

- yemek (iemèch) — mangiare (233).
 yemiş (iemifci) — frutte (235).
 yol (iöl) — via, o ltrada (227); s. auch *ayak yolu, bu, kaç*.
 yulaf (iuläf) — biada (245).
 yumurta: taze yumurta (tafe iumurtà) — voua fresche (235).
 zengi (zenghi) — itaffa (245).
 zeytun yagi (fzeitün iaghi) — oglio (235).

II. Beschreibung der Lauterscheinungen

- 1) Die Vokalassimilation: a) $a - e \Rightarrow a - a$: *ahça*; b) $a - i \Rightarrow a - a$: *saab*; c) $u - ü (\Rightarrow ü - ü) \Rightarrow ö - ü$: *bögün*; d) $e - i \Rightarrow e - e$: *şher*.
- 2) Die Bewahrung der aasm. Lautreihe $o - i$ in: *koyın eti*.
- 3) Der Lautwechsel in der ersten Silbe des Wortes: a) $ö \Rightarrow ü$: *döşek||düşek, gömrük||gümruk*; b) $ü \Rightarrow ö$: *bögün*; c) $ö \Rightarrow o$: *dört||dort*.
- 4) Der Abfall des $ü$ im Anlaut: *zengi* = nosm. *üzengi*.
- 5) Der Wandel der einzelnen Vokalen vor den Konsonanten:
 a) $e\mathcal{S} \Rightarrow i\mathcal{S}$: *hisab*; b) $oF \Rightarrow uF$: *sufra*; c) $iZ \Rightarrow eZ$: *ezmetkâr*;
 d) $iK \Rightarrow eK$: *balek, saatlek*; e) $iH \Rightarrow eK$: *mek*.
- 6) Die Schwankung der Anlautskonsonanten: a) $t \Rightarrow d$:
tuz ~ duz; b) $k \Rightarrow g$: *gantarma* = nosm. *kantarma*; c) $b \Rightarrow p$:
pac = nosm. *baç*; d) $ç \Rightarrow c$: *cizme* = nosm. *çizme*.
- 7) Der Konsonantenschwund: a) $h \Rightarrow \emptyset$: *ezmetkâr*; *saab*;
 b) $v \Rightarrow \emptyset$: *tauk*.
- 8) Der Wandel der Einzelkonsonanten: a) $h \Rightarrow k$: *kan, kancı, mek* = nosm. *mih*; b) $v \Rightarrow g$: *gügarcin* = nosm. *güvercin*.
- 9) Die epenthetischen Konsonanten: a) $-b-$: *iskembri* = nosm. *iskemle*; b) $-h-$: *sahat* neben *saat, saatlek*.
- 10) Die stimmlosen Auslautskonsonanten: *dokus, on dokus, havrus, otus, sekis, tes*.
- 11) Die Bewahrung der aasm. Konsonanten: a) $-g-$: *eger, igirmi, tereyagi, zeytun yagi*; b) $-v-$: *ver bava*.
- 12) Die Anlautsgruppe *yi-* entwickelte sich in $-i$: *igirmi* = nosm. *yirmi*.
- 13) Die Entwicklung der Konsonantengruppe: a) $kç \Rightarrow hç$: *ahça*; b) $kş \Rightarrow kç$: *akçam*; c) $ml \Rightarrow mbr$: *iskembri*; d) $zs \Rightarrow ss$: *tes sürme*.

LUDWIK WALENTY STEFANIAK

OLD HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS FROM TEL ARAD *

I. A historical outline of Old Hebrew inscriptions

The study of Old Hebrew inscriptions, which nowadays constitutes an independent branch of research in the field of Palestinian epigraphy, has its own history and considerable scholarly achievements. The inscriptions have been collected and discussed both in the series of the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; published in Paris since 1881, and in monographs on Semitic epigraphy. Among the most classic monographic studies are: G. A. Cook, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, I—III, Giessen, 1900—1915; D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico ebraiche palestinesi*, Firenze, 1934; S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica*, 1935—1950, „Biblica et Orientalia“, 15, Roma 1951; H. Donner—W. Röllig, *Kananäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, I—III, Wiesbaden, 1962—1964; J. T. Milik, *Nouvelles inscriptions sémitiques et grecques du pays de Moab*, „Studi Biblici Franciscani“ 9 (1953—59) 334 ff.; S. H. Horn, *The Amman Citadel Inscription*, BASOR 193 (1969) 2—13; F. M. Cross Jr., *Epigraphic Notes on the Amman Citadel Inscription*, BASOR 193 (1969) 13—19; F. M. Cross Jr.; *Two Notes on Palestinian Inscription of the Persian Age*, BASOR 193 (1969)

* This paper was given by the author as one of his lectures as Visiting Professor at the Archaeological Institute of Palestine at the University in Leiden (Holland) on January 8, 1970.

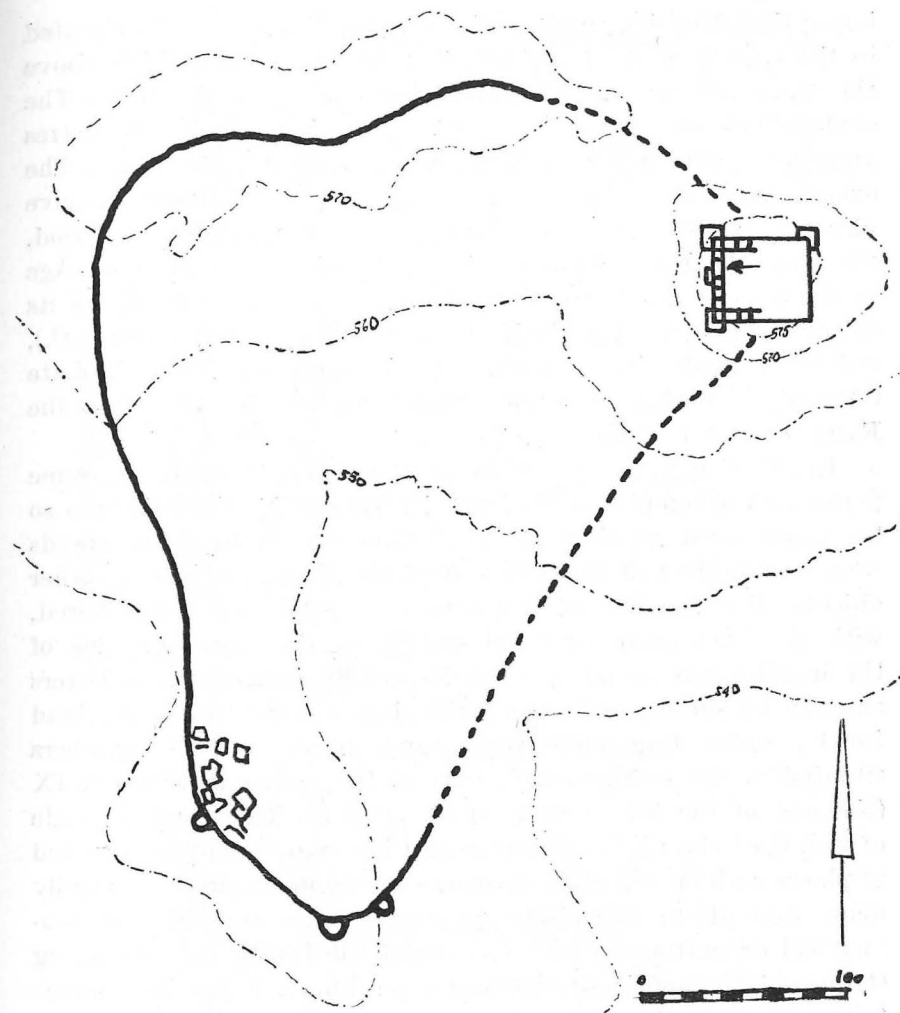
19—24; W. F. Albright, *Some Comments on the Amman Citadel Inscription*, BASOR 198 (1970) 38—40; A. Zaborski, *Z problematyki epigrafii starożytnej Palestyny* („A review of the Ancient Palestinian Epigraphy“), Polish in: L. M. Bernhard—L. W. Stefaniak, *Studia z Archeologii Azji Przedniej i Starożytnego Wschodu* („Archaeological Studies on the Near East“) Ed. by the Polish Academy of Sciences (Kraków 1970), pp. 209—219.

The work by H. Donner and W. Röllig is particularly valuable, because it is a supplementary collection of West-Semitic inscriptions: new texts are gathered and annotated there, some of them totally unknown before or discussed only in a fragmentary way in old technical literature that is difficult to obtain at the present time.

The following items deal in particular with the Arad inscriptions: Y. Aharoni—R. Amiran, *Excavations at Tel Arad. Preliminary Report on the First Season 1962*, IEJ 14 (1964) 131—147; see also: Y. Aharoni, IEJ 17 (1967) 233—249; Y. Aharoni, IEJ 15 (1965) 249—251; 16 (1966) 273—274; 17 (1967) 270—272; Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Tel Arad*, IEJ 16 (1966) 1—7; Y. Aharoni, *The Use of Hieratic Numerals in Hebrew Ostraca and the Shekel Weights*, BASOR 184 (1966) 13—19; S. Yeivin, *A Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Arad*, IEJ 16 (1966) 153—159; Y. Aharoni, *Seals of Royal Functionaries from Arad*, EI 8 (1967) 101—103 (Hebrew); Y. Aharoni, *Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple*, BA 31 (1968) 2—32; Y. Aharoni, *Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, BASOR 107 (1970) 16—42; see also Y. Aharoni EI 9 (1969) 10—21 (Hebrew).

II. The problem of the origin and archaeological function of the Arad inscriptions

The five seasons of excavations at Tel Arad, which started in 1962 and ended in 1967, were carried out at the highest and most important tell of the Eastern Negeb. The excavations were started only accidentally, with the intention of simultaneously developing the new town of Arad, about 10 kilometres east of the tell. In this way the digging in the tell, done under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Hebrew University, the



1 — General Plan of Tel Arad; the arrow marks the location of the Sanctuary within the Israelite fortress — Taken from Y. Aharoni, *Excavations at Tel Arad*, IEJ 17 (1967) 235

Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Israel Exploration Society and other institutions, considerably lowered the cost of the excavations.

Tel Arad (II. 1) is a large deserted urban settlement, virtually two settlements differing in character, area and period, much

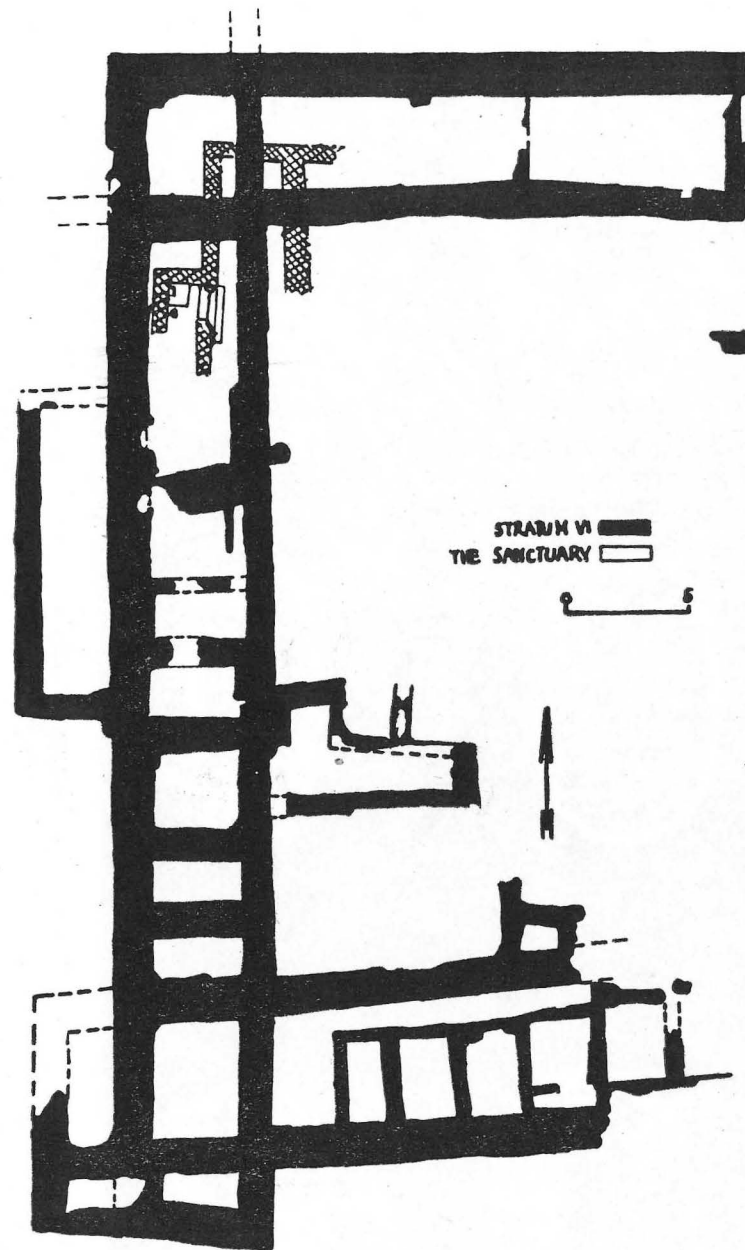
larger than Megiddo, with a relatively small royal citadel situated in the eastern part of the tell. The tell rises rather high above the plain and reveals the occupational levels of the town. The explorations concentrated on an area of about 50 by 50 metres around the tell, on which all the later fortresses were built¹. The excavations carried out so far laid bare the following twelve phases of settlement at the tell: one from the Chalcolithic Period, one from the Early Bronze, and ten ranging from the Iron Age to the days of the Mamelukes. The city reached the height of its cultural development in the Early Bronze II (ca. 2900—2700 B.C.), and was preceded by an open, scattered settlement from the Late Chalcolithic Period (ca. 3400—3150 B.C.) and by pits from the Early Bronze I (3000—2900 B.C.).

In addition to many architectural monuments from the same period as the temples at Megiddo, Et-Tel and En-Gedi (EB), a so far unparalleled number of inscriptions on all kinds of sherds were found. Most of them date from the Iron Age. Among other objects, five handles of amphora-like vessels were discovered, with the impressions of royal seals from the Iron Age (one of the handles was found *in situ*). Especially noticeable are letters engraved on sherds, and among the sherds — the so called „Arad Bowl“, whose fragments were found in one of the chambers situated in the south-western part of the corner in Stratum IX (the end of the 9th century B.C.) (II. 2,3). The sherd is made of well fired clay; it is red brown and has smooth surface, covered at places with fat red clay. Surfaces covered in this manner usually made decorations resembling painted ornaments, with red geometrical decorations, such as triangles filled with dots or zigzag stripes, herringbone patterns, and wavy lines². It has been ascertained that similar decorative patterns found on jugs at several sites in Palestine and in the First Dynasty tombs in Egypt (especially Abydos) are not of native origin from Egypt but come from Palestine or from Syria³. The Arad find, then, (if this was

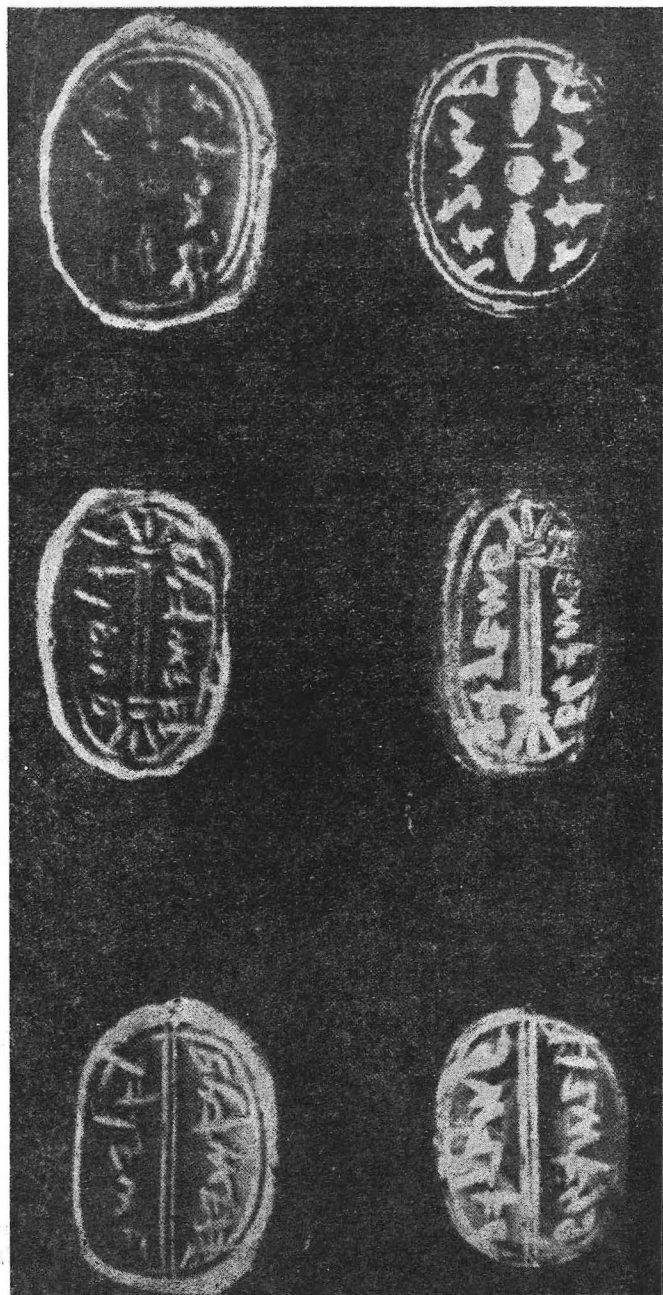
¹ Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, *Excavations at Tel Arad*, IEFJ 14 (1964) 133.

² Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, *op. cit.*, 138 f.

³ R. Amiran, *The Ancient Pottery of Palestine*, Jerusalem 1963, 84 ff. (Hebrew).



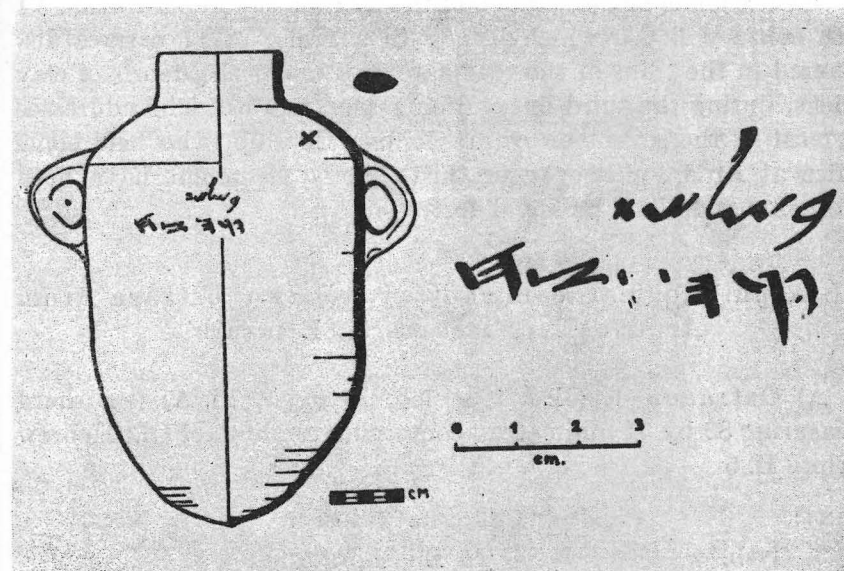
2 — Plan of the western part of the high mound, showing the casemate wall of Stratum VI and the earlier Sanctuary — Taken from Y. Aharoni, *Excavations...*, IEFJ 17 (1967) 245



3 — The Eliashib seals — Taken from Y. Aharoni, *Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple*, BA 31 (1968) 15, Fig. 10

really the original name of the early settlement, which hardly seems probable) suggests that Arad was a large centre of the manufacture and export of all sorts of pottery ⁴.

As many as 200 ostraca were also dug up at Arad, some of them Aramaic (about 100 pieces dating from ca. 400 B.C.), some



4 — Jar with Hebrew inscription — Taken from Y. Aharoni, R. Amiran, *Excavations at Tel Arad*, IEJ 14 (1964) 143 Fig. 5

Hebrew (from the time of the Monarchy) and some Arabic (Stratum II). They were not found by chance, like those in Samaria and Lachish, where a group of ostraca was discovered in a special chamber; the ostraca from Arad were encountered in various rooms and strata. Stratigraphic study yielded the following results: Stratum XI — second half of the 10th century B.C., Stratum X — 9th century B.C. Strata IX—VIII — 8th century B.C., Strata VII—VI — 7th century B.C. The ostraca from Arad are of no little importance for Palestinian paleography. The fact that the ostraca were found in almost every stratum proves that they were commonly used as a writing material.

⁴ Y. Aharoni, *Arad, Its Inscriptions and Temple*, BA 31 (1968) 4.

It should also be noted that, for the first time in the history of Palestinian archaeology, almost every stratum of the tell of Arad furnished literary records in the form inscriptions, which are so valuable for the study of problems of interpretation and chronology.

We are going to discuss two of the ostraca, found in Stratum VI (7th century B.C.), which belong to a group of 17 ostraca discovered in the ruins of the casemate wall under the debris of clay bricks, during the third excavation season in 1964. The addressee of most of the seventeen ostraca is one Eliashib, who held some office at Arad for twenty or thirty years; he might have been the commander of the royal fortress.

III. A philological commentary to two ostraca from Arad called 'letters to Eliashib'

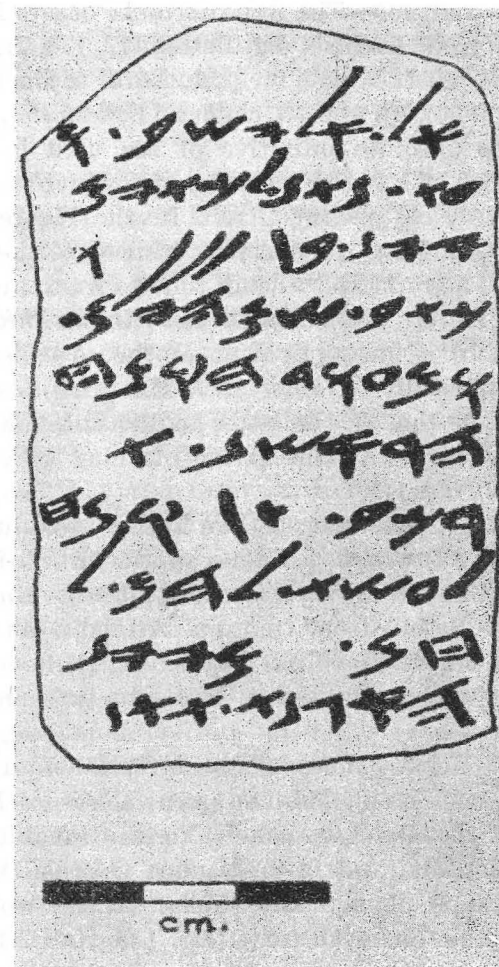
A) Ostrakon 1. (IEJ 16 (1966) 2, fig. 1, Pl. A) — a sherd measuring 83 by 51 milimetres, containing ten lines of Old Hebrew script. II. 5

Text:	Translation ⁵ :
1 'l. 'lyšb. w	To Eliashib. And
2 't: ntn. lktym	now: give the Kittim
3 yyn. b\/// w	3 (?) baths of wine and
4 ktb. šm hym.	write the name of the day
5 wm'wd. hqmh	And from the rest of the
6 hr'sn. t	first flour
7 r(bk) (ephah?) 1 qmh	let 1 ephah(?) of flour be mixed(?)
8 l'st. lhm. l	to make bread for them
9 hmn. myyn	From the wine
10 h'gnt. ttn	of the basins give

Polish translation

- 1 Do Eliasziba, a
- 2 teraz: dasz dla Kittim
- 3 3 miary wina i

⁵ Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, IEJ 16 (1966) 3.



5 — Ostrakon 1—16 (1966) 2, Fig. 1, Pl. A

- 4 zapisz nazwę tego dnia
- 5 a z jeszcze pozostałych
- 6 pierwszych zbiorów
- 7 każ zmieszać 1 efę (mąki)
- 8 dla zrobienia dla nich chleba.
- 9 Z wina
- 10 ty daj dzban

vv. 1: w't(h) — and now. The same formula occurs in the letters and 2 from Lachish, e.g. Letter III, 1.4, Letter IV, 1.2.

't — time; cf. It is time for thee, Lord, to work (*Psalms* 119, 126), that is, a chance (*Ecclesiastes*, 9, 11 ff.).

ntn = the absolute infinitive of *ntn* used instead of the imperative; it has the meaning of 'to give' = 'give' („and now: give“, or „please, give“. In the Hebrew Bible the absolute infinitive often occurs instead of the imperative: a) to give a grand and solemn tone to a text, e.g. 1 *Chronicles*, 21, 10 (cf. P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, § 123 f.); b) as an equivalent of the so called injunctive future, especially in orders (Cf. Ex. 13, 3).

It seems that in the letter to Eliashib the absolute infinitive occurs with the latter meaning (*ntn* = you shall give — an order).

lktym = for the Kittim, cf. the Letter to Nahum (BASOR 184 (1966) 14) where the name appears in the singular — *kt*. Moreover, the term *ktym* occurs eighteen times in 1 QM (The War Scroll) from Qumran. Attempts at the identification of the unknown term *ktym* in 1 QM have not yielded the expected results so far. It has only been found that the term is a very general and symbolic one, and that it denotes Israel's enemies. This term is often an attribute of the Romans. In the Old Testament the word *ktym* usually refers to the Greeks, that is, to the inhabitants of the Aegean Islands, and in particular, Cyprus. Although the word *ktym* is phonetically similar to the word *ktym* occurring in the Qumran texts (e.g. 1 QpHab 2,12, 14; 9, 9), in the letters from Arad it seems to be a general name referring to soldiers.

v. 4: The letter *b* is undoubtedly an abbreviation of *bt* (pl. *btm*); *bt* was a measure of capacity commonly used by the Hebrews, containing probably ca. 22 litres (Cf. W. F. Albright, AASOR 21—22 (1943) 587). There are, though, serious difficulties in the deciphering of the group of signs „\\//“. These signs certainly denote a number, but we do not know whether the group serves to denote 3 *b(tm)*

or 1 *bt* and three smaller measures of capacity, the so called 'hyn'; we know that 6 'hyn' went into 1 *bt*.

v. 5: *hqmh* = this is probably a general name to denote flour

v. 6: *hr'sn* = perhaps of the best quality or from the first crop

v. 7: The word *trkb* is much disputed. In its present form it is the 2nd pers. masc. Hifil imperfect of the word *rk*, which means „to ascend, to help (sb.) up, to mount, to ride, to ride on horseback“. But the above expression does not render the right meaning. Aharoni thinks, therefore, that the last two consonants were transposed by the scribe and that the correct reading ought to be *trbk* — the 3rd pers. fem. Hofal imperfect (future) of the word *rbk* = 'to mix', especially to mix flour (Cf. Lev. 6, 14; 7, 12, where the word *rbk* has the form of Hofal participle and denotes flour mixed with oil. In the case under consideration it is the Hofal imperfect used in the meaning of the jussive — „let one ephah (of flour) be mixed to make bread for them (for the Kittim)“.

l. 10: *h'gnt* = the plural of 'gn, 'jar, bowl' (cf. Ex. 24, 6; Is. 22, 24). This expression seems to indicate a special kind of wine, perhaps 'cup wine'.

B) Ostrakon 2 (IEJ 16 (1966) 5), fig. 2 — it is a sherd measuring 65 mm × 44 mm, containing ten lines of Old Hebrew script; nine of these are to be found on one side of the sherd, and one on the other side. (Il. 6)

Tdxt:

1 'l 'dny 'ly
2 šb. yhw yš
3 'l lšmk w 't:
4 tn lšmryhw
5 (?) wlqrsy
6 ttn (?). wld
7 br 'šr š

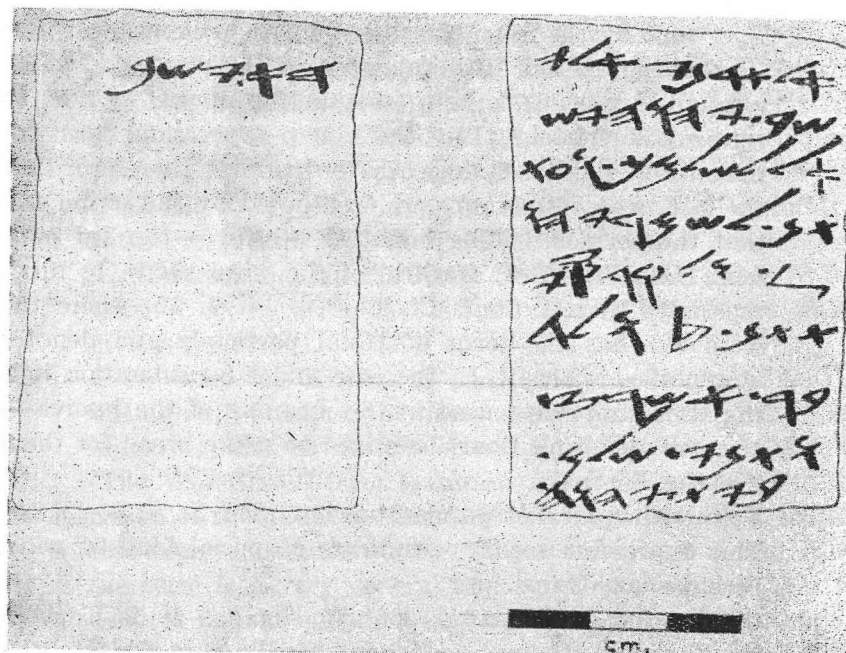
Translation⁶:

To my lord Elia-
shib, Yahweh may ask
for thy peace. And now:
give Shemariahu
(?) ... and to the Kerosite
give ... And regarding the
matter which thou

⁶ Y. Aharoni, *Hebrew Ostraca from Arad*, IEJ 16 (1966) 6.

8 wtny — šlm
 9 byt yhw
 10 (the other side):
 h' yšb

commandest me — Shalom
 He dwells in the
 House of Yahweh



6 — Ostrakon 2 (Taken from IEJ 16 (1966) 5, Fig. 2)

Polish translation

- 1 Do mego pana Elia-
- 2 sziba. Jahwe niech użyczy
- 3 tobie pokoju. A teraz
- 4 daj Szamarjahu
- 5 (?) ... a Kerosytom
- 6 daj (?) ... A co do
- 7 sprawy, jaką
- 8 ty mi zleciłeś — Szalom.
- 9 W domu Jahwe
- 10 on mieszka.

Commentary:

The sender of the letter is unknown to us. Its style appears to indicate that he was one of Eliashib's subordinates. There is no doubt that the expression *byt yhw* refers to the Temple of Jerusalem, as the ostrakon comes from Stratum VI, and the temple of Arad no longer existed at that time. The mention of the Temple allows us to assume that the letter was written in Jerusalem. Perhaps Eliashib dispatched the sender of the letter to Jerusalem with a special request for the temple of Arad to be rebuilt. It follows from the contents that Eliashib is to give something to Shemariah and to the Kerosite; but we do not know if this concerns the pay for their service at the Temple or something else. The Kerosite are mentioned in the Bible (*Ezra* 2, 44; *Nehemiah* 7, 47) as a group of servants to the Temple. Shemariah and the Kerosite were presumably the bearers of the letter. The text on the other side is the announcement of the return to Arad of some person that is unknown to us.

vv. 2—3: *yšl* The third pers. masc. of the Kal imperfect is used here as the jussive of *šl* = to ask; but it may just as well be the 3rd pers. masc. of the Piel form used as the jussive — then it would be read *yšl*; or, finally, it may be the same person of the Hifil form used as the jussive *yšl*, but then the mater lectionis is missing. In the case under discussion the Hifil form as the jussive is the most suitable: „Let him give, let him grant you peace“. The mater lectionis was ordinarily left out. But if we accept the Kal form, the sense will be: 'let him ask about your peace'.

v. 4: *tn* = give, the 2nd pers. masc. imperative of *ntn*. *šmryhw* = for Shemariah. This name appears in the same shape in the Bible, 1 Chron. 12, 6.

vv. 7—8: *šwtny* = the 2nd pers. masc. Piel perfect of *št* = 'to command, to settle, to fix' plus the 1st pers. masc. suffix. But we have an instance of the scriptio defectiva here, without the mater lectionis after waw.