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ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

SUPPLEMENT 50

“WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?” (JOSHUA 4:6, 21)

Essays on Texts, Philology, and Archaeology in
Honour of Anthony J. Frendo

Edited by

Dennis MIZZI, Nicholas C. VELLA and Martin R. ZAMMIT

PEETERS
LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT.
2017

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“WHAT MEAN THESE STONES?” (JOSHUA 4:6, 21):
HONOURING THE ACADEMIC LEGACY OF ANTHONY J. FRENDO

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The title of this volume echoes one of Anthony Frendo’s favourite catchphrases and, more importantly, one of his most significant academic endeavours, in print and in class — namely, the quest to integrate, in a methodologically sound manner, textual and archaeological evidence. The quote from the book of Joshua, oriented as it is towards the material world and its comprehension, encapsulates nicely Anthony’s conviction that text and artefact do intersect and that they are really two sides of the same coin. Fittingly, therefore, many of the contributions to this volume, subtly or otherwise, acknowledge this interplay between texts and archaeology. At the same time, the papers cover a wide range of topics and deal with different geographic regions, cultures, languages, and time periods. This too is a reflection of Anthony’s academic portfolio, which spans many areas of study and often cuts through interdisciplinary boundaries.

Anthony cultivated many of his academic interests during the twenty or so years (1967–1988) that he spent as a member of the Society of Jesus. Born on 10 March 1950 in Valletta (Malta), where he completed his initial schooling, Anthony went on to study Philosophy as an undergraduate at L’Aloisianum Istituto di Filosofia in Gallarate (1970–1972), and subsequently moved to Rome to study Semitic languages at the Oriental Faculty of the Pontifical Biblical Institute. Here, he read for a licentiate in Oriental Studies (1972–1975). His main focus was on Northwest Semitic, and he wrote his dissertation on the emphatic *waw* in Hebrew in the light of Ugaritic under the supervision of Mitchell Dahood. Then, in 1976, Anthony completed a Dottore in Lettere at L’Istituto del Vicino Oriente Antico in the Facoltà di Lettere, Università degli Studi di Roma (La Sapienza), having written a dissertation on the concept of *rahimim* in the Old Testament in relation to the covenant under the supervision of Jan Alberto Soggin. All who know Anthony are also aware of his passion for philology and the close scrutiny of texts. It is in fact during these formative years in Rome that Anthony got hooked on Biblical Hebrew and that he recognized the potential of detailed philological analysis for biblical exegesis. From that point on, Hebrew would occupy a very special place in Anthony’s academic journey, but being a true φιλόσοφος, a genuine lover of knowledge, he would embrace various other disciplines along the way.

After his stint in Rome, Anthony moved on to the Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Sankt Georgen at Frankfurt am Main, where he obtained a Bachelor of Divinity (1976–1979). He then went back to Rome and, between 1979 and 1981, he got a licentiate in Sacred Scripture, this time from the Biblical Faculty of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in

Rome. Anthony was eventually asked to teach archaeology at the Biblical Institute and this prompted him to pursue archaeology professionally. Consequently, in 1981, he enrolled for a PhD programme at the Institute of Archaeology in London (now merged with University College London), where he worked with Peter J. Parr on the stratigraphic and ceramic changes at Tell Deir Alla (Jordan) towards the end of the Late Bronze Age. Anthony brought his appreciation for meticulous textual analysis to archaeology, which makes his decision to focus on stratigraphy and pottery typology — both of which require the kind of attention to detail that is the hallmark of Anthony's scholarship — perfectly natural.

Between 1986 and 1988, Anthony had two bouts of teaching, one in London and the other at the Biblical Institute in Rome. In 1989, he joined the University of Malta, filling a post in Near Eastern Archaeology and the Hebrew Bible. Throughout the years, he was asked to teach a wide variety of subjects and, being the devoted teacher that he is, Anthony gladly took on one teaching duty after another. He has taught language courses on Hebrew, Phoenician-Punic, and Greek, as well as courses on methodology, pottery in archaeology, the Hebrew Bible, and Near Eastern archaeology — with individual courses dedicated to Phoenician-Punic archaeology, Syro-Palestinian archaeology, the emergence of ancient Israel, the Bible and archaeology, Egyptian and Mesopotamian archaeology, Aegean and Homeric archaeology, and ancient mythology. On top of this, Anthony has delivered a multitude of public courses on the Bible through the Malta Bible Society and other local organizations. There is no doubt that Anthony's teaching schedule has always been on the heavier side of the spectrum, but this stems, in no small part, from his most admiring traits, namely the unreserved generosity with his time and his commitment to promote and foster learning. Those who sit in on Anthony's classes cannot but admire the energy and passion he brings to the respective subjects; in the class, he truly is a tour de force and there is no questioning the impact he has left on many of his students. But Anthony left a lasting imprint also on the institution that welcomed him.

Indeed, his administrative duties have been no less demanding. Having served as Head of Department of Classics and Archaeology between 1997 and 1999, Anthony was tasked with the restructuring of the then Department of Arabic, which was subsequently renamed Department of Arabic and Near Eastern Studies and, after that, Department of Oriental Studies. Anthony's twelve-year headship can be described as one of exponential growth. He was responsible for introducing a degree in Near Eastern Studies to accompany the one in Arabic, and later he strove hard, and succeeded, in setting up two further degrees — one in Hebrew, the other in Chinese. The latter came to fruition also thanks to the founding of the Chinese Confucius Institute at the University of Malta in 2009, of which Anthony was appointed the local Co-Director. In addition to helming various departments and institutes, he has sat on various boards and committees, and served as Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Arts for the period 1997–2003.

Notwithstanding his heavy teaching schedule and administrative duties, Anthony has published extensively on Hebrew and Phoenician-Punic philology, ancient Israel, Near Eastern archaeology, theology, and epistemology. His work is especially distinctive for focusing on areas that have not been threshed out in the secondary literature, meaning that his research admirably shies away from the more popular questions to tackle oft-ignored lacunae in our

knowledge of the past. His work on ancient Israel and the Hebrew Bible, in particular, is characterized by an equally inspiring holistic approach incorporating insights from history, classics, archaeology, literary analysis, and philology. He has also worked extensively on Phoenician-Punic inscriptions, both because of his interest in Northwest Semitic and because of the ubiquitous Phoenician-Punic material available in the local Maltese context. His contribution to the local scene is respected by all, and he is practically responsible for putting Phoenician-Punic archaeology on the map of Maltese archaeology. But Anthony's most lasting legacy is probably his methodological exploration of how we get to know the past. He is probably the first scholar to apply Bernard Lonergan's ideas to archaeology. Moreover, Anthony is one of those rare breeds who can deal critically with both texts and archaeology, which explains why he has spent so much of his scholarly output to exploring the interplay between text and artefact. His monographic treatment of the question in his *Pre-Exilic Israel, the Hebrew Bible, and Archaeology: Integrating Text and Artefact* (2011) is one of the clearest, most nuanced, and authoritative statements on this highly debated interdisciplinary inquiry. It is important to underline the fact that Anthony's critical use of archaeology has been gained not only through painstaking research in the library but also through physical work in the field, having participated in various archaeological excavations, including at Aphek-Antipatris (Israel), Tell Nebi Mend (Syria), and Tas-Silġ (Malta). In many ways, Anthony is an academic chameleon who cannot be pigeonholed with restrictive labels such as “biblical scholar,” “archaeologist,” or “epigraphist.” In a world of subject specialization (or even hyper-specialization), this puts Anthony in a trajectory that is clearly against the flow; but it also means that he commands the kind of broad, but comprehensive, knowledge and insight covering a wide range of subjects that is so important albeit in short supply these days.

In recognition of his outstanding work, Anthony was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London (FSA) in 2012. Throughout his academic career, he was also on the receiving end of various research grants awarded by funding bodies in Malta and abroad, including one from the Jacob Blaustein Institutes for Desert Research (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev) to study the archaeology of desert nomadism in relation to the early history of ancient Israel (1994). Anthony was also invited and elected as a visiting scholar at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies (1998) and at Wolfson College, University of Oxford (2004, 2005). His friends in Oxford are now familiar with his annual research visits to what he likes to call “that wonderful oasis of pure scholarship” — indeed, here, Anthony has cultivated many cherished friendships and shared his scholarly work with colleagues. Very recently, Xiamen University bestowed upon Anthony its 2015 Confucius Institute Outstanding Achievement Award in acknowledgement for his efforts in setting up the Institute at the University of Malta and in developing venues of collaboration between the two universities.

Close to retirement, teaching continues to occupy a prominent part of Anthony's daily schedule. He continues to dedicate much time to teaching and to supervising MA and PhD students. Anthony upholds the view that there can be no research without teaching and no teaching without research. The wide variety of topics on which he has published, which mirror the subjects he has taught throughout his long and distinguished career, is a testament

to this belief. But, more than anything else, his utter dedication to teaching and tutoring is a testament to his generosity of spirit, the hallmark of a true scholar, mentor, and, most importantly, any respectable human being. As the well-worn phrase goes, Anthony is a true gentleman and a scholar. All three of us have experienced Anthony's generosity and we all have had the opportunity to benefit first-hand from Anthony's expertise, insight, *and* friendship. It is therefore with great pleasure and gratitude that we have prepared this volume in his honour and it is our sincerest hope that it will bring him much joy.

SEMITIC PHILOLOGY

The first part of the volume collects various studies on Semitic philology. Anthony has published numerous papers on Phoenician-Punic inscriptions from Malta and elsewhere, and his focus on the particles *bet* and *waw* led him to a rereading of the Nora inscription. Anthony has also made important contributions to Biblical Hebrew philology, not least in the classroom — anyone who has sat in on one of his Hebrew classes can attest that they are nothing short of pure linguistic treasures. We are certain, therefore, that Anthony will be delighted by the following papers, some of which also happen to touch upon sites or inscriptions he has worked on before.

Stephanie Dalley looks afresh at a recently discovered cuneiform inscription from the site of Tas-Silġ in Malta, where Anthony co-directed four seasons of excavations (1996–1999) under the auspices of the University of Malta. Tas-Silġ was home to a Phoenician-Punic, and later Roman, sanctuary dedicated to Astarte, and is probably identifiable with the renowned *Fanum Iunonis* mentioned by Cicero in his *Against Verres* (2.4.103). The cuneiform inscription in question was incised on a piece of banded agate and represents the most westward attestation of cuneiform script in the Mediterranean. At Tas-Silġ, it was found in secondary, Hellenistic contexts, but its origins lie far in the east and earlier in time. The inscription has been studied and published by Werner Mayer. In her essay, Dalley offers a new reading of the first three lines and also proposes the Late Assyrian Period as an alternative to Mayer's Late Kassite date. Interestingly, Dalley makes a connection between the object itself and the dedicatee of the inscription, who she claims to be the moon-god Sin, one of whose appellations resembles phonetically the Akkadian term for banded agate. Furthermore, Dalley makes a series of correlations between the material on which the inscription was inscribed, including the object's shape and decoration, and the content of the inscription. She notes, for example, that the banding on the agate resembles decoration in Assyrian palace wall-paintings and that the design has connotations of kingship, arguing that this has ramifications for the interpretation of the inscription itself. Dalley, therefore, reminds us that inscriptions have a material context — that they are one-part texts, one-part artefacts — and, accordingly, our understanding of inscribed texts would be significantly deepened if we take into consideration their material dimension in addition to the textual one.

The subject of the next paper are two stelae from Nerab, in modern Syria, inscribed in Aramaic. Kevin Cathcart presents a detailed commentary and analysis of these two inscriptions, which probably date from the late 8th or early 7th century BCE. The inscriptions were

set up in honour of two deceased priests, Sinzeribni and Si’gabbar, and both include a curse against anyone who dares to rob the respective stelae. Cathcart suggests that the word *’yt*, which occurs in both inscriptions, does not mean “sarcophagus” but “relief, picture, image,” and concludes that the mentioned priests “can speak to those whom they have left behind through the stelae which are representations of them and not just commemorative monuments.” The stelae, therefore, were seen as much more than mere memorials, which explains the curse against potential looters.

The so-called Lachish Letters are the focus of Abigail Zammit’s article, which emerges from her doctoral dissertation and in which she revisits anew this highly debated epigraphic corpus. Here, Zammit limits her analysis to one ostrakon, Lachish 2, which has generated much controversy owing to the problematic interpretation of lines 5–6. Zammit goes over past scholarly discussions and evaluates the different readings and interpretations of the last part of the message in Lachish 2. While Zammit’s conclusion remains somewhat open, she brings a welcome multidisciplinary sensibility to the field. For her, the Lachish ostraca are not just texts but also physical artefacts and, thus, one can sense that archaeological and material considerations are always lurking right beneath the surface of her philological analysis.

Philip Schmitz’s paper takes us back to the world of the dead. Schmitz reconsiders an important text on papyrus found in a Phoenician tomb in the limits of Rabat, Malta (see cover image). This papyrus was found tucked inside a bronze amulet, which was carved in the shape of the falcon god Horus; in addition to the text, the papyrus also has a depiction of the goddess Isis. The papyrus was published by Tancred Gouder and Benedetto Rocco, and their reading of the text has largely gone unquestioned. In this paper, however, Schmitz proposes new readings, and offers a new translation and commentary. Schmitz limits himself to a philological and palaeographic analysis, commenting only briefly on its wider cultural significance. But by revising the text’s reading, Schmitz realigns the data, inviting renewed investigations of the papyrus and new interpretations of its contents. Schmitz’s contribution is important for casting light on this remarkable, but often overlooked, text from the 6th or 5th century BCE. More significantly, the paper is a must-read for any future study dealing with this papyrus.

The nature of Punic cultural survival in Roman North Africa, a subject that has been brought to the fore in recent studies of the Punic world, is the focus of Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo’s paper. In her study, she analyses two Neo-Punic inscriptions from North Africa — dated roughly between the 1st century BCE and the 1st–2nd century CE and preserved at the National Museum of Archaeology in Naples — which are very telling with their mixture of Libyan, Latin, and Punic onomastics as well as Punic and Latin funerary formulae. The two inscriptions cast light on the multicultural context of the communities who set these up. Amadasi Guzzo’s contribution also highlights how inscriptions, in particular, can offer us a glimpse into the nature of contact situations in a way that other classes of material culture do not.

The last paper of this first section takes us several centuries forward. Martin Zammit explores the etymological origins of the word *girna*, a Maltese term referring to a type of corbelled hut found in the local countryside. In his quest to uncover the origins of *girna*, Zammit carries out an extensive philological and etymological analysis in which he looks at

various Arabic dialects and Semitic languages, ancient and modern. In the end, he offers three possible conclusions, none of which are without phonetic or semantic difficulties. While this paper goes beyond Anthony's fields of expertise, Zammit's contribution reflects the kind of rich philological work that Anthony holds so dear.

BIBLICAL TEXTS AND THEIR AFTERLIFE

The second part of the volume is dedicated to various aspects of biblical literature, probably the writings, ancient or modern, that our honouree cherishes the most. Anthony has always been particularly captivated by the literary qualities and the rhetorical impact of the biblical texts, even if his work on the Hebrew Bible tends to focus more on historical questions. Unbeknownst to many is that Anthony is also very fond of the various permutations of biblical stories and characters in art, literature, and film. Fittingly, therefore, the five papers in this section explore historical and literary questions as well as the afterlife and reception of biblical texts.

John Day explores Genesis 10:8–12 in great detail with the aim to uncover the identity of Nimrod. He goes through all the proposed hypotheses, and concludes that the one which identifies Nimrod with Ninurta is the most plausible. Then, Day goes on to unpack Nimrod's background, including the meaning of his name, his paternity, his relationship with Assyria, and the cities he allegedly built. Day contextualizes his microanalysis within the larger framework of the documentary hypothesis and concludes that, in combination with other evidence from elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the results of his investigation demonstrate that source J could be dated to ca. 790 BCE +/- 60 years.

While Day's paper has a historical focus, Hugh Williamson's is of a more textual and literary nature. Williamson reconsiders the text of Isaiah 10:18, which has been rendered in a variety of ways in the myriad English translations owing to difficulties in the Hebrew text. After sorting through various possible renderings of the verse (based on ancient and medieval readings), possible textual emendations, and solutions via comparative philology, all of which are deemed questionable or unconvincing, Williamson finds his solution partly in a linguistic phenomenon attested in late texts in Isaiah and partly in Qumran Hebrew, and goes on to suggest that Isaiah 10:18–19 should be joined to form a tricolon.

With Hans Barstad's paper, the focus remains on literary and semantic considerations. Barstad presents some notes on polemics against "foreign" deities in the prophetic corpus. In the first part of the paper, Barstad makes a general survey of lexemes relating to "foreign" deities and cultic practices, and then he moves on to a closer semantic/literary analysis of Isaiah 57, with a specific focus on verses 3–4, 5, and 11. Barstad offers new translations and understandings of these verses, and he argues that polemics against "foreign" deities and cults are an integral part of the message of various prophetic books. Thus, he urges us to bring back these passages to the forefront of research.

The afterlife of biblical texts is the subject of the next two papers. Peter Vassallo explores biblical themes and theological motifs employed by poets in the literary canon of the western world. Vassallo sheds light on various poetical encounters with God that originate from

experiences of deep crises and he aligns these encounters along the same continuum, one characterized by humankind’s persistent struggle with the Divine. Literature, for Vassallo, is another way by which humankind wrestles with God — not unlike Jacob’s physical altercation with the stranger across the Jabbok — in its attempt to (re)define its relationship with the Divine. Vassallo’s contribution is an excellent exercise in biblical reception, and particularly pertinent in view of the increasing popularity of this relatively new subfield in biblical studies.

Biblical reception is also at the core of Horatio Vella’s paper. Vella presents a survey, with brief notes, of several biblical allusions and motifs that appear in a 12th-century poem composed by an exile in Gozo, Malta. The poet appears to have been well-versed in the Bible, theology, Greek culture, mythology, and history, elements from which are moulded by him to instil a deeper resonance to his message, through which he hoped to convince King Roger II and his Vizier to set him free. While the poem is of great historical importance for a critical period in Maltese history, Vella’s paper showcases its literary qualities as well as the creative use of the Bible in the Middle Ages.

NEAR EASTERN AND PHOENICIAN-PUNIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Anthony came late to archaeology, but his passion for the discipline is no less strong than that for Hebrew or the Bible. Anthony devoted a large part of his scholarly output to the emergence of ancient Israel and Phoenician-Punic archaeology, but he has taught extensively on several other branches that fall under the large umbrella of Near Eastern archaeology. In Malta, he was also responsible for training the first generation of archaeologists to graduate from the University of Malta, many of whom went on to occupy academic posts in Malta or abroad or to fill important positions in heritage departments. It is only natural, therefore, that this third section comprises an assortment of papers dealing with archaeology, with a special focus on the Near East and the Phoenician-Punic world of the western Mediterranean.

In tracing the journey of the same banded agate object discussed by Dalley, Claudia and Antonio Sagona bring the eastern and western halves of the ancient Mediterranean world together. Their paper unravels the complicated socio-cultural biography of this banded agate object found at Tas-Silġ (Malta), in the process highlighting its various past lives. The authors trace back, in great detail, the origin of this object to Mesopotamia or further beyond, and illustrate its remarkable journey across time and space. This contribution is a vivid reminder that objects, like texts, can have a long, winding, and interesting afterlife. What archaeologists uncover is the final resting place of material objects — nothing but a snippet of their story. Like other papers in the volume, Claudia and Antonio Sagona’s analysis reminds us that textual artefacts have an important material dimension which should be part-and-parcel of any textual analysis.

Rebecca Farrugia’s contribution shifts attention from archaeological objects to the human subjects behind them. Her focus is on the human aspect of ancient warfare in the Near East, specifically in the Bronze and Iron Ages, and her aim is to add a human and psychological dimension to the mute artefacts and monuments of war. The paper emerges from Farrugia’s

ongoing doctoral dissertation and is intended as a general overview of themes that she discusses in greater depth there. Still, she demonstrates effectively the importance of considering the human perspective in our ventures into the past. While this may sound obvious, it is all too easy to lose focus of the human factor in an artefact-oriented field as archaeology.

Rossana De Simone’s paper zooms in on the Romano-Punic world of the late 1st millennium BCE. Through her paper, she joins several scholars who have searched for remnants of Punic culture in the classical sources, not least in the writings of the late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE Latin playwright Plautus. De Simone takes the reference to a “*lanterna punica*” in his *Aulularia* and questions the accepted translation of the term as a light emitting device, or lantern. Instead, given the context in which the word is used, which suggests transparency, De Simone is inclined to think that the noun here should refer to “*laterna*” — a light see-through garment — as it appears in lesser known codices of the *Aulularia*.

This section closes with a paper which puts the history of archaeology at the centre of its analysis. In her article, Carla Del Vais examines and presents archival material relative to object collections from the site of Tharros in west-central Sardinia. Most of the funerary inscriptions from the site were recovered during the 19th century, as a result of the systematic pillage of the necropolis that caused the loss of context data and the dispersion of the artefacts in numerous public and private collections. In addition to the inscriptions carved on cippi and altars, others are documented on the rock walls of Punic tombs and, more frequently, on small objects such as amulets, scarabs, and pottery vessels. Del Vais offers an incredibly rich analysis of bibliographic and archival sources which serves as an excellent reference point for anyone interested in this material from Tharros. Her “archaeology” of the sources generates important data with which the reconstruction of the complex history of research in the funerary areas of Tharros can be accomplished.

TEXT, ARTEFACT, AND METHOD

The final part of the volume focuses on questions of method. In view of Anthony’s methodological considerations on the integration of text and artefact, it is fitting that two of the contributors to this volume adopt Frenndo’s basic principles and apply them to their respective fields.

Anthony Bonanno looks at one of the more enigmatic episodes in Malta’s past, namely the transition from the Bronze Age to the Phoenician Period, which occurred at the beginning of the 1st millennium BCE. So far, this transition has eluded scholars owing to the seeming disappearance of the Bronze Age population in the archaeological record. Bonanno presents a succinct discussion of the few literary sources — all of them in Greek — that might potentially contain titbits of information on Malta during this crucial period. His conclusion is that “while the literary sources suggest some sort of connection with the Aegean area for the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, for the colonization period (around the 8th century BCE), none of the other sources give any clear-cut hint of a Greek attempt at taking them over from the Phoenicians or, later, from their Carthaginian successors.” Subsequently, Bonanno looks at the archaeological evidence, which is meagre in items

originating from the Aegean world. At the end of the analysis, we are left largely in the dark, but the analysis bears fruit, nonetheless. By engaging texts with archaeology, Bonanno still manages to shed some new, albeit tentative, light on what can be described as one of the dark ages of Malta’s ancient history. Furthermore, Bonanno’s study helpfully presents a nuanced overview of both textual and archaeological sources pertaining to this transitional period.

Dennis Mizzi adapts Anthony’s methodology for the case of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a view to understanding further the inhabitants of Qumran and the group(s) depicted in the Scrolls vis-à-vis their use of glass vessels and their outlook on the ritual-purity status of glass. Mizzi concludes that the archaeological evidence for glass at Qumran and the Scrolls independently point in a similar direction. Compared to pottery, the glass corpus is small, which could indicate that glass was used infrequently at Qumran or that, unlike pottery, it could be purified in water and reused if it had contracted ritual impurity. Without necessarily proving the latter explanation, an analysis of halakhic passages in the Scrolls, supplemented by an examination of specific biblical and rabbinic texts, reveals that this reading of the archaeological evidence is highly plausible. In the process, Mizzi also explores, albeit briefly, the subtle differences between approaches that conflate texts and archaeology all too soon and those that integrate the different sources at a secondary stage of the research process, highlighting problems with previous interpretations of the glass-vessel corpus from Qumran.

The final paper of the volume deals with a different question of method and focuses on another type of textual artefact — coins. Richard Reece presents a new, simple method through which the place of assembly of coin hoards can possibly be pinpointed. This is significant since the interpretation of hoards is never straightforward and there remain many questions as to where hoards were assembled prior to their final deposition. The point is that hoards could have travelled over long distances, which means that there is no necessary correlation between the find spot of a hoard and its place of assembly. As Reece points out, his methodology is still a work-in-progress and the paper is nothing more than a simple test-case for this new approach. To this end, two Roman hoards from Malta serve as the object of the case study. Reece concludes that the hoards were in fact assembled on Malta, or nearby in Italy, rather than having been brought in from elsewhere, although further work will necessarily refine this conclusion. Still, the results show promise, so it would be interesting to see the method applied on a larger scale. Among other things, this has the potential to provide valuable data on movement and connectivity in the ancient Mediterranean world.

It is clearly evident that we have collected a rich assortment of papers dealing with widely diverse topics. Inevitably, therefore, the volume looks somewhat disjointed. But this is nothing more than an authentic reflection of Anthony’s many academic interests, and we are therefore very proud to dedicate this *Festschrift* of many colours to Anthony, while wishing him good health and success for the next part of his scholarly journey. Several other friends and colleagues expressed their unwavering support towards this project but could not contribute owing to other pressing commitments. On their behalf and on that of all present contributors, we present this volume to Anthony as a token of our friendship and appreciation. May this volume reciprocate a tiny fraction of the learning and scholarship Anthony has so freely imparted to us all.

Acknowledgements: We would like to thank the staff at Peeters — in particular, Antonio Sagona, the editor of *Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series* — for their assistance during the preparation of this volume. We are also grateful for Abigail Zammit's help in finalizing the manuscript. Finally, we thank all contributors, without whom this *Festschrift* would not have been possible.