

the like, above the abecedary, not unlike the name [אבין at the very end of the Gezer table (cf. infra, p. 253).

The palaeography of the abecedary fits well into a mid-tenth century BCE date.

R. E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter, M. J. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, "An Abecedary of the Mid-

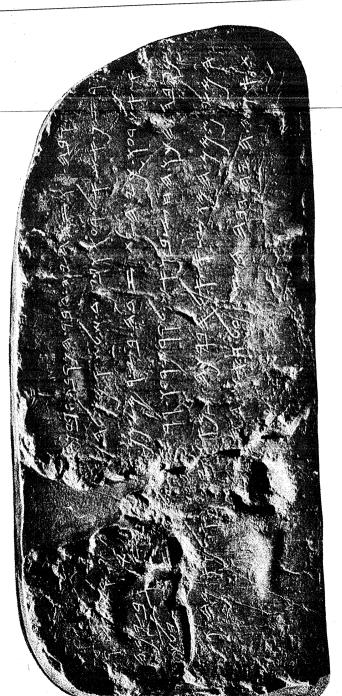
JERUSALEM

THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION

The inscription was accidentally discovered in 1880 in the Siloam tunnel, which was partially blocked by alluvium. The text was incised at the western end of the tunnel about six meters from the outlet to the Siloam pool at the western end of the ridge known today as the "City of David." This is not unlike Sennacherib the king of Assyria who had also inscribed several memorial texts in hidden spots at his own great water project at Nineveh. The Siloam Inscription of six lines was inscribed in beautiful letters in straight lines on the lower half of a rectangular area in the rock that had been smoothed beforehand. Perhaps the smoothed area was prepared to receive a longer text, or else the mason was unsure of just how much space the whole text would take.

The inscription was extracted from the rock surface by a Greek resident of Jerusalem who sought to sell it. During the carving process the inscription was broken into six or seven pieces. The text was repaired on the basis of a squeeze that had been taken shortly after the original discovery (1880) by the Swiss architect Conrad Schick, a long-time resident of Jerusalem. The repaired stone bearing the inscription was transferred to Istanbul where it is now displayed in the Museum of Ancient Near Eastern Antiquities.

The inscription tells about the final stages of the tunnel's excavation in the reign of Hezekiah who fortified Jerusalem and prepared it for the siege by Sennacherib, as detailed in 2 Kgs 20:20; Isa 22:9-11; 2 Chr 32:3-5, 30. The work of excavating the tunnel was included in the general description of the fortifying process and only mentioned specifically in 2 Kgs 20:20: נַאֲשֶׁר עָשֶׂה אֶת הַבְּרֵכָה וָאֶת הַמַּיִם הָעֶּיְה, "and how he (Hezekiah) made the pool and the channel and brought the water into the city," and 2 Chr 32:30: וְהוֹא יְחִזְקָיָּהוּ סָתַם אָת מוּצָא מֵימֵי גִיחוֹן הָעֶלְיוֹן וַיֵּישְׁרֵם לְמַטָּה מַּעְרָבָה לְעֵיר דָּוִיד, "and he, Hezekiah closed up the upper outlet of the waters of Gihon and directed them down westward to the city of David." The source which gives the most detailed account about the project is Ecclesiasticus composed by Ben Sira, who lived in the beginning of the second century BCE: יְחִזְקְיָהוּ חָזַּק עִירוֹ בְּהַטּוֹת אֶל תּוֹכָה מָיִם. וַיַּחְצֹב כַּנְחשֶׁת צוּרִים וַיַּחְסוֹם הָּרִים מִקְוָה, "Hezekiah strengthened his city by diverting water into it. And he quarried flinty rocks like copper and he blocked up hills for a pool" (48:22-23 [17]). But it is doubtful whether we should accept the biblical allusion concerning the circumstances of the quarrying of the tunnel at face value. It is difficult



to assume that the tunnel was excavated under the pressure of the siege. It is likely that we have a water project well planned, with forethought and without undue pressure.

The style of the inscription, biblical and literary, looks as if excerpted from a chapter in one of the biblical historiographical sources, perhaps from the "Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" itself (as suggested by Levi Della Vida). The inscription succeeds in preserving the excitement of the meeting between the diggers on both ends of the tunnel, and of the completion of the mighty project which was carried out in the depth of the hill. The inscription was inscribed within the main water project of Jerusalem, a place where not just anyone was allowed to enter, on a smooth surface and by a skilled professional (as mentioned above). All these data strengthen the impression that the inscription was installed by the authorities. The person who commanded in the seventh century BCE that the text be inscribed wanted to immortalize the great hydrotechnical project of King Hezekiah.

ן הנקבה. וזה. היה. דבר. הנקבה. בעוד [
הגרזן. אש. אל. רעו. ובעוד. שלש. אמת. להנ[
]א. אל. רעו. כי. הית. זדה. בצר. מימן□ וֹמֹ[
]אֹל. ובים. ה
נקבה. הכו. החצבם. אש. לקרת. רעו. גרזן. על []רזן. וילכו
נקבה. הכו. המוצא. אל. הברכה. במאתי[
]אלף. אמה. ומ[
ת. אמה. היה. גבה. הצר. על. ראש. החצב[

דְּבַר] הַנְּקְבָּה. וְזֶה הָיֶה דְּבַר הַנְּקְבָּה. בְּעוֹד [הַחֹצְּבִם מְנִפִּם אֶת הַגַּרְדֶן אִשׁ אֶל רֵעוֹ וּבְעוֹד שָׁלשׁ אַמֹת לְהִנּ[קַב, נִשְׁמַ]ע קֹל אִשׁ קֹ רֵּ]א אֶל רֵעוֹ, כִּי הָיָת זְדָּה בַּצֻּר מִיָּמִן וּמִ[שְׁמֹ]אל. וּבְים הִ נָּקְבָה הִכּוּ הַמּוּ הַבּּוּ הַבּוּ הַבּוּ הַבּוּ הַבּוּ הַבּוּ הַבּוּ הַבְּיִלְנִה רָעוֹ, גַּרְדֶן עַל [גַּ]רְדֶן, וַיְּיְלְכוּ הַקְבָה הְמָאתִיִּ[ם וְ]אֶלֶף אַפָּה, וּמְ[אַ הַבְּרֵכָה בְּמָאתִיִּ[ם וְ]אֶלֶף אַפָּה, וּמְ[אַ תַּאַמַר הָיָה גֹבַה הַצָּר עַל רֹאשׁ הַחֹצְבַ[ם

[The matter of] the breakthrough: And this is the matter of the breakthrough. While [the hewers were swinging the] axe, each towards his companion, and while there were still three cubits to he[w, there was hea]rd the voice of a man ca[ll]ing to his companion because there was a fissure(?) in the rock, on the right and on the le[f]t. And on the day of its breakthrough, the hewers struck each man towards his companion, axe towards [a]xe, and the waters flowed from the

outlet to the pool, one thousand [and t]wo hundred cubits, and a [hu]ndred cubits was the height of the rock above the heads of the hewe[rs].

הנקבה — An opening phrase for a new section; the details of the section follow.

נקבה — נקבה ($n^2qib\bar{a}^h$). Breakthrough, verbal noun perhaps on the pattern of אָלְמָה (Deut 15:1), קּלְמָה (Per 51:51). There is also the possibility of יְּלְמָה, * $n^2q\hat{a}b\bar{a}^h$, or even יְּלְּמָה, though this pattern is rare in the Bible; better than גְּקְבָּה, * $niqb\bar{a}^h$, cf. Arabic יִּבּיִּה ($nuqba^h$), "hole, perforation." In the Bible the actual tunnel is called יְּעֶלֶה, "channel" (2 Kgs 20:20). For the ה as a final mater lectionis cf. below יִּבְּרָה.

תוה היה דבר הנקבה — Cf. Deut 15:2: הַשְּׁמְטָּה, "And this is the matter of the remission" (also Deut 19:4; 1 Kgs 9:15).

תנפס את] הגרון — Restoration ad sensum; cf. Deut 27:5: לא חָנִיף עֲלֵיהֶם בַּרְזֶל, "Do not wield an iron tool over them" (cf. also Ex 20:21; Josh 8:31); Isa 10:15: אָם יִתְּנַדֵּל מְנִיפוֹ

בעוד [החצכם מנפם] בעוד — Thus corresponding to the biblical word order. Cf. 1 Kgs 22:44: עוֹד הָעָם מְוַבְּחִים, "the people still sacrificed"; Dan 9:20: וְמִרְבָּלִּל מְּלֹבְּיִחִים, "and while I was still speaking and praying," though it is also possible to render: בעוד מנפם החצבם.

בעוד — Some would see in this orthography the preservation of the diphthong, thus *cawd rather than Massoretic עוֹד, *côd.

רעו — As in the rare Massoretic form רעו, $r\bar{e}^c\hat{o}$ (Jer 6:21). The normal form was רְּעָהוּ, $r\bar{e}^c\bar{e}h\hat{u}$, and it would be an anomaly if final \hat{o} at this early period. So perhaps the intended pronunciation here was $r\bar{e}^c\bar{e}u$.

שלש אמת — One cubit was c. 45–52 cm, so the workmen heard one another when they were still separated by c. one and a half meters of rock.

הית — Third feminine singular; cf. 2 Kgs 9:37 where the k^2tiv is הית while the q^2ri is יְהִיְתָּה. The vocalization may have been *hayāt, the ancient form from third weak verbs. Cf. the Mesha Inscription, line 12 (infra, pp. 392–393).

דה — Either הָּהָה, *ziddāʰ, or הָּהָה, *zādāʰ. A hapax of an uncertain meaning. From the context it may be interpreted as a "crack, fissure"; such a fissure might have permitted the hewers to hear one another in spite of the three cubits of rock separating them. According to this conjecture, the fissure extended from the Gihon spring westward and is to be equated with הַבָּחַל הַשׁוֹטֵך בְּחוֹךְ הָאָרֶץ, "The brook that flowed through the land" (2 Chr 32:4). The knowledge of the

"stream flowing within the earth" would have led Hezekiah's men to execute the hewing out of the tunnel. They followed its course from both ends and thus managed to meet in the depths of the earth. The fissure would also have furnished the air for the workers to breathe and for the lamps to burn, giving them light. However, recent geological researches have challenged the theory that there was a karstic fissure for the hewers to follow and this clouds the issue with regard to the meaning of the word.

מימן ומן אל — From either side, cf. Num 20:17: לא נְשֶׁה יָמִין וְשְׁמֵאוֹל , "Turning off neither to the right nor to the left." Although the pair ימין ושמאל, "right and left," is well attested as a literary pattern, it might be translated also as referring to south (שמאל) and north (שמאל). Another suggestion is that the fissure was to the right of the hewers coming from the west and to the left of those coming from the east.

אקרת This is the proper form for this vocable which is from the root קרי. The accepted biblical form, לְקְרָאת, reflects contamination from the root,

- Some assume that this orthography preserves the diphthong, e.g. *mawṣā². This "outlet" is the Gihon spring, Cf. 2 Chr 32:30: מוֹצָא מֵימֵי גִיחוֹן הָעֶלְיוֹן, "the spring of water of upper Gihon"; Isa 58:11: רְּכְּמוֹצָא מֵיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יְכַזְּבוּ מֵימֵיו. "Like a spring whose waters do not fail."

הברכה — This pool is the pool of Siloam to the west of the City of David. Today it is called *birket ³al-ḥamra* which is full of gardens.

The orthography of the Siloam Inscription raises several questions with regard to the use of internal matres lectionis. And this is connected to the matter of the preservation of diphthongs (in עודא and עוד and מוצא or its contraction (as in p and מוצא and הקלום). Final answers have not been given, but it should be observed that in Massoretic Hebrew there is a certain inconsistency in the preservation of diphthongs: cf. שור, šôr, "ox" contracted from proto-semitic *tawr with אַבָּוָת mawet, "death," which remained uncontracted in the independent form but contracted to אַבָּיִת, môt in the bound form; cf. also אָבָּיִת, "bosom, lap" which is always contracted to אַבָּיִת, bayit, "house" which preserves the diphthong in the independent form but contracts to bêt in the bound form.

As for the putative singular *yām, "day" (Cross and Freedman), it is a ghost word. J. Barth had shown long ago that the Hebrew plural יָמִים, yāmîm was developed through reciprocal analogy between the word pair *yômîm w³šānôt by which the first member acquired the base vowel of the second and the second member acquired the plural suffix of the first, thus יָמִים וְשָׁנִים, yāmîm w³šānîm (while the bound forms often developed into 'y' y'môt and 'y' y'nôt').

Cross and Freedman, EHO, pp. 49–51; G. Levi Della Vida, "The Siloam Inscription Reconsidered," in M. Black and G. Fohrer (eds.), In Memorim Paul Kahle (BZAW 103), Berlin 1968, pp. 162–166; E. Peuch, "L'inscription du tunnel de Siloe," RB 81 (1974), pp. 196–214; V. Sasson, "The Siloam Tunnel Inscription," PEQ 114 (1982), pp. 111–117; Z. Talshir, "The Detailing Formula ..." Tarbitz 51 (1981/2), pp. 24–25 (Hebrew; English abstract, p. vi); A. F. Rainey, Review of Ziony Zevit, Matres Lectionis in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphs, Cambridge, MA 1980, in JBL 102 (1983), p. 630; A. E. Shimron et al., "The City of David Waterworks: A Geological and Engineering Overview," in A. Baruch (ed.), Hiddušim beheger Yerušalaim (Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium), Ramat Gan 1998, pp. xi–xvi.

STELA FRAGMENT FROM THE CITY OF DAVID

A fragment of an inscription incised on stone, apparently some sort of stela. Its date is c. 700 BCE. Although the letters are clearly incised, it is not possible to determine the context.



זבר הכו [בְשָׁבַע עֲשֹׁר[ה שׁנה [ב]רבעי ו[ב ובֹר

] צבר. הכו וֹ בשבע. עשרוֹ [ורבעי. וו ובו

...] the accumulation (heap) of the [...

...] on the seventeenth [year... in the] fourth (month) and [...

[...,....]

בבר Perhaps a verbal form for which the prefix is not preserved or a noun, צְבֵּר (2 Kgs 10:8).

. Thus Cross, reading הכ[סף] הלא "the silver," but Naveh reads a מ or ב.

Y. Shiloh, "City of David-1978," BA 42 (1979), p. 170; J. Naveh, "Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions," in D. T. Ariel, Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985, VI: Inscriptions (Qedem 41), Jerusalem 2000, pp. 1-2; F. M. Cross, "A Fragment of a Monumental Inscription from the City of David," IEI 51 (2001), pp. 44-47.

OSTRACA FROM THE CITY OF DAVID

OSTRACON No. 1

A three-line inscription on a jar fragment dating to the seventh century BCE. It is a list of men and their titles, one poor and the other two perhaps a little wealthier. The purpose of the list is not clear.

עַמֹ]ס בַּן אַחִיאָל הַפֹּרֵט סְחַבֹת. יַ]הוּ בֶּן תַסַדְיָהוּ הַכֹּנֵס כַּסֶ[ף וַיָהוּ [בֵּן יִ]דַעִיהוּ הַכֹּגֵס [כֵּסֵף]

]ס. בן. אחיאל. הסרט. סחבת.]הו. בן. חסדיהו. הכנס. "כס[]יהו []רעיהו: הכנס. [

Amo]s son of Aḥî ēl, the rag shredder

...yā]hû son of Ḥasadyāhû, the sil[ver] collector

... |yāhû |son of Ya]dacyāhû the [silver] collector

שמוס — An obvious restoration in view of the name's ending with ס. הסרט סחבת – "The shredder of rags," the latter being worn-out garments, Jer 38:11–12: וַיַּקֶּח מְשָׁם בְּלוֹיֵ סְתָבוֹת וּבְלוֹיֵ מְלָחִים... בְּלוֹאֵי הַפְּחָבוֹת וְהַמְּלַחִים, "and he took from there worn-out clothes and worn-out rags... worn-out clothes and rags."



הסרט — Participle from סרט, "to tear, shred," cognate to Akkadian šarāṭu and Arabic شرط (šarata), still written with w in biblical Hebrew. This orthography with o is further testimony to the fact that o had lost its distinctive value (from the second millennium BCE) and was now substituted for v. This was evidently a lowly occupation.

הכנס כסוף — "The sil[ver] collector." Cf. Eccl 2:8: הכנס בקף וְזָהָב — "The sil[ver] collected for myself silver and gold." But, unlike the wealthy Koheleth, these collectors of silver might have been collectors of scrap silver to be sold or traded to the silversmith. This would place them almost on the same social level as the "rag shredder."

OSTRACON No. 2



A list of names.

לבנןיהו — The lamed applies to all the names in the list.

קרבא[וד — This is the second attestation of this otherwise unknown Hebrew name; cf. Arad No. 24, infra, p. 127.

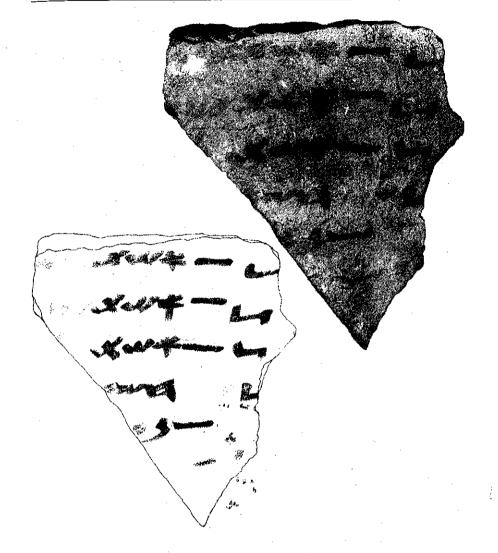
OSTRACON No. 3

] ויי − אֵשֶׁת []. אשת [
ן עשׁת[− אֵשֵׁת[ן _ אשת.[
ן אַשֶּׁת [− אֱשֶׂת [ן אַשת.[
ַבְּיֶהוּ יִּ בְשַׁרְ[יָהוּ יִּ — הַשְּׁבְ[יָהוּ יִּ] — חשב[
]—[] 1 —[

 $[\ldots]$ hin(?) — (to) the wife of $[\ldots]$

 $[\ldots]$ hin(?) — (to) the wife of $[\ldots]$

 $[\ldots]$ hin(?) — (to) the wife of $[\ldots]$



 $[\dots]$ hin(?) — (to) H^{a} \tilde{a} $[\underline{b}$ y \tilde{a} h \hat{u} (?)] $[\dots]$ $N[\dots]$

A list of quantities of a commodity, evidently wheat, issued to the wives of some individuals and possibly also to a man.

J. Naveh, "Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions," in T. D. Ariel (ed.), Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 VI: Inscriptions (Qedem 41), Jerusalem 2000, pp. 2–4.

THE OPHEL

A STELA FRAGMENT

A badly broken inscription on limestone (27 x 24×10 cm) found in secondary use in a Byzantine house. The text was apparently longer than four lines, all of which are quite fragmentary. The precise letters indicate that the original inscription was incised with great care.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the text it is impossible to reconstruct the content but it would seem that the inscription dealt with some water project within Jerusalem. On palaeographical grounds the text may be tentatively dated to the first half of the seventh century BCE.

] מִתַּחַת לַּזֶּ[רֶם] מתחת. לז[
]ר?ך. הַמַּיִ[ם]ר?ך. המי[
] בְּיַרְכְּתֵי הַׁ[] בירכתי ה
]נסח. הכס[]נסח. הכס[



- ...] from under the st[ream(?)
- \dots] ?? the water[s \dots
- \dots] at the extremity of the [\dots
- ...] remove the thr[one(?)

שלון היים — Hypothetical restoration. In biblical Hebrew יוֶרם refers to a flow of water but I do not understand how something could be "under" a flow of water, unless we have to understand זו as a channel or a pipe. Is the missing word as in the Siloam Inscription? The meaning is still unclear.

7? I — In Naveh's opinion there is a space between these two letters due to an imperfection in the stone; Ben-Dov thinks that a defaced letter was in that space. In any case there is no satisfactory restoration for this combination of letters.

...]ה בירכתי הן. — In spite of the lack of a word divider between the vocables, they must be separated. From the partially defaced letter there only remains the leg, which can be restored as ה or ז. One cannot render בְּיַרְכְּתִיק or יַּבְּרָכְתִין because such a vocable would have been written without in First Temple orthography.



בסח — The root נסח signifies the transfer of an object or a person from its place to another place, often to remove or uproot. A prefix is apparently missing. ... — It is impossible to decide between the various possibilities of restoration.

M. Ben-Dov, "A Fragment of a Hebrew Inscription from the First Temple Times found on the Ophel," Qadmoniot 17 (1984), pp. 109-111 (Hebrew); J. Naveh, "A Fragment of an Ancient Hebrew Inscription from the Ophel," IEJ 32 (1982), pp. 195–198, Pl. 26A.

OSTRACA FROM THE OPHEL

OSTRACON No. 1: "THE OPHEL OSTRACON"

An eight-line ostracon, from the end of the Judaean monarchy according to its palaeography. Only the first three lines are legible; the other lines are almost completely defaced and the visible letters and the personal name found in them are all disputed. The text was a list of personal names and undoubtedly served some administrative purpose.

חָנִין קיָהוּ בֶּן קרַאַה בִּשֹׁרֵשׁ. בִּקְיַהוּ. אַתִיָּהוּ בֵּן תַשַּׂרֹק בַּעַמַקיַ[הוּ]יַהוּ בֵּן קרי בַּצַמַקיַהוּ [

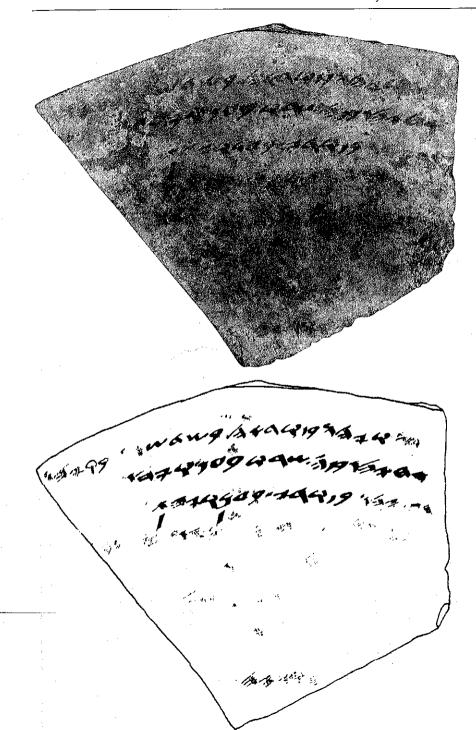
חֹן]קיהו בן קראה. בשרשו בֹקיהו אחיהו בן השרק בעמקי[]יהו בן קרי בעמקיהו[

Hi[z]qîyāhû son of Q^arā^aāh son of Šōreš. Buqqîyāhû Ahîvāhû son of "Sandy" son of camaqyā[hû]. ...]yāhû son of Qry son of Amaqyāhû

קראה — Gibson took this as a feminine of partridge (קרא) but it is more likely a hypocoristic theophoric name like עזריהו from עזריהו.

בשרש — "Son of Shoresh," the ב being an abbreviation for ב", "son (of)," as in בעמקיהו further on in the text. This phenomenon is well known, e.g. the biblical personal names בָּלֶקָה, "son of c̄Anāh"; בָּלֶקָר, "son of Deker." In Hebrew epigraphy, e.g. an incised sherd from Samaria has [לע]בדא בכלבי הן, "[belonging to 'A]bda' son of Kalbî" (B. Mazar, "The Phoenician Inscriptions from Byblos and the Evolution of the Phoenician-Hebrew Alphabet," in The Early Biblical Period: Historical Essays, Jerusalem 1986, p. 233); and also in Phoenician epigraphy: ביחימלך, "son of Yhîmilk" (KAI, No. 7:3).

השרק — Nickname from color of hair, cf. Zech 1:8: השרק – Nickname from color of hair, cf. Zech השרק "horses, red, sorrel, and white"; שָׁרוּק is apparently reddish. However, the vocable השרק could also be taken as the participle, שנק, "one who combs wool."



בעמקיהו — Son of camaqyāhû; cf. the shortened theophoric biblical name עמוק – (Neh 12:7, 20). Since there is room for another word at the end of lines 2 and 3, some have suggested to read בעמק יהוןשפטן, "in the Valley of Jehoshaphat" but this is nothing but a guess.

קרי — Thus and not קרץ as some scholars have suggested.

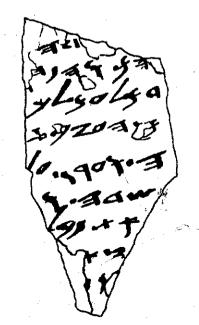
It would appear that the men in lines 2 and 3 had the same grandfather or else they were members of the same family, viz. of $^{\mathsf{cA}}$ maqyāhû.

S.A. Cook, "Inscribed Hebrew Objects from the Ophel", *PEF QSt* 56 (1924), pp. 183–186; Gibson, *HM*, pp. 25–26; Lemaire, *Ostraca*, pp. 239–244 (with bibliography)

OSTRACON No. 2

An octracon from the end of the seventh, or the beginning of the sixth century BCE (Lemaire). The text is badly effaced and nothing can be deduced from it except a few isolated words. The ostracon is too fragmentary for translation.

שָׁ]דֵה []דֹה [
הם וְהָנֵה ר[הם. והנה. ר[
דם לָעָם לַכֶּרֶ	דם. לעם. לכר
ם הֶעָזֶב ה[ם. העוב. ה[





— perhaps a 3rd masculine plural suffix.

לעם — to the people (masses), or else the word עם has its ancient meaning of "family, clan"; cf. Gen 25:8: וֵאָטֶך אָל עַמְיו, "and he was gathered to his people" (and in many similar passages).

העוב — Perhaps הֶעָוַב, "what is abandoned, left over," or else the question הָעָנַה. "Has he abandoned/left?"

וערו — From the root ערי?

צאורן - "Small cattle," unless this is a verbal form from יצא

על[י...] — Perhaps to complete: על[יהם] or the like?

ברול — The name of a store jar; cf. the Samaria Ostraca, infra, p. 261 et al.

OSTRACON No. 3



An ostracon from the end of the eighth century BCE (Lemaire). In the first line we have the ciphers 50 + 7 in Egyptian hieroglyphic forms used widely in Israel and Judah; in the second line four small marks to designate the numeral four.

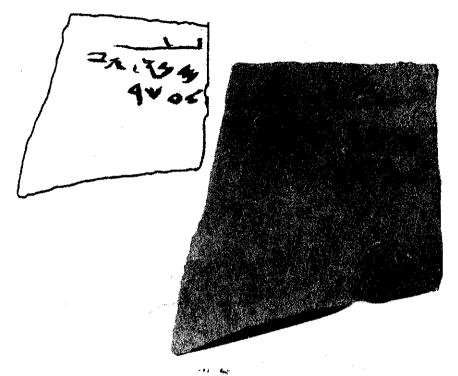
57 (jars of) oil 4 (jars of) grain

שמנם — plural of שמנם, "oil," meaning vessels of oil.

שברם — Plural of שֶּבֶר, "grain"; cf. Am 8:5: בָּר מָּהָהָה שֶּׁבֶר, "that we may sell grain? . . . that we may set forth wheat?" Here the meaning is "four containers of grain."

Since the terms used here are collectives and are not known as the names of specific measures of oil or grain, no further refinement in the interpretation is possible.

OSTRACON No. 4



An ostracon from the end of the eighth century (Lemaire). The numerals are hieratic.

200	200 ,	ســـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ
They counted out 18	18 מְנֵגְ '	מנו אב
For tithing	לְעַۜڛۜٛ	לעשר

– Either a plural imperative (מָנוֹ) or a third person plural suffix form (מָנוֹ) from the root מני.

– To take the tithe for the Temple or for the king.

OSTRACON No. 5

This ostracon too is from the end of the eighth century BCE (Lemaire). The scribe used some hieratic signs but in line 5 he wrote eight hash marks instead of writing hieratic 5 plus three hash marks.



Obverse		
(x jars of) oil	שְׁמָנִם	שמנם
(x jars of) oil	שְׁמָנִם	שמנם
(x jars of) oil	שְׁמֶנִם	שמנם
5 (jars of) oil	5 שְמָנִם	ר שמנם
8	8	111 1111
Reverse		
Gath Pāruªḥ	נַת פָּרָתַ	גֹת. פֿרֹח

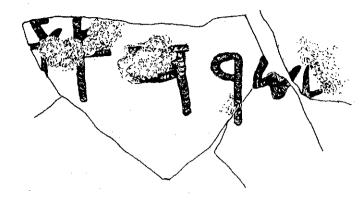
נת פרח — Gath of the Pāruaḥ family. Compare the biblical GN's Gath, Gathhepher and Gath-rimmon. "Gath" is not just a winepress but rather a place for the processing and storing of agricultural produce: wine, oil and grain. Although the Bible uses the word na in the restricted meaning, a winepress, in place names it still refers to the older meaning.

A. Lemaire, "Les ostraca paléo-hebreux des fouilles de l'Ophel," Levant 10 (1978), pp. 156–161, pl. xxiii.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE OPHEL

A chiseled inscription on a shoulder of a pithos found in the excavations to the south of the Temple Mount. Although the short inscription is broken its significance lies in the use of the 1 as mater lectionis in the middle of the word. The inscription dates to the very end of the First Temple period of Jerusalem.





לְשֵּׁר הָאוֹ[פִם/צֶּר

לשר האון

Belonging to the chief of the Ba[kers]/the Treasury.

רשר האון.— If the doubted letters are really א and ו then the title of this minister will be minister of the Bakers, for which cf. the Egyptian שֵׁר, "chief baker" in Gen 40:2, etc. The title שֵׁר, "minister of the treasure house," is not attested in the Bible, but 1 Chr 26:24 mentions נָגִיר עַל הָאצָרוֹת, "chief officer over the treasuries."

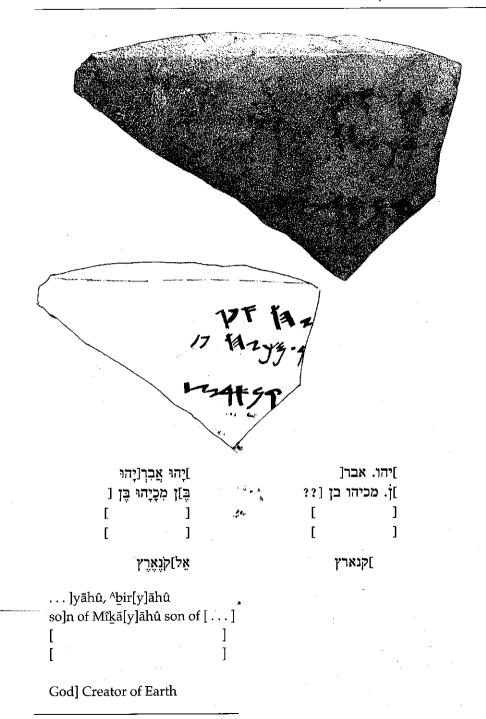
Y. Nadelman, "Appendix B: Hebrew Inscriptions, Seal Impressions, and Markings of the Iron Age," in E. Mazar and B. Mazar, Excavations on the South of the Temple Mount (Qedem 29), Jerusalem 1989, pp. 128–129, photo 89 (p. 36), pl. 21 (p. 101).

OSTRACA FROM THE UPPER CITY

Two octraca were discovered in the Upper City of Jerusalem. Both are badly damaged and most difficult to decipher.

"God, Creator of Earth"

This ostracon contained five lines; it is quite possible that there was originally a wide space between the second and fourth lines. Of lines 3 and 4 there are only unreadable traces of letters. Personal names were listed in the upper lines. In the last line one may discern the divine title, אֵל קנה אָרֶץ, "God, Creator of Earth." The date of the ostracon, on palaeological grounds, would be the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century BCB (Avigad).



מכיהו — In the Bible we have both $Mîk\bar{a}y\bar{a}h\hat{u}$ and $Mîk\bar{a}yh\hat{u}$.

[אל]קנארץ — The meaning of this epithet is "God, creator of the earth." Cf. Gen 14:22 — הָרִימֹתִי יָדִי אֶל יהוה אֵל עֶלְיון קְנֵה שָׁמֵים וָאָרֶץ, "I have lifted up my hand unto YHWH, God Most High, creator of heaven and earth."

The title is also known outside of Israel. In the Phoenician inscription of Azatiwada at Karatepe in southeastern Turkey we find: בעל שמם ואלקנארץ, "The Lord of Heaven and God creator of the earth" (KAI, No. 26 A:III:18). An Aramaic text from Ḥaṭrā, between the Euphates and the Tigris in northern Iraq, has בעשמין קנה די רעא = בעל שמין קנה די ארעא, "Lord of Heaven, creator of the earth" (other examples of this title are given by Miller, pp. 43–44).

The orthography in this ostracon, without the final ה of the participle, shows that the title was read as one vocable, קנארץ, qônē²ereṣ. For the elision of the ה, cf. the interchanging forms of the name חוהאל/חואל. Perhaps the inscription ended with a blessing to "God, creator of (the) earth," intended to apply to all those listed in the preceding lines. However, the fragmentary nature of the text precludes any firm conclusion.

N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Nashville-Camden-New York 1980, p. 41; P. D. Miller, Jr., "El, The Creator of Earth," *BASOR* 239 (1980), pp. 43-46.

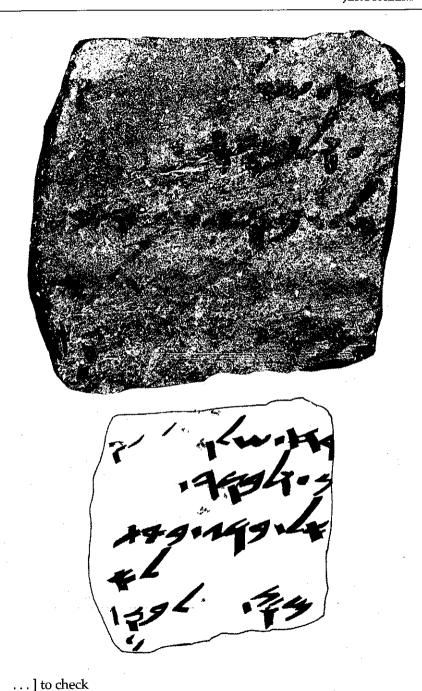
ADMINISTRATIVE OSTRACON

This is a damaged ostracon having six lines on one side and two lines on the other, in a very sad state of preservation. It would seem that it dealt with some administrative matter because of the phrases ולבקר (line 2) and לבקר (line 5). The ostracon is dated to the end of the Judaean monarchy.

]רח. שלוֹ[] ל[.] לא[רח. שלוֹן] לֹן] לֹא
]ן. וּלְבַקֵּר. []ן. ולבקר. [
]אל בַּקִי בֵּית []אל. בקי. בית [
] לא [] לא. [
] מס[] לְבַקֵּר [s] מס.[] לפֻּלְר [
[]	, []

...] and to check[...

...] **el Buqqî in the House of [and] do not [. . .



[......

דרה — This could be the end of a personal name like יהוזרח, Yahôzārah.

— The doubtfull letter is א, or ז. Thus it cannot be the greeting formula, i.e. שלוןם], "shalom!" which would have been written שלם.

"and to check, examine." But further elucidation is impossible.

באל — Could be the final, theophoric, component of a personal name.

בקי — Buqqî, a known personal name (Num 34:22; 1 Chr 5:31; 6:36; Ezra 7:4).

בית — Undoubtedly the first component in a geographical designation, either a place name, like the gentilic בֵּית הַאֵּלִי (1 Kgs 16:34), or an important building such as "The House of YHWH."

N. Avigad, Discovering Jerusalem, Nashville-Camden-New York 1980, p. 42.

THE KIDRON CLIFF

INSCRIPTIONS FROM BURIAL CAVES

During the First and Second Commonwealth periods the rocky cliff on the eastern side of the Kidron Valley, opposite the "City of David," served as a burial place for Jerusalem nobility. In three burial caves from the First Temple period were found traces of inscriptions. Texts from two of these are given below. The palaeographic similarity to the Siloam tunnel inscription would indicate a date around 700 BCE, the age of Hezekiah and Isaiah.

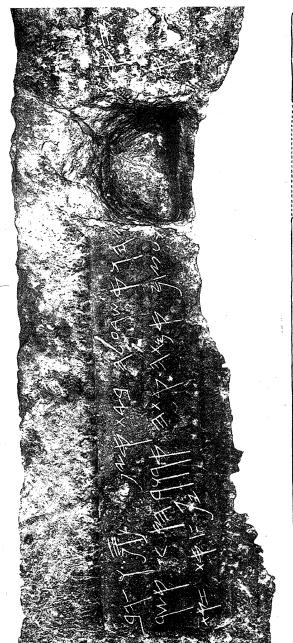
[ŠBĀN]YĀHÛ, STEWARD OF THE PALACE

In burial cave No. 35 two inscriptions were found: one on the front of the main chamber and the second in a side chamber. The inscriptions were removed from their place and are now in the British Museum in London.

The main text:

וזהב אשר על הבית. אין פה כסף. וזהב [זאת [ועצ[]ת אמתה א[]ה. ארור האדם. אשר [] אם [יפתח את זאת

זאת [קָבָרַת שְבָנְ]יָהוּ אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת. אֵין פּה כֵּסֵף וְזָהַב [כִּי] אָם [עַצְמֹתָוֹ וְעַצִּ[מ]ת אֲמָתה אָ[תּ]ה אַרוּר הַאַדֵם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתַח אַת זֹאת



of the silver were incised blessing formulae including free citations from the priestly blessing recorded in Num 6:24–26.

יְבֶּנֶכְדְּ יהוה וְיִשְׁמְנֶךְ. יָאֵר יהוה פָּנָיו אַלֶּידְ וִיחְנֶדְ. יִשֵּׁא יהוה פַּנִיו אַלִּידְ וִישִׁם לֹךְ שׁלוֹם.

May YHWH bless you, and protect you.

May YHWH cause his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you.

May YHWH lift up his countenance upon you, and grant you peace.

The discovery of these abbreviated formulae provided the oldest testimony to the use of a formula of the priestly blessing which is still used to bless the people today. On the one hand, these formulae bear witness to the biblical formulation, which was apparently already more or less fixed, and also to the free usage made of the principal formula. This freedom of usage is also attested by the differences between the formulations in the two texts. For the formulary usage, note the passage on the second pithos at Kuntillet ^cAjrūd: יברך וישמרך (cf. infra, p. 320).

The tiny scrolls were damaged by corrosion and their ends were eaten away; their measurements today: for the first scroll 9.7×2.7 cm, and it apparently contained 19 lines; for the second scroll 3.9×1.1 cm, c. 18 lines. The tiny letters were hastily scratched on the thin silver sheets without paying too much attention to its execution, as the amulets were not intended to further exposure, never to be read again. The scrolls were written by two scribes; the letters of the second scroll are much more elegant than those of the first one, written by a more experienced scribe. The amulets accompanied their owners to the grave, to protect them in the nether regions. The belief in magical protecting powers of the Priestly Blessing still persists and it is included in the Jewish prayer said before retiring to rest at night.

FIRST AMULET

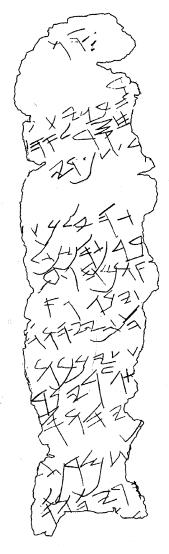
]יהו[ה צָבָ]להֹלֹ[
[את הָאֵל הַ]			. []	
נָד[ל שׁמֵר				גֹל[
הַבְּרִית וְ				הברית ו	
הַ]ֹׁחֶסֶר לְאֹהֲבָּ	5		והב]חסד לא	5
ר] רְשֹׁמְרֵי [מִצְ]	ושמרי [
[וֹתָר מֵהָעֹלָם]			[.]	

ן הַעלָם []וֹ העלם [
הַ]בְּרֶכָה מִכּּל [פַּ]ברכה מכל [
ו ומֶהָרַע 10	ום הרע הרע
כִּי בוֹ גְאֻלָ	כי בו גאל
ה כִּי יהוה	ה כי יהוה
יְ]שִׁיבֵנוּ [וְ] שיבנו
צור יְבֶרֶ	צור יבר
וֹך יהוה [וְ	15 לְ יהוה [
יָשְׁמְרֶךּ [יָ	ישמרך [י
אַ]ר יהוה	ר יהוה]
פָּנָ[ו אֵלֶי	פֿנֹ[
[ק וִיחֻנֶּהָ]	[]

]YHW[H of the Ho]sts the Gr[eat God keeper of] the covenant [and the] grace to the ones who love him, the keepers of [his commandments, from eternity to] eternity [...the] blessing from every [tra]p and from the evil, because by him is deliverance, because YHWH [will] restore/answer him [and] Rock may bless you YHWH [and] protect you. [May] YHWH cause [his f]ac[e] to shine [upon you and be gracious unto you]

There was at least another line which is entirely lost. Maybe the amulet owner's name had been inscribed on it. Cf. the Aramaic amulet incised on bronze from Nirim: קמיע טב לאסחר ברחה רטאטיס, "A valid amulet for Esther, daughter of Tatis" (J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1985, p. 98).

- 1–2. It seems that there was written here one of the god's epithets. The proposed reading appears to be the most logical one; cf. Jer 32:18: הָאֵל הַגָּבוֹר הַבְּבוֹר , "the great and mighty whose name is YHWH of the Hosts." Amulet writers were fond of using the name Spārāt, "Hosts of Heavens" (cf. Deut 4:19 et passim), or "Hosts of Israel" (cf. Isa 13:4), discussed infra, p. 230.
- 4–5. Restored according to Deut 7:9: אֵל הַהָּבֶּיוי וּלְשׁמְרֵי הַהָּחֶסֶּד לְאוֹּבְבִיוּי וּלְשׁמְרֵי (הַהָּחֶסֶּד לְאוֹּבְרִיוּ וּלְשִׁמְרֵי "The faithful god who keeps the covenant and loving kindness with them that love him and keep his commandments, to the thousandth generation"; and Dan 9:4; Neh 9:32, quoting a parallel formulation substituting "הַנָּדִל וְהַנּוֹרָא," the great and awesome," for הַנָּאָמָן. This formula was popular with prayers, and thus also suitable for amulets.



— Note the plene writing with ' as internal matres lectiones.

7-8. From line 7 there are no readable letters. Nor is the beginning of line 8 certain. The first readable letter of line 8 is most probably 7, and the proposed reconstruction is supported by Ps 41:14; Neh 9:5, and is a substitute for אֵלף דּוֹר of Deut 7:9.

9. The reading is somewhat problematic. It is uneasy to combine the word

מכל [פ]ח ומהרע , "the blessing," to the following: מכל (פ]ח מכל (פ]ח , "from every [tr]ap and from the evil." We did not encounter a blessing "from" something.

10-11. Deliverance is through, by, YHWH. Cf. Isa 45:17: ישראל נושע בַיהוה, "Israel is saved by YHWH"; Jer 3:23: אָבָן בַּיהוה אֱלֹהֶינוּ תַּשׁוּעַת יִשְׁרָאֵל, "Truly through YHWH our god is there deliverance for Israel"; cf. also 2 Kgs 5:1: פִי בוֹ וַחָן יהוה קשועה לְאַרֶם, "For through him YHWH had granted victory to Aram." The ב of in is the beth instrumentalis.

. ה Note the *plene* writing with i in contrary to the regular ה.

12–14. The text is best read as a prayer. The reading כי יהוה ויןשיבנו fits well the context, especially if compared to Ps 80:4: אֵלֹהִים הַשִּׁיבֵנוּ וָהָאֵר פָּנֵיךּ וְנִנְשֵׁעָה, "Restore us, O God, and show Your favor that we may be delivered" (cf. vss. 8 and 20, which expend gradually with the names of God: אֵלהִים צָּבָאוֹת, "God of the Hosts," and יהוה אֱלֹהִים צְּבָאוֹת, "YHWH God of the Hosts"). The word seems to be unconnected, not to the preceding clause, nor to the following Priestly Blessing; or perhaps the scribe intended to continue the clause כי יהוה and to extend it by וןצור יברכנו, "and Rock will bless us." For the reference to the theophoric epithet צור to blessing formulae, cf. 2 Sam 22:47 = Ps 18:47, בָּרוּךְ צוּרִי, "Blessed is my Rock," and Ps 144:1, בֶּרוּךְ צוּרִי, "Blessed is YHWH my Rock," but eventually the scribe passed on to the Priestly Blessing formula יברך, etc.

כי יהוה [י] שיבנו — A prayer that YHWH will restore the suppliant, will draw him near, as opposed to keep distance from the worshipper and not deliver him; cf. the poet's supplication in Ps 38:22: אֵל תַּרָחַק אָלהַי אַל תִּרְחַק מָמֶּנִי, "Do not abandon me YHWH my God, be not far from me."

— The plene writing is problematic, but I see no better reading, although the is somewhat irregular.

14–15. יברך — The same orthography in the second amulet and on the "second pithos" from Kuntillet 'Ajrûd, יברך וישמרך (cf. infra, p. 320), it is impossible to decide if the pronunciation was yebārekeka, skipping on one only when written (for this phenomenon cf. also Lachish Letter No. 3:8: וכיאמר אדני [infra, p. 63]; and ibid. line 9, Arad No. 21:5: חיהוה [infra, p. 123]), or it was also pronounced yĕbārĕka.

19. Reconstructed after the Priestly Blessing in Num 6:24–26, may be there was enough space for the whole formula, as in the second amulet, but as the end of the scroll is missing there is no way to decide.

I reconstructed [מצותו], [מצותו], unlike פניו in the second amulet—different scribes wrote the amulets.

SECOND AMULET

[For...] yāhû blessed be he to YHW[H] who helps and who rebukes the evi[l]. May YHWH bless you (and) protect you. May YHW[H] cause his face to shine [upon yo]u and may he grant you p[ea]ce. [...]

The first line, or more, is lost.

1–2. [ה] היו ברך הא ליהו[ה] — Cf. the dedication inscription on a stone basin from Kuntillet 'Ajrûd, ברך הא ליהו (infra, p. 314), and Gen 14:19: לעבדיו בן עדנה ברך הא ליהו ("Blessed be Abram to God Most High"; Judg 17:2: הָּרוּךְ בְּנִי לֵיהוה "Blessed be my son to YHWH"; 1 Sam 23:21: בְּרוּךְ בְּנִי לֵיהוה, "Blessed are you to YHWH."

3–5. אַרִרִים העזר והגער – העזר והגער בּרַרַוּע are participles. For entreaties for delivery from evil, and its association with blessings cf. Gen 48:16: הַּמָּלְאַךְּ הַגּאֵל אֹתִי מִבֶּל דְּעִי יְבְרֵךְּ הַּנּאֵל אֹתִי מִבֶּל דְעִי יְבְרֵךְ הַּרְּאַרִים (The angel who redeemed me from all harm, may he bless the lads." For a rebuke cf. Zech 3:2: בְּיִרְנְּשָׁיַלְיִם יְהוֹה בְּךְּ הַשַּׁיַן וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּךְּ הַשְּׁיַן וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּךְ הַשְּׁיַן וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּךְ הַשְּׁיַם (אַרְיִצְּר יְהוֹה בְּךְ הַשְּׁיַם וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּרְ הַשְּׁיִם וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּרְ הַשְּׁיִם וְיִנְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּרְ הַשְּׁיִם וְיִינְצֵּר יְהוֹה בְּרְ הַשְּׁיִם וְיִנְצֶר יְהוֹה בָּרְ הַבְּרִתְּיִי מְקַצִּרְ עָּיִידְ שְּלִידְ יִיְרְ בְּרְ בְּיִרְ בְּרְ וֹיִבְּתְּיִ מְקְצֵּרְ בְּרְ הַּבְּתְּיִ מְקְצֵרְ בְּרְ הַבְּתְּיִתְ מִקְצֵרְ בְּרָ הַּבְּתְיִי מְקְצֵרְ בְּרְ הַבְּתְיִי מְקְצֵרְ בְּרְ הַבְּרְיִי מִיְּבְיִרְ בְּרְ מִיִּיִם מְּיִי בְּרָּ בְּרְ יִיוֹדְ בְּרְ בְּרְ בִּיוֹי מִיְּיִים מְּבְּרִי בְּרָּ בְּרְיִים וְיִיִּיִים מְּבְּרִים בְּרָּבְיִים בְּרָּים בְּרָבְיִים בְּרָבְיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּרָבְיִים בְּבְּרְ בְּבְּרְ בְּבְּיִים בְּרָבְיִים בְּיִבְּיִים בְּבְּיִבְיִים בְּבְּרְ בְּיִים בְּבְּרְ בְּבְּרְ בְּיִבְיִים בְּרְ בִּבְּיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִים בְּבְּיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּבְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִרְיִים בְּיִים בְּיִבְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּיִים בְּבְּרְ בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִיבְיִים בְּיִיבְיִים בְּיִבְיְיִים בְּיִבְיִים בְּיִיבְיִים בְּיִבְיְיִים בְּיִבְייִים בְּיִבְייִים בְּיִים בְּיִבְיוּ בְּיִיבְיוּ בְּיִיבְייִים בְּיִים בְּיִיבְּיִים בְּיִיבְייִים בְּיִים בְּיִיבְייִייְיְיִיְיְיִיְיְיִים בְּיִבְיְיִייְיְיִים בְּיִים בְּיִיבְייִים בְּיִבְייִים בְיוֹבְייִים בְּיִיבְייִים בְּיִיבְייְיְיִייְיְיִייְיִים בְּיִבְיְי

6–7. ישמרך — Without the ו (waw consecutive) of the Massoretic text.

9. י With a בניו.

10. אַן With a $^{\circ}$ like in the seventh century BCE papyrus from Wādī Murabbacāt (infra, p. 213).

The text of the Priestly Blessing is shorter than the one in the Bible; it skips the words יְלִיךְּ אַלִיךְּ, "and be gracious unto you. May YHWH cause his face to shine upon you." It seems, however, that the biblical text should be preferred: it is literarily well organized, consisting of three sentences, each of the three blessings, composed of three, five and seven words in a blessing. Even the number of consonants and syllables of the biblical text are arranged in an upgrading order of 15, 20, and 25 consonants, and 12, 14, and 16 syllables. The text in the amulet is shorter because of lack of space or because the scribe quoted from memory and was not meticulous.

15-17. Nothing can be made of these doubtful remainders.



הֹ/וֹ בֹרֹךָ הֹ ז ליהוֹוה הֹעֹזר וֹ הֹגער ב וֹעׁ יברדְ יהוה י שמרד יאר יה ה פניוֹ [זיך וֹיֹ שם לך שׁ]¤[ה/ו בַּרַךְ הַ א] ליהו[ה הַעֹזֵר וְ הַגֹּעֵר בַּ רַ]ע יָבַרָּך יהוה י שָׁמָרֵךְּ יאר יה ו]ה פַּנַיו וּאָלֵ]יךּ וָיַ 10 שָׂם לְּךָּ שַׁ ל ֹ]ם [

A. Yardeni, "Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Ancient Amulets from Jerusalem," VT 41 (1991), pp. 176–185; G. Barkay, "The Priestly Benediction on Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem," Tel Aviv 19 (1992), pp. 139–192; G. Barkay, A. G. Vaughn, M. J. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation," BASOR 334 (2004), pp. 41–71.