The ʾIšbaʿal Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa

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A new West Semitic inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa is presented. It was incised in Canaanite alphabetic script on a pottery storage jar before firing. Radiometric dating of the relevant layer has yielded a date of ca. 1020–980 B.C.E. The last few years have seen the publication of several new Semitic alphabetic inscriptions dated to the late 11th–10th centuries B.C.E. and originating at controlled excavations in Israel (Khirbet Qeiyafa, Beth Shemesh, Tell es-Ṣâfi, and Jerusalem). The new inscription is an important addition to this corpus.

Keywords: Baal; Personal Names; Khirbet Qeiyafa; Semitic epigraphy; Iron Age inscription

The State of Research

The invention of the alphabetic script is one of the most important achievements of humankind. It was developed at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E., probably by Canaanites who were deeply influenced by the Egyptian writing system (Sass 1988; 2005; Darnell et al. 2005; Goldwasser 2006; Hamilton 2006). This earliest type of alphabetic script has been given various names over the years: Sinaitic, Proto-Sinaitic, Proto-Canaanite, Old Canaanite, and Canaanite (the term we use here). At this early stage, there was no standardization in the number, shape, or stance of the letters or in the direction of writing. The Canaanite script was not used for official documents. Instead, the Canaanite city-states used cuneiform, as seen in the Amarna letters (Moran 1992; Horowitz and Oshima 2006).

In the early first millennium B.C.E., the Canaanite script underwent a major evolution, becoming what is known as the “Phoenician script.” Originally, scholars believed that this transition took place at the end of the second millennium B.C.E.; however, the radiometric dating of Khirbet Qeiyafa indicates a later date (Misgav, Garfinkel, and Ganor 2009; Hamilton 2014). At this new phase, standardization was imposed on the number, and stance of the letters (direction that they were facing), and the direction of writing (from right to left). The Phoenician script became the official script of the various kingdoms in the Levant, including Israel and Judah, and in part of Anatolia (Naveh 1982; Sass 2005).

Until recently, the latest phase of the Canaanite script was obscure. Relevant data, like bronze arrowheads inscribed with personal names and an inscription from ʿIzbet Ṣartah (Cross 1992; Demsky 1977), came either from the antiquities market or unclear chronological contexts. Traditionally, these inscriptions have been dated to the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. This thesis has recently undergone a radical change in light of new finds from controlled excavations.

In 2008, the excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa unearthed a new Canaanite inscription containing 70 letters and organized in five lines—the longest known inscription of this script (Misgav, Garfinkel, and Ganor 2009; see below). As the site has only one Iron Age occupation layer, this find provides a chronological anchor for the first time, showing that the use of the Canaanite script in southern Canaan extended into the 10th century B.C.E. Two other Canaanite inscriptions were found at Khirbet Qeiyafa; one of them is published here, and we are still deciphering the other. Since 2008, six inscriptions dated to the late 11th–10th centuries B.C.E. have become known: three from Khirbet Qeiyafa and three from various sites in the region: Tell

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eṣ-Ṣâfi, Beth Shemesh, and Jerusalem (Maeir et al. 2008; McCarter, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 2011; Mazar, Ben-Shlomo, and Aḥituv 2013). They are all on pottery, either written in ink or incised. Deciphering these inscriptions is problematic: sometimes the signs do not resemble known letters, frequently there is no clear division between words, and it is not clear whether the inscription should be read from left to right or right to left. The Canaanite script of the late 11th–10th centuries B.C.E. has recently attracted much attention (see, e.g., Sanders 2008; Lemaire 2012; and Finkelstein and Sass 2013), but the new inscriptions from Jerusalem and Khirbet Qeiyafa were not yet known when these articles were published.

The Context of the New Inscription

Khirbet Qeiyafa is located in Israel, ca. 30 km southwest of Jerusalem (Fig. 1). The excavations were conducted on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, directed by Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor. The fieldwork started in 2007 and was completed in 2013. One excavation season was conducted every summer, for a total of seven seasons altogether. Approximately 30% of the site was uncovered and large parts of an Iron Age city were excavated (Figs. 2–3). The inscription presented here was found in the 2012 season.

The site of Khirbet Qeiyafa was occupied in various periods: Late Chalcolithic, Middle Bronze, Iron, Persian-Hellenistic, and Byzantine. The main phase of occupation was the Iron Age, featuring a fortified city. This settlement was suddenly destroyed, and all the finds from its floors are dated to the same time, late 11th to early 10th century B.C.E. (Garfinkel and Ganor 2009; Garfinkel, Ganor, and Hasel 2010; 2012; Garfinkel 2011; Garfinkel and Kang 2011).

The inscribed jar was found in Area C, Building C11, on the floor of Room B (Locus C6968) in the destruction debris immediately above the floor (Loci C6913 and C9641). Its fragments were collected in Buckets C11487, C11591, and C11592.

Building C11 is elongated in shape and is divided into three architectural units (Figs. 4–5):

**Room A** is located on the north side of the building. The single entrance to the entire building is located on the
Fig. 2. Aerial view of Khirbet Qeiyafa at the end of the 2012 excavation season, looking north. Area C is located at the bottom. (Photograph by Sky View)

Fig. 3. Excavation map of the Iron Age city of Khirbet Qeiyafa. The inscription under discussion here was found in Area C. Another inscription (previously published) was found in the 2008 excavation season in Area B. (Map courtesy of the Khirbet Qeiyafa Expedition)
west side of this room, via two monolithic steps. These truly monumental steps are unique in the site’s domestic architecture. From this room, there was an entrance into Room B to the south. Two complete storage jars were found on the floor of the room (designated C6947), next to the southern wall.

**Room B** is south of Room A. It had a single impressive entrance from Room A to the north. The inner dimensions of the room are ca. 6 × 5 m. The walls are built of exceptionally large stones—the size usually found integrated into the city wall. The walls are well preserved, sometimes up to 1.5 m in height. Despite the large size of the room, no partition walls of any kind were found in it; hence, it may have been an open courtyard. This is the largest room uncovered in the Iron Age city.

The floor of Room B was excavated as Floors C6967 and C6968. It was covered by a massive stone collapse (C6895), sloping down from north to south and indicating that the stones collapsed from the city wall. Pottery sherds were found between the stones and in the debris that accumulated in the room. Although most of the floor of Room B consists of beaten earth in its western part near Wall C6985, the high bedrock was chiseled down to the same level as the floor. No indication of pillars or pillar bases was found in Room B. This observation, together with the existence of a hearth in the exact middle of the room, suggests that the unit was in fact an open courtyard rather than a roofed room.

The floor of the room was rich in finds and installations, including a complete storage jar and many restorable vessels. The fragments of an inscribed storage jar were found on the floor in the northeastern corner of the room.

**Room C** is a city wall casemate located south of Courtyard B and has a single opening from Room B. Since the casemate’s floor was lower than that of Room B, there were steps in the entryway leading down to Room C, although these were severely damaged. Several pottery vessels were found on the beaten earth floor.

**Radiometric Dating**

Two radiometric projects were conducted. The results of the first project were fully published (Garfinkel et al. 2012). Based on 10 measurements of burned olive pits, it was ascertained that the Iron Age IIA city of Khirbet Qeiyafa came to an end at some time between 1020 and 980 B.C.E. (Fig. 6). A second radiometric project was conducted with 17 measurements of olive pits, all found inside one jar. The results of this project placed the end of the city between 1018 and 948 B.C.E. at 68.2% (Fig. 7; Garfinkel et al. in press). When both projects are combined, the end
Fig. 5. Excavation map of Building C11. The fragments of the inscription were found in the northeastern corner of the room. (Map courtesy of the Khirbet Qeiyafa Expedition)
boundary, which indicates the destruction of the city, is calculated as 1006–970 B.C.E. at 68.2%.

The New Inscription

The inscription was incised before firing, written from right to left on the shoulder of a pottery storage jar. It was recognized in the field; thus, all of the sediment from the room was sifted and every piece of pottery was collected, even if only a few millimeters in size. In the lab, all of the pottery was spread on tables, and the painstaking process of restoration was undertaken in order to recover all of the fragments from the jar and its inscription (Figs. 8–9).
The jar was photographed in three dimensions by Ab- salom Karasik at the Israel Antiquities Authority (Fig. 10). The inscription was photographed by Tal Rogozin (Figs. 11–14). The inscription was later drawn by Ada Yardeni (Figs. 15–17). The letters of the inscription are large and clear, similar in size and evenly spaced, and were written by a skilled hand in Canaanite script. A short, straight vertical line (a word divider) appears between each pair of words. The inscription includes a personal name: [ ] | ʾšbʿl | ˹bn | bdʿ (ʾIšbaʿal son of Bedaʿ). The name Bedaʿ is unique, while ʾIšbaʿal is known from the Bible but has never yet appeared on an ancient inscription.

The first few letters of the inscription are partially preserved, but judging by the upper or lower edges that are still visible, the first word seems to have four letters: kaf, bet or pe, resh or qof, and the last one being tav, probably indicating the feminine ending. As this part is so damaged, we will not speculate here on any specific reconstruction. On principle, two different reconstructions may be suggested for the word preceding ʾIšbaʿal:

1. A place name. Toponyms preceding a family name are found on several incised jar inscriptions from Gibeon (Aḥituv 2008: 216–18). In the context of an incised inscription on a large container, such a suggestion would imply that the jar’s contents came from the town/estate of ʾIšbaʿal, son of Bedaʿ.

2. Information about the contents of the jar or its function.

1 *bdʿ* appears to be fully preserved and not broken. Therefore, we do not interpret *bdʿ* as *bdʿ*[štrt], a common Phoenician name (Benz 1972: 82).

2 On a Hebrew seal from Arad, we find the name *driyḥw* b-ʿ. However, the reading of the patronymic b-ʿ is uncertain. Naveh suggested *byʿ* and Aharoni suggested *bn ṣʾX* (*ṣr, ʿṣr*, or just ʿṣ) (Avigad 1997: no. 132).

### The Script

The new incised inscription clearly reads from right to left, unlike the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon, which was apparently written from left to right (Misgav, Garfinkel, and Ganor 2009) or from top to bottom (Demsky 2012) (Figs. 18–19). Accordingly, some letters on the new inscription face the opposite direction from those on the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon. One of the features that characterizes the Canaanite script, and distinguishes it from the Phoenician, is the difference in the stance of the same letters. The low number of examples of Canaanite script, dating from the late Iron Age I or early Iron Age II, precludes us from determining whether the accepted direction of writing was from left to right or right to left.

The design of the incised letters on the new inscription is essentially the same as that of the letters on the ostracon. The letters will be discussed in the order of their appearance on the inscription.
Fig. 10. The restored jar. (Drawings and reconstructions by A. Karasik, Israel Antiquities Authority)

Fig. 11. General view of the inscription. (Photo by T. Rogozin)
Fig. 12. Close-up of the severely damaged right side of the inscription. (Photo by T. Rogozin)

Fig. 13. Close-up of the central part of the inscription. (Photo by T. Rogozin)
Fig. 14. Close-up of the left side of the inscription. (Photo by T. Rogozin)

Fig. 15. The inscription of 'Išbaʿal, son of Beda', from Khirbet Qeiyafa. (Drawing by A. Yardeni)
Fig. 16. The inscription of 'Išba'al, son of Beda', from Khirbet Qeiyafa, with emphasized letters. (Drawing by A. Yardeni)

Fig. 17. Close-up of the severely damaged right side of the inscription. (Drawing and reconstruction by A. Yardeni)

**Aleph:** The letter stands on its point here; as such, it is symmetrical, and one cannot know in which direction it would face if it were rotated by 90°, as it is in one of the three different stances of this letter on the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon.

The crossbar of the aleph (horizontal in this inscription) does not cross the boundaries of the diagonal lines. A variation of the same letter appears in the ostracon (Fig. 19, line 2). The Qubur al-Walaydah bowl has a similar morphology for its aleph, although with a different stance (Cross 1980: 1–4). Note that the crossbar of the aleph of the Tel Zayit abecedary does cross the boundaries of the diagonals (Tappy and McCarter 2008).

**Shin:** Despite the asymmetry of the letter, it remains similar in form to the number 3, like the shin in the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon.
Bet: This letter stands on its point as in the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostracon, but in the opposite direction. In the later Phoenician script, the bet is reversed and rotated 90° clockwise in comparison with the bet in the inscription (see, e.g., Rollston 2014: 208–9).

Ayin: The pupil of the eye is the hallmark of the Canaanite script and appears here. Though the pupil disappears and the letter becomes a simple circle during the 10th century B.C.E. (see, e.g., Rollston 2014: 223), a dotted ayin is still seen in the Phoenician script, such as on a bowl from Kfar Veradim (Alexandre 2006).

Lamed: This letter stands on its closed part. The left arm of the lamed is higher than the right, as in the Phoenician script (see, e.g., Rollston...
In the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostraca, two different stances of the lamed can be identified.

**Nun:** Only the upper part of the letter has been preserved. Nevertheless, it seems to face the opposite direction from the nun in the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostraca. Again, in the Phoenician script, the direction is reversed from that of the ʾIšbaʿal inscription (see, e.g., Rollston 2014: 221).

**Dalet:** This letter too stands on its point. Since the dalet, like the aleph, is symmetrical, its stance remains the same whether written from left to right or right to left.

As mentioned above, despite the fact that the letters bet, lamed, and nun face in the opposite direction from the same letters on the Khirbet Qeiyafa ostraca, their general shape is the same in both inscriptions. This opposite stance may be explained by the different direction of writing: right to left in the ʾIšbaʿal inscription versus left to right on the ostraca. It is evident that there was a solid tradition of writing at Khirbet Qeiyafa, whether in ink or incised on clay before firing.

The new inscription differs from all the other late Canaanite inscriptions known to date: the letters are clear, evenly spaced, and standardized in stance, and the words are clearly separated. As a result, it was easy to decipher the preserved part of the inscription. The skilled hand points to the existence of trained scribes. This new inscription marks a transitional stage between the writing system used for 800 years and the official, standardized Phoenician script used by kingdoms and states in Canaan by at least the 10th century B.C.E.
Onomastic Aspects

Baʿal appears as a theophoric element in West Semitic personal names, such as the Amorite names from Mari and other sites (Huffman 1965: 100, 174–75; Gelb 1980: 16, 281–84), the Amarna personal names (Hess 1993: 48–54, 236), the Ugaritic names from Ras Shamra (Gröndahl 1967: 81–82, 114–17), the Phoenician and Punic names (Benz 1972: 90–100, 288–90), and Hebrew names (Fowler 1988: 54–63). Baʿal is the Canaanite storm god, and it may also be the divine appellative “lord/master,” perhaps referring to any god (Benz 1972: 288–90; Tigay 2012). Other names with the element bdʿ might be an abbreviation of bdʿštrt, meaning “from/by the hand of Ashtarte,” or rmʿm—“as the result of” (Avigad 1997: no. 345, p. 531). Alternatively, bdʿ is an abbreviation of bdʿštrt, meaning “in the hand of Ashtarte,” or an abbreviation of bdʿm, meaning “in the hand of Doam.” Doam (dʾm) is a deity known only from personal names in Ugarit, Arabic, and Phoenician-Punic (Benz 1972: 301). Phoenician names with the divine name dʾm are dʾmḥn, dʾmlk, and dʾmlq (Benz 1972: 108). Since names with an abbreviated theophoric element are not common, we prefer the first presented interpretation of bdʿ—“[The deity] has created.”

As mentioned above, the name bdʿ is unique and is absent from ancient inscriptions and the Bible. Moreover, the root bdʿ is unknown from later periods of Hebrew. In Arabic, however, bdʿ is attested with the meaning “to produce, to invent, to begin,” while in Ethiopic it denotes “sudden action” (Cohen 1976: 46). Thus, the name bdʿ is probably a hypocoristic (abbreviated) theophoric name where the theophoric element (the divine name) was dropped, meaning “[The deity] has created.”

Summary

From a palaeographic point of view, the ʾĪšbaʿal inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa presents a clear case of a Canaanite inscription written from right to left. The letters of the inscription are large and clear, similar in size centuries B.C.E., and recording over 2,000 names (Avigad 1997). Personal names with the element Baʿal, uncovered in excavations in contexts of the ninth through sixth centuries B.C.E. occur in Israel, Philistia, Ammon, and Phoenicia (Golub in press: table 1). In Judah, however, where 495 personal names were found, names with the element Baʿal are absent (Golub 2014: 47, 50). In summary, the name ʾEšbaʿal is recorded for one biblical king and likely three other biblical individuals, all from the 10th century B.C.E. In the following centuries, however, the personal name ʾĪšbaʿal or any other personal name with the element Baʿal disappears from the biblical text (Golub 2014: 61–64). Similarly, names with the element Baʿal are also absent from ancient inscriptions from Judah between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.E.

The commonly accepted interpretation of ʾyḥiʾ is ʾĪšbaʿal, “man of Baʿal.” Other names with the element ʾy are ʾdʿdr, ʾṣnt, and probably ʾṣʾstr (Benz 1972: 277). Another possible interpretation of ʾyḥiʾ is ʾĪšbaʿal, which is derived from the root ʾḥš (to give), meaning “Baʿal has given” (Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 287).3 Other names derived from the root ʾḥš are ʾḥšš (Yehoash) (2 Kgs 12:1, 13:10), ʾḥš (Yoash) (2 Kgs 11:2, 13:12), and probably ʾḥšš (Ashyahu) (Avigad 1997: 73, nos. 70–71) and ʾḥš (Ashyahu) (Avigad 1997: 73–74, no. 72). In the Bible, ʾyḥiʾ appears as “Eshbaʿal” (RSV). He was the second king of Israel, the son of King Saul, and a rival of David (1 Chr 8:33). Unlike Chronicles, the book of Samuel uses the name Ishbolesheth (2 Sam 2:10) for the same king, commonly interpreted as “man of shame.”

Reflecting a negative attitude toward the Canaanite god Baʿal, the author/editor of Samuel censored the original name and replaced Baʿal with the word Bosheth (“shame”).4 Other examples of the replacement of Baʿal in biblical names are the names of Gideon: Jerubbaal (Judg 6:32) and Jerubbesheth (2 Sam 11:21); the names of Jonathan’s son: Meribbaal (1 Chr 9:40) and Mehipbesheth (2 Sam 4:4); and the names of David’s son: Beeliada (“Baʿal knows”) (1 Chr 14:7) and Eliada (“God knows”) (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8). Moreover, it has been suggested that three other individuals bore the name ʾĪšbaʿal, but that the element Baʿal in their name was replaced and the final form became Jashobeam (ʾḥšʾm) (Noth 1928: nos. 232, 749, 754, and 756). These individuals are David’s mighty man (1 Chr 11:11), the Korahite who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:7), and the head of David’s first course (1 Chr 27:2). All of these names occur in the context of the Davidic period or earlier. In later periods, the Bible mentions no other name with the element Baʿal in Israel or Judah. The name ʾyḥiʾ is not found on any of the hundreds of inscriptions or on the more than 1,000 seals and seal impressions known from ancient Israel, dated between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.E., and recording over 2,000 names (Avigad 1997). Personal names with the element Baʿal, uncovered in excavations in contexts of the ninth through sixth centuries B.C.E. occur in Israel, Philistia, Ammon, and Phoenicia (Golub in press: table 1). In Judah, however, where 495 personal names were found, names with the element Baʿal are absent (Golub 2014: 47, 50). In summary, the name ʾEšbaʿal is recorded for one biblical king and likely three other biblical individuals, all from the 10th century B.C.E. In the following centuries, however, the personal name ʾĪšbaʿal or any other personal name with the element Baʿal disappears from the biblical text (Golub 2014: 61–64). Similarly, names with the element Baʿal are also absent from ancient inscriptions from Judah between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C.E.

As mentioned above, the name bdʿ is unique and is absent from ancient inscriptions and the Bible. Moreover, the root bdʿ is unknown from later periods of Hebrew. In Arabic, however, bdʿ is attested with the meaning “to produce, to invent, to begin,” while in Ethiopic it denotes “sudden action” (Cohen 1976: 46). Thus, the name bdʿ is probably a hypocoristic (abbreviated) theophoric name where the theophoric element (the divine name) was dropped, meaning “[The deity] has created.” Other names referring to a god’s creative activities are Bnyhw, ʾqnh/qny, and ʾšyhw/šy (Albertz and Schmitt 2012: 277–81, 857–90).

Consideration of the two-letter element bd opens additional interpretive possibilities. The element bd is a contraction of the full form byd, meaning “from/by the hand of” (Benz 1972: 283–86). Examples of names with the element bd/byd are bdʿl, bdʿmlk, bdʿmlqʿ, and bdʿʿl (Avigad and Schmitt 2012: 277–81, 857–90).

From a palaeographic point of view, the ʾĪšbaʿal inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa presents a clear case of a Canaanite inscription written from right to left. The letters of the inscription are large and clear, similar in size

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3 We thank the anonymous reviewer who drew our attention to this interpretation as well as the interpretation of bdʿ.

4 For a detailed discussion on pejorative names in the Hebrew Bible, see Rollston 2013: 377–82.
and evenly spaced. A short, straight vertical line (a word divider) appears between the words. The writing quality of this inscription is higher than that of most other known Canaanite inscriptions, indicating a skilled hand. This inscription cannot be considered as a writing exercise. From a chronological point of view, this inscription, together with the five inscriptions mentioned above, indicates that the new inscriptions were made by Ada Yardeni.

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