

PHOENICIAN STELAE FROM TYRE (continued)*

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The systematic looting of the Lebanese archaeological heritage took on dramatic proportions in the last decade. Complete sites have been bulldozed (Seeden 1989:3-4) and others, mainly ancient burial grounds of the Iron and Classical periods, have been entirely sacked, inundating the local and international antiquities markets with archaeological objects (Hakimian 1987:199ff.; Seeden 1987:5ff.; Fisk 1991a & 1991b). Sites in South Lebanon and the Biqa' valley suffered most from this systematic destruction. The paralyzed Lebanese authorities were and still are unable to stop the looting of the national heritage.

It is in this atmosphere of frantic treasure hunting that, in the fall of 1990, clandestine diggers from Tyre came across what could very well be the first *tophet* of Phoenicia. According to local information, some 200 stone stelae together with several dozens of cinerary urns and others typical Iron Age pottery vessels were unearthed. Helga Seeden and myself were able to see about 60 stones and some hundred jars. We subsequently succeeded in saving 12 stelae, 23 pottery vessels and a certain number of small objects from the cinerary urns and offering them to the National Museum. This collection is now permanently exhibited at the Bank of Lebanon (Seeden 1991).

Having obtained an official survey permit from the Lebanese Department of Antiquities, we were able to locate the site (see map in Seeden 1991) and hope to make a sounding to study the archaeological context of this exceptional find as soon as the Lebanese authorities will grant the excavation permit.

Since all the finds of the National Museum Collection come from illicit excavations, doubts concerning the authenticity of some of them, namely the stelae, were expressed by the French epigraphist Pierre Bordeuil after having seen the exhibited finds in Beirut. He had an immediate negative reaction concerning the inscriptions *only*: he declared them all fakes and communicated this opinion to several scholars abroad, some of whom believed him without having seen the objects in question, doubtlessly influenced by this epigraphist's judgement and by the fact that the material did not originate from regular excavations. I am convinced that this material is genuine from several reasons: close examination of these objects themselves and of

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their ceramic context material which clearly dates from the Phoenician Iron Age; our survey investigations in Tyre, and finally the sheer number of stelae with no local market or resale value at their place of origin. The clandestine diggers have started cutting the stones still in their possession with an electric saw to preserve only the part bearing the inscription, because the heavy weight and the cumbersome size of the stones have prevented the sale on the antiquities market! We were able to photograph some of them (Sader in preparation).

Since the discovery, my concern has been to present this epigraphic material with all relevant information in our possession to the scholarly world for discussion. In view of their importance, these finds deserve careful examination. Valid reasons have to be presented against their authenticity rather than vague rumours. All arguments orally presented to me by Pierre Bordreuil have been refuted.

This study completes the publication of the stelae, the ceramic finds and associated small objects in *Berytus* 39 (Sader, Seeden, Ward 1991).

Seven stelae of the National Museum Collection (TT 91.S1, TT 91.S2, TT 91.S6, TT 91.S7, TT 91.S9, TT 91.S11 and TT 91.S12) were published in *Berytus* (Sader 1991) and the remaining five (TT 91.S3, TT 91.S4, TT 91.S5, TT 91.S8 and TT 91.S10) are presented in this article. This presentation will be followed by a preliminary summary of the information that can be gathered from this material at this stage.

Stele TT 91.S3 (figs. 1, 2 & 3)

This stele was cut in the local beach-rock, it has a dense texture and is of a pink color (7.5YR 8/4). The stele is 73 cm high, 15 cm wide and 13 cm deep. It has a clearly defined base or «foot» 15x17 cm and roughly smoothed front and sides while the back is irregular and only crudely hammered. Eight Phoenician letters of a medium size, 5-7 cm, written in two lines are very badly preserved, the stone having suffered from erosion. We tentatively read:

bn tn
t 'l'

The last letter of the first line is only partly preserved but, from what is left, it is clearly to be restored as *nun*. The reading of the remaining letters is fairly certain in spite of the fact that they are badly eroded.

Concerning the palaeography, *beth* is characterized by an outsize rounded head, too big for the thin angular shaft as to suggest a reading 'ain at first sight. This form of the letter finds its closest parallels in inscriptions from the *tophet* of Motya assigned to level IV and dated to the end of the 6th cent. B.C. (Amadasi-Guzzo 1986:14 & pl. 2). The cross-shaped *taws* and the *lamed* with its rounded, upward curving shaft are not attested after the 7th cent. B.C. The *nuns* have rounded edges, short heads and long shafts. *Aleph* consists of two oblique lines joining at the left of a shaft cutting them in the middle, a shape well attested in 7th and 6th cent. inscriptions (Ur box and

Hassanbeyli). The palaeographic evidence suggests a date in the late 7th or the 6th cent B.C. at the latest.

The inscription is clearly a personal name, *bn tnt 'l'*, attested here for the first time. This name is a construct-phrase name according to the terminology of Benz (1972:287 & chapter III). This type of name is often attested in Phoenician and Punic onomastics (Benz 1972:288; Halff 1963-64:98). However, it presents some interesting features worthy of remark: first, it is a theophorous name built with the divine element Tanit. Only two such names are attested in Phoenicia, *'bdtnt* and *grtnt* (Bordreuil 1987:80; Amadasi-Guzzo 1991:83). According to Bordreuil, the name of Tanit is also attested on clay bullae from Lebanon (1987:83-84) where it is however mistakenly written as *tmt*. This corrected reading is rejected by Lemaire (1991:115) who proposes for *hn tmt* the meaning of «magasin de TMT», *tmt* being either a toponym or a personal name. The personal name on S3 would then be the third example known to this day. Second, the third element of this name, *'l'*, has no parallel in Phoenician and Punic personal names. The interpretation of this element is controversial. *'l'* is attested as a feminine personal name on an Ammonite seal (Lemaire 1983:21 & Aufrecht 1989 under *'l'*, with related literature). According to Lemaire (1983:21), «Ce nom peut s'expliquer soit comme le nom divin abrégé de *Elyon* = le Très Haut, soit comme un hypocoristique signifiant que la divinité 'a élevé'. Aufrecht (1989) suggests that the name is either a hypocoristic using the root *'ly* = «to go up», a divine name or an epithet meaning «The High One». It is this last meaning that best fits the personal name attested on S3. The name would mean: son of Tanit, The High One. If this interpretation is correct, we would have a new epithet of the goddess Tanit, attested here for the first time. This epithet would be an indication of the leading position and role Tanit held in the Phoenician pantheon. The implication would be that the Tanit cult was as important in Phoenicia as it was in Carthage and there would be no need to try and explain how an obscure Phoenician goddess enjoyed such a successful and popular cult in the Punic world.

Stele TT 91.S4 (figs 4, 5 & 6)

This stele was cut in the local beach-rock, it has a loose texture, a pink color (7.5YR 8/4) and is 61cm high, 26 cm wide and 8 cm deep at the top and 24 cm at the base. It has a slightly L-shaped base, the protruding edge being only 3 cm deep. It is very roughly smoothed on all four sides and is in a good state of preservation.

On the upper front and almost exactly in the middle, there is a round motif 4.5 cm wide and 6.5 cm high. This motif is clearly a miniature sun disc and not the letter *'ain* for two main reasons: first, the motif is clearly centered above the inscription on top of the stele: it cannot be the first letter of the personal name as it is standing alone in the middle of the line. Second, the four remaining letters form a perfectly clear and well attested personal name and the inclusion of a letter *'ain* will result in an incomprehensible letter group. Incised small solar discs are often attested alone in Carthage (Picard 1973-74:80).

The stone is inscribed with four deeply chiseled, outsize (9-16 cm) and very well preserved Phoenician letters written in an irregular way.

l
b'
y

Lamed is correctly written at the beginnig of the line but the following *beth* is written on a lower level right below the sun disc. It seems that the scribe started writing the name of the dedicator but soon realized that he had forgotten the motif after the first letter had been written. Since he had started almost at the top, he did not have enough space above his first line for the motif. That is probably why he chose to incise the sun disc on top and, as a result, had to write the remaining letters on a lower level. This assumption is not far-fetched because *beth* and *aleph* are correctly incised side by side on the same line. The fourth letter, *yod*, was then written alone on a new line.

Concerning the palaeography, *lamed* is strongly tilted to the right and has a rounded upward curving shaft. *Beth* presents no significant characteristics. The head of *aleph* is completely eroded: what is left of the two oblique stokes is a trapezoidal cavity with its wide base to the right of a very long shaft. It is difficult to decide whether the two strokes joined or not to the left of the shaft. *Alephs* with long shafts are generally late. However, this feature is also found in 8th-7th cent. inscriptions (Peckham 1968:105). *Yod* is the only letter which has a shape characteristic enough to provide a solid clue to date the inscription. It is strongly tilted to the left with an angular head and a very long tail at a right angle, a shape common in 7th cent. B.C. inscriptions (Peckham 1968:107). It is roughly in this century that we tentatively place this stele.

The personal name *lb'y* written on S4 is a hypocoristic meaning «DN is a lion». This name is attested in Mari and, according to Huffmon (1965:225), *lb'* could also be a theophorous or a divine name. Ribichini and Xella (1991:164) also consider *lb'* as a theophorous element in Ugaritic onomastics. The same name, *Lab'ayu*, is also attested in the Amarna letters as the name of the mayor of Shechem (Moran 1987:581). The feminine form *lb't* in *'bdlb't*, is attested on a proto-Canaanite arrow-head from el Khadr (KAI 21). *lb'* is attested once in Punic (Benz 1972:337 & Amadasi-Guzzo 1967:99). The name on S4 is, to my knowledge, the first occurrence of the name in Phoenician onomastics.

Stele TT 91.S5 (figs 7, 8 & 9)

This stele is also cut in the local-beach rock. It has a loose texture and is of a reddish yellow color (7.5YR 7/6). It is 58.5 cm high, 18.5 cm wide at the top and 24.5 cm at the base and 10 cm deep. It is neatly cut and roughly smoothed on all four faces. The sides are heavily eroded. Two major breaks can be seen: one on the lower front and the other on the upper right front. This second break destroyed the beginning of the second line. On the back of the stele, there is a simplified *'nh* sign 21cm high.

(For a discussion of this motif, see Sader 1991). It is the only stele with a motif on its back.

On its front, the stele bears a Phoenician inscription written in four lines. The only difficulty with this otherwise unproblematic inscription lies in the beginning of the second line which has been damaged by a break. Between the edge of the stele and the first readable letter of line 2, there is a space 12 cm wide. In other words, there is enough room for two letters and this is confirmed on the one hand, by the fact that this space corresponds exactly to that occupied by the first two letters of line 1 and, on the other, because the first readable letter of line 2 is exactly below the third letter of line 1. So we have to assume that two letters have to be restored at the beginning of line 2.

The rest of the inscription can be read without difficulty:

'bd
[--] bn
b'l
y

The inscription gives the name of the dedicator and that of his father. The first element of the dedicator's name is 'bd = «slave». This implies that the second element of the name lost in the break must be either a divine name or a hypocoristic ending. In the first case, the divine name could be either a biliteral name like 's = Isis, bl = Bel, hr = Horus, šd or 'l (for theophorous names built with 'bd, see Benz 1972:371) or a shortened form of a divine name. Any suggestion as to the identification of this divine element will remain conjectural. In the case of a hypocoristic ending, we have to assume that only one letter is missing in the break and not two since hypocoristica are built by adding *aleph*, *taw*, *yod* or *mem* to the remaining element (Benz 1972:232-35). A third attractive possibility may be offered to us: the personal name could be 'bd[ny], a name attested on an arrowhead from Lebanon. According to Bordreuil (1982:190), the name is a gentilic, 'bdn- being a well attested toponym in the Bible, possibly located at Kh. Abde, 15 km northeast of Akko. The dedicator is son of b'ly, a hypocoristic name formed with the divine element Baal and widely attested in Phoenician and Punic onomastics (Benz 1972:94 & 289).

Concerning the palaeography, the letters are of a medium size, 5-8 cm, and rather shallow. Two of the three *beths* have rounded heads and shafts curving at right angles while the third one has a more angular head and an oblique shaft. *Daleth* has a round head and is close to shapes found in inscriptions from level IV of the *tophet* of Motya dated to the 6th cent. B.C. (Amadasi-Guzzo 1986:14 & pl. 2). *Lamed* has a rounded and upward curving shaft. Here again, *yod* is the most significant letter for the dating of the inscription. It is horizontal with a rounded head and a tail curving at right angle. This shape finds a very close parallel in the Ipsambul inscription dated to 591 B.C. (Peckham 1968:107). The 6th cent. is the proposed date for S5.

Stele TT 91.S8 (figs 10, 11 & 12)

This stele is cut in the loosely cemented variety of the beach-rock. It has a pink color (8/3) and is 44 cm high, 30-32 cm wide and 18 cm deep at the top and 16 cm at the bottom. It is well cut and very roughly smoothed. The stone is badly eroded and broken at its lower right angle. A *naos*, consisting of a simple empty niche, 20 cm high, 12 cm wide and 5.5 cm deep, is cut in the middle front. Parallels are widely attested in the Punic world. Examples are known from Carthage, Tharros (Moscati 1985:XI:33; XII:35; XVIII:48; XXVIII:74; XLIX:125) and Sulcis (Bartoloni 1986:X:70; CXXIX:1050; CXXX:1051; CL:1541; CLI:1550 being the closest parallel). *Naoi* are already attested in the obelisks temple in Byblos and the standing armed figurines of bronze might in some cases have been placed there (Seeden 1980:153 and pl. 134:2, 135:4).

A Phoenician inscription in one line starts on top of the stele above the niche and continues down to the left of the motif in two short lines. The letter before the last has been badly damaged by a break on the left edge and the fourth and last letters are partly destroyed but legible. The inscription reads:

ʿštrt
l[?]
t

We are clearly in the presence of a theophorous name built with the divine element ʿštrt. The second element is difficult to read. The first letter is clearly a *lamed* and the third one is a *taw* recognizable at its preserved lower part still showing the two crossed oblique lines. In the break following *lamed*, only one letter can be restored. Given the size of the letters and the space available in the break, there is no room for more than one sign. Of the lost letter, a horizontal stroke in its upper right part, a short oblique one in its lower right and the bottom of its vertical shaft are still to be seen, suggesting either a *taw*, a *samekh* or most probably an *aleph*. A reading *taw* is the less probable because the other three *taws* of the inscription are clearly X-shaped. The other two possible readings of the second element are l[s]t and l[ʾ]t. The first one cannot be explained while the second may present an attractive and adequate meaning. lʾt could be a feminine Qal participle of the root lʾy = «to prevail, be strong», attested in Ugaritic and in Phoenician and Punic names like ʿbdlʾ or ʿbdl and possibly meaning «The Mighty One» (Benz 1972:336-37). On one of the Tyrian stelae that we were able to photograph (Sader in preparation), the personal name ʿbdlʾy, that is the full form of the names ʿbdlʾ and ʿbdl, occurs in Phoenician for the first time. The feminine form lʾt in ʿštrtlʾt can be understood as a title of Astarte: Astarte the Mighty One, a personal name attested here for the first time.

Concerning the palaeography, the letters are deeply incised and of medium size, 4-7 cm. Šin has a clear W-shape attested in 10th to 7th cent. B.C. inscriptions. The three *taws* are X-shaped with the two crossed lines almost of the same length, similar to very early forms of the letter as attested in the Ahiram, Yehimilk, Eliabaal, Sipitbaal I, Abdo and Nora inscriptions (KAI 1, 4, 6, 7, 8 & 46). This form is not attested after the 9th cent. B.C. The palaeographic evidence of S8 suggests a date in the 9th cent. B.C.

or the 8th cent. at the latest. **S8** appears to be the oldest stela of the National Museum Collection.

Stele TT 91.S10 (fig. 13, 14 & 15)

This stela was cut in the hard variety of the beach-rock. It is a rectangular stone with a rounded top. It has a pinkish-white color (5YR 8/2) and is 76 cm high, 19 cm wide at the top and 22.5 cm at the base, and 10 cm deep at the top and 19 cm at the base. The stone has a clearly defined foot 21.5 cm high, 22 cm wide and 18.5 cm deep. With the exception of the foot and back, the stela is very nicely smoothed. However, its top shows signs of erosion on all sides and this is most probably due to the fact that with time, the stone was entirely buried in the ground and only its top remained exposed. The stela is inscribed with seven well preserved Phoenician letters written in two lines:

l'mt

šmn

«To *l'mtšmn*». Feminine personal names built with the element *l'mt* = «female servant» and a divine name are widely attested in Phoenician and Punic onomastics (Benz 1972:270). The specific form *l'mtšmn* = female servant of the god Eshmun, is, to my knowledge, the first occurrence of this name in Phoenician. The form *šmn* for *l'šmn* is often attested (Benz 1972:279).

The particularity of this inscription is that it is the only one where the personal name is preceded by the preposition *l-*. The presence of *l-* on **S10** would be problematic if the burial ground from where our material comes is, as we assume, a child cemetery. The personal name following *l-* is understood to refer to a deceased adult because personal names in funerary inscriptions are usually preceded by this preposition (Cooke 1903:60). Since the occurrence of *l-* on **S10** remains the only exception, all the Tyrian stelae we saw having only the personal name without the preposition, one logical conclusion would be that **S10** is intrusive. Another explanation would be that the general observation established by Cooke does not necessarily apply to Tyrian inscriptions of the 8th-6th cent. The use or absence of *l-* will also have to be raised if this burial ground turns out to be a regular cemetery: how to explain then the absence of the preposition on all the remaining stelae? At this stage of our knowledge this question and many others will have to remain unanswered.

Concerning the palaeography, the letters of this inscription are thin and of medium size. *Lamed* has a slightly rounded left side and an almost horizontal right side. *Aleph* has two strokes joining at a narrow angle to the left of straight vertical shaft. Similar shapes are attested in the inscription from Kition and on the krater from Sidon to be published by Puech (forthcoming volume of *Transeuphratène*), both dated to the 8th cent. B.C. The first *mem* is problematic: it was first mistakenly written as *resh* and then corrected into a *mem*. The triangular head of the *resh* is still to be seen under the three vertical and parallel strokes of the *mem*'s head. It is only when the light hits the stone at a certain angle that the head of *mem* becomes clearly visible. This form of

the letter is attested on **S7** and in 8th cent. B.C. inscriptions like the krater from Sidon and a Tyrian seal published by Bordreuil (Sader 1991). The second *mem* of the inscription is slightly different: its head has a zig-zag shape and its shaft is straight. Similar forms are found in the Karatepe and Limassol inscriptions both dated to the 8th cent. *Taw* is cross-shaped with a straight long vertical shaft. Here again the closest parallels are dated to the 8th cent. (Limassol and krater inscriptions). *Šin* has a clear W-shape not attested after the 7th cent. *Nun* has a hooked head with no exact parallels and a long vertical shaft. The palaeographic evidence dates the stele to the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. at the latest.

Summary

In the present state of our information, it is impossible to draw any historical implications or interpretations from these finds. However and though out of any archaeological context, the Tyrian stelae contribute greatly to our knowledge of Phoenician onomastics, script and iconography. The mere factual evidence that can be gathered from the National Museum Collection can be summed up as follows:

1. The stelae clearly come from a burial ground the nature of which still has to be determined. In this burial ground, cremation was the prevailing funerary custom. Some observations indicate that this burial ground may be a *tophet* (Sader 1991 & Seeden 1991). A stele, very similar to the Tyrian ones, was found by the late Roger Saidah in the cemetery of Khalde, in the vicinity of tomb 121 (Saidah 1983:215 & pl. LII:2). This stele is also cut in the local beach-rock. It bears a Phoenician inscription (*gtty*) tentatively dated to the 9th cent. B.C. It is important to mention in this context that cinerary urns were also found in that cemetery.

2. All stelae, with the exception of **S6**, are cut in the local Tyrian beach-rock. They differ in shape and size. Two are L-shaped (**S1** and **S4**), two are tall and narrow rectangular stones (**S10** and **S3**), two have a rounded top (**S2** and **S9**), two are squarish (**S7** and **S8**), three are trapezoidal in shape (**S11**, **S6** and **S5**), and one is a small rectangular stone (**S12**). The tallest stele measures 76 cm and the smallest does not exceed 41 cm in height. Most of them are extremely heavy and cannot be carried by one person.

Nine stelae are inscribed with Phoenician letters (**S1**, **S2**, **S3**, **S4**, **S5**, **S7**, **S8**, **S9** and **S10**). Six of them bear both inscriptions and carved motifs (**S1**, **S4**, **S5**, **S7**, **S8** and **S9**). Three stelae are uninscribed but carved with motifs (**S6**, **S11** and **S12**) (see Sader 1991, Fig. 22).

3. The motifs attested on the stelae are the crescent-disc (**S1** and **S7**), the betyl (**S9**), the *aedicula* (**S11**), a human head (**S6**), a plant (**S12**), a *naos* (**S8**), uraei (**S1**), a miniature sun disc (**S4**) and a simplified 'nh sign (**S5**), all of them attested in a similar, though not identical way on stelae from Punic *tophets*. The Tyrian stelae being clearly older than the Punic ones according to the palaeographic evidence (none of them can be dated after the 6th cent. B.C.), a direct implication would be that the origins of the Punic motifs have to be looked for in the iconography of the motherland. For a preliminary presentation of these motifs see Sader (1991).

4. All inscriptions are clearly personal names. Eleven names are attested. Nine names are complete and two can be only partly read. Eight of the complete names are attested in Phoenician onomastics for the first time: *grḥmn* (S1), *šbʿ* (S2, attested in neo-Punic), *ʾlm* (S2), *mlqrtʾb* (S7), *grgš* (S9, attested in Ugaritic and Punic), *bn tntʾlʾ* (S3), *lbʾy* (S4, attested in Mari, proto-Canaanite and Punic) and *ʾmtšmn* (S10). *bʿly* (S5) is the only name known previously in Phoenician onomastics. The Tyrian stelae thus substantially increase the known repertoire of Phoenician personal names.

5. All personal names, except for *ʾmtšmn*, are not preceded by *l-*. Further evidence is still needed for a comprehensive study of the use of this preposition in south Phoenician funerary and votive inscriptions.

6. Nine or possibly all of these personal names (if *ʿbd* [–] [S5] is included and if the name on S2 is to be read *tntšbʿ*) are theophorous. The attested divine elements are: *ḥmn*, *ʾl*, *mlqrt*, *gš*, *tnt*, *lbʾ*, *bʿl*, *ʿšrt* and *šmn*. *gš* is the only divine name that occurs in Phoenician for the first time. If our reading of S3 is correct and if our restitution of the second element of the name on S8 is accepted, we would be in the presence of two new divine epithets: *ʾlʾ* = «The High One» and *l[ʾ]t* = «The Mighty One», respectively epithets of Tanit and Astarte.

7. Concerning the script, it is rather crude and sometimes irregular. This is not surprising since the burial ground is clearly a public cemetery where no monumental and carefully written inscriptions are to be expected. Some of the inscriptions are written with very big letters up to 12 cm, deeply chiseled while others show letters of medium size, 6-7 cm, written with sharp and thin lines. Smaller letters, 3-5 cm, are also attested. This difference may have been influenced, in part, by the difference in hardness and texture of the rock.

8. Concerning the palaeography, it indicates a chronological range between the late 9th and the 6th cent. B.C. which suggests that the burial ground was used over several centuries. The Tyrian stelae also present us with the oldest series of south Phoenician inscriptions known today and with the opportunity to study the characteristics and the development of the south Phoenician script. As it appears from our preliminary study of the stelae, some letters seem to be characteristic of the south Phoenician script in certain specific periods. One example is the letter *mem* with its head written with three vertical almost parallel strokes which seems to be typical of the 8th cent. B.C. It is attested on S7 and S10 as well as in other 8th cent. inscriptions like the Krater from Sidon and a Tyrian seal (see above).

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List of Figures

Fig. 1. Stele **TT 91.S3**. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele (*drawn by Muhamad Hakim*).

Fig. 2. Stele **TT 91.S3** (*Photo Raffi Sevian*).

Fig. 3. Detail of inscription of **S3**.

Fig. 4. Stele **TT 91.S4**. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele (*drawn by Joseph Hajjar*).

Fig. 5. Stele **TT 91.S4** (*Photo Raffi Sevian*).

Fig. 6. Detail of inscription of **S4**.

Fig. 7. Stele **TT 91.S5**. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele (*drawn by Dana Raydan*).

Fig. 8. Stele **TT 91.S5** (*Photo Raffi Sevian*).

Fig. 9. Detail of inscription of **S5**.

Fig. 10. Stele **TT 91.S8**. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele (*drawn by Muhamad Hakim*).

Fig. 11. Stele **TT 91.S8** (*Photo Raffi Sevian*).

Fig. 12. Detail of inscription of **S8**.

Fig. 13. Stele **TT 91.S10**. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele (*drawn by Joseph Hajjar*).

Fig. 14. Stele **TT 91.S10** (*Photo Raffi Sevian*).

Fig. 15. Detail of inscription of **S10**.

Fig. 16. Phoenician letters appearing on the Tyrian stelae of the National Museum Collection (*drawn by Muhamad Hakim*).

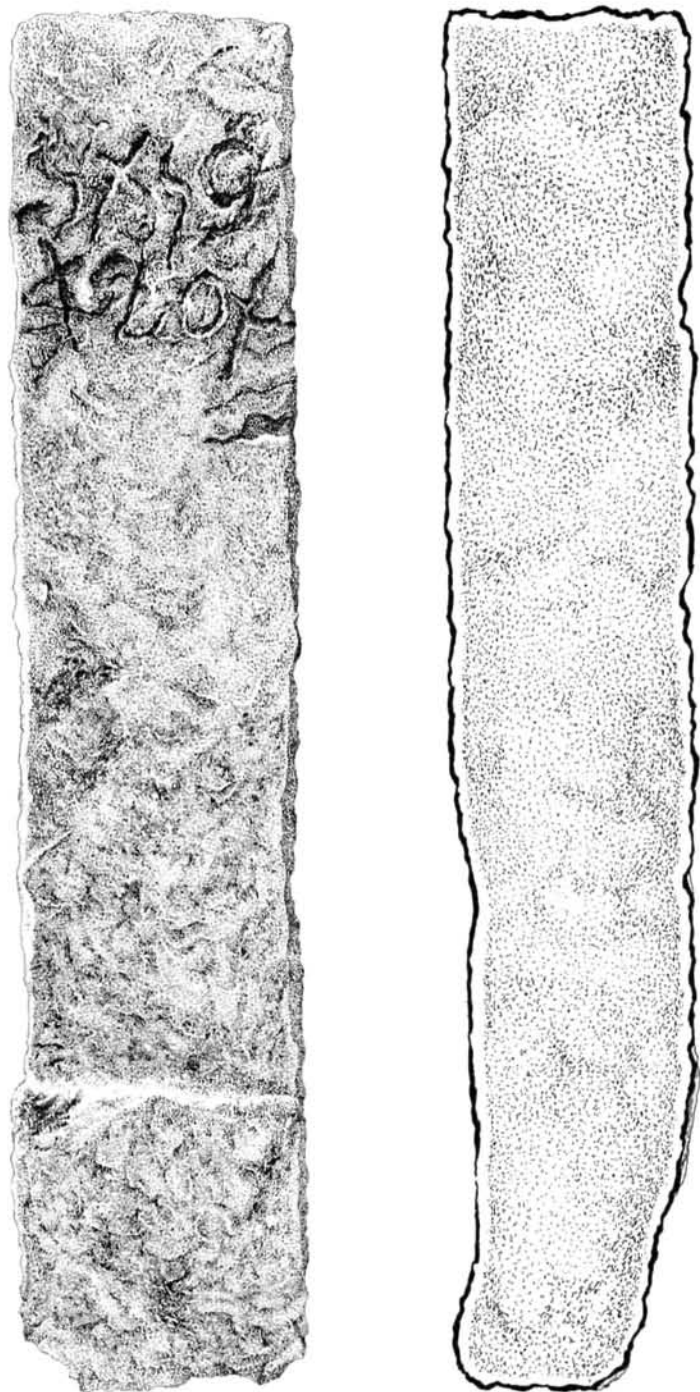


Fig. 1.
Stele TT 91.S3. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele
(drawn by *Muhamad Hakim*).



Fig. 2.
Stele TT 91.S3
(Photo Raffi Sevian).



Fig. 3.
Detail of inscription of S3.

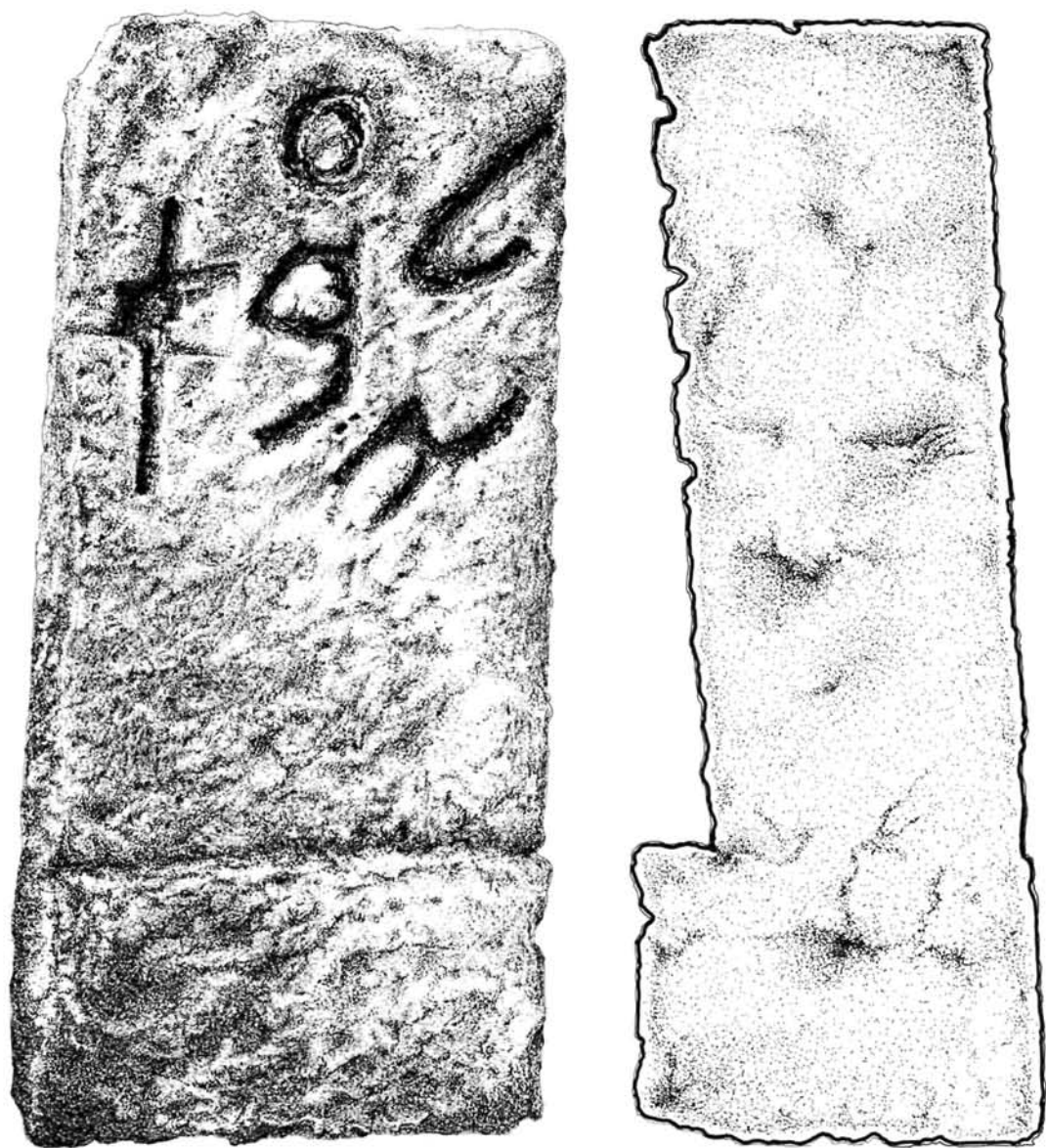


Fig. 4.
Stele TT 91.S4. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stela
(drawn by Joseph Hajjar).



Fig. 5.
Stele TT 91.S4
(Photo Raffi Sevian).



Fig. 6.
Detail of inscription of S4.

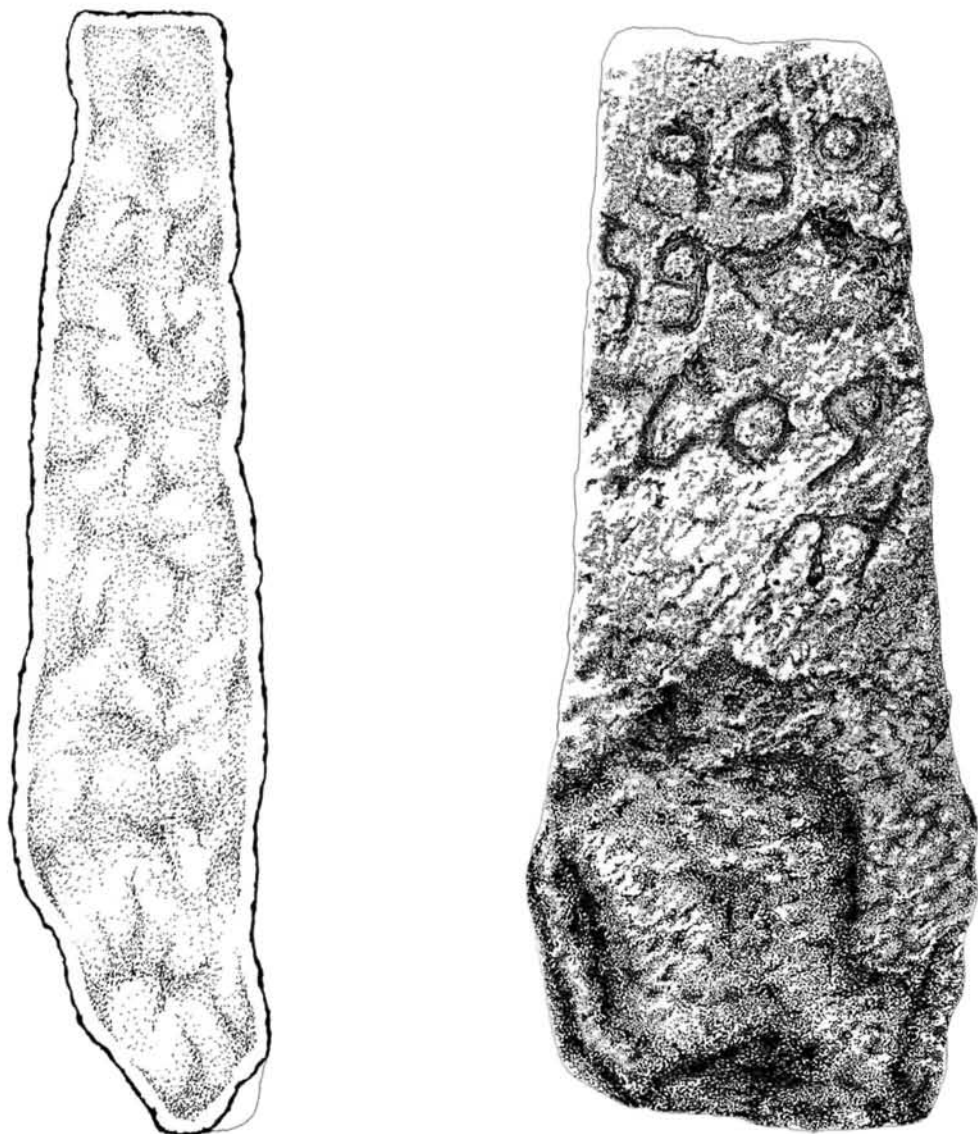


Fig. 7.
Stele TT 91.S5. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele
(drawn by Dana Raydan).



Fig. 8.
Stele TT 91.S5
(Photo Raffi Sevian).



Fig. 9.
Detail of inscription of S5.

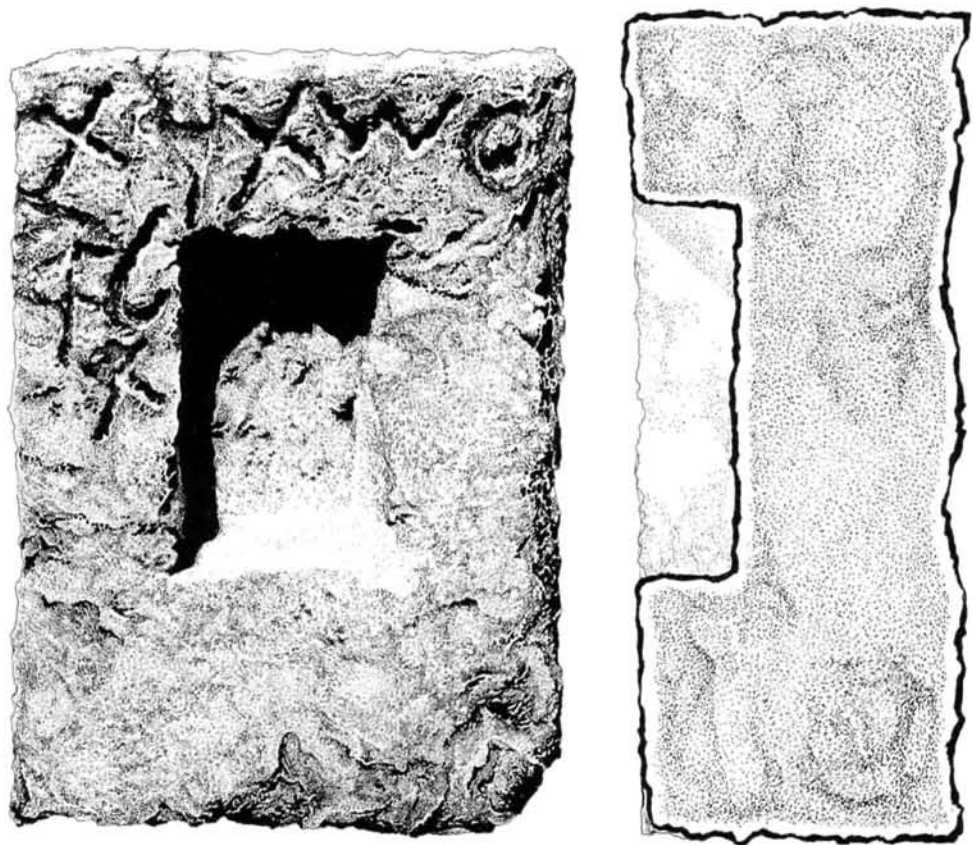


Fig. 10.
Stele TT 91.S8. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stela
(drawn by Muhamad Hakim).



Fig. 11.
Stele TT 91.S8
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Fig. 12.
Detail of inscription of S8.

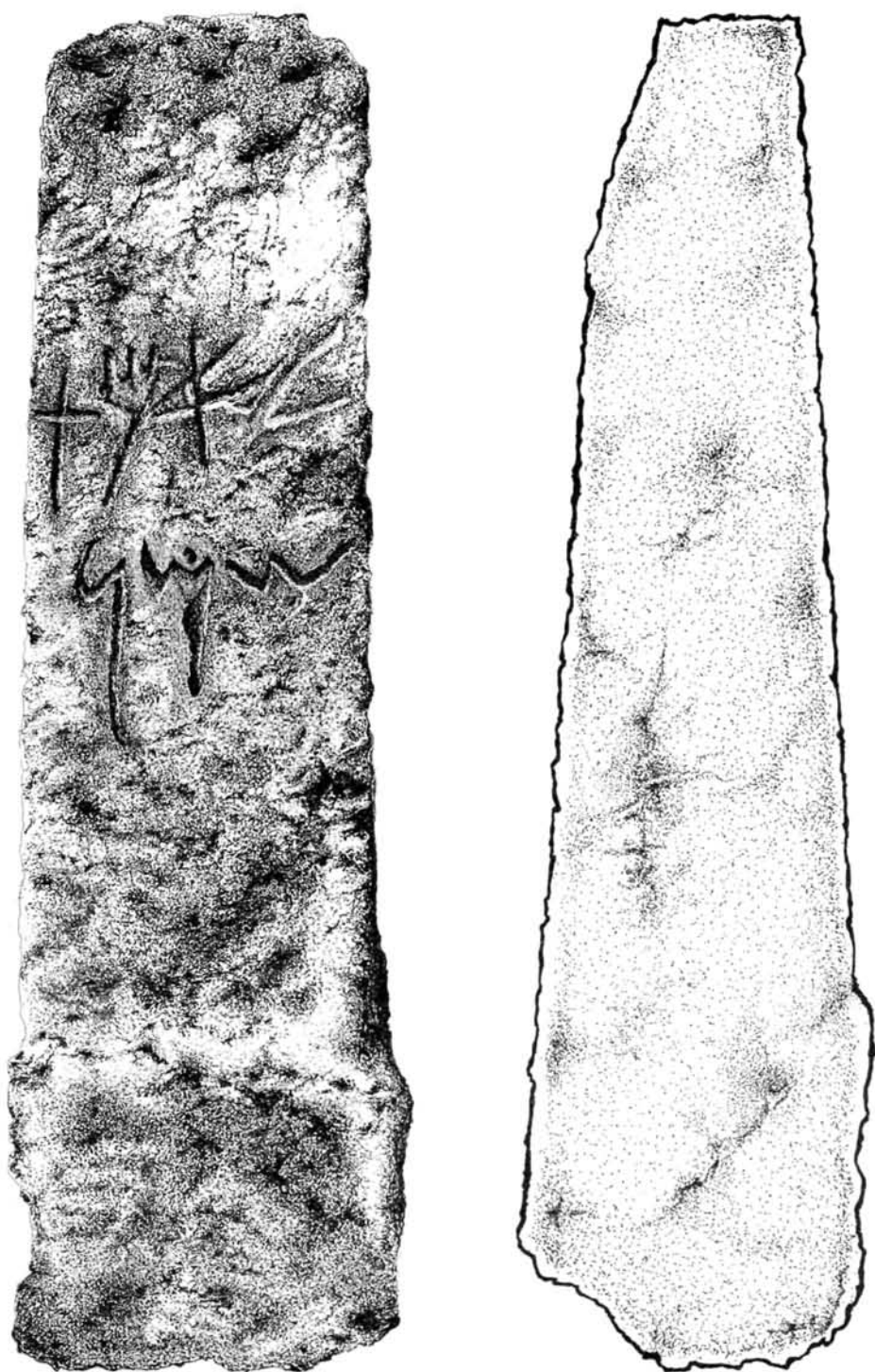


Fig. 13.
Stele TT 91.S10. Scale 1:4. Front of section facing stele
(drawn by Joseph Hajjar).



Fig. 14.
Stele **TT 91.S10**
(*Photo Raffi Sevian*).



Fig. 15.
Detail of inscription of S10.

s1 a b g d h y l m n c q r s t

s2

s3

s4

s5

s7

s8

s9

s10

Fig. 16.
Phoenician letters appearing on the Tyrian stelae of the National Museum Collection
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