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# A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS FROM CANAAN, PALESTINE/PHILISTIA, AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL

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The area of study of this paper,<sup>1</sup> unlike Egypt to the west, and Syria and Mesopotamia to the north and east, has yet to produce a proper archive of cuneiform texts, although archaeologists and others have discovered around ninety cuneiform objects over the past century or so. Yet, due to the uneven pace of discovery and changing political and academic realities in the region over the years, no attempt has ever been made to study these cuneiform objects as a group, and the last published list of the relevant material was that of K. Gallinger in *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* in 1968.<sup>2</sup> At present not only is there no comprehensive edition or bibliography of the cuneiform texts in our corpus, but there is not even an accurate list, leaving the materials largely inaccessible to most scholars.

Our current project, "Cuneiform in The Land of Israel and Canaan," is intended to answer this need. The main goal of the project is the publication of a book that will include an introduction to the topic, editions of the inscriptions with philological notes, indexes, new handcopies, and photographs.<sup>3</sup> We present here the first fruits of our endeavors: a bibliographical list of our corpus with a brief summary of our findings to date.

## INTRODUCTION

TODAY WE ARE ABLE to place eighty-nine objects in our corpus. These range from well-known texts such as the Taanach letters, which have been studied and translated a number of times (Taanach 1–2, 5–6), to mere scraps of clay, and include texts belonging to a wide variety of genres, including literature, royal inscriptions, letters, administrative texts, inscribed cylinder seals, lexical texts, mathematical texts, omens, and a magical/medical text.

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Also participating in various stages of the project were DeLafayette Awkward, Yehudah Kaplan, Ralf Rothenbusch, Yoav Shor, and Peter Stein. The authors wish to thank numerous scholars and others who freely gave their time and support to the project. We cannot thank them all by name here, but special thanks are due to Osnat Brandel of the Israel Museum, Ornit Ilan at the Rockefeller Museum, and Gary Beckman of the University of Michigan for facilitating the study of tablets in museum collections. The project is funded in part by Israel Academy of Sciences, Humanities; and the Israel Science Foundation. Abbreviations are as in *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD)*. In addition, note: *BAR* = *Biblical Archaeology Review*; *BN* = *Biblische Notizen*; *NEAEHL* = *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in The Holy Land*; *SAAB* = *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*.

More than a third of the inscribed objects come from three sites: Taanach (17), Hazor (15), and Aphek (8). Samaria has yielded six objects, including late fourth-century coins,<sup>4</sup> while Megiddo has yielded five, but only one cuneiform tablet.<sup>5</sup> No other site has provided more than four items. In fact, a majority of sites have contributed only an item or two.

Sites yielding epigraphic finds range from Hazor in the north to Beer Sheva in the south, and from Ashkelon and Ashdod on the Mediterranean coast to Jericho and Bet Shean by the Jordan River. Although a majority of the items have been recovered as the result of controlled archaeological research, a number are chance finds; for

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<sup>1</sup> The territories administered by the State of Israel and by the Palestinian Authority.

<sup>2</sup> Gallinger (1968): 13–14, 61. More recently van der Toorn (2000) discussed some of the materials. Earlier, Demsky (1990) considered many of the texts from the second millennium. A number of scholars have compiled lists over the years for their personal use. We would like to thank N. Na'aman of Tel-Aviv University and D. Pardee of the University of Chicago for sharing information with us.

<sup>3</sup> *Cuneiform in Canaan and the Land of Israel*.

<sup>4</sup> Samaria 5–6.

<sup>5</sup> The rest are inscribed cylinder seals.

example, the Megiddo Gilgamesh tablet (Megiddo 1) was discovered by a kibbutz shepherd on his rounds with his flocks.<sup>6</sup>

Items in our corpus date to both the first and second millennia B.C., with the earliest texts being those from Hazor, which can be associated with the archives of Mari and the Middle Bronze II cities of Syria. A few other items may also date to the Middle Bronze Age—or to the late Middle and/or early Late Bronze Ages. Just over half of the tablets can be dated with certainty to the Late Bronze Age, in many cases on the basis of clear epigraphic and linguistic similarities to the fourteenth-century Amarna archive in Egypt. A smaller number of texts date to the first millennium, including roughly fifteen belonging to the Neo-Assyrian period. A few isolated texts date to the Late Babylonian, Persian, and/or Hellenistic periods. Unlike the situation in Babylonia, we as yet find no evidence at all for the transcription of Greek or Aramaic into cuneiform characters.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the texts are written in Akkadian of one type or another, ranging from the standard Akkadian of the Mesopotamian homeland to local “creolized” Akkadian with West Semitic features. The West Semitic local language(s) are directly represented in our corpus in lexical lists, glosses, and three texts inscribed in a “southern” version of the alphabetic cuneiform script dating to the Late Bronze Age best known from Ugarit.<sup>8</sup> A few academic texts and short inscriptions on cylinder seals are written in Sumerian, and one text, a fragment of a Persian-period royal inscription, preserves some Elamite.<sup>9</sup> The texts also include a wide variety of personal names representing diverse languages and cultures, including Babylonian/Assyrian, Hurrian, Egyptian, Indo-Iranian, and various West Semitic languages including Hebrew.<sup>10</sup> As an appendix we offer entries for five items in hieroglyphic Hittite, but do not collect objects inscribed in Egyptian or linear alphabetic scripts.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the objects are clay cuneiform tablets, but the corpus also includes other inscribed objects such as the aforementioned cylinder seals, two inscribed fragments of clay models of sheep livers, a clay jar stopper, an inscribed bronze ringlet, and stone stelae. The items themselves are today to be found in diverse settings, ranging from the collections of The Israel Museum, Rockefeller Museum, and Institute of Archaeology of The Hebrew

University in Jerusalem, to private and museum collections in Tel-Aviv, Istanbul, Chicago, and Ann Arbor. The present location of some items still escapes us. Some of the objects have already been the subject of intense study while others remain unpublished.

The comprehensive re-edition and study of these documents provokes certain basic questions, many of which will be addressed in our book as well as in further articles under preparation by the participants in the research project.<sup>12</sup> For example, Why was there cuneiform in Canaan? How was it used and by whom? In what way does the cuneiform record reflect the linguistic, political, and social history of the region in the Bronze and Iron Ages? The present contribution is meant simply as a basic resource to fill a long-standing need.

#### LIST OF CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS<sup>13</sup>

Below we provide an entry for each of the objects, arranged by site. These entries typically include a list of primary editions and studies for each object. “Primary editions” offer transliterations and translations from the original texts, and usually handcopies and/or photographs. “Studies” present additional epigraphic, linguistic, and historical observations, etc.<sup>14</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the language of the texts is Akkadian or one of its dialects.<sup>15</sup> When possible we also date the objects,<sup>16</sup> and indicate those held in museum or other public collections.

<sup>12</sup> See S. Sanders, “What Was the Alphabet For? Language, Power, and Local Culture in Late-Bronze Age Canaan,” forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> The bibliography includes published materials that reached us by June 1, 2001.

<sup>14</sup> For example, in the case of the Taanach tablets we consider Rainey’s 1999 study to be a primary edition because it contains transliterations and translations based on personal collations of the original tablets, although neither hand copies nor photographs are offered. On the other hand, we categorize Glock’s 1983 article as a further study despite the fact that it is based on, and includes, valuable personal collations, since Glock does not offer new complete editions of the texts. Mere mention of a document in the secondary literature does not constitute a “study.”

<sup>15</sup> The linguistic features of the documents will be studied in depth in the editions to come in our book. Classification of the language of the texts does not take the language of personal names into consideration.

<sup>16</sup> The dates given in this report are most often approximate (Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, and in the case of tablets bearing close affinities to Mesopotamian materials, Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, etc.). More precise datings and argumentation will be presented in our book.

<sup>6</sup> See Goetze and Levy (1959): 121.

<sup>7</sup> See Geller (1997).

<sup>8</sup> Bet Shemesh 1, Taanach 15, Tabor 1.

<sup>9</sup> Sepphoris 1.

<sup>10</sup> Note, for example, Gezer 4: 1: <sup>m</sup>na-tan-ia-u for Natanyahu.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 761.

### 1. *Tel Aphek*<sup>17</sup>

*Aphek 1.* Lexical fragment (Israel Museum). *Primary publication:* Rainey (1975): 125–28 (photo, pl. 24); *Studies:* Edzard (1985): 251; Demsky (1990): 161–62; van der Toorn (2000): 105; *NEAEHL*, 69 (photo). *Date:* Late Bronze Age. *Comment:* When complete, most likely contained Sumerian, Akkadian, and West Semitic entries.

*Aphek 2.* Administrative fragment (Israel Museum). *Primary publication:* Rainey (1975): 128 (photo pl. 24). *Study:* Demsky (1990): 163. *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

*Aphek 3.* Fragment of a trilingual lexical text (Israel Museum). *Primary Publication:* Rainey (1976): 137–39 (photo, pl. 9, nos. 1–3). *Studies:* Edzard (1985): 251; Isre'el (1998): 425–26; Demsky (1990): 161–62; Dalley (1998): 59 (copy); van der Toorn (2000): 105. *Date:* Late Bronze Age. *Comment:* When complete, most likely contained Sumerian, Akkadian, and West Semitic entries.

*Aphek 4:* Fragment (location unknown). *Primary publication:* Rainey (1976): 139 (photo, pl. 10, no. 1). *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

*Aphek 5:* Fragment (location unknown). *Primary publication:* Rainey (1976): 140 (photo, pl. 10, no. 2). *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

*Aphek 6:* Fragment<sup>18</sup> (Israel Museum). *Primary publication:* Hallo (1981): 18–20 (photo, pl. 3, nos. 1–2; copy, p. 19). *Study:* Edzard (1985): 252. *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

*Aphek 7:* The Governor's Letter (Israel Museum). *Primary publication:* Owen (1981): 1–15 (photo pls. 1–2; copy, pp. 2–3). *Studies:* Singer (1983): 3–25; (1999): 698, 716; Edzard (1985): 251; Zadok (1996): 114; *NEAEHL*, 69 (photo). *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

*Aphek 8:* Administrative fragment (location unknown). *Primary publication:* Owen (1981): 15 (photo, pl. 2, no. 2). *Date:* Late Bronze Age.

### 2. *Ashdod*

*Ashdod 1:* Inscribed cylinder seal (Israel Antiquities Authority). *Primary publication:* Shaffer (1971): 198–99 (photo, Figures and Plates, pl. 97; copy, p. 198). *Studies:* *NEAEHL*, 95 (photo).<sup>19</sup> *Date:* Second millennium (uncertain).<sup>20</sup>

*Ashdod 2–4:* Three fragments of a stele (location unknown).<sup>21</sup> *Primary publication:* Tadmor (1971): 192–97 (photo, Figures and Plates, pls. 96–97).<sup>22</sup> *Studies:* Freedman (1963): 138; Dothan (1964): 87; Tadmor (1966): 95 (photo, fig. 11); Hestrin (1972): 32, 58 (photos). *Photos:* Cogan and Tadmor (1988), third plate following p. 228, (b); Stern (2001): 14–15; *NEAEHL*, 100; Galling (1968): 61, 1. *Date:* Neo-Assyrian (Sargon II).

### 3. *Ashkelon*

*Ashkelon 1:* Lexical fragment (Ashkelon Excavations). *Primary publication:* Huehnergard and van Soldt (1999): 184–92 (photo and copy, p. 185). *Date:* Late Bronze Age. *Comment:* When complete, most likely contained Sumerian, Akkadian, and West Semitic entries.

### 4. *Beer Sheva*

*Beer Sheva 1:* Votive cylinder (Israel Antiquities Authority). *Primary publication:* Rainey (1973): 61–70 (photo, pl. 26; copy, p. 66). *Studies:* Beck (1973): 56–60; Collon (1987): 133–34, no. 564 (photo); Stern (2001): 332; *NEAEHL*, 172 (photo). *Date:* Neo-Assyrian.

### 5. *Ben Shemen*

*Ben Shemen 1:* Stele fragment (Israel Museum). *Primary publication:* unpublished. *Studies:* Tadmor (1973): 72 [Hebrew].<sup>23</sup> *Date:* Neo-Assyrian (Sargon II).

### 6. *Bet Mirsim*

*Bet Mirsim 1:* Cylinder seal with cuneiform signs and hieroglyphics (Rockefeller Museum).<sup>24</sup> *Studies:* Albright (1932): 9–10 (photo, 8, fig. 3); (1935): 215 n. 69, 217 n. 73; (1938): 45–46 (pl. 30, no. 1, 3); Rowe (1936): 237–38 (photo, pl. 26, S. 11); Parker (1949): 11, no. 20 (photo, pl. 3, no. 20); Collon (1987): 52–53, no. 203 (photo). *Date:* Middle Bronze Age. *Comment:* Decorative cuneiform signs.

<sup>17</sup> The numbering system for Aphek tablets used here is that of Hallo (1981): 21. For a summary of the Aphek tablets, see *NEAEHL*, 68, and cf. van der Toorn (2000): 99.

<sup>18</sup> Most likely a lexical fragment or school tablet preserving Sumerian and Akkadian entries.

<sup>19</sup> In the caption of the photograph, read “Old Babylonian” for “Early Babylonian.”

<sup>20</sup> See Shaffer (1971): 198.

<sup>21</sup> The three fragments come from at least two separate originals. Tadmor (1971) Fragments I and III are from Area A and are written in the same script. Tadmor (1971) Fragment II is from Area G and is written in a different hand.

<sup>22</sup> For a Hebrew edition of the stele fragments, see Tadmor (1967).

<sup>23</sup> See also Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 181.

<sup>24</sup> Some items belonging to the Israel Antiquities Authority Objects are on deposit at the Rockefeller Museum.

### 7. *Bet Shean*

*Bet Shean 1*: Inscribed cylinder seal (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Rowe (1930): 23 (photo, pl. 34, no. 3). *Studies*: Nougayrol (1939): 52 (copy, pl. 7, RB. 1); Parker (1949): 6, no. 1 (photo, pl. 1, no. 1); Demsky (1990): 164; James and McGovern (1993), vol. 1): 231, no. 1 (photo, vol. 2, pl. 58a); Galling (1968): 13, A 3 1. *Date*: Old Babylonian/Middle Bronze Age. *Comment*: Sumerian or Sumerograms.

*Bet Shean 2*: Cylinder letter of Tagi to Labaya (Israel Museum). *Primary publication*: Horowitz (1996): 208–18 (photo and copy, 211). *Studies*: Horowitz (1994): 84–86 (photo, 85); (1997a): 97–100 (photo, 97); Rainey (1998): 239–42; van der Toorn (2000): 99, 105. *Date*: Late Bronze Age, Amarna Period.

### 8. *Bet Shemesh*

*Bet Shemesh 1*: Alphabetic cuneiform abecedarium (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publications*: Grant (1933): 3–5 (photo, 4); (1934): 27 (photo, pl. 20; copy, 29, no. 1); Albright (1934): 18–19 (copy, 19); Barton (1933): 5–6 (photo, 4; copy, 5); Albright (1964): 51–53; Loundine (1987): 243–50 (copy, 244); Sass (1991): 315–26 (photo and copy, 326). *Studies*: Virolleaud (1960): 85–90; Weippert (1966): 313–14; Cross (1967): 14\*; Naveh (1982): 28–30 (copy, 28, fig. 22); Puech (1986): 207–8 (copy, 202); Dietrich and Lorenz (1988a): 61–85; (1988b): 277–96, 303, 305–7; (1989): 104; Zadok (1996): 115; *NEAEHL*, 250 (photo); Galling (1968): 14 B 1.<sup>25</sup> *Date*: Late Bronze Age. *Comment*: West Semitic alphabet.

### 9. *Gezer*

*Gezer 1*: Envelope fragment (Israel Museum). *Primary publication*: Shaffer (1970): 111–13 (photo, pl. 24; copy p. 113). *Studies*: Anbar and Na'aman (1986): 7–8,

<sup>25</sup> The articles by Dietrich and Lorenz give some further general bibliography. The photograph in Grant (1933): 4 is the first and best witness to the tablet, since the tablet was damaged immediately afterwards. See Albright (1934): 18: “The surface has suffered considerably since the photograph published in the Bulletin [*BASOR* 52: 4] was made by Grant.” Later photographs such as Grant (1934): pl. 20 were made after the tablet had already been damaged. Courtois (1969): photo pl. facing p. 79 gives a color photograph of the damaged tablet.

10–11; Demsky (1990): 162; Zadok (1996): 104; van der Toorn (2000): 98. *Date*: Middle of second millennium.<sup>26</sup>

*Gezer 2*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publication*: Dhorme and Harper (1912): 29–31 (photo, frontispiece, fig. 4, p. 30, fig. 5).<sup>27</sup> *Studies*: Albright (1943): 28–30; Edzard (1985): 252; Zadok (1996): 111; van der Toorn (2000): 99; *NEAEHL*, 502; Galling (1968): 13, A 2. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Gezer 3*: Land sale contract (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Pinches (1904): 229–36 (photo following p. 230, figs. 1–2; copy, 230–31); Johns *apud* Macalister (1912): 23–27 (photo, frontispiece, figs. 1–2).<sup>28</sup> *Studies*: Galling (1935): 81–86; Becking (1981–82): 80–86 (photo, 89); (1992): 114–17; R. Zadok (1977/78): 47; (1985): 567–70; Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 176; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 16; *NEAEHL*, 505; Galling (1968): 61, A 2a.<sup>29</sup> *Date*: Neo-Assyrian.

*Gezer 4*: Land sale contract (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Johns (1905): 206–10 (photo, 206 [obv. only]); Johns *apud* Macalister (1912): 27–29 (photo, frontispiece, fig. 3 [obv. only]). *Studies*: Sayce (1905): 272; Galling (1935): 81–86; Becking (1981–82): 86–88; (1992): 117–18; Zadok (1985): 567–70; Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 176; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 16; Galling (1968): 61, 2b; *NEAEHL*, 505.<sup>30</sup> *Date*: Neo-Assyrian.

### 10. *Tel Hadid*

*Tel-Hadid 1*: Administrative document. *Primary publication*: Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 159–69 (photo, 164, 166; copy, 165, 167). *Study*: Stern (2001): 16. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian.

*Tel-Hadid 2*: Administrative document. *Primary publication*: Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 169–77 (photo, 172–73). *Date*: Neo-Assyrian.

<sup>26</sup> End of the Middle Bronze Age or beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

<sup>27</sup> Also Macalister (1909): pl. III following p. 96, and Driver (1944): pl. 44, 2.

<sup>28</sup> No copy of the tablet has ever been published. Pinches (1904): 230–31, and Macalister (1912) present type-set cuneiform renderings of the text.

<sup>29</sup> For early studies of the tablet, see Conder (1904): 400–401; (1905): 74; Johns (1904a): 237–44; (1904b): 401–2; Sayce (1904): 236–37.

<sup>30</sup> As with Gezer 3, no copy of the tablet has ever been published. Pinches (1904): 230–31 and Macalister (1912) present type-set cuneiform renderings of the text.

### 15. Hazor

*Hazor 1*: Inscribed vessel (location unknown). *Primary publication*: Artzi and Malamat *apud* Yadin et al. (1960): 115–17<sup>31</sup> (photo and copy, pl. 180).<sup>32</sup> *Studies*: Albright (1960): 38; Malamat (1960): 18; Yadin (1972): 31 (photo, pl. 10a); Greenfield and Shaffer (1983): 115 note to 1. 28; Edzard (1985): 251; *NEAEHL*, 595; Gall- ing (1968): 13, A 3a. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 2–3*: Liver model fragments (Israel Museum).<sup>33</sup> *Primary publication*: Landsberger and Tadmor (1964): 201–18 (copy, 206–7, fig. 1–2). *Studies*: Yadin (1972): 82–83 (photo, pl. 10a)<sup>34</sup>; Rainey (1999): 155\*; Yadin (1961a): pl. 315, no. 1 (photo); Anbar and Na’aman (1986): 10; Demsky (1990): 164; Dalley (1998): 59 (copy); Goren (2000): 36–37; van der Toorn (2000): 98, 105; *NEAEHL*, 598 (photo); Gall- ing (1968): 13, A 3b. *Date*: Probably Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 4–5*: Seal impressions (location unknown). *Primary publication*: Yadin et al. (1961a): pl. 316, 3–4.<sup>35</sup> *Study*: Gall- ing (1968): 13, A 3c. *Date*: second millennium.

*Hazor 6*: Lawsuit (Israel Museum). *Primary publica- tion*: Hallo and Tadmor (1977): 1–11 (photo, pl. 1; copy 3). *Studies*: Edzard (1985): 251; Anbar and Na’aman (1986): 8–10; Horowitz and Shaffer (1992a): 22 n. 4; Zadok (1966): 104; Demsky (1990): 163; Rainey (1999): 154\*; Goren (2000): 36; van der Toorn (2000): 98. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 7*: School tablet with excerpt from a version of *Urra = ħubullu* (private collection).<sup>36</sup> *Primary publi- cation*: Tadmor (1977) 98–102 (photo, pl. 13). *Studies*: Edzard (1985): 251; Dever (1990): 162; van der Toorn (2000): 98, 105; Gall- ing (1968): 13, A 3d. *Date*: Late Bronze Age, Middle Babylonian period. *Comment*: Sumerian.

*Hazor 8*: Administrative tablet (Hazor Excavations, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary*

*publication*: Horowitz and Shaffer (1992a): 21–33; (1992b): 167 (photo and copy, 24–25). *Studies*: Ben-Tor (1992): 17–20; Zadok (1996): 104–5; Rainey (1999): 155\*; Goren (2000): 35; van der Toorn (2000): 98. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 9*: Letter fragment (Hazor Excavations, Insti- tute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary pub- lication*: Horowitz and Shaffer (1992b): 165–66 (photo and copy, 165). *Studies*: Zadok (1996): 104–5; Rainey (1999): 155\*; Goren (2000): 35–36; van der Toorn (2000): 98. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 10*: Mathematical fragment (Hazor Excava- tions, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Pri- mary publication*: Horowitz (1997): 190–97 (photo and copy, 192–94). *Studies*: Goren (2000): 34–35; van der Toorn (2000): 98, 105. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period. *Comment*: Sumerian and numerals.

*Hazor 11*: Letter (Hazor Excavations, Institute of Ar- chaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary publication*: Horowitz (2000): 16–25 (photo and copy, 18). *Study*: Goren (2000): 37, 41. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Hazor 12*: Administrative document (Hazor Excava- tions, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary publication*: Horowitz (2000): 26–28 (photo and copy, 26). *Study*: Goren (2000): 37–38, 41–42. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Hazor 13*: Letter mentioning Mari (Hazor Excava- tions, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary publication*: Horowitz and Wasserman (2000): 169–74 (photo and copy, 170–71). *Study*: Goren (2000): 36. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age, Old Babylonian period.

*Hazor 14*: Fragment of a stone vessel<sup>37</sup> (Hazor Exca- vations, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary publication*: Horowitz and Oshima (2002): 179–83 (photo, 179; copy, 181). *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Hazor 15*: Small administrative document (Hazor Ex- cavations, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University). *Primary publication*: Horowitz and Oshima (2002): 183–84 (photo and copy, 184). *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

### 16. Hebron

*Hebron 1*: Administrative document (Israel Museum). *Primary publication*: Anbar and Na’aman (1986): 3–12 (photo, pl. 1; copy, 4). *Studies*: Zadok (1996): 104; Rainey (1999): 155\*; van der Toorn (2000): 98; *NEAEHL*, 608 (photo). *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

<sup>31</sup> For the Hebrew version, see Yadin et al. (1959): 108–9.

<sup>32</sup> The reading of the personal name on the vessel (*lš-me-Addu*) was first noted by W. Albright *apud* Yadin (1957): 122.

<sup>33</sup> For the possibility that the two fragments belong to the same original model, see Landsberger and Tadmor (1964): 208–9.

<sup>34</sup> Hebrew version, Yadin (1975): 114–15 (photo, 114).

<sup>35</sup> Hebrew version, Yadin et al. (1961b): same pages. The impressions were found on two separate objects.

<sup>36</sup> We thank Oded Golan of Tel Aviv for offering us access to the tablet.

<sup>37</sup> Hazor 14–15 were recovered in the 2000 excavations.

**17. Tell el-Hesi**

*Tell el-Hesi 1*: Letter (Arkeoloji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Comment*: This letter has been assigned the El-Amarna number EA 333, and has long been treated as if it were part of the Amarna Archive. A comprehensive bibliography is available in Moran (1992): 356–57.<sup>38</sup>

**18. Tel Jemmeh**

*Tel Jemmeh 1*: Clay cylinder seal (Smithsonian Institution). *Primary publication*: unpublished. *Studies*: Horowitz (1996): 214 n. 10; *NEAEHL* 2, 668. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age.

**19. Jericho**

*Jericho 1*: Administrative tablet (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Smith (1934): 116–17 (photo, pl. 43, no. 1; copy, 117). *Studies*: Edzard (1985): 252; Zadok (1996): 111; van der Toorn (2000): 98; Galling (1968): 13, A 4b. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Jericho 2*: inscribed cylinder seal (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Porada (1965): 656–58 (photo, pl. 15, no. 2; copy, 656, fig. 304, no. 1). *Study*: Galling (1968): 13, A 4a. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age.

*Jericho 3*: Inscribed cylinder seal<sup>39</sup> (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Amiet (1955): 409–10 (photo, pl. 5, no. 2). *Study*: Galling (1968): 14, A 9. *Date*: Middle Bronze Age.

**20. Tell Keisan**

*Tell Keisan 1*: Administrative fragment (École Biblique, Jerusalem). *Primary publication*: Sigrist (1982): 32–35 (photo, pl. 5 A; copy, 33). *Studies*: van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 16. *Date*: Most likely Late Bronze Age.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Add Winckler (1896): 340–41, no. 219 (translation); Edzard (1985): 252; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Galling (1968): 13, A 7.

<sup>39</sup> The seal was purchased by the Palestine Museum (now Rockefeller Museum) from a seller who claimed that the seal came from the Shuneh region on the eastern side of the Jordan River. Given this uncertainty, we include the item in our corpus due to the proximity of the reported find site to Jericho.

<sup>40</sup> This tentative dating is based on sign-forms, although Sigrist (1982): 32 notes that the tablet itself was recovered from an archaeological context dating to c. 750–650.

**21. Khirbit Kūsyi**

*Khirbit Kūsyi 1*: Fragment (Israel Antiquities Authority).<sup>41</sup> *Primary publication*: unpublished. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian.

**22. Megiddo**

*Megiddo 1*: Gilgamesh fragment (Israel Museum). *Primary publications*: Goetze and Levy (1959): 121–28 (photo, pl. 18; copy, 122);<sup>42</sup> Koch-Westenholz and Westenholz (2000): 445 (copy, 451). *Studies*: von Soden (1963): 82; Landsberger (1968): 128–35; Tigay (1982): 123–29, 285–86; Edzard (1985): 251; Demsky (1990): 164–65; Tournay and Shaffer (1994): 174–77; George (1999): 138–39; Rainey (1999): 154\*; van der Toorn (2000): 98, 105; *NEAEHL*, 1011 (photo); Galling (1968): 13, A 5c. *Date*: Late Bronze Age, Middle Babylonian period.

*Megiddo 2*: Cylinder seal (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Guy and Engberg (1938): 184, page facing pl. 90, no. 8 (copy); pl. 90, no. 8 (photo). *Studies*: Parker (1949): 6, no. 3 (photo, pl. 1, no. 3); Limet (1971): 70–71, no. 4.11; Collon (1987): 60–61, no. 246 (photo); *NEAEHL*, 1010 (photo); Galling (1968): 13, 5a. *Date*: Late Bronze Age. *Comment*: Sumerian.

*Megiddo 3*: Cylinder seal (location unknown). *Primary publications*: Schumacher (1908a): 143 (photo); (1908b): pl. 46a (copy); Nougayrol (1939): 142–43, no. III (TM. 2) (copy, pl. 12). *Studies*: Watzinger (1929): 86, no. 7; Galling (1968): 61, 4. *Date*: Late Bronze Age, Middle Babylonian period. *Comment*: Sumerian.

*Megiddo 4*: Cylinder seal (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Loud (1948): pl. 160, no. 6 (photo and copy).<sup>43</sup> *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Megiddo 5*: Pottery label (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Lamon and Shipton (1939): pl. 72, no. 18 (photo), page facing pl. 73, no. 18 (copy). *Studies*: Albright (1942): 28 n. 4; Zadok (1996): 111; Galling (1968): 13, A 5b. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

<sup>41</sup> The catalogue of the exhibition “Among Ancient Empires” held in 1980–1987 at the Jewish Museum, New York City, and at the State University of New York at Buffalo provides a photograph of this piece.

<sup>42</sup> Hebrew version, 108–15.

<sup>43</sup> We read <sup>a</sup>ŠÀ.ZU [b]é-li-ni ARĦUŠ TUKU.ĦA, “May Mar-duk, our Lord, show mercy.” G. Loud reports in the primary edition that I. Gelb believed the seal to be a forgery.

**23. Mikhmoret**

*Mikhmoret 1*: Administrative text (Israel Antiquities Authority). *Primary publication*: unpublished. *Studies*: van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 361, 404; *NEAEHL*, 1043–45 (photo, 1045). *Date*: Persian period.

**24. Tell En-Nasbeh<sup>44</sup>**

*Tell En-Nasbeh 1*: Inscribed bronze circlet (Badè Institute of Biblical Archaeology and Howell Bible Collection, Pacific School of Religion). *Primary publications*: McCown (1947): 150–53 (photo, pl. 55, no. 80; Horowitz and Vanderhooft (2002): 318–27 (photo, 319). *Studies*: Vanderhooft (1999): 108–9; Zorn (1997): 38 (photo), 66; *NEAEHL*, 1102. *Date*: Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian period.

**25. Tell Qaqun**

*Qaqun 1*: Stele.<sup>45</sup> *Primary publication*: unpublished. *Study*: Y. Porath et al. (1985): 213–14, 219 n. 2 (photo, 214, no. 99). *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period (Esarhaddon).

*Qaqun 2*: Fragment of administrative document (Israel Antiquities Authority). *Primary publication*: unpublished. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period. *Comment*: Perhaps a stamp seal impression and three legible signs: A.ŠĀ.MEŠ<sup>46</sup>—land sale?

**26. Samaria**

*Samaria 1*: Impressed bulla. *Primary publications*: Reisner (1924, vol. 1): 247, no. 2 (copy; photo, vol. 2, pl. 56a); Becking (1992): 112, no. 1. *Studies*: Alt (1941): 103; Sachs (1953): 170, no. 40 (photo, pl. 19, no. 3); Postgate (1974): 22, no. 7.2.12; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 16; Galling (1968): 61, 5b. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

*Samaria 2*: Judicial document (Arkeoloji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Reisner (1924, vol. 1): 247, no. 1 (copy; photo, vol. 2, pl. 56b); Becking (1992): 112–13, no. 2; Radner (1995): 90, no. 100; Donbaz (1998): 24–26, no. 22 (copy, 25). *Studies*: Langdon (1936): 501–2; Alt (1941): 102–4; Postgate (1976): 59–

60; Zadok (1977–78): 52; Donbaz (1988): 6 n. 13; Zadok (1991): 31; Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 176–77; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 15–16 (photo, 15); *NEAEHL*, 1306; Galling (1968): 16, 5c. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

*Samaria 3*: Votive in the form of a cylinder seal. *Primary publications*: Gurney *apud* Crowfoot (1957): 87, no. 18 (photo, pl. 15, no. 18 a–b); Becking (1992): 113–14, no. 3. *Studies*: Parker (1949): 7, no. 5 (photo, pl. 1, no. 5); Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 177; van der Toorn (2000): 99; Stern (2001): 332; *NEAEHL*, 1306; Galling (1968): 61, 5d. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

*Samaria 4*: Fragment of a stele (Israel Antiquities Authority). *Primary publication*: Gadd in Crowfoot (1957): 35 (photo and copy, pl. 4, no. 2–3). *Studies*: Hestrin (1972): 32, 57 (photo); Cogan and Tadmor (1988): photo following 228; Becking (1992): 114, no. 4; Stern (2001): 15 (photo); *NEAEHL*, 1306 (photo); Galling (1968): 61 5a. *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

*Samaria 5–6*: Coins (Israel Antiquities Authority; private collection). *Primary publication*: Meshorer and Qedar (1991): 55, no. 58 (sketch and photo). *Study*: Lemaire and Joannès (1994): 84–86, no. 95; Dalley (1998): 64 (copies). *Date*: Late period.

**27. Sepphoris<sup>47</sup>**

*Sepphoris 1*: Fragment of an inscribed vase (Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan). *Primary publications*: Stolper (1980): 176 (copy); (1996): 166–67 (photo, 166). *Date*: Persian period. *Comment*: Parts of the Akkadian and Elamite versions survive.

*Sepphoris 2*: Tablet fragment (Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan). *Primary publication*: Beckman (1997): 81–82, no. 86A (copy, 82). *Date*: uncertain.<sup>48</sup>

*Sepphoris 3*: Tablet fragment (Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan). *Primary publication*: Beckman (1997): 81–82, no. 86B (copy, 82). *Date*: uncertain.

*Sepphoris 4*: Tablet fragment (Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan). *Primary publication*: Beckman (1997): 81–82, no. 86C (copy, 82). *Date*: uncertain.

<sup>47</sup> The objects from Sepphoris below are all listed in the field log and so must have been present on site at the time of the excavations.

<sup>48</sup> The dates of Sepphoris 2–4 are uncertain. None of the fragments is large enough to provide a representative repertoire of signs for dating purposes. Beckman (1997): 82 assigns different dates to the different fragments, although Sepphoris 2–4 were reconstructed from materials held in common at the Kelsey Museum.

<sup>44</sup> Tell En-Nasbeh is almost certainly ancient Mizpah.

<sup>45</sup> The stela fragment will be published by E. Weissert, who reports that the text describes Esarhaddon's campaign to the Sinai Desert. See also Na'aman and Zadok (2000): 181.

<sup>46</sup> S. Paley (written communication).



## 28. Shechem

*Shechem 1*: Letter (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publications*: Böhl (1926): 325–27, no. 2 (photo, Tf. 44; copy, Tf. 46); (1974): 21–30 (copy, 23);<sup>49</sup> Albright (1942): 30–31; Shaffer (1988): 163–69, 13\* [English Summary] (copy, 164); Demsky (1990): 165–70. *Studies*: E. Campbell *apud* G. E. Wright (1965): 211–13; Landsberger (1954): 59 n. 121; Albright (1955): 22–23; Edzard (1985): 251; Anbar and Na'aman (1986): 10–11; Zadok (1996): 106; Rainey (1999): 154\*–55\*; van der Toorn (2000): 98; Gallig (1968): 13, A 6b. *Date*: middle of the second millennium.<sup>50</sup>

*Shechem 2*: List of witnesses (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publication*: Böhl (1926): 321–25, no. 1 (photo, Tf. 44; copy, Tf. 45). *Studies*: Albright (1942): 28–30; Landsberger (1954): 59 n. 123; Campbell *apud* Wright (1965): 208–11; Edzard (1985): 251; Zadok (1996): 106; van der Toorn (2000): 98; Gallig (1968): 13, A 6a. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Shechem 3*: Letter fragment (location unknown). *Primary publication*: none. *Study*: Demsky (1990): 163. *Comment*: L. E. Toombs reports in Campbell (1971): 16 the discovery of what seems to be a fragment from the right edge of a letter.

## 29. Shephela

*Shephela 1*: Fragment of a stone Lamaštu plaque (private collection). *Primary publication*: Cogan (1995): 155–61 (photo, 156; copy 157). *Studies*: van der Toorn (2000): 99–100; Stern (2001): 16–17 (copy, 17). *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

## 30. Taanach<sup>51</sup>

*Taanach 1*: Letter of Eḥli-Tešub to Rewašur<sup>52</sup> (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 113–14 (photo, pl. 10; copy, 121); Maisler

(1937): 56–58; Albright (1944): 16–20; Rainey (1999): 156\*–57\*. *Studies*: Holma (1914): 102–3; Ebeling *apud* Gressman (1926, vol. I): 371; Albright *apud* Pritchard (1969): 490; Rainey (1977): passim; Glock (1983): 59–60; Görg (1988): 15–18; Zadok (1996): 106, 110. *Date*: fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

*Taanach 2*: Letter of Aḫiami to Rewašur (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 115–17 (photo, pl. 10; copy, 121); Maisler (1937): 54–56; Albright (1944): 20–23; Rainey (1999): 157\*–59\*. *Studies*: Ebeling in Gressman (1926, vol. I): 371; Glock (1983): 60–61; Na'aman (1988): 177–85; Zadok (1996): 106–7, 110; Rainey (1977): 63–64 and passim. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 3*: Administrative document—list of persons called for service (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 117–19 (photo, pl. 11, no. 1; copy, 122); Maisler (1937): 59–60. *Study*: Zadok (1996): 107. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 4*: Administrative document—list of personal names (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 119–21 (photo, pl. 11; copy, 122); Maisler (1937): 60–62. *Study*: Zadok (1996): 107–8. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 4a*: Administrative fragment with personal names (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 119–20 (copy, 122); Maisler (1937): 60. *Study*: Zadok (1996): 108. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 5*: Letter of Amenophis to Rewašur (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 36–37 (photo, pl. 1; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 51–52; Albright (1944): 23–24; Rainey (1999): 160\*. *Studies*: Rainey (1977): 64 and passim; Glock (1983): 61; Zadok (1996): 106. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 6*: Letter of Amenophis to Rewašur (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 37–38 (photo, pl. 1; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 52–54; Albright (1944): 24–25; Rainey (1999): 159\*–60\*. *Studies*: Lambdin (1953): 150; Rainey (1977): 64 and passim; Glock (1983): 61–62; Zadok (1996): 106, 108–9; Izre'el (1998): 424. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 7*: Administrative document—list of personal names (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 38–39 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 62–64. *Study*: Zadok (1996): 109. *Date*: fifteenth century.

<sup>49</sup> The same copy appears in both articles and also in Albright (1956): 102.

<sup>50</sup> The later part of the Middle Bronze Age or early part of the Late Bronze Age, but certainly before the time of the Amarna archives.

<sup>51</sup> Below we follow the numbering system established in Hrozný (1904–1905). The seventeen items are Taanach 1–4, 4a, 5–8, 8a, 9–15. Also see Edzard (1985): 251; van der Toorn (2000): 98; Gallig (1968): 14, A 8a; *NEAEHL*, 1431–32.

<sup>52</sup> For the reading of the name, see Weippert (1998): 16.

<sup>53</sup> For the latest on the dating of the Taanach texts, see Rainey (1999): 153\*–56\*.

*Taanach 8*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 39–40 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 58.<sup>54</sup> *Study*: Zadok (1996): 109. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 8a*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 40 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 58.<sup>55</sup> *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 9*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1905): 40 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3); Maisler (1937): 58. *Study*: Zadok (1996): 106, 109. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 10*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publication*: Hrozný (1905): 41 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3). *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 11*: Letter fragment (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publication*: Hrozný (1905): 41 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3). *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 12*: Fragment of an administrative list (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publication*: Hrozný (1905): 41 (photo, pl. 2; copy, Tf. 3). *Study*: Zadok (1996): 110. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 13*: Cylinder seal (Arkeologji Müzesi, Istanbul). *Primary publications*: Hrozný (1904): 27–28 (copy, 28, fig. 22); Nougayrol (1939): 37–39 (copy, pl. 12 TT.1). *Studies*: Gressman (1927): 164 no. 577; Galling (1968): 14, A 8b. *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 14*: Administrative tablet—list of personal names (Israel Museum). *Primary publication*: Glock (1971): 17–30 (photo, 18–20; copy, 21). *Studies*: Mayr-

hofer (1972): 119–21; Zadok (1996): 110; *NEAEHL*, 1431 (photo). *Date*: fifteenth century.

*Taanach 15*: Alphabetic cuneiform text (Ashmolean Museum). *Primary Publications*: Hillers (1964): 45–50 (photo, 46–47; copy, 48), Cross (1968): 41–46 (copy, 45). *Studies*: Weippert (1966): 314–15, no. 6; (1967): 82–83; Naveh (1982): 29–30 (photo, 29, no. 23); Puech (1986): 203–6 (copy, 202); Zadok (1996): 115–16; Dietrich and Lorenz (1998b): 246–47; *NEAEHL*, 1431 (photo); Galling (1968): 14, B 3. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

### 31. Tabor

*Tabor 1*: Alphabetic cuneiform inscription on a knife blade (Rockefeller Museum). *Primary publications*: Yeiven (1945): 32–41 (enhanced photo, pl. 3, no. 2); Albright (1945): 21; Weippert (1966): 314 (photo, Tf. 35 A–B);<sup>56</sup> Dietrich and Lorenz (1988b): 239–42 (copy, 242). *Studies*: Mazar (1946): 172–73; Herdner (1946–48): 165–68 (copy, 165); Cross (1967): 14\*; Naveh (1982): 29–30 (copy, 29, fig. 24); Puech (1986): 206 (copy, 202); Zadok (1996): 115; Galling (1968): 14, B 2. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

### 32. Wingate

*Wingate 1*: Cylinder seal (lost). *Primary publications*: H. and M. Tadmor (1976): 68–79 [Hebrew] (photo, pl. 6, 1–2; copy, 69, fig. 1); (1995): 345–55 (photo, 347, pl. 2–3; copy, 348, fig. 1–2). *Study*: Stern (2001): 17–18 (photo, 18). *Date*: Neo-Assyrian period.

<sup>54</sup> Maisler suggests that 8 joins 8a. This join is not recognized elsewhere.

<sup>55</sup> Maisler joins this fragment to 8; see n. 54 above.

<sup>56</sup> A is a reprint of Yeivin's photo; B is a new photograph.

## APPENDIX: HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC MATERIAL

*Aphek 9*: Seal Impression (Israel Museum). *Primary publication*: Singer (1977): 178–90 (photo, pl. 19, no. 1–2; copy, 179). *Studies*: Owen (1981): 14–15; Singer (1983): 5; *NEAEHL*, 69 (photo). *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Tel El-Far<sup>3</sup>ah 1–2*: Rings (Petrie Collection, Institute of Archaeology, London). *Studies*: Petrie (1930) (photo, pl. 36); MacDonald (1932): 30 (copy, pl. 73, nos. 58, 65); Singer (1988–89): 106; (1995): 92 n. 1. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Megiddo 6*: Hieroglyphic Hittite stamp seal (The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago). *Primary publications*: Loud (1948) pl. 162, no. 7 (photo); Singer (1995): 91–93 (photo, 92). *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

*Nami 1*: Hieroglyphic Hittite signet ring (location unknown). *Primary publication*: Singer (1993): 189–93 (photo and copy, pl. 9). *Study*: Zadok (1996): 116. *Date*: Late Bronze Age.

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