

## APPENDICES



## APPENDIX A

### THE PUNIC MARSEILLES TARIFF. *CIS* I 165; *KAI* 69. CA. THIRD CENTURY B.C.

The so-called Marseilles Tariff, as it came to be known after its findspot, was discovered in early 1845 or late 1844 in the foundations of an old house near the port of Marseilles. Fragments of similar documents were subsequently discovered at Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Considering that the type of stone used seems to point to Carthage, Carthage appears to be the original provenance. This is therefore likely to be a *pierre errante*, which reached Marseilles on board a ship where it might have been used as ballast.<sup>2</sup> In its current form, the inscription comprises two conjoined fragments (*a-b*). The top, bottom, and right sides survive with intermittent damage; a substantial piece is lost on the left, broken diagonally from top to bottom. The remainder seems to amount to about three-fourths of the original stone. It comprises some twenty-one lines, which become progressively lacunose from top to bottom; the last line appears to have been the last line of the original.<sup>3</sup>

H. 0.40, W. 0.555, Th. 0.04.

I present here a text<sup>4</sup> based on the the text in *KAI* and a minimally interpretative translation with a few notes. For commentaries and basic bibliography see *CIS* I 165; *KAI* 69; M.G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente*, Rome 1967, 169–183 no. 3; F. Rosenthal *ANET* pp. 656–657; D. Pardee *COS* I 98 (pp. 305–309).

ca. saec III a.

*b*

*a*    בת בעל־צֶפֶן בעַתְּ (הַמֶּשֶׁן) אֶתֶּת אֶשׁ טֶנָא שְׁלֶשֶׁם הָאֶשׁ אֶשׁ עַל הַמֶּשֶׁן אֶתֶּת עַת (רַ חֲלָצִ) בַּעַל הַשֶּׁפֶט בֶּן בְּרִדְתָּן בֶּן בְּרִדְאֶשְׁמֶן וְחֲלָצִבַּעַל  
הַשֶּׁפֶט בֶּן בְּרִדְאֶשְׁמֶן בֶּן חֲלָצִבַּעַל וְחֲ(בְרִנֶּם) *vacat*  
בְּאַלְף כָּלִל אֶם צוּעַת אֶם שְׁלֶם כָּלִל לִכְהֹנִם כֶּסֶף עֶשְׂרֵת 10 בְּאַחַד וּבְכָלִל יִכֵּן לֶם עֵלֶת פֶּן הַמֶּשֶׁתָּ 1 שְׁאֵר מִשְׁקָל שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאֵת 300  
וּבְצוּעַת קִצְרַת וְיִצְלַת וְכֵן הָעֵרַת וְהַשְׁלֵבֶם וְהַפְעֵמֶם וְאַחֲרֵי הָשָׂאָר לִבְעַל הַזֹּבֵחַ *vacat*  
4    בַּעַל אֶשׁ קִרְנִי לִמְבַּחֶסֶר בְּאַטְמוּטָא אֶם בְּאִיל כָּלִל אֶם צוּנְעַת) אֶם שְׁלֶם כָּלִל לִכְהֹנִם כֶּסֶף חֲמִשָּׁת 5 בְּאַחַד וּבְכָלִל יִכֵּן לֶם עַל-

<sup>1</sup> The so-called Carthage Tariff(s), *CIS* I 167 (*KAI* 74), 169, 170, 3915, 3916 (*KAI* 75), 3917; for an English translation of different fragments as a single document see *ANET* p. 657 (F. Rosenthal). See the commentary in *KAI*.

<sup>2</sup> *KAI* II 83.

<sup>3</sup> *CIS* I p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> I have allowed myself to employ Classical editorial conventions to denote vacant spaces and lacunae. The superlinear circellus equals the Classical sublinear dot.

- ת פן המשאת 1 שאר משקל מאת וחמשם 150 ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפע[מם ואחרי השאר לבעל הובח] ביבל אם בעו כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל 1 זר 2 באחד ובצועת יכון לם עלת פן המשאת 1 קצרת] ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הובח <sup>vocat</sup> 8 באמר אם בגדא אם בצרב איל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כל[ל לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר 2 באחד ובצועת יכן לם על- [ת] פן המשאת 1 קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבים והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל [הובח] <sup>vocat</sup> [בצ]פן אנון אם צץ שלם כל[ל] אם שצף אם חזות לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר 2 באחד וכן הש[אר] לבעל הובח] 12 [על] צפר אם קדמת קדשת אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף א[נרת] 10 לבאחד [- - -] [ב]כל צועת אש יעמס פנת אלם יכן לכהנם קצרת ויצלת ו[ב]צועת [- - -] [על] בלל ועל חלב ועל חלב ועל כל זבח אש אדם לזבח במנח[ת] י[כן] לכהנים [- - -] בכל זבח אש יזבח דל מקנא אם דל צפר בל יכן לכהנם מנם <sup>vocat</sup> 16 כל מורה וכל שפה וכל מרוח אלם וכל אדם אש יזבח [- - -] האדם המת משאת על זבח אחד כמדת שת בכתב[ת] [- - -] [כל] משאת אש איבל שת בפס 1 ונתן לפי הכתבת אש [כתב] - - - האשם אש על המשאת עת ר חלצבעל בן בדתנ- ת וחלצבעל בן בדאשמן וחברנם <sup>vocat</sup> 20 כל כהן אש יקח משאת בדץ לאש שת בפס 1 ונענ[ש] [- - -] [כל] בעל זבח אש איבל יתן את כ[. . .] ל המשאת אש [- - -]

### Translation

Temple of Ba'al Šaphon. Tariff of fees which [the thirty men in charge of fees] set up in the time of Ḥillešba'al<sup>5</sup> the *suffet* son of Bodtinnit son of Bodešmun, [head(?)], [and Ḥillešba'al] the *suffet* son of Bodešmun son of Ḥillešba'al and their colleagues.

(3) For an ox, whether *kll* (offering), *šw't* (offering), or *šlm kll* (offering), the priests (shall receive) ten (shekels) silver for each (sacrifice). And for *kll* (offering) they shall receive in addition to this fee meat [weighing three hundred]. And for *šw't* (offering) the *qsr̥t* and the *yšlt* and likewise the skins and the *šlbm* and the *p'mm* and the rest of the meat (shall belong) to the one offering the sacrifice.

(5) For a calf that is missing his horns naturally (? *'twm?*), or for a deer (? or: ram), whether *kll*, *šw't*, or *šlm kll*, the priests shall receive five (shekels of) silver [for each and for a *kll* they shall receive] in addition to this fee meat weighing one hundred and fifty. And for *šw't* the *qsr̥t* and the *yšlt* and likewise the skins and the *šlbm* and the *p'mm* [and the rest of the meat (shall belong) to the one offering the sacrifice].

(7) For a ram or a goat, whether *kll*, *šw't*, or *šlm kll*, the priests shall receive one shekel of silver (and) two *zr* for each. And for *šw't* they shall receive [in addition to this fee the *qsr̥t*] and the *yšlt* and likewise the skins and the *šlbm* and the *p'mm* and the rest of the meat (shall belong) to the one offering the sacrifice.

(9) For a lamb, a kid, or a *šrb ył*, whether *kll*, *šw't*, or *šlm kll*, the priests

<sup>5</sup> Pardee's transcriptions of names have been followed; vocalization might be disputed in some cases.

shall receive three-fourths of (a shekel of) silver (and) [two *zr* for each and for *šw't* they shall receive in] addition to this fee the *qsr*t and the *yšlt* and likewise the skins and the *šlbm* and the *p'mm* and the rest of the meat (shall belong) to the one offering the [sacrifice].

(11) For a bird, whether *'gmn* or *šš*, whether *šlm kll*, *ššp*, or *hzt*, the priests shall receive three-quarters of a (shekel) of silver (and) two *zr* for each and the meat shall belong [to the one offering the sacrifice].

(12) For a bird, whether *kdmt kdšt*, a game (bird) sacrifice, or (bird?) fat sacrifice, the priest shall receive ten *'grt* of silver for each [- - -]

(13) For every *šw't* which (anyone) brings before the god the priests shall receive the *qsr*t and *yšlt* and for *šw't* [- - -]

(14) For mixed flour and oil(?) offerings and for milk and for fat (offerings) and for each sacrifice which a man may sacrifice as an offering to the god(?) [the priests] shall receive [- - -]

(15) For each sacrifice which a person poor in cattle or in birds sacrifices the priests shall not receive [a thing].

(16) Any association, any clan, any fellow-drinkers association (in honor) of a god (*mrzḥ 'lm*), and any men who sacrifice [- - -] (17) these men [shall pay] a fee for each sacrifice according to what is set in the document [- - -]

(18) Any fee which is not set in this tablet shall be given according to the written document which [the men in charge of fees in the time of Ḥillešba'al son of Bodtinnit, head(?),] and Ḥillešba'al son of Bodešmun and their colleagues [wrote].

(20) Any priest who takes a fee against what is set in this tablet shall be fined [- - -] (21) Any person who offers sacrifice who does not give the [- - -] the fee which [is set in this tablet - - -].

### Notes

Despite its fragmentary state, the contents of the document are quite clear. It lists animals and types of offerings, and discusses priestly prerogatives and the distribution of parts between priests and worshippers. There is no mention of divine portions. The officiating priests receive prerogatives in cash and kind. Cash prerogatives seem to be paid to them directly. Among the Greek sacrificial tariffs,<sup>6</sup> a similar situation

<sup>6</sup> See Part I pp. 61–62.

might be detected in *LSCG* 45.2–7 and *Iscr.Cos* ED 216 B 2–8, but worshippers are commonly instructed to put the money in a *thesauros*. The animals appear to be listed in a hierarchical order according to size and age.<sup>7</sup> The list of animals (lines 3–12) opens with full-grown bovines and ends with birds. We note a similarity in Parker and Obbink 2000, lines 10–12 and in no. 9 above. Most Greek sacrificial tariffs are arranged hierarchically; the order might, however, be descending (as here) or ascending (notably *Iscr.Cos* ED 216 B 2–8). In line 13 the Marseilles Tariff considers specifically the *sw't* offering; line 14 discusses a particular non-blood offering. Line 15 makes a special consideration of the poor: the priests receive no prerogative from their sacrifice. Offerings by groups are discussed in lines 16–17. Lines 18–19 consider fees not covered in the present document. The tariff ends with punishment clauses for greedy priests (line 20) and reluctant worshippers (line 21); these appear also in Greek sacred laws.<sup>8</sup>

*Date.* The date depends entirely upon letter forms, and the inscription has been assigned both to the late fourth-early third century and to the third century B.C.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Line 1*

‘Tariff of fees:’ *b'[t hms]'tt*. There is disagreement as to the exact translation of these two heading words by which the document identifies itself. The label ‘Tariff’ was deemed inaccurate (Delcor 1990, 87–89). It has persisted, for better or for worse.

‘In the time of Ḥillešba'al ..., [head(?)]:' *t [r Hlš]b'l*. *t [r]* is secure considering *CIS* I 170.1. Less so is the significance of *r* (*DNWSI* s.v. *r*<sub>1</sub>). For the meaning ‘head’ see Pardee *COS* I 306 n. 7; ‘lord/great’ (i.e. ‘in the time of the lord(s) Ḥillešba'al’ etc.) have also been understood (*CIS* I p. 261; *KAI* II 83; *ANET* 656).

#### *Lines 3–4*

Attempts to reconstruct the sacrificial categories evident in the tariff have primarily relied upon comparison with the Israelite system as evident in the Levitical code. Etymology of its first component renders the Punic *šlm kll*<sup>10</sup> a likely counterpart of the Israelite *šlamim* (‘well

<sup>7</sup> The following analysis is based on that of Pardee (*COS* I no. 98).

<sup>8</sup> See Part I p. 43 and 20.21–23 with commentary.

<sup>9</sup> Pardee *COS* I p. 305; *KAI* II 83.

<sup>10</sup> M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7, 1975, 561, take the

being,' also known as 'peace' offering), equaling the common Greek eaten sacrifice; the Punic *šlm kll* would be a 'whole well being' offering. Less clear are the cases of the Punic *kll*<sup>11</sup> and the diversely interpreted *šw't*. See especially Pardee in *COS* I 98 (pp. 305–309).

Both the *qšrt* and the *yšlt* are parts of the victim. Multiple suggestions have been made regarding their identity. See *DNWSI* svv. *qšrh* and *yšlh*.

As the *p'mm* are likely to be feet of the victim, the *šlbm* might be the legs/thighs though other suggestions have been made. See *DNWSI* svv. *p'm<sub>2</sub>* 1 and *šlb<sub>2</sub>*.

#### Line 5

*'twt'*: This word is commonly considered to be a loan word from Greek. Several derivations have been attempted including, perhaps most convincingly, one from *αὐτόματος*: the horns 'missing naturally/of their own accord' would serve as an age marker.<sup>12</sup> See *DNWSI* s.v.

#### Line 9

*šrb 'yl*: A ram, deer, and several other possibilities have been suggested. See *DNWSI* s.vv. *'yl<sub>2</sub>* and *šrb<sub>1</sub>*.

#### Lines 11

*'gnm* and *šš* are birds, again of disputed identities. See *DNWSI* s.vv. *'gnm* and *šš<sub>1</sub>*.

*ššp* and *hzt* may refer to the type of the sacrifices. *hzt* (*DNWSI* s.v. *hzh*) might be divination/augury-related sacrifice which, inter alia, has also been suggested for *ššp* (ibid. s.v. *ššp<sub>2</sub>*). For the bird sacrifice see Delcor 1990, 89–92.

#### Line 12

The identification of *špr* as 'bird' here has been contested. See M. Delcore, 'A propos du sens de *špr* dans le tarif sacrificiel de Marseille (*CIS* I, 165, 12): Parfume d'origine végétale ou parfume d'origine animale?', *Semitica* 33, 1983, 33–39.

*kdmt kdšt*: holy first fruit (*DNWSI* s.v. *kdš<sub>3</sub>* 3.), i.e. offering?

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second *kll* with the following *lkhnm* ('as a general rule, to the priests ten silver [pieces]'), but see Pardee *COS* I pp. 306–307 n. 13.

<sup>11</sup> 'Whole' and therefore perhaps 'wholly burnt' offering.

<sup>12</sup> For age markers cf. above commentary on 26.31–32.

*Line 14*

‘Mixed flour and oil offering:’ *bl*. See *DNWSI* s.v. *bl*.

‘For milk and fat:’ *ʾl ḥlb wʾl ḥlb*; either dittography or two distinct substances. See *DNWSI* s.vv. *ḥlb*<sub>3</sub> and *ḥlb*<sub>4</sub>.

‘Offering to the god:’ *mnḥh*. See *DNWSI* s.v. *mnḥh*<sub>1</sub>.

*Line 17*

‘Document:’ *ktbt* (*DNWSI* s.v. *ktbh*<sub>1</sub>); evidently a cross reference to a different document.

*Lines 20–21*

For the punishment clause see above commentary on 20.21–23.