥṭrm yskr rzn ymm b ʿl ḥrdt* |
| 6 | *ʾlg b[ṣ]rtm k ʿtrty ytnty šb ʿt* |
| 7 | *sml mrn [ h]ḥsyd tm pltʾ ʿlm ʿbr* |
| 8 | *yrd b ʿmq hlḥ w ʾḥr st [q]š t ʿt ʾdrt* |
| 9 | *r ʾšʾ ṣlq ʾtm p̊lyṭm wdl ʿqṣ bḥb ʿrt* |
| 10 | *šḥr ṣd ʿrkn wln ʾḥn ẙt̊nn ptḥt* |
| 11 | *k yln b ʾšr lb p ʿln k ytn šb ʿt* |
| 12 | *šm ʾt hmzrḥ ʾš* |
| 13 | *ʾy krm ʾt hmn ḥt* |

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8   In this context of conflict, the word *ʿrk* in line 10a probably implies a military formation.

9   The word *rb* in CIS I 5510.9-10 (= KAI 302.9-10) corresponds to Gk. στρατηγός in the narrative of a military event in Diodorus (13.43; KRAHMALKOV 1974; SCHMITZ 1994: 11; AMADASI GUZZO 2006: 696). In the present instance, *rb* possibly corresponds to Lat. *decurio*, the usual title of the commander of a *turma* (SOUTHERN 2001: 341).

10   Compare the spelling of Middle Hebrew *slwwkyh* = Σελεύκεια (εύ > /əḇ/ [KRAUSS 1898: 56-57 §§72-73]) and the more frequent clipped form *slyq-* = Σελεύκ- (KRAUSS 1898: 394). The former establishes the consonantal frame *slk-*, and the latter establishes the raising of unstressed ευ to /ī/. This vocalism appears also in Lat. *Selicanius* (RÖLLIG, KAI vol. 2: 144; SZNYCER 1986: 11, no. 5; FERJAOUI 2007: 35). Contrast the Late Babylonian transcription *Seluku* for Σέλευκος (BM 55437, 5´ [STOLPER 1993: 48]; HSM 913.1.1 [7499], pp. 9, 28; 913.1.5 (7313): 31; 913.1.6 [7314]: 30 [WALLENFELS 1998: 9-10, 16, 46]). The Roman military *classis syriaca* "was created at the latest during the course of the second century, and it was attached to the port of Seleucia in Pieria" (SARTRE 2005: 139). The narrative below mentions the Syrian town Sura, suggesting a route by which the name *shlkny* traveled to Africa.

14     *qrʾ lmm ʿlʾ m tʾ*
       Line 15 is not included in this study.
16     *rb ḥmzrḥ shlkny bn mʾnzm ʿr*

## Translation and commentary

Below is the Punic text analyzed by sentence with translation and philological commentary. A complete glossary of lines 1-14, 16 can be found in table 1. The personal names in lines 16-47 appear in table 2.

Part 1: Introduction

Column i

S1 (1)     *ḥmzrḥ ʾš ldrt ʾš bn ʾmqdš*
           "This *turma*, which has existed for generations, built this sanctuary"
or:        "The *Oriens* which is of Dura (it is) who built this sanctuary"

*h-* def. art. Although formally the definite article, *h-* and *ʾ-* function as deictic particles in this sentence according to the first interpretation.
*mzrḥ* (*z-r-ḥ*) n. "indigene" (on morphology, see FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG 1999: 136-138 §§200-201; cf. HALOT: 28 s.v. *ʾezrāḥ*; 281 s.v. *zrḥ* i). On the specific meaning "*turma*", see the comment below.
or: (*z-r-ḥ*) n. "sunrise, east" (cf. HALOT: 281 s.v. *zeraḥ*). The word /*mizraḥ*/ "East" might have been lexicalized as a proper name: Punic *mzrḥ* = Lat. *Oriens*.
*dr* (*dwr*) n.f. "cycle, generation" (DNWSI: 258-259; cf. HALOT: 217-218; Ug. *dr* 2, DUL: 280; HALAYQA 2008: 127).
or: Aram. *dr'*, Gk. *Δούρα*, modern Dura-Europos.
*ʾš* (*ʾ-y-ṯ*) v. 3 sing. "exist" (DNWSI: 472; cf. BH *yēš* HALOT: 443; Ug. *iṯ* (DUL: 77; HALAYQA 2008: 71). The verb *ʾš* also occurs at Maktar in the clause *wʾš lnm* "(may) there exist for them" (Ḥr. Maktar N 76.10 [= iv.1]), discussed in the comments below.

Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (1900a-b) had argued that *mzrḥ* must specify a group of people, which he glossed "assembly" or "*curia*". His starting point (1900a: 25), the word *mzrḥ* in the Marseille tariff (KAI 69.16), remains the necessary clue[11]. The tariff specifies liability for expenses incurred through group sacrifices (lines 16-17), and in this context lists three kinds of groups in whose behalf sacrifices might be expected to take place: *mzrḥ* "*turma*", *špḥ* "clan", and *mrzḥ ʾlm*, a kind of religious association. The list encompasses three significant social forces: military affiliation[12], kinship[13], and religion.

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[11]   So, e.g., SZNYCER 1972: 24-26.

[12]   North African societies in this region comprised an indigenous stratum, a Carthaginian colonial stratum (MANFREDI 2003), and, at this period, superimposed Roman imperial colonists. The military connected all levels: "These cavalry units were extra-tribal, and provided an important link between the emerging [Roman] state and its people" (BRETT – FENTRESS 1996: 34).

[13]   See BURKE 1992: 53-55. MARTIN 2009: 184-185 schematizes Berber unilineal patrilineal descent groups thus: *domus*, *familiae*, clan (*gens*), subtribe, tribe, confederation. Appealing to this typology, I

J. Halévy (1901: 265) analyzed Punic *mzrḥ* as cognate to Biblical Hebrew *ʾezrāḥ*, which is translated in LXX as αὐτόχθων[14]. The Punic word *mzrḥ*, like Heb. *ʾezrāḥ* (GUZZO AMADASI 1967: 181), derives from *z-r-ḥ* "to rise" and connotes indigenous status[15]. As I have argued above, the number of members of the *mzrḥ* –thirty-two – provides the grounds for its identification as a *turma*.

Recognizing the statement *ldrt ʾš* "has existed for generations" involves identification of the verb *ʾš* "to exist". The statement establishes the *mzrḥ* as a traditional component of the local society. Clermont-Ganneau's assertion that *drt* means *municipium*, *colonia*, or *pagus* (CLERMONT-GANNEAU 1900a: 37; FÉVRIER 1956: 16) is unconvincing. A derivation of *drt* from *dwr* "generation" fits the semantic context far better. A similar meaning suits the word *dr* elsewhere at Maktar: *dr ʾ kn ʾ šlm w ʾš lnm zr ʿ ẇšp ʿt* "May its generation have peace, and (may) there be for them offspring and affluence" (Hr. Maktar N 76.10 [= iv.1]).

The phrase *ʾš lnm* "(may) there be for them" in the sentence just cited provides another attestation of the verb *ʾš* (< *ʾ-y-t̲*) "exist". Krahmalkov (1975: 179, 186; PPD: 80 s.v. *ʾš* V) identified the form, and reads the verb *ʾš* also in the Punic personal name *ʾšb ʿl* "Baal is alive!" (CIS I 4917.5; BENZ 1972: 70; see PPD: 80 s.v. *ʾš* V; 2001: 276-277). Consensus has not yet formed regarding the attestation of *ʾš* "exist" in Phoenician-Punic. In my judgment, Hr. Maktar N 75.10 offers the least ambiguous example of *ʾš* "exist"[16].

Ammianus Marcellinus provides evidence that indigenous cavalry units were recognized as such: *Cuius oppidi praesidio erat semper Quinta Parthica legio destinata, cum indigenarum turma non contemnenda* "Of this town the regular garrison was formed by the Fifth Legion, *Parthica*, along with [a *turma* of indigenes] of no mean size" (*Rerum Gestarum* 18.9.3)[17]. The words *indigenarum* and *turma* link the social and military categories in a single phrase.

We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the word *mzrḥ* /mizraḥ/ means "East", equivalent to Latin *Oriens*. The word *drt* /dūrat/ is then possibly a toponym—the name of the Syrian city Dura[18], now generally called Dura-Europos (THOMPSON 1992). Thus *hmzrḥ ʾš ldrt* "the *Oriens* which is of Dura" is a proper name (Lat. *Oriens Durae*) designating a military unit, perhaps a vexillation from one of the Palmyrene *numeri* serving in Numidia[19]. Further evidence of the group's experience emerges in S5 (lines 4-5) below.

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would argue that *šph* corresponds to the clan or *gens*. Concerning unilateral descent groups, see LÉVI-STRAUSS 1969: 73.

[14] So also FÉVRIER 1956: 15-16 and SZNYCER 1972: 35-36.

[15] LIPIŃSKI 1995: 381 identifies *mzrḥ* with reference to *misre* in a Latin inscription from Sucubi (Henchir Brerita). On the inscription, see POINSSOT 1959. JONGELING 2008: 128 considers the spelling *mzr ʾ* in Hr. Maktar 76.8 evidence that *mzrḥ* should be vocalized /mizrē/.

[16] The Biblical Hebrew form *ʾš* (< *ʾ-y-t̲*) "exist" is generally recognized at 2 Sam 14:19 (e.g., WALTKE – O'CONNOR 1990: 93 §5.8b).

[17] Text and translation [modified by the present author] by ROLFE 1935-1940.

[18] Aram. *dr ʾ*, Gk. *Doura*. Note Lidzbarski's comment, "vielleicht ein Ortsname" (LIDZBARSKI 1902: 48). Dura was captured from the Parthians by Rome in 165 CE.

[19] Members of the *numerus Palmyrenorum* served in Africa (CIL viii 11343; 18008) as did Syrian contingents (EQUINI SCHNEIDER 1988). As a case of the latter, note the dedication *AE* 1983, 976 (Mactar, c. A.D. 150): *Apollini Patrio Aug(usto) Sex(tus) Iulius Possessor, praef(ectus) coh(ortis)*

S2      *ḥṣrt* (2) *p ḥnt qdšm mḥzt š tʿt ʾl*
        "The enclosures here are dwellings of holy ones; visions for wanderers
        are these!"

*ḥṣrt* (*ḥṣr*) n. f. pl. "enclosures" (JONGELING 2008: 390 s.v; DNWSI: 400-401; PPD: 195
    s.v. *ḥṣr iii*; cf. HALOT: 345; Ug. *ḥẓr* "mansion" DUL: 382; Emar /ḥiṣarāti/
    [PENTIUC 2001: 71; HALAYQA 2008: 168])[20].
*ḥnt* (*ḥ-n-y*) n. f.pl. "dwellings" (cf. Heb. *ḥnh* HALOT: 332).
*p* /fō̆/ adv. 'here' Pun. *pho* (*Poen.* 932 [DNWSI: 902]); other occurrences include KAI
    46.8 (Nora), CIS I 112 c[1] (Abu Simbel), and CIS I 86B.8 (Kition). Compare Old
    Canaanite *pû* "here" (EA 104.53); Ug. *p* "here" (DUL: 657); BH *pô* "here"
    (HALOT: 916).
*mḥzt* (*ḥ-z-y*) /maḥzūt/ n. f.pl. "visions"; cf. BH Num 24:4, 16 (HALOT: 301); cf.
    JONGELING 2008: 395 s.v., "window, light"[21].
*tʿt* (*t-ʿ-y*) "wander", m.s. part.; cf. BH part. *tôʿeh* (s.), *tôʿôt* (pl.), implying Late Pun.
    *tōʿūt* (cf. FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG 1999: 115; KRAHMALKOV 2001: 198).
*ʾl* demon. pron. pl. "these" (JONGELING 2008: 382 s.v.).

    FÉVRIER 1956: 17 interpreted *ḥnt qdšm* as a reference to a sacred crypt, a view that
has received recent elaboration (SUSANNA 2007). My reading of S2 is incompatible
with this line of interpretation. The word *tʿt* "wanderers" appears later in the text (line
8) with the more specific sense "nomads".

S3      *ʿmt* (3) *ʿṭrt ʾdrʾt lʾ wlʿm ʾyšb ʾdmt*
        "Its community is a crown of splendor to it and to the people that inhabits
        its land".

*ʿmt* (*ʿm*) /ʿamīt/ n. f.s. "community", also *ʿmt* CIS I 263.3 (*pace* PPD: 380 s.v.); cf. BH
    *ʿāmît* (HALOT: 845).
*ʿṭrt* (*ʿṭr*) n. f.s. /ʿăṭirt/ "garland"; cf. BH *ʿăṭārâ* (HALOT: 815). JONGELING 2008: 400
    s.v., "crown" > "cornice".
*ʾdrʾt* (*ʾdr*) /ʾadret/ (?) n. f.s. "splendour" (NSI: 154); cf. JONGELING 2008: 382 s.v.; BH
    *ʾăderet* (HALOT: 17). The use of ʾ as a vowel letter representing e or ē is discussed
    by KERR 2010: 43; note the similar spelling of *mqnʾt* /miqnet/ "purchase" (Wadi el-
    Amud N 1.1).
*lʾ* (*l-*) /lō̆/ prep. with 3ms pron. sfx. Note the vocalized spelling *lo* (Bir ed-Dreder 5.19;
    Nawalia LP 1.6; KERR 2010: 149). The same consonantal spelling is attested in CIS
    5510.7 (= KAI 302.7), dated 406 B.C.E.
*ʿm* (*ʿm*) /ʿam/ n. m. "people" (JONGELING 2008: 401 s.v.).
*ʾ* def. art. (JONGELING 2008: 381 s.v.; 388 s.v. *h*).
*yšb* (*y-š-b*) v. qal part. /yōšēb/ "inhabit" (JONGELING 2008: 391 s.v.).
*ʾdmt* (*ʾdm*) n. "land" (PPD: 34 s.v.).

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    *Gall(orum). Curator numeri Syrorum sagittariorum* (discussed by SOUTHERN 1989: 138; GNOLI
    2007: 183-184).

[20]  "To construe *ḥṣrt* as a genit[ive] after *mqdš* would not make good sense; the two words are to be
    taken *asyndetos*" (NSI: 153).

[21]  KERR 2010: 145 discusses evidence for the f.pl. ending /ūt/ < /ōt/ in Late Punic.

S4 (4)    *l ʾlm hqydš lš ʾt ʾḥt šmm*
          "To the holy god *may* it*s* brotherhood ascend the heavens"

*š ʾt* (*n-ś-ʾ*) inf. "rise", JONGELING 2008: 399 s.v. *nš ʾ* "to elevate".
*ʾḥt* (*ʾḥ*) n. f. *ʾḥt* /ʾuḥūt (?)/ "brotherhood"; cf. Syr. *ʾăḥôt* (BROCKELMANN 1928: 10); BH
     *ʾāḥəwâ* (HALOT: 31). Punic *ʾḥt* is equivalent to Lat. *fraternitas*.

I interpret *lš ʾt* as an optative use of the infinitive construct of the verb *n-ś-ʾ* "rise"
(FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG 1999: 194 §268.2; KRAHMALKOV 2001: 207). The appositional
syntax of the phrase *ʾyšb ʾdmt* "that inhabits its land"[22] is distinct from Biblical Hebrew
usage, where *hayyô/ōšēb* governs a prepositional phrase introduced by *b-* (21x) or *ʿal*
(6x). The relative function of the definite article also occurs in a syntactically similar
Late Punic construction: *tw ʾyspn ʿlt mqdšm* "(the) cella that we adjoined to the
sanctuaries" (KAI 159.5 [Althiburus]).

Sentences 1-4 (lines 1-4a) constitute a coherent unit, serving as an introduction to the
narrative that follows. The motif of ascension or apotheosis is characteristically Roman
(SEGAL 1980: 1347-1349; PRICE 1987; TABOR 1992: 93)[23]. Although the temple and its
community are mentioned, neither figures prominently in the remainder of the text until
(perhaps) its final section. The themes of community (*ʿmt*) and brotherhood (*ʾḥt*)
established by the word choices in this segment acquire an ironic tone in the narrative
of lines 10-11 below.

Part 2: Service in Sura

S5        *bswřʾ* (5) *mlk ḥṭrm yskr rzn ymm*
          "In Sur(a), the king of the Hatraeans paid our rations daily"

*swřʾ* Sur(a). Compare JArm. *swr ʾ* Sura, a city on the Euphrates (JASTROW 1985: 969).
*mlk* (*mlk₃*) n. m. "king" (DNWSI: 634-640).
*ḥṭrm* (*Ḥaṭrāʾ*) adj. pl. "Hatraeans". On the Aramaic orthography of the city's name,
     which most likely means "enclosure, hedge, fence", see Beyer (BEYER 1998: 168)[24].
*yskr* (< *ś-k-r*) v. K perf. 3s. "pay"; cf. BH *s-k-r* "hire, bribe" (Ezr 4:5: HALOT: 756).
     Late spelling of Phoen. *š-k-r₁* (KAI 24.7: DNWSI 1135). See also JONGELING 2008:
     399 s.v. *skr* n.
*rz* (*rz ʾ*) n. m. "ration"; Compare BH *r-z-h* "be or grow lean" (BDB: 930-931; cf.
     HALOT: 1209 "to make bad"); *rāz* n.m. "leanness, wasting" (Isa 24:16, BDB: 931;
     HALOT: 1210); Palm. Arm *rz ʾ* "ration" (CIS II 3932.5)[25].
*ymm* (*ywm*) n. m. "day" (DNWSI: 448-453) with adv. suffix (cf. BH *yômām*: HALOT:
     401-402), lit. "daily".

The orthography of the name *swřʾ* "Sur(a)" in this inscription involves {*w*} as a
vowel letter for /ū/ (KERR 2010: 52-54)[26]. A city of Osrhoene west of the confluence of

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[22] This analysis follows KRAHMALKOV 2000: 34 s.v. *ʾdmt*). JONGELING 2008: 116 divides *wl ʿm ʾ yšb*.

[23] Naomi J. Norman (NORMAN 2009) discusses the theme of apotheosis in the context of Roman
     imperial funerals.

[24] In a Hatran inscription the name appears spelled *ḥṭr ʾ* (CAQUOT 1963: 5, line 14).

[25] LIDZBARSKI 1898: 368; 1902: 239; Cooke (NSI: 280); cf. CAL's broader gloss "business matter".

the Euphrates with the Balikh, Sura "seems to have been under Roman control by the Flavian period, and is often regarded as the limit of Roman power before Roman expansion into the middle Euphrates in AD 165-6, as it was after the loss of Roman control of that region" (COLVIN 2004: 121).

The phrase *mlk ḥṭrm* is unequivocal in this geographic context. The plural gentilic *ḥṭrm* derives from *Ḥaṭrā(ʾ)*, a Mesopotamian city about 200 km southeast of Sura. The Roman emperor Trajan was the first to campaign in and annex this region, in 115-116 C.E.

The verb phrase *yskr rzn* "he paid our rations" is clarified by the adverbial modifier *ymm* "daily". In KAI 24.7, the same verb (spelled *škr*) connotes "hiring" the Assyrian king, with entailment of regular payments of precious metal or supplies to a militia, as in this case also. All previous studies mistakenly identified *rzn* as the homographic word 'prince' (KAI 26 A III 12; DNWSI: 1065). Late Punic *rz* is cognate to Biblical Hebrew *rāz* "leanness, wasting" (Isa 24:16). The phonetic similarity of the Semitic word to Latin *ratio* undoubtedly stimulated its use as a calque with the more precise administrative sense 'ration', as also in Palmyrene Aramaic.

My reading of S5 eliminates one instance of the supposed divine name *Hoter Miscar*, thought to be the deity to whom the building that carried this inscription was consecrated. The relevant textual evidence needs reassessment[27].

S6      *bʿl ḥrdt* (6) *ʾlg b[ṣ]rtm kʿtrty ytnty šbʿt*
        "(As for) a master of guards stammering in his [dis]tress, during his supplications were distributions to him (in) abundance"

*bʿl* n. m. "lord, master" (DNWSI: 182-184; PPD: 110-111 s.v. *bʿl* 7; cf. BH *bʿl* "owner" HALOT: 143; Ug. *bʿl* 2 "lord, owner" DUL: 206; HALAYQA 2008: 251-252).

*ḥrdt* (*ḥrd*) n.f.pl. "guards"; cf. Ug. *ḥrd* "guard, militia, troops" (DUL: 403-404); Emar *ḥardātu* "guards" (PENTIUC 2001: 57; HALAYQA 2008: 174). The relation to BH *ḥărādâ* "trembling, fear" (HALOT: 351) is uncertain.

*ʾlg* (*ʾ-l-g*) *piʿēl* part. "stammering" (cf. HALOT: 828 s.v.; Ug. *ʿ-l-g* "to stutter" DUL: 158; HALAYQA 2008: 79 s.v.).

[*ṣ*]*rt* (*ṣ-r-y*) n. f.pl. "need, distress, anxiety"; cf. BH *ṣārôt* (HALOT: 1053).

*ʿtrt* (*ʿ-t-r*) part. "plead, supplicate" (HALOT: 905-906).

*šbʿt* (*śbʿ*) n.f. /*šibat*/ "abundance, satiety". Compare Phoen. *šbʿ* "plenty" (DNWSI: 1103; HALOT: 1304; JONGELING 2008: 406 s.v.).

My awkward translation attempts to preserve the main chronological point of the example: rations were doled out faster than troops could ask for them. The phrase *bʿl ḥrdt* possibly stands for a Latin military rank, but the precise equivalent is not apparent.

Jongeling and Kerr (2005: 37) and Jongeling (2008: 127) follow precedent by interpreting *šbʿt* as an abstract noun from *ś-b-ʿ* "be abundant, satiate". The noun *šbʿ* (< *ś-b-ʿ*) "plenty" occurs in Phoenician (KAI 26 A I 6, II 7, 13, 16, III 7, 9), but the form *šbʿt* occurs only in Hr. Maktar N 64 and N 76.1, 4, 8, 11.

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[26]  The spelling of Pun *swr*, corresponding to Arm *swrʾ*, raises unresolved orthographic questions about the possible identification of *drt* with *drʾ*. The latter name could have been assimilated in spelling to Arm *dwrtʾ, drtʾ* "courtyard" (JASTROW 1985: 290; 326).

[27]  The Egyptian derivation is dubious: JONGELING 2008: 333 s,v *ḥṭr myskr*; cf. 367 s.v. *ʿṭr myskr*.

Column ii

S7 (7)    *sml mrn[ h]ḥsyd tm plt ᵓ ᶜlm ᶜbr*
          "(May) an image of our gracious lord declare the virtue of his deeds eternally"

*sml* n. f.s. "image, sculpture, statue" (DNWSI: 792; cf. HALOT: 760).
*mr* (Arm *mr ᵓ*) n. m. "lord"; cf. BArm *māre ᵓ* (HALOT: 1921-192).
 [*h*] conjectural restoration; the definite article is possible but not necessary.
*ḥsyd* (*ḥsd*) n. m. /ḥəsīd/ "gracious"; cf. BH *ḥesed* "loyalty" (HALOT: 336-337).
    Compare adj. m. "pious, kind" (DNWSI: 390).
*tm* (*t-m-m*) n. s. "virtue"; JONGELING 2008: 409 s.v. *tm* "completeness"; cf. BH
    (HALOT 1752-1753); Ug. *tm* adj. "mature, complete" RS 2.002:67 = CTU 1.23:67
    (BORDREUIL – PARDEE 2009: 254; HALAYQA 2008: 338).
*plt ᵓ* n. f. /fil(l)ūto/ "his works"; cf. *fillyt* (Wadi Uaeni NP 1.3 [KERR 2010: 220]).
    Compare BH *pəᶜullâ* "work, labor" (HALOT: 951).
*ᶜlm* adv. 'eternally' cf. *ᶜd ᶜlm* "until eternity" (KAI 78.1; DNWSI: 859; JONGELING
    2008: 401 s.v.).
*ᶜbr* (*ᶜ-b-r*) poss. *piᶜēl* perf. optative; cf. BH *ᶜbr* "Hif. 10. "to cause an announcement (or
    order) to be transmitted" Ex 36:6; Ezr 1:1; 10:7; Neh 8:15; 2 Chron 30:5; 36:22
    (HALOT: 780).

The reference to a *sml mrn[ h]ḥsyd* "image of our gracious lord" (line 7) possibly
alludes to coins bearing an image, although Hatran coin series show a profile head of
Shamash, the sun god, on the obverse and a spread eagle on the reverse. There is extant,
however, a much-damaged sculpture from Hatra portraying Sanaṭruq I and his son and
successor Abdšamiya. Perhaps the text alludes to this type of royal portraiture. The
inscription might have been intended for the dedication of such an image at Maktar.

The Aramaic title *mry ᵓ* "lord" designates several roles in the Aramaic texts from
Hatra. J. B. Segal observed that "it is found most frequently of Naṣru son of Nišryehab
and father of King Sanaṭruq I" (SEGAL 1983: 108, with citations). Sanaṭruq I (reigned
ca. 140-180 C.E.) was apparently the first at Hatra to be elevated from the status of
*mry ᵓ* to the rank of *mlk ᵓ* (HARTMANN 2001: 95-96 n129; SOMMER 2003: 23). The
inception of Sanaṭruq's reign can set a *terminus post quem* for the date of this
inscription.

S8 (8)    *yrd b ᶜmq hlḥ*
          "Lower in depth the jaw!"
or:       "They lowered…"

*yrd* (*y-r-d*) v. K imper. pl. "lower!" (DNWSI: 468-469; cf. HALOT: 434-435;
    HALAYQA 2008: 365-366). The Punic syntagm *yrd b-* matches BH *wattôridēm . . .
    bəᶜad* (Josh. 2:15).
*ᶜmq* n. m. prob. /ᶜumq/ "depth"; cf. BH *bəᶜimqê-* "in the depths" Prov. 9:18 (*HALOT*:
    849 s.v. *ōmeq*); see also DNWSI: 872-873; HALOT: 847-848; DUL 165;
    HALAYQA (2008: 84).
*h-* def. art. In this instance, the function matches the form. See the note on line 1 above.
*lḥ* n. m. 'jaw'; cf. Ug. *lḥ* 'cheek' CTU 1.5:VI.19 (KORPEL 1990: 100; HALAYQA 2008:
    204).

Sentences 7-8 (lines 4b-8) appear to a modern reader to strike distinctly light-hearted tones. In particular, the sentence *yrd bʿmq hlḥ* "Lower in depth the jaw!" (S8, line 8) sounds a call to soldiers to acclaim their benefactor[28].

Part 3: Faction and Division

S10    *w ʾḥr st [q]š t ʿt ʾdrt*
        "And after this, the nomad nobility became difficult"

*st* dem. pron. "this" (JONGELING 2008: 400 s.v., PPD: 349-350 s.v.)

[*q*]*š* (*q-š-y* ii) v. 3pl. "be heavy, hard, difficult" cf. BH *qšh* (HALOT: 1151-1152; JASTROW 1985: 1430; cf. Ug. *qš* "harsh, severe" DUL, 717; HALAYQA 2008: 274).

*t ʿt* n. f. pl. "nomads" (see comments on S2 above).

*ʾdr* adj. "mighty, magnificent" (DNWSI: 18-19; cf. HALOT: 13-14 s.v. *ʾaddîr*; Ug. *ʾdrt* "noble, best" (DUL: 22); HALAYQA 2008: 38)[29].

S11 (9)  *r ʾš ʾ ṣlq ʾtm p̊lyṭm*
        "Its head divided the citizenry (*poliṭima*) with them"

*r ʾš ʾ* (*r ʾš*) n. JONGELING 2008: 405 s.v.. The orthography implies the vocalism /*rušo*/ "its head" (with cataphoric reference to *poliṭima*, a loanword [see below]).

*ʾtm* prp. *ʾt* + 3m.pl. sfx –*om*. Lit. "with them" (cf. JONGELING 2008: 384 s.v. *tmm*).

*ṣlq* (*ṣ-l-q*) v. The translation assumes an etymon shared with Arm. *ṣ-l-q* "split" (DJBA: 966a; JASTROW 1985: 1286).

*p̊lyṭm* n. Greek πολίτευμα; cf. MHeb. *plyṭwmnwn* < Gk. πολιτευόμενος = Lat. *decurio* (KRAUSS 1898: 425 s.v.); Syr. *plyṭʾwmns*; MHeb. *plyṭyqyn* < πολιτικοί "city people" (JASTROW 1985: 1141 s.v.); Palm. *plṭyʾ* < πολιτεία "tenure of public office" (PAT: 1378; DNWSI: 915; BROCK 2005: 20). The likely meaning is "corporate body of citizens resident in a foreign city" (LSJ s.v. πολίτευμα IV.2); see also STRATHMANN 1968: 519-520; BISCARDI 1984 = 1999: 221-238; GUZMÁN BRITO 2002; KASHER 2002-2003; CASINOS-MORA 2004.

S12    *wdl ʿqṣ bḥbʿrt* (10) *šḥr ṣd ʿrkn*
        "And with contempt for amity, (at) daybreak they waylaid our squad"

*dl* adv. "with" (JONGELING 2008: 387 s.v.).

*ʿqṣ* (*ʿqṣ*) /ʿ*ūqāṣ*/? cf. MHeb *ʿūqāṣ* 1. "thorn, point prick, sting", 2. "haunch, tail" (JASTROW 1985: 1057); Arb. *ʿaqaṣa*; cf. Heb. *ʿ-q-š* (HALOT: 875-876).

*ḥbʿrt* (*ḥbr*) n. f. "amity, friendship" DNWSI: 346-347; cf. JONGELING 2008: 389 s.v. *ḥbr*; HALOT: 287-288; HALAYQA 2008: 153[30].

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[28]   The ironic tone of the inscription in this instance appears to offer a subaltern perspective on imperial Roman political oratory. I am grateful to Naomi Norman, whose comment on an earlier draft of this study prompted me to clarify my own thoughts concerning how such commentary would find its way into a monumental inscription.

[29]   On the indigenous nobility of North Africa, see LÉVÈQUE 1999.

[30]   The vocalism implied by the spelling *ḥbʿrt* /ḥaḇarūt/, is like Jewish Aramaic *ḥaḇārûtaʾ* 'attachment, companionship, friendship' (JASTROW 1985: 423 s.v.; cf. BROCKELMANN 1928: 212).

*šḥr* n. "daybreak" (see HALOT: 1467 s.v. *šaḥar* i); or *šḥr* (*š-ḥ-r* ii) v. poss. D perf. "be on the lookout for" (HALOT: 1465 s.v. *šaḥar* ii); cf. DNWSI: 1122; DUL: 812-813; HALAYQA 2008: 320.

*ṣd* (*ṣ-d-y*) v. G perf. 3pl. "lie in wait" (cf. BH *ṣādû*, Lam 4:18; HALOT: 1000-1001).

*ʿrk* (*ʿrk*) n. m. "preparation, arrangement, assessment, evaluation" (DNWSI: 887-888; cf. JONGELING 2008: 401 s.v. *ʿrk* "valuation"; HALOT: 885; DUL: 182; HALAYQA 2008: 90.

This sentence appears to employ an idiomatic expression, *dl ʿqṣ b-* lit. "with tail/haunch to" or "with stinger in". Showing one's rear seems to be a near-universal somatic expression of contempt, and my translation reflects this inference. The meanings "sting" and "tail" for *ʿqṣ* suggest that the metaphor might be intended to represent the behavior of a scorpion, a familiar menace in this region.

The noun *ʿrk* here may convey an image of infantry arrayed in columns[31]. As a cavalry unit, the *turma* generally moved in an array of three lines of ten horse. The mounted *decurio* led the unit, and the *optio* rode at the rear[32]. I have used *squad* to render this image because it derives from *exquadare* "to form into a square".

S13      *wln ʾḥn ẙtnn ptḥt*
         "And to us – our brothers gave us drawn swords"

*ln* prep. *l-* + 1c.pl. suffix /lən(u)/ "to us". On the suffix, see KERR 2010: 142.

*ʾḥn* n.m.pl. + 1c.pl. suffix /ʾaḥun/ "our brothers" (KERR 2010: 33, 142).

*ptḥt* (*p-t-ḥ*) n. f.pl. "drawn swords"; cf. BH *petîḥâ* Ps 55:22 (HALOT: 989-990; cf. HALOT: 986-988; DNWSI: 948-950).

The sequence of the first-person prepositional phrase *ln* "to us" followed by the first-person pronoun affixed to the verb (/yatnū-n(ū)/ "they gave us" might be recognized as aposiopesis, which I have indicated by the dash. On this rhetorical feature in Phoenician, see O'CONNOR 1977: 23.

The kinship term *ʾḥ* "brother" is quite possibly used here as an expression of military comradeship, as in Latin military argot. From the prominence of *ptḥt* "drawn swords" in the sentence I infer a confrontation between military units.

S14 (11)     *k yln b ʾšr lb p ʿln k ytn šb ʿt*
             "While they spent the night here in happiness of heart, upon us they consequently put curses"

*k* adv. "when, while" (DNWSI: 482); cf. EpHeb, BH *kî* "when" (HALOT: 471); Ug. *k* "when" (DUL: 422-423; HALAYQA 2008: 180 s.v. *ky* 3).

*yln* (*l-y-n*) v. "sleep, spend the night" (DNWSI: 575; HALOT: 529; DUL: 500; HALAYQA 2008: 208).

*ʾšr* (*ʾšr*) n. "happiness" (DNWSI: 125; PPD: 85; HAL: 99; HALAYQA 2008: 65).

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[31]  The cognate verb '-r-k signifies 'to place in order, array', and can refer to battle formation (HALOT: 885 s.v. *qal* 3).

[32]  The rear officer, called *optio*, was selected by the *decurio* (MCCALL 2002: 79). I have employed this terminology from the Republican period in the absence of certainty about subsequent changes.

*'ln* "upon us" cf. BH *ntn 'l* "attach to" (Exod 39:31 2x); "to set upon (columns)" (1 Kgs
    7:16; *lātēt 'ālênû* "to charge ourselves", i.e., impose upon ourselves (Neh 10:33);
    *wənātôn 'otô 'al kol-'ereṣ miṣrāyim* "and he [Pharaoh] appointed him [Joseph] over
    all the land of Egypt", i.e., imposed him upon (Gen 31:43).

*k* adv. "thus, in this way" (DNWSI: 500; HALOT: 461; DUL: 423-424; HALAYQA
    2008: 180)

*ytn* (*y-t-n*) v. K 3pl. /yattīnū/ "they imposed/invoked".

*šb'* (*šb'*) n. f. "oath, curse" (HALOT: 1384-1385). The syntax of Punic *ytn šb't … 'l-* is
    similar to BH *ntn . . . lšb'h* (Num 5:21)[33]. The biblical sentence involves imposing or
    invoking a curse on a woman accused of adultery.


    Part 4: Register of Dissenters

Column iii

S16 (12)*šm 't hmzrḥ 'š* (13) *'y krm 't hmn ḥt*
        "Names of the *turma* whom they did not invite with a mob of terror"

*mzrḥ* see the comment on S1 (line 1) above.
*'y* neg. "not" (PPD: 45-46 s.v. *'y* ii).
*kr* (*k-r-y*) v. "invite to a feast" (HALOT: 497; cf. *kr* "Festmahl" DUL: 454; HALAYQA
    2008: 190). The verb phrase is *'y krm* "they did not invite them".
*hmn* n.m. "crowd, multitude, army"; cf. BH *hāmôn* (HALOT: 250-251).
*ḥt* n. (*ḥ-t-t*) n. "terror" cf. BH *ḥat* (HALOT: 363 s.v. *ḥt*).


    The phrase *hmn ḥt* is difficult to translate because the second word is ambiguous. I
have interpreted Punic *ḥt* as cognate to the Biblical Hebrew nonce-word *ḥat*, rendered
'terror'. The verb *ḥ-t-t* ranges in meaning from 'break' to 'kill', enough of which
produces terror. The form *ḥt* may be participial, suggesting 'band of murderers' or a
similar expression. The text's point is to bring serious accusations against their
detractors.

S17 (14)*qr' lmm'l' m t'*
        "Read from above what they signed"

*qr'* (*q-r-'*) v. *qal* imper. sing. /qrō'/ "(you sing.) read" or pl. /qrē'ū/ "(you pl.) read"
    (JONGELING 2008: 405 s.v.)
*lmm'l'* Concerning the preposition chain *l-* + *m-*, see PPG³:181 (§253).
*m* pron. "what" (PPD: 265 s.v.; JONGELING 2008: 394 s.v. *m'*)
*t'* (*t-'-y,* by-form of *t-w-y*) v. *pi'el* perf. 3pl. "to make a mark, scribble" (HALOT: 1696;
    cf. 1673).


    The attested dyad *lmṭ … lm'l* "below … above" (KAI 14.11) induces the
interpretation of the string *lmm'l' mt'* in line 14 as the segments *lmm'l'* "from above"
and *mt'* "downward" (e.g., RÖLLIG in KAI vol. 2, 143). The necessary interpretation of

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[33] The constructions *by'tn šb't* (Hr. Maktar N 75 ii.4) and *y'tn' t 'šb't* (Hr. Maktar N 75 iii.8, iv.11;
    FÉVRIER – FANTAR 1963-64, 50 B i.2; 51 B ii.1; 53 B iii.2; iv.2 JONGELING 2008: 126) probably
    involve the idiom found in S6 (line 6) above.

*mtʾ* as an erroneous writing of Phoenician *mṭ* is unconvincing, however. The inscription's orthography correctly represents etymological *ṭet* in the spelling of *ʿṭrt* (line 3). In representing personal names, the orthography employs *ṭet* for Greek *tau* and Latin *t*, as the following examples illustrate: Lat. *qʿpṭʾ* < *Capito/e* (line 19); Lat. *rʾstyṭṭʾ* 'Restitute' < *Restitutus* (line 29). The verb *tʾ* in Hr. Maktar 64.14, signifying an act of writing, supplies a more satisfactory interpretation. The list of names is, in fact, a list of signatures to the original document.

Line 15 is not included in this translation.

Column iv

S19 (16)*rb hmzrḥ shlkny bn mʾnzm ʿr*
        "The commander of the *turma* is Selicanie son of Monzamar"

*rb* n. m. "chief, commander"; cf. JONGELING 2008: 405 s.v., adj. "great, important".
*shlkny* p. n. Selicanie.

## Orthographic analysis of the text

Consonants: All consonants are represented with the phonological values found in earlier Phoenician. One consonant shift may be represented: the spelling *tʾ* (line 14) could signify *w* > *ʾ*, if the proper root is *t-w-y*. This alteration is phonologically conditioned, and not a historical orthographic change. The historical writing of laryngeals in a text of this late date is noteworthy (see JONGELING – KERR 2005: 6-7; KERR 2010: 26-38).

Vowel Letters: This text, if it has been correctly analyzed in the preceding section, makes use of four vowel letters, *ʾalep*, *he, yod*, and *ʿayn*. Here is a list of the attested spellings that employ vowel letters.

ʾalep

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʾdrʾt* | *e* |
| *pltʾ* | *o* /filluto/[34] |
| *qrʾ* | *o* /qro/ |
| *rʾšʾ* | *o* /rušo/ "its leader" |
| *šmʾt* | *ō* /šēmōt/ "names" |

he

| | |
|---|---|
| *shlkny* | *e* cf. Lat. *Selicanius*[35] |

yod

| | |
|---|---|
| *ḥsyd* | *i* |
| *qydš* | *i* |

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[34]   The length of the final vowel is uncertain.
[35]   KERR 2005: 63-65 lists other examples of *h* for *e* in Latin names.

ʿayn

    *ḥbʿrt*                            *a*

The syllable position of a vowel letter in a word does not by itself affect the quality of the vowel. The small sample above yields the observation that *ʾalep* represents *e* and *o*[36]; the lone instance of *h* has the value *e*; *yod* has the value *i* in all environments. The letter *ʿayn* has the value *a* in all environments (e.g., *mktʿr* "Mactar" [JONGELING 2008: 348 s.vv.]). This pattern is consistent with the findings of KERR 2010.

The spelling of the verb *qrʾ* is phonologically ambiguous. Evidence supporting the vocalization /qro/ for *qrʾ* in line 14 comes from the spelling *qrʾ* in Qalat Abi s-Siba N 1.1 (JONGELING 2008: 249, 405). From this epitaph's style as a *titulus loquens* addressing the single passer-by (*ʾlk*) we can deduce that the verb written *qrʾ* is singular, hence to be vocalized /qro/.

## Historical implications

As mentioned above, the reference to *hmzrḥ ʾš ldrt ʾš* "this *turma*, which has existed for generations" provides a significant detail about an indigenous institution at Mactar. This detail provides historians a new datum in view of which the late-Roman period of the *ʾrṣt tškʿt* "lands of Tushkat" (see JONGELING 2008: 74-75, Djebel Massoudj 1.1), or *pagus Thuscae* (MANFREDI 2003: 443-445), can be reconsidered. This text raises questions about Roman strategy, tactics, and logistics in connection with indigenous populations in Africa (MATTINGLY 1992)[37].

Brett and Fentress have pointed out that, during the Severian period "the creation of auxiliary units of the Numidian cavalry gave a new role to an important component in African society [i.e., the Berbers], one which brought with it both status and a road to Roman citizenship, for veterans of auxiliary units had an automatic right to citizenship" (BRETT – FENTRESS 1996: 54). The prestige of military service acted as a social counterweight to the power of Carthage and Rome, and the needs of cavalry units provided economic development as horse breeding became a major industry (ibid., 34). If we allow that the *mzrḥ* is a military unit called in Latin *turma*, a limited range of interpretive possibilities opens.

The list of personal names in lines 16-47 allows some inferences about the linguistic and – potentially – ethnic composition of the *turma*[38]. Looking first at the patronyms in the list, sixteen names (50 percent) appear to be Libyco-Berber[39], although some of these are uncertain. Twelve names (38 percent) are Punic. Two names (7 percent) are Greek. One Latin name in Greek declension (*plkʿy* < Gk. *Φηλικᾶς*, gen. *–άιο* < Lat. Felix [line 17])[40] belongs to a father whose son has a name that appears to be Berber

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[36]   The historical development of *ʾalep* as a vowel letter is traced by AMADASI GUZZO 1995a.

[37]   Note the observation that "l'épigraphie est considérée généralement comme une 'science auxiliaire' de l'histoire" (SZNYCER 2002-2003: 28).

[38]   None of these names appears in Jarrett's detailed prosopographic study of African equestrian commanders (1963).

[39]   The linguistic nomenclature follows CAMPS 1996, 2002-2003.

[40]   In Koine Greek, "foreign proper names are adapted as far as possible to Greek paradigms, chiefly to the first declension and to the short names in -ᾱς" (BDF 30 §55).

(*mʿsyr*). One member's name (*mʿsqlt*, line 43 [see below]) occurs without patronym. Classifying the patronyms by language reveals that the progenitors of the *turma*'s members are mostly Berber speakers, with a large minority of Punic speakers. The Greek-derived name *shlkny* (lines 16, 20) belongs to two sons of different fathers with Berber names; the variant spelling *slkny* (line 31) belongs to the son of *mʿsqlt*. I think it likely that the name *mʿsqlt* is a Latin loan, a Semitic or Berber abstract permutation of *masculus*, probably with the sound shape /masqulut/ "libido"[41]. In a third spelling, *slkʿny* is the patronymic of Punic-named *mtnbʿl*, one of three members of the *turma* who bear that name.

The pattern of name-giving evident from this parental generation also deserves attention. None of the three fathers with a Greek-derived name has a son with a Greek name: one son has a Berber name, one a Latin name, and one a Punic name. Of the twelve fathers with a Punic name, half of the sons bear Punic names (6 names); one-fourth have Latin names (3 names); one has a Persian name. One son of a Punic-named father may have a Berber name, although the name (restored by JONGELING 2008: 116 as *knŕśn*, line 40) is badly damaged and difficult to read. The name of the remaining son of a Punic-named father is entirely destroyed. Berber-named fathers have sons with the following range of names: Punic (6 names); Greek (5 names); Latin (4 names); uncertain (2 names: *ʾzrmʿn*, line 36; *ʿwmzgwʿr*, line 47). It seems likely that the patterns of name-giving in evidence in this text reflect marriage patterns as well as culture-crossing aspirations[42]. Without reliable information about the role of fathers in naming, however, we cannot determine the sources of the sons' names. In this situation, restrained interpretation is best. We can outline the main deductions nonetheless.

Sons of some Berber-named fathers bear 'aspirational' names. Parents have selected non-Berber names from an expanding circle of ethnic difference shaped by the occupational history of the larger territory. Phoenician-Punic names, drawn from the oldest and best-established colonizing power, are the largest single bloc; Greek names, second in antiquity and proximity, are the next bloc in size; Latin names, a historically more recent intrusion and the currently hegemonic power, represent the choice of only three Berber-named parents. One or two fathers with Berber names have sons in the *turma* whose names are, or may be, Berber. Whether, and to what degree, the linguistic diversity of names given to sons of Berber-named fathers is indicative of exogamy by the parental generation cannot be determined from the data available.

The names of sons of Punic-named fathers pattern very differently. Seven of the sons' names (53 percent) are Punic. Three (25 percent) are Latin[43]. Retention of language and cultural identity may have been a motivating factor in this pattern. This factor would suggest reasonably strong endogamy within the Punic-speaking community. The aspirational names are Latin, reflecting the higher social position of Punic society historically. Latin names remain confined to a minority of sons of Punic speakers.

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[41] There are thirteen examples of North African names written in Latin script that end with –*ut* (JONGELING 1994: 194 [retrograde index]).

[42] ADAMS 2003: 197-201, examines the use of Latin by Roman soldiers.

[43] The remaining two names, as mentioned above, are too damaged to read.

The onomastic data for the parental generation suggest that the membership of the *turma* at the time of this inscription's completion was patrilineally 56 percent Berber[44], and 38 percent Punic. The statement in line 1 that the *mzrḥ* has "existed for generations" is probably a reasonably accurate description of the past. The onomastic patterns discussed above raise interesting questions about the next generation of this unit[45].

## Grammatical abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| adj. | adjective |
| adv. | adverb |
| conj. | conjunction |
| def. art. | definite article |
| encl. | enclitic |
| f. | feminine |
| m. | masculine |
| n. | noun |
| neg. | negative adverb |
| part. | participle |
| perf. | perfect |
| prep. | preposition |
| pron. | pronoun |
| rel. comp. | relative complementizer |
| v. | verb |

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[44] This figure counts the fathers of the three members named *s(h)lkny* and *plkʻy* father of *mʻsyr* as linguistically Berber.

[45] R. Kerr generously commented on a much different early draft of this study. His views motivated me to alter my approach at several points, and improved my treatment of orthographic representations in more than one instance. Responsibility for the arguments proposed above remains entirely my own, nonetheless.

## Table 1: Glossary for Hr. Maktar N 64 Lines 1-14, 16

| Form | Line | Root | Definition | Parsing | Lexical Citations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | (Phoenician-Hebrew alphabetical order) |
| ʾ | 1 | | the | def. art. | DNWSI: 263 |
| ʾdmt | 3 | | land | n. | PPD: 34 s.v. |
| ʾdr | 1 | ʾdr | noble | adj. | DNWSI: 18-19; cf. HALOT: 13-14 s.v. *ʾaddîr*; Ug. *ʾdrt* "noble, best" (DUL: 22); HALAYQA 2008: 38 |
| ʾdrʾt | 3 | | splendor | n. | DNWSI: 18-19; PPD: 36; HALOT: 17; HALAYQA 2008: 38; *ʾdrt* + sfx |
| ʾḥ | 10 | ʾḥ | brother | n. | DNWSI: 28-32 |
| ʾḥr | 8 | | after | adv. | DNWSI: 39; HALOT: 35-36; HALAYQA 2008: 44 |
| ʾḥt | 4 | ʾḥ | brother-hood | n. | Syr. *ʾăḥôt* (BROCKELMANN 1928: 10); BH *ʾāḥəwâ* (HALOT: 31) |
| ʾl | 2 | | these | pron. | JONGELING 2008: 382 s.v. |
| ʾlm | 4 | | god | n. | DNWSI: 53-54 |
| ʾš | 1, 12 | | which | rel. | DNWSI: 1089 s.v. *š*$_{10}$ |
| ʾš | 1 | ʾ-y-*t* / ʾ-*t*-y | exist | v. | DNWSI: 472; cf. BH *yēš* HALOT: 443; Ug. *it̠* (DUL: 77; HALAYQA 2008: 71) |
| ʾšr | 11 | | happiness | n. | DNWSI: 125; PPD: 85; HALOT: 99; HALAYQA 2008: 65 |
| ʾt | 9, 13 | | with | prep. | DNWSI: 131 s.v. *ʾt* 6 |
| ʾy | 13 | | not | neg. | PPD: 45-46 s.v. *ʾy* ii |
| b | 4x | | in | prep. | *yskr b-* see *skr* |
| bʿl | 5 | | lord, master | n. | DNWSI: 182-184; PPD: 110-111 s.v. *bʿl* 7; cf. BH *bʿl* "owner" HALOT: 143; Ug. *bʿl* 2 "lord, owner" DUL: 206; HALAYQA 2008: 251-252 |
| bn | 1 | b-n-y | build | v. | DNWSI: 173-178 |
| dl | 9 | | with | adv. | JONGELING 2008: 387 s.v. |
| dr | 1 | dwr | generation | n. | DNWSI: 258-259; cf. HALOT: 217-218; Ug. dr 2, DUL: 280; HALAYQA 2008: 127 |
| h | 5x | | the | def. art. | DNWSI: 263 |
| w | 4x | | and | conj. | DNWSI: 294-296 |
| ḥbʿrt | 9 | ḥ-b-r | amity | n. | DNWSI: 346-347; HALOT: 287-288; HALAYQA 2008: 153 |
| hmn | 12 | h-m-h | crowd, army, mob | n. | cf. BH *hāmôn* (HALOT: 250-251) |
| ḥnt | 2 | | dwelling | n. | cf. Heb. *ḥnh* HALOT: 332 |
| ḥrdt | 5 | | guards | n. | DNWSI: 403; cf. Ug. *ḥrd* "guard, militia, troops" (DUL: 403-404); Emar *ḥardātu* 'guards' (PENTIUC 2001: 57; HALAYQA 2008: 174). Compare BH *ḥărādâ* "trembling, fear" (HALOT: 351) |
| ḥṣrt | 1 | | *enclosure* | n. | JONGELING 2008: 390 s.v; DNWSI: 400-401; PPD: 195 s.v. *ḥṣr iii*; cf. HALOT: 345; Ug. *ḥẓr* 'mansion' DUL: 382; Emar /ḥiṣarati/ ([PENTIUC 2001: 71; HALAYQA 2008: 168) |
| ḥsyd | 7 | | loyal (one) | n. | cf. BH *ḥesed* "loyalty" (HALOT: 336-337). Compare adj. m. "pious, kind" (DNWSI: 390) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ḥt* | 12 | *ḥ-t-t* | terror | n. | cf. BH *ḥat* (HALOT: 363) |
| *ymm* | 5 | *ym* | daily | n. | cf. BH *yômām* (HALOT: 401-402) |
| *yrd* | 8 | *y-r-d* | let down, lower | v. | DNWSI: 468-469; HALOT: 434-35; HALAYQA 2008: 365-366 |
| *yšb* | 3 | *y-š-b* | inhabit | v. | JONGELING 2008: 391 s.v. |
| *ytn* | 6, 10 | *y-t-n* | give | v. | DNWSI: 478-480 |
| *k* | 11 | *k(h)* | here | adv. | DNWSI: 518; HALOT: 461; DUL: 423-424; HALAYQA 2008: 180 |
| *k* | 11 | | thus, in this way | adv. | DNWSI: 500; HALOT: 461; DUL: 423-424; HALAYQA 2008: 180 |
| *kr* | 13 | *k-r-y* | invite to feast | v. | HALOT: 497; *kr* 'Festmahl' DUL: 454; HALAYQA 2008: 190 |
| *l* | 7x | | to | prep. | DNWSI: 549-551 |
| *lb* | 11 | *lb* | heart | n. | DNWSI: 561-562 |
| *lḥ* | 8 | *lḥ* | jaw | n. | cf. Ug. *lḥ* "cheek" CTU 1.5:VI.19 (KORPEL 1990: 100; HALAYQA 2008: 204) |
| *ln* | 11 | *l-y-n* | sleep, spend the night | v. | DNWSI: 575; HALOT: 529; DUL: 500; HALAYQA 2008: 208 |
| *m* | 14 | *m* | what | pron. | DNWSI: 599-601*; PPD: 265 s.v.; JONGELING 2008: 394 s.v. *mʾ*; cf. Ug. mh "what'"(DUL: 534-537; HALAYQA 2008: 211-212 |
| *mzrḥ* | 1, 16 | *z-r-ḥ* | *turma* | n. | HALOT: 281 s.v. *zeraḥ* |
| *mḥzt* | 2 | *ḥ-z-y* | vision | n. | cf. BH Num 24:4, 16 (HALOT: 301); cf. JONGELING 2008: 395 s.v., 'window, light') |
| *mlk* | 5 | *m-l-k* | king/ruler | n. or part | DNWSI: 550-53; 633-40; HALOT: 590-592; DUL: 549-553; HALAYQA 2008: 216-217 |
| *mqdš* | 1 | *q-d-š* | sanctuary | n. | DNWSI: 678-679 |
| *mr* | 7 | *m-r-ʾ* | appearance | n. | cf. BH *marʾeh* (HALOT: 630); Arm. *mrʾh* 'appearance' |
| *nšʾ* | 4 | *n-ś-ʾ* | raise, lift | v. | DNWSI: 760-761; HALOT: 724-27; DUL: 648-649; HALAYQA 2008: 243 |
| *skr* | 5 | *ś-k-r* | pay, hire | v. | DNWSI: 1135; cf. JONGELING 2008: 399 s.v. *skr* n. |
| *swr̊* | 4 | | Sura | g.n. | Sura, a city on the Euphrates in Osrhoene |
| *sml* | 7 | *sml* | statue, image | n. | DNWSI: 792 |
| *st* | 8 | *z-ʾ* | this | pron. | JONGELING 2008: 400 s.v., PPD: 349-350 s.v. |
| *ʿbr* | 7 | *ʿ-b-r* | proclaim | v. | DNWSI: 821-822; HALOT: 799-780; Hif. 10. to cause an announcement (or order) to be transmitted Ex 36:6; Ezr 1:1; 10:7; Neh 8:15; 2 Chron 30:5; 36:22; to review, go over s.t. Gal.; DUL: 145; HALAYQA 2008: 74 |
| *ʿl* | 4x | *ʿ-l-y* | upon | prep. | DNWSI: 844-846 |
| *ʿlg* | 5 | *ʿ-l-g* | stammer | v. | HALOT: 828; DUL: 158; HALAYQA 2008: 79 |
| *ʿlm* | | *ʿlm* | eternally | adv. | cf. *ʿd ʿlm* "until eternity" (KAI 78.1; DNWSI: 859; JONGELING 2008: 401 s.v.) |
| *ʿm* | 3 | *ʿm* | people | n. | JONGELING 2008: 401 s.v.) |
| *ʿmq* | 8 | *ʿ-m-q* | depth | n. | DNWSI: 872-873; HALOT: 847-848; DUL: 165; HALAYQA 2008: 84 |
| *ʿmt* | 2 | *ʿm* | community | n. | *ʿmt* CIS 263.3; DNWSI 864-866; *ʿmyt* HALOT: 845 (cf. *ʿm*, 837-39); DUL: 163; HALAYQA 2008: 83 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʿrk | 10 | ʿrk | arrangement | n. | DNWSI: 887-888; HALOT: 885; DUL: 182; HALAYQA 2008: 90 |
| ʿqṣ | 9 | ʿqṣ | 1. thorn, point prick, sting, 2. haunch, tail | n. | MHeb *ʿūqāṣ* 1. "thorn, point prick, sting", 2. "haunch, tail" (JASTROW 1985: 1057); Arb. *ʿaqaṣa*; cf. Heb. ʿ-q-š (HALOT: 875-876) |
| ʿṭrt | 3 | ʿ-ṭ-r | crown | n. | DNWSI: 838; PPD: 366; HALOT: 815; DUL: 192; HALAYQA 2008: 94-95 |
| ʿtr | 6 | ʿ-t-r | supplicate | v. | HALOT: 1053 |
| p | 2, 11 | p(h) | here | adv. | Pun. *pho* (*Poen.* 932 [DNWSI: 902]); other occurrences include KAI 46.8 (Nora), CIS I 112 c[1] (Abu Simbel), and CIS I 86B.8 (Kition). Compare Old Canaanite *pû* "here" (EA 104.53); Ug. *p* 'here' (DUL: 657); BH *pô* "here" (HALOT: 916) |
| p̊lyṭm | 9 | Gk. | government; metics | n. | n. Greek πολίτευμα; cf. MHeb. *plyṭwmnwn* < Gk. πολιτευόμενος = Lat. *decurio* (Krauss 1898: 425 s.v.); Syr. *plyṭʾwmns*; MHeb. *plyṭyqyn* < πολιτικοί "city people" (JASTROW 1985: 1141 s.v.). |
| plt ʾ | 7 | p-ʿ-l | deeds | n.f. | cf. *fîllyt* (Wadi Uaeni NP 1.3 [KERR 2010: 220]). Compare BH *pəʿullâ* "work, labor" (HALOT: 951) |
| ptḥt | 10 | p-t-ḥ | drawn sword | n. | DNWSI: 948-50; Heb. *petiḥah* Ps 55:22 (HALOT: 989-990; cf. HALOT: 986-988); DUL: 686; HALAYQA 2008: 260-261 |
| ṣd | 10 | ṣ-d-y | lie in wait | v. | cf. BH *ṣādû*, Lam 4:18; HALOT: 1000-1001 |
| ṣlq | 9 | ṣ-l-q | split | v. | DJBA: 966a; JASTROW 1985: 1286 |
| [ṣ]r | 6 | ṣ-r-y i | need, distrees, anxiety | n. | HALOT: 1053 |
| qdš | 2 | q-d-š | holy one | adj. | DNWSI: 995-997 |
| qydš | 4 | q-d-š | holy | adj. | DNWSI: 995-997 |
| qr ʾ | 14 | q-r-ʾ | read | v. | Jongeling 2008: 405 s.v. |
| [q]š | 8 | q-š-y ii | be heavy, hard difficult | v. | cf. BH *qšh* (HALOT: 1151-52; JASTROW 1985: 1430; cf. Ug. *qš* "harsh, severe" DUL: 717; HALAYQA 2008: 274) |
| r ʾš | 9 | r-ʾ-š | head | n. | JONGELING 2008: 405 s.v. |
| rb | 16 | rbb | chief, commander | n. | JONGELING 2008: 405 s.v. |
| rz | 5 | r-z-h | ration | n. | Compare BH *r-z-h* "be or grow lean" (BDB: 930-931; HALOT: 1209 "to make bad"); *rāz* n.m. "leanness, wasting" (Isa 24:16, BDB: 931; HALOT: 1210); Palm. Arm *rz ʾ* "ration" (CIS II 3932.5) |
| š | 2 | š | of | encl. | DNWSI: 1089 s.v. *š*₁₀ |
| š ʾt | | see *nš ʾ* | | | |
| šbʿt | 6 | šbʿ | plenty, sateity | n.f. | DNWSI: 1103; HALOT: 1304; JONGELING 2008: 406 s.v. |
| šbʿt | 11 | šbʿ | oath, curse | n.f. | HALOT: 1384-1385 |
| šḥr | 10 | šḥr | dawn, daybreak, morning | n. | DNWSI: 1122; HALOT: 1466-1469; DUL: 812-813; HALAYQA 2008: 320 |
| šm | 12 | šm | name | n. | DNWSI: 1155-1159 |
| šmm | 4 | šm(š)m | heaven | n. | DNWSI: 1160-1162 |

| *tˁ* | 2, 8 | *t-ˁ-y* | wanderer, nomad | part. | cf. BH part. *tôˁeh* (s.), *tôˁôt* (pl.), implying Phoen.-Pun. *tōˁōt* (cf. FRIEDRICH – RÖLLIG 1999: 115; KRAHMALKOV 2001: 198) |
| *tʾ* | 14 | *t-ʾ-y* | make a mark, scribble | n. | HALOT 1696; cf. 1673 |
| *tm* | 7 | *t-m-m* | virtue | n. | "perfection, virtue", e.g., KAI 107.4; 134.7 (DNWSI: 1217-1218; HALOT: 1752-1753); Ug. *tm*, DUL: 871; HALAYQA 2008: 338 |

## Table 2: Personal Names in Hr. Maktar N 64 Lines 16-47
### (sorted by language of patronym and language of son's name)

| Line | Name | Language | Patronym | Language | Etymology |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | *ʾykn ʿ* | Gk | *mʿrz ʾ* | Berb | < Gk. εἰκώνα "likeness" |
| 19 | *q ʿpṭ ʾ* | Gk | *slsmyn* | Berb | < (Aἴ)γυπτο(ς) or (Ἔ)γυπτο(ς) (PREISIGKE: 12); cf. MHeb *gypṭy* (KRAUSS 1898: 173). |
| 16 | *shlkny* | Gk | *mʾnzm ʿr* | Berb | |
| 20 | *shlkny* | Gk | *yst ʿtn* | Berb | |
| 31 | *slkny* | Gk | *m ʿsqlt* | Berb | < Lat. *masculus* /masqulūt/ "libido" |
| 29 | *r ʾstyṭṭ ʾ* | Lat | *rs̊y* | Berb | |
| 23 | *rwp ʾ* | Lat | *m ʿstyb ʿr* | Berb | |
| 38 | *m ʿrwlny* | Lat < Gk | *m ʿsys ʾn* | Berb | /marul(l)anaio/ Lat. PN Marullus; Gk. gen. cf. Μυρουλλᾶς (PREISIGKE: 222), gen. –άιο (see BDF: 30 §55) |
| 21 | *š ʿprgm* | Pers | *db ʿr* | Berb | *š ʿprgm* also Hr. Maktar N 50 |
| 18 | *b ʿlšm ʿ* | Pun | *m ʿsqlt* | Berb | |
| 42 | *b ʿlšm ʿ* | Pun | *m ʿrwz ʾ* | Berb | |
| 25 | *b ʿlytn* | Pun | *bwbyl* | Berb | |
| 39 | *brkb ʿl* | Pun | *db ʿr* | Berb | |
| 44 | *brkb ʿl* | Pun | *g ʿgyrt* | Berb | |
| 47 | *ʿwmzgw ʿr* | | *m ʿsyr ʿn* | Berb | |
| 46 | *ʾzrm ʿn* | | *yst ʿtn* | Berb | |
| 34 | *lqy* | Lat | *g ʿlgst* | Gk | < Gk. γέλγις "head, clove of garlic" + *-it/-ut* |
| 17 | *m ʿsyr* | Berb | *plk ʿy* | Gk < Lat | < Gk. Φηλικᾶς, gen. –άιο < Lat. Felix (BDF: 30 §55) |
| 28 | *mtnb ʿl* | Pun | *slk ʿny* | Gk | |
| 37 | *b ʿs ʾ* | Lat | *ʾdrb ʿl* | Pun | |
| 33 | *k ʿp ʾ* | Lat | *b ʿlytn* | Pun | |
| 45 | *r ʾg ʿṭ ʾ* | Lat | *hkhnt* | Pun | |
| 36 | *š ʿprgm* | Pers | *brkb ʿl* | Pun | |
| 35 | *ʿbdmlqrt* | Pun | *b ʿlytn* | Pun | |
| 22 | *mtnb ʿl* | Pun | *brkb ʿl* | Pun | |
| 24 | *mtnb ʿl* | Pun | *brkb ʿl* | Pun | |
| 26 | *y ʿskt ʿn* | Pun | *[ ]mqrt* | Pun | < *s-k-t* (cf. Akkad. *sakātu*) /yaskitanī/ "may he quiet me" (HALOT: 756); *yip ʿil < yaqtula* |
| 27 | *y ʿsktn* | Pun | *ʾrš* | Pun | ditto |
| 41 | *yskt ʿn* | Pun | *b ʿlytn* | Pun | ditto |
| 32 | *ʾ[ ]* | | *ʾršm* | Pun | |
| 40 | *kn̊r̊s̊n* | | *b ʿlšlk* | Pun | |
| 43 | *m ʿsqlt* | Berb | | | < Lat. *masculus*; abstr. /masqulut/ "libido" |

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