

NEW INSCRIPTIONS AND SEALS  
RELATING TO THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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New Inscriptions and Seals  
Relating to the Biblical World

NEW INSCRIPTIONS AND SEALS  
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*edited by*

Meir Lubetski

*and*

Edith Lubetski

Society of Biblical Literature  
Atlanta, Georgia

# NEW INSCRIPTIONS AND SEALS RELATING TO THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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To our dearest children and grandchildren, whose worth is far more than rubies,

Saul and Rebecca Lubetski

Mia Leora

Yitshak Emanuel

Raphael Yishayahu

Uriel and Shani Lubetski

Yaakov

Yehudah

Dovid

Leah and Ari Feldman

Talia Sarah

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Aliza Tamar

May God bless you with long life filled with good deeds, health and wealth;  
May all your endeavors succeed and your heartfelt wishes be fulfilled for good.



Participants of the European Association of Biblical Studies conference, Lisbon, 2008.  
Sitting, from left to right: André Lemaire, W. G. Lambert (deceased), Kathleen Abraham,  
Shlomo Moussaieff. Standing: Robert Deutsch, Martin Heide, Chaim Cohen,  
Alan Millard, Peter Van der Veen, Meir Lubetski.

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## FOREWORD

It was not so long ago, from the perspective of history, that men were blissfully unaware of buried treasures telling tales of ancient civilizations. People had only a vague notion of the large number of cultures that had slipped into obscurity but had left an immutable impact on future generations. As the number of archaeological digs multiplies, the seal, the cuneiform tablet, the papyrus scroll, the stone stele, the ostraca, and even a crude ceramic, each provide an eye-opening glimpse into the days of yore.

Our volume continues the tradition of *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*<sup>1</sup> by publishing the papers of eminent scholars originally presented at conferences of the International Meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature (Vienna, 2007; Rome, 2009) and the European Association of Biblical Studies (Lisbon, 2008). The majority of the papers focus on the analysis of archaeological material from Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff's outstanding collection and the conclusions of the scholars broaden and deepen our understanding of the biblical epoch.

Varied as they are, the articles signal fresh approaches to the study of ancient artifacts. A standard model is challenged by other alternatives and a multifaceted paradigm slowly replaces the existing one. There is recognition of the limitations of sole paleographic examination for determining the era and the classification of ostraca and seals. Nevertheless, this does not diminish the salient importance of studies on philology, onomastics, and paleography, fields that continue to be cornerstones of research. Indeed, a number of papers on these topics appear in this volume. For example, André Lemaire provides a fresh outlook on the origin of the alphabet from new texts, and Peter van der Veen analyzes a famous biblical figure whose name appears on extra-biblical seals.

Lawrence Mykytiuk identifies many biblical figures from inscriptions that were found in registered archaeological excavations. The compatibility between

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1. Meir Lubetski, ed., *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007).

the person's function and position as described in the inscriptions and in the Bible adds veracity not only to the narrative of the biblical text but also to the authenticity of the inscriptions.

After many decades of the primacy of linguistics in the field, this book indicates the almost universal growth of interest in the glyptic. Iconic art as a factor in understanding cultural motifs in the literature of the Bible is gaining ground. The growth in the number of iconic and aniconic seals unearthed seems to reveal a rising group of officials eager to have a clearly recognizable symbol of authority with or without aesthetic qualities. Moreover, the elaborate engraving reveals use by the elite echelons who engaged professional seal cutters to adapt designs from a universal glyptic repertory.

Robert Deutsch interprets six bullae from the late Judean Monarchical period. Four of the bullae are aniconic while the other two are iconic depicting Egyptian iconography. The seal impressions are used as "fiscal bullae" in King Hezekiah's taxation system. They include names of biblical towns heretofore unknown to us from collateral sources.

Meir Lubetski's article suggests that the name on a Hebrew seal from Dr. Moussaieff's treasure trove is Egyptian-inspired and that the seal cutter ornamented the seal with meaningful Egyptian iconography. The religious symbols on the seal provide divine protection to the owner and give it amuletic power as well.

There is a growing recognition that Israel's southwestern neighbor, Egypt, is at least as important as Mesopotamia in understanding the Bible. Claire Gottlieb illuminates the specific meaning of *Bat Pharaoh* by drawing upon the Egyptian language and comparing it to similar Egyptian and biblical titles.

Continuing to look in a southern direction, André Lemaire's explanation of a Sabeian inscription suggests the possible commercial ties between the kingdom of Judah and that of the South Arabia. The spread of international trade testifies to a shift from an autarchy and a *politeia*, to a centralized administration relying on a commercial fleet purchasing imported luxury goods to supply the needs of an emerging wealthy customer class. It appears to be a hypothesis that suits some biblical accounts.

New cuneiform tablets from the Moussaieff collection are most instructive. For example, Kathleen Abraham's translation and interpretation of a Mesopotamian artifact provides us with the spectacular multilingual knowledge of the Babylonian administration during the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. The same author discusses two royal inscriptions, one that honors King Nebuchadnezzar II for restoring the Temple of Shamash in Larsa, and the other inscribed on a printing block that was used to label the bricks for the construction of the Temple of Inanna/Ishtar in Adab. W. G. Lambert<sup>†</sup> deciphers a unique legal boundary-stone document. This boundary stone was cut to resemble a clay tablet. King

Adad-apla-iddina, eighth king of the Second Isin Dynasty (ca. 1069 B.C.E.), in his generosity, gives a piece of land in perpetuity to a named person, the king's exorcist. The boundary stone includes a sketched map of the land with marked borders.

The variety of artifacts in Moussaieff's storehouse opens the window to additional fields of inquiry. The Palmyrene stone bowl from the Seleucid era, ca. 155 C.E. that Lemaire describes is in that category. Scholars believe that such vessels were used by the upper classes in connection with excessive drinking. He ties it in with the biblical *marzeah* that is attested later in Palmyra. Indeed, the Bible describes *marzeah* as loathsome, something that should be avoided (Amos 6:7). I might add that the rabbis of the first and second centuries C.E. linked the *marzeah* practices with an orgiastic banquet of the *maiumas*, consisting of wine, women, and song.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Moussaieff has a significant number of magic texts written in Mandaic or the so-called Manichaean Syriac script. Matthew Morgenstern presents a preliminary survey of the magic texts and offers insights to direct future studies. The texts were written in different scripts, and possibly came from varied religious groups. Those in Aramaic were a product of Jews, in Syriac the work of Christians, and Mandaic was produced by the Mandaean Gnostic community.

Richard Hess tackles a new area laden with potential.<sup>3</sup> He finds parallels and similarities between a Luwian inscription from Carchemish and the Masoretic text of Kings. Indeed, Billie Jean Collins confirms: "The resumption of archaeological fieldwork [in that region] . . . is affording us a much clearer view in a period that was key to the development, among other things, of the Israelite state."<sup>4</sup>

Examining archaeological items housed in private collections has not only expanded our vistas in understanding the ancient world, but has also opened a Pandora's box of issues dealing with unprovenanced items. The problems are often more difficult to solve than deciphering the artifact. The world of academia is currently grappling with the reliability of the artifacts discovered in unauthor-

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2. *Sipre Numbers* 131; *Lev. Rab.* 5:3. Biblical *marzeah* is anticipated in Ebla texts as a religious institution. *Ugula mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* is *sorvegliante festa*. Alfonso Archi, *Testi Amministrativi: Assegnazioni Di Tessuti (archivio L. 2769)* (ARET 1; Rome: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria, 1985), 3:rev. xi:3. We also find the phrase *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub> en*. Pettinato assumes this to be a specific festival day or a fixed sacrifice day of the *en*, ruler. Dietz Otto Edzard, *Verwaltungstexte Verschiedenene Inhalts (archivio L. 2769)* (ARET 2; Rome: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria, 1985), 5:rev. x: 6–7. See *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*, ARET 2, 133. The employee has the title of *lú*, man of, *mar-za u<sub>9</sub>* (ARET 2: 5: rev.x:12–13).

3. See *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72 (December 2009). The entire issue features the Neo-Hittites in the region of Karatepe, Malatya, Karkamish, and Zincirli.

4. Billie Jean Collins, "From the Editor," *ibid.*: 2.

ized archaeological excavations or bought on the antiquity markets. Scholars tend to split into two opposing camps. While one group maintains that archaeological items coming from unprovenanced sites should be ignored because of possible fraud, the other group regards this approach as irresponsible and a disservice to the field. Ancient Near Eastern scholarship is suffering from the needless division into two branches.

The debate about art forgery is not novel. Almost eight decades ago, Cyrus H. Gordon discussed the issue of probable well-copied fakes, nonetheless he included them in the registry of his deciphered seals with a warning that some might be imitations.<sup>5</sup> He was aware that forgeries in art are an old practice, as old as humanity itself. However, copying and imitating is a needed step in the procedure of pupils acquiring the skills from a master artist in antiquity. Accordingly, scholars should not automatically disqualify objects. He wrote:

The scholar should not take it upon himself to decide with finality that such and such monument is a modern imitation without value, for a peculiar seal may belong to a little known or totally unknown category and it may be only a matter of time until the suspected seal will prove to be a genuine with copious analogues.<sup>6</sup>

Years later, Joseph Naveh noted that a great portion of Hebrew pre-exilic seals came from unauthorized archaeological excavations. Unfortunately, there is no record of where the lion's share of the seals were found and many were purchased from antiquity dealers. That did not stop Nahman Avigad from deciphering, describing, and publishing the artifacts and it did not elicit an objection from Naveh who maintained that, "The avoidance of publishing seals bought on the market cannot serve as a remedy for the looting of ancient objects."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, limiting examination of artifacts from authorized digs only would stunt epigraphic and numismatic research, art history of the ancient era, post-exilic research, even the Dead Sea Scrolls investigation.<sup>8</sup> Like his predecessor Cyrus H.

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5. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6 (Spring 1939): 3–34. For example, p. 34, #125–27; See also plate XV; p. 23 #64, plate VIII.

6. *Ibid.*, 5. Gordon mentioned to his students the case of Agoracritus, a sculptor and a student of Phidias. The master teacher loaned his name to a statue that, in fact, was made by his favorite student, Pausanias (I.33.3), however, ascribes the statue to Phidias, the master teacher. See also "Agoracritus," in Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 43.

7. Joseph Naveh, "Introduction," in André Lemaire, Nahman Avigad, and Michael Heltzer, *West Semitic Seals: Eighth–Sixth Centuries BCE* (Haifa: University of Haifa, 2000), 10.

8. *Ibid.*

Gordon, Naveh acknowledged the real risks inherent in passing a verdict on an archaeological piece. During the final years of the former century, he advised:

Pedantic scholars argue with some justice that material not derived from an archeological excavation may be forged. Nowadays, however, specialists in various fields have better means of telling an authentic object from a forgery.... Suspicion alone, however, cannot disqualify a seal. Whoever claims that a certain seal is a forgery bears the burden of proof.<sup>9</sup>

Does statistical evidence help determine what is a forgery? Alan Millard questions the validity of determining forgeries in unprovenanced material on statistical evidence alone. Millard's analysis is rooted not only on statistics, but rests more on the competence of a scholar to interpret the finds. In the field of sorting out the fake items, an experienced eye is still a major asset, as no tool, mechanical device, or chemical substance exists that is capable of identifying a forgery definitively. His conclusion is that "statistics cannot yet answer the question of authenticity; that will remain dependent upon the experienced eye."<sup>10</sup> That seems to be fair advice without quibble.

Even if we identify objects as forgeries do they still have value? Jean J. Fiechter, a Swiss born historian and author of the volume, *Fake Egyptian Artifacts*, concludes that while a fake is an enemy of the historian there is still value to it. The author says,

Forgery production is incontestably an integral part of the contemporary world's dialog with the Ancients.... As for the finest fakes, once unmasked there is no harm in admiring their aesthetic qualities ... as modern works by contemporary artists looking toward the past. For, as the restorer of antiquities Vincent Diniacopoulos advised the young expert Jean Roudillon: "If you encounter a masterpiece, even a fake one, do not destroy it, as masterpieces are few and far between."<sup>11</sup>

No doubt it is a novel approach to reflect upon and weigh carefully. With this in mind, I call attention to the thorough examination of Moabitica by Martin Heide. The author sets forth guidelines for dealing with suspicious artifacts.

One of the most controversial artifacts to be dealt with recently is the Yeho'ash Inscription.<sup>12</sup> If genuine, the text would have been the first royal Judean monar-

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9. Ibid., 11.

10. See Millard's article in this volume.

11. Jean-Jacques Fiechter, *Egyptian Fakes* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009), 245.

12. See a discussion of this subject in Hershel Shanks, *Freeing the Dead Sea Scrolls*

chic inscription ever unearthed. However, many respected philologists consider it a forgery. Chaim Cohen, in the current article that completes his analysis of the inscription,<sup>13</sup> emphasizes that he does not know whether or not the inscription is authentic, yet, as of now, it cannot be proven, philologically, a forgery. He adds that if it turns out to be a fake then it is the work of a brilliant Hebrew forger familiar with infrequent Hebrew formations. Cohen's salient arguments merit serious deliberation.

This volume includes another topic of controversy. Shlomo Moussaieff discusses the humiliating tax, *fiscus Iudaicus*, levied on the Jewish population of the Roman Empire. Did the coin promulgated by Nerva indicate that indeed this tax was rescinded? If so, who influenced Nerva's decision?

Seeking the truth is an ongoing activity. Year by year, archaeology reveals fresh major finds that help fill the void in our knowledge of the past.<sup>14</sup> Some have been deciphered and others remain to be examined and published. Rabbi Tarfon the Sage taught his disciples: "It is not for thee to complete the task, yet neither art thou free to desist therefrom" (Ethics of the Fathers 2:21). There is a great deal to learn from our ancestors and it is a worthwhile endeavor to persist in uncovering where we come from in order to better know who we have become. Nearly two thousand years ago Cicero, the great Roman orator observed:

Nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Quid enim est aetas hominis, nisi ea memoria rerum veterum cum superiorum aetate contextitur?

To be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to remain always a child. For what is the worth of human life, unless it be woven into the life of our ancestors by the records of history? (*De oratore*, XXXIV)

An insight that is neither "dimmed with time nor is its vigor abated."

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*and Other Adventures of an Archaeology Outsider* (New York: Continuum, 2010), 193–202, 224–27.

13. Part one is published in Lubetski, ed., *New Seals and Inscriptions*, 222–84.

14. The current major interest of history and archaeology in Mesopotamia is the antecedents of cities. "Our real focus now should not be on the Uruk period but the Ubaid," according to Professor Richard L. Zettler on the importance of the recent excavations conducted by the University of Chicago Oriental Institute. John N. Wilford, "In Syria, a Prologue for Cities," *New York Times* (6 April 2010), D1, 4. It is interesting to note that eight decades ago, Cyrus H. Gordon, then a young archaeologist in Iraq, already predicted the importance of Ubaid. Cyrus H. Gordon, "Buried Cultures of the Near East-1," *Asia* (January 1936): 28.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of a second volume presenting some of the many treasures in Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff's collection is very exciting. The findings of an exceptional group of scholars underscores the role of archaeological evidence in reconstructing the legacy of antiquity, especially that of the biblical world.

In the course of unlocking the bars to enter the world of those who have long died, I have accumulated several debts of gratitude. First and foremost I wish to recognize the enormous contribution of Dr. Shlomo Moussaieff who responded favorably to the idea of sponsoring the lectures and later on to publishing the material and providing support for the project. Kudos to his family, his wife Aliza and his daughters, who have always encouraged him in his endeavors and have fostered the cause of disseminating the understanding of the biblical world among the broader community.

The PSC-CUNY Research Foundation supported my research. The Littauer Foundation, headed by Dr. Robert D. Frost, was most generous in supporting this scholarly pursuit, and has provided assistance for previous endeavors. Prof. Jeffrey Peck, Dean of the Weissman School of Liberal Arts and Sciences approved my request for Reassigned Time and Professor Elena Martinez, Chair of the Department of Modern Languages and Comparative Literature at Baruch College, City University of New York, limited the number of classes that I had to teach. Sincere appreciation to the libraries of Baruch College and Yeshiva University for their expert and gracious assistance.

I benefitted from the warm receptiveness of Philip Davies, Lester Grabbe, and staff of the European Association of Biblical Studies to hosting our session in Lisbon.

Special thanks are due to the Society of Biblical Literature that agreed to include a unit on epigraphical and paleographical material relating to the Bible. It was a privilege to work with Professors Kent Harold Richards, Matthew Collins, Charles Haws and the capable Executive Assistant, Trista Krock, whose experience and expertise made the meetings a great success.

The editors of SBL are to be commended for adding this volume to their list of publications. Professor Tammi Schneider, editor of *Archaeology and Biblical*

Studies and Bob Buller, Editorial Director must be thanked for their consent—indeed their willingness—to include this work in the much esteemed SBL series. I do not know of another organization that has contributed more to biblical studies and the ancillary literature than SBL.

This volume would not have seen light if not for my colleague Dr. Claire Gottlieb, a former classmate at New York University in the doctoral and post-doctoral courses of our revered teacher, Cyrus H. Gordon. Friends for over forty years, I know her to be generous, unselfish, and loyal. A business partner with her husband Milton, she is dedicated and hard-working. Claire, the academician, considers humanistic scholarship as a rewarding way of life. She always enjoys the stimulation of the interchange of ideas and fresh knowledge constantly attracts her attention. With typical enthusiasm, she generously responded to the need to read the papers and offer her wise counsel and corrections. With her critical eye, Dr. Gottlieb did a superb job. I am truly grateful for her sound judgment and talented editorial skills. Claire's eagerness always reminds me of Tennyson's hero in *Idylls of the King*... "strong in will, to strive, to seek to find and not to yield."

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Shmuel Ormianer, a graphic artist par excellence, who can find solutions to the most challenging problems. I also thank Duncan Burns, who was of enormous help in preparing this work for submission to the publisher. It has been a privilege and a pleasure to work with a remarkable editor, Billie Jean Collins in the production of this current volume. Her clear and concise guidance provided coherence to this manuscript and her patience with the resolution of issues was deeply appreciated.

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My wife and co-editor, Edith, deserves special recognition. She has been the unseen force in assisting me with all the tasks concerning this volume. Her patient and unstinting encouragement have been indispensable.

Finally, to all those who have had a share in the many aspects of this work I cannot find a better way of wishing them well than invoking the blessing of Rabban Gamliel, the son of Rabbi Judah the Prince:

All who exert themselves for the community ...  
 their forefathers aid them  
 and their righteousness endures forever. (*Ethics of the Father* 2:2).

Meir Lubetski



## ABBREVIATIONS

A	Aleppo Codex
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AHw</i>	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . W. von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–1981
Akk.	Akkadian
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
A.0.	A = Assyrian Periods; 0 = Dynasty Inapplicable (RIMA 3:xiii)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, 1969
Aram.	Aramaic
AS	<i>Aramaic Studies</i>
AuOrSup	Aula Orientalis Supplementa
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>b. cAbod. Zar.</i>	<i>Abodah Zarah</i>
<i>b. Giṭ</i>	<i>Giṭṭin</i>
B	Bulla (City of David)
BA	Biblical Aramaic
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical and Archaeological Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1906

- BH Biblical Hebrew  
 BHS *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983  
 BN *Biblische Notizen*  
 BO *Bibliotheca orientalis*  
 BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*  
 BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*  
 BZAW Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft  
 CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956–2010  
 CDA *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. J. Black et al. 2d ed. Wiesbaden, 2000  
 CDOG Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  
 COS *The Context of Scripture*. Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–2002  
 CPJ 2 *Corpus papyrorum judaicorum*. Vol. 2. Edited by V. Tcherikover. Cambridge, 1960.  
 CPJ 3 *Corpus papyrorum judaicorum*. Vol 3. Edited by V. Tcherikover. Cambridge, 1964  
 CUSAS Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology  
 DBH *A Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew*. M. Z. Kaddari. Ramat-Gan, 2006 (in Hebrew)  
 DCH *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Edited by D. J. A. Clines. Sheffield, 1993–.  
 Deut. Rab. *Deuteronomy Rabbah*  
 DNSWI *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. 2 vols. Leiden, 1995  
 DOM *Domitianus*  
 EABS European Association of Biblical Studies  
 ErIsr *Eretz-Israel*  
 GBS Guides to Biblical Scholarship  
 GKC *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1910.  
 HALOT Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–2000  
 HCOT Historical Commentary on the Old Testament  
 Heb. Hebrew  
 HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs

HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBP	<i>Identifying Biblical Persons in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions of 1200–539 B.C.E.</i> Lawrence J. Mykytiuk. SBL Academia Biblica 12. Atlanta, 2004
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ID	identification
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
ISBE	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.</i> Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Fully rev. ed. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, 1979–1988
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.</i> H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2d ed. Wiesbaden, 1966–1969
KTU <sup>2</sup>	<i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.</i> Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24/1. Neukirchen–Vluyn, 1976. 2nd enl. ed. of <i>KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places.</i> Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995 (= <i>CTU</i> )
L	Leningrad Codex
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
<i>Lev. Rab.</i>	<i>Leviticus Rabbah</i>
LXX	Septuagint
<i>m. 'Erub</i>	<i>Mishnah 'Erubin</i>
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>
MO	Moussaieff Ostrakon
MT	Masoretic Text
NABU	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques breves et utilitaires</i>
NB	Neo-Babylonian

Nbk	<i>Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (604–561 v. Chr.)</i> (Babylonische Texte). J. N. Strassmaier. Leipzig, 1889
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NF	neue Folge
NJPS	<i>Tanakh—The Holy Scriptures: The New Jewish Publication Society Translation</i> . Philadelphia, 1985
NS	New Series
OB	Old Babylonian
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PEQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement</i>
Phoe.	Phoenician
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PSE B-Word	Poetic Semantically Equivalent B-Word
r.	reigned
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RefR	<i>Reformed Review</i>
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin, 1928–
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods
RIME 2	D. R. Frayne, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods Volume 2: Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)</i> . Toronto
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAWW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte
SEE-J	<i>Scandinavian Evangelical E-Journal</i>
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
SEL	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>

TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–2006
TLOT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by E. Jenni et al. 3 vols. Peabody, 1997
TUAT	<i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i>
UET VII	<i>Ur Excavation Texts: 7</i> . O. R. Gurney. London: British Museum Publications Ltd for the British Museum, and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1974
Ug.	Ugaritic
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UNP	<i>Ugaritic Narrative Poetry</i> . Edited by S. B. Parker. Atlanta, 1997
UT	<i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> . C. H. Gordon. AnOr 38. Rome, 1998
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WSS	<i>Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals</i> . N. Avigad and B. Sass. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997
<i>y. Ber.</i>	<i>Jerusalem Talmud Berakhot</i>
<i>y. Mo'ed Qat.</i>	<i>Jerusalem Talmud Mo'ed Qatan</i>
YI	Yeho'ash Inscription
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZfA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>