

## FOUR NEW INSCRIBED PHOENICIAN ARROWHEADS

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The corpus of bronze arrowheads bearing archaic Phoenician inscriptions has continuously grown since 1982 with only 22<sup>1</sup> and with 51 in 1999<sup>2</sup>, plus 6 additional examples published or in print<sup>3</sup>; however, a few of them are supposed to bear spurious inscriptions<sup>4</sup>. The four new arrowheads published in this article enlarge the corpus, which includes now 61 examples; presently held in a private collection, they have been acquired in the same time and their provenience is said to be Lebanon<sup>5</sup>.

First, some methodological remarks seem to be necessary. All the publications of inscribed arrowheads increase our knowledge of the beginning of Semitic linear writing since the proto-Phoenician is documented only by a small number of inscriptions: as well from a palaeographical than linguistical and onomastical point of view. But regretfully most of these publications lack of an archaeological analysis of the object out of the inscription<sup>6</sup>. As a matter of fact, only a small part of these Phoenician arrowheads were inscribed as it is shown by the 'hoard' said to be found at El-Khadr in 1953, which contained 26 arrowheads, 3 of them being inscribed<sup>7</sup>. Since the inscribed arrowheads

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<sup>1</sup> P. Bordreuil, "Flèches phéniciennes inscrites: 1981-1991 I", *RB* 99, 1992, pp. 205-213; the metonymical process often used by French scholars ('flèche' instead of 'pointe de flèche') makes them forget its perishable part (shaft and feathering).

<sup>2</sup> R. Deutsch and M. Heltzer, *Epigraphic News of the 1st Millennium BCE*, Tel Aviv 1999, pp. 13-19 (No. XVI and XIX could be the same).

<sup>3</sup> P. Bordreuil and F. Briquel-Chatonnet, "Une nouvelle flèche avec inscription proto-phénicienne", *Semitica* 49, 1999, pp. 194-195; R. Deutsch and A. Lemaire, *The Adoniram Collection of West Semitic Inscriptions*, Geneva 2003, pp. 9-10; H. Sader, "Une pointe de flèche phénicienne inédite du Musée National de Beyrouth", in *ACFP* IV/1, Cádiz 2000, pp. 271-279; A. Lemaire, "Nouveau roi dans une inscription proto-phénicienne?", in *ACFP* V, Palermo 2005: id., "Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes sur bronze", in *ACFP* VI, Lisboa (in press).

<sup>4</sup> F.M. Cross, "The Arrow of Suwar, Retainer of 'Abday", *ErIs* 25, 1996, pp. 13\*-15\*; F. Mazza, "L'iscrizione sulla punta di freccia di Zakarbaal 'Re di Amurru'", *OA* 26, 1987, pp. 191-200, spurious according to A. Lemaire, "Nouvelle pointe de flèche inscrite proto-phénicienne", *SEL* 6, 1989, p. 54 et n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> I would like to thank the collector for allowing me to publish them.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for example W. Röllig, "Onomastic and Palaeographic Considerations on Early Phoenician Arrowheads", in *ACFP* III/2, Tunis 1995, pp. 348-355; É. Puech, "Les pointes de flèches inscrites de la fin du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire en Phénicie et Canaan", in *ACFP* IV/1, Cádiz 2000, pp. 251-269 (incomplete catalogue of 28 arrowheads).

<sup>7</sup> F.M. Cross and J.T. Milik, "A Typological Study of the El Khadr Javelin- and Arrow-heads", *ADAJ* 3, 1956, pp. 15-23 (the inscribed examples are rather javelin- than arrow-heads according to their size).

only have been taken into consideration by epigraphists and collectors, they are much more appreciated in the antiquities market than the uninscribed. Therefore they are much sought-after, isolated from the other ones and removed out of their archaeological context. Out of the 61 examples known today, only the first arrowhead was discovered *in situ*, in 1925, at Ruweiseh (Lebanon) in a tomb, its context being unfortunately disturbed<sup>8</sup>. The 60 other examples come from the antiquities market and their provenience, even if it is indicated, cannot be checked: purchased in Jerusalem and Amman, said to come from El-Khadr (No. II-IV and X-XI?)<sup>9</sup>, purchased in the Lebanese Beqa' (No. V), in Damascus (No. VII), Tyre (No. IX), London (No. XXIV, XXV, XXIX-XXXIII, XXXV-XLI, XLV-XLVIII, LI), Jerusalem (No. XLII, XLIV), Israel (No. XLIV), purchased in Lebanon and said to come from the plain of 'Akkar<sup>10</sup>. We have also some indications from the use of gentilics: ŠDNY, «the Sidonians» (No. VI), MLK 'MR, «king of Amurru» (No. XII, XXIX), KTY, «the Kitionian» (No. XXXII). As far as the function of these arrowheads is concerned, we know that the name inscribed on them was the owner's because successive owner's names were incised on two palimpsest examples. Nevertheless, this almost complete lack of context unfortunately makes impossible today a serious and synthetic study of these objects. None of the interpretations of their function that have been sometimes proposed (ceremonial weapons, votive objects, foundation deposits, divinatory role, cynegetic role in order to give every warrior or hunter the enemies or animals shot by his bow)<sup>11</sup> can be accepted because, due the lack of context, we have not true informations. Only the hypotheses of funeral artefact can be taken into account for the arrowhead found in the tomb of Ruweiseh (No. 1), and of military use for the arrowhead of 'Adonišu'a, who was RB, «commander» (No. XVII), and the one of Banaya', who was RB 'LP, «chief of thousand» (No. XXIV). The ancient break of the extremity of arrowhead No. 3 published in this article proves that it was used and therefore was a true weapon and not only a votive object, as it may happen in Antiquity. Besides the palaeographic study of the inscription, a typological study of the arrowhead would be useful and could include at least a precise and complete description, using for

<sup>8</sup> P.E. Guigues, "Pointe de flèche en bronze à inscription phénicienne", *MUSJ* 11, 1926, pp. 325-328; S. Ronzevalle, "Note sur le texte phénicien de la flèche publiée par M.P.E. Guigues", *MUSJ* 11, 1926, pp. 329-358. É. Puech (*loc. cit.* [n. 6]), p. 251 supposes that most of these arrowheads come from tombs plundering, but it is a mere guess.

<sup>9</sup> I follow here the numbers of the most complete list of the corpus: Deutsch - Heltzer, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 13-19 (with bibliography).

<sup>10</sup> Bordreuil - Briquel-Chatonnet, *loc. cit.* (n. 3).

<sup>11</sup> P. Bordreuil, in E. Lipinski (éd.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Turnhout 1992, s.v. "Flèches"; R. Deutsch and M. Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence from the Biblical Period*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1995, p. 12 (with bibl.); E. Gubel et al., *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen* (exhibition Catalogue), Brussels 1991, p. 152, No. 121. The hypothesis of a divinatory function for protection of warriors involved in fighting against sea peoples invaders proposed by É. Puech (*loc. cit.* [n. 6]), pp. 260-262) is not supported by serious grounds. In any case, the function of these inscribed arrowheads cannot be understood without taking into account the numerous uninscribed examples.

example the documentary language that I have proposed for all the ancient metallic arrowheads<sup>12</sup>.

**1. Bronze arrowhead, rather well-preserved (Pl. I).**

Dimensions:

Overall length: 85mm.

Blade - Length: 58mm; width: 12mm; thickness: 2mm.

Tang - Length: 30mm; widest diameter: 5mm.

Description<sup>13</sup>:

Extremity of the blade (I): sharpened flat (A1).

Blade - Section (II<sup>1</sup>): flat with rib, polygonal section (A3).

- Profile (II<sup>2</sup>): curvilinear convex, with widest point about the middle (B1b).

Basis of the blade (III): without barb (A).

Fixation (IV): stem and tang with square section (D).

Accessories (V): with inscription (G2).

The central rib bears on both sides an inscription of 10 letters, relatively deep and firmly incised. It reads as follows:

(obverse)    ḤṢ 'DY        "Arrow of 'Aday.

(reverse)    BN KNY        son of Kanay".

I shall describe the palaeographic features of the script in the order of the letters on the inscription, referring to other arrowheads inscriptions for comparisons. *Bet* exhibits the short, angled leg which branches off directly from the triangular head, according to the archaic eleventh-century B.C. type<sup>14</sup>. The *dalet* exhibits typical mid-eleventh century form: a somewhat elongated isosceles triangle, narrower than the equilateral triangles often seen in tenth-century *dalers*<sup>15</sup>. The *het* is drawn as a simple box, its vertical not breaking through the upper-most and lowest horizontals, typical of the eleventh-century arrowheads<sup>16</sup>. Both *yods* are marked by two horizontal strokes of almost the same length, the top one being a little bit longer; they show no trace of the curving top of the dominant tenth-century *yod*<sup>17</sup>. The *kap* has a trident form, with three separated strokes and without stem<sup>18</sup>. Both *nuns* have no more a rotated and reversed stance but a vertical one<sup>19</sup>. Since

<sup>12</sup> Instead of still following in the description, the incomplete and out of date article of F.M. Cross and J.T. Milik, *loc. cit.* (n. 7), cf. J. Elayi and A. Planas Palau, *Les pointes de flèches en bronze d'Ibiza dans le cadre de la colonisation phénico-punique*, Paris 1995, pp. 13-30.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Elayi - Planas Palau, *ibid.*, pp. 304-308.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. Bordreuil, "Épigraphes phéniciennes sur bronze, sur pierre et sur céramique", in *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil à la mémoire de R. Saidah*, Lyon 1982, p. 188, fig. 1; P.K. McCarter, "Two Bronze Arrowheads with Archaic Alphabetic Inscriptions", *ERIs* 26, 1999, p. 125\*, fig. 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> McCarter, *ibid.*, p. 123\*, fig. 1-2; Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 10\*, fig. 1-2; R. Deutsch and M. Heltzer, *Forty New Ancient West Semitic Inscriptions*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1994, p. 21, pl. 1, 4.

<sup>16</sup> Deutsch - Lemaire, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 9, No. 1; Bordreuil - Briquel-Chatonnet, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), p. 194, fig. 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Deutsch - Heltzer, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 21, pl. 1, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Puech, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 266, pl. II, 13.

the engraver tool is not quite accurate for a circular shape, the *‘ayin* is a kind of spiral. The *šade* is a developed form, one that appears first in the mid-11th century and continues into the 10th<sup>20</sup>. Palaeographic characters of the script of arrowhead No. 1 point to a date in the mid- or late 11th century.

We have to content with some typological remarks because lack a systematic study of Near Eastern weapons and archaeological reports have given little attention to the typology of arrowheads in the period of Late Bronze I to Iron I. Arrowhead No. 1, with its thick blade and flat rib, has closest affinities with 13th-11th century forms from Megiddo, Beth Pelet, Tell Abu Hawam and Hama for example<sup>21</sup>. The typological dating fits with the palaeographical one but is still less accurate. The name *‘DY* does not appear on the arrowheads of this period, but it is frequent in West Semitic personal names: *‘D*, «witness», plus a hypocoristic suffix *-ay* or *-iya*<sup>22</sup>. It appears in Ugaritic and Amarna texts<sup>23</sup>, and also in Phoenician<sup>24</sup>. It is frequent as a theophorous name in Punic (*‘D’ŠMN*, *‘DB’L*, *‘D’ŠTRT*), Hebrew (*‘DYHW*, *‘DYH*), Aramean (*‘DYH*) and ammonite (*‘D’L*)<sup>25</sup>. The name of *‘Aday*’s father – *KNY* – does not appear on the arrowheads, but is attested in West Semitic personal names; the common Semitic root *KWN*, «to establish», plus a hyporistic suffix *-ay* or *-iya*<sup>26</sup>. It appears in Ugaritic, Aramaic<sup>27</sup> and has been compared with the Assyrian *Ki-na-a* or *Ku-na-a* and the Neo-babylonian *Ku-na-a*<sup>28</sup>. It appears as a theophorous name in Hebrew: *KNYHW*<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 9b.

<sup>20</sup> Bordreuil, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207, fig. 1; Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12\*, fig. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. bibliography in Cross - Milik, *loc. cit.* (n. 7), p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Rome 1972, p. 373; F. Rundgren, "The Synoptic Gospels as Language", *Biblica* 46, 1965, pp. 468-469; J.A. Thompson, "Expansions of the *‘D* Root", *JSS* 10, 1965, pp. 222-240.

<sup>23</sup> *PRU* V, No. 121, l. 2; cf. F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rome 1967, pp. 51, 107; cf. also Addaya: W.L. Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, EA 254, 37.

<sup>24</sup> E. Gubel, "Notes sur l'épigraphie royale sigillaire", in *ACFP* II/2, Rome 1991, pp. 913-922, fig. 1: 11, 2a; B. Sass and C. Uehlinger (eds), *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, Fribourg-Göttingen 1993, pp. 118-121, 128 and fig. 47.

<sup>25</sup> A. Ferjaoui, *Recherches sur les relations entre l'Orient phénicien et Carthage*, Freiburg 1993, pp. 314-315 (Punic). 2 Chr. 23, 1; J.D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew*, *JSOTS* 49, Sheffield 1988, p. 109, 354; J. Elayi, "Inscriptions nord-ouest sémitiques inédites", *Semítica* 38, 1990, pp. 101-102; G.I. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions, Corpus and Concordance*, Cambridge 1991, p. 204; R. Deutsch and A. Lemaire, *Biblical Period Personal Seals in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection*, Tel Aviv 2000, p. 47, No. 41 (Hebrew). W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten*, Wien 1978, p. 65 (Aramean). W.E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*, Lewiston 1989, p. 74, No. 31, l. 2 (Ammonite).

<sup>26</sup> Benz, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 332.

<sup>27</sup> *PRU* II, No. 94, l. 3; Gröndahl, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 396 (Ugaritic). A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, London 1950, p. 44/38; P. Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits*, Paris 1986, p. 85, No. 103; M. Maraqtan, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reich-aramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim 1988, p. 85 (Aramaic).

<sup>28</sup> K.L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsinki 1902, p. 92; id., *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsinki 1914, pp. 115, 118; G.R. Driver, "Aramaic Names in Accadian Texts", in *Scritti in onore di G. Furlani* I, *RSO* 37, Roma 1957, p. 50.



and their rotate stance, are close in shape to mid-late eleventh century forms<sup>34</sup>. The *‘ayin* has the same rough form than on the previous arrowhead. The *šade*, somewhat obscured by surface corrosion, seems to have the well-developed form of the mid-11th century, but inverted, which is an archaic feature<sup>35</sup>. *Qop* is rare in the corpus of inscribed arrowheads, so that its appearance here is especially welcome: as on arrowhead No. XLIX, it is small, circular and not pierced by its short vertical shaft<sup>36</sup>. Three examples of *šin* appear on this arrowhead: it is the large standard saw-toothed form, not of much typological significance since it evolves little in the 11th-10th centuries<sup>37</sup>. Most of the diagnostic, palaeographic characters of the script of this arrowhead point to a date in the mid- or late 11th century.

This arrowhead has the same typology as the previous one, except for the lack of central rib, which could indicate a somewhat later date, so maybe late 11th century<sup>38</sup>.

The owner's name of this arrowhead is uncertain because the first letter is obscured by corrosion. I propose to read for example [B]N<sup>ʔ</sup> or [H]N<sup>ʔ</sup>. BN<sup>ʔ</sup> is frequent in Punic, maybe from the common Semitic root BNY/W, «to build, create»<sup>39</sup>. HN<sup>ʔ</sup> is an extremely frequent Punic hypocoristic, from the common Semitic root HNN, «to favor», and it also appears on a Tyrian Punic funerary stele<sup>40</sup>; if the reading is correct, it would mean that this name already existed in Phoenician. His patronym – ʔŠY – is a rare personal name. It is attested in a Phoenician inscription from Ez-Zib, in the Aramaic inscription from Daskyleion and in a bilingual Numido-punic inscription from Dougga; we find also ʔŠY, ʔŠYH and ŠYHW in Hebrew<sup>41</sup>. Its interpretation has been much debated but it is now clearly attested in Phoenician and it could be related with a root ʔWŠ/ʔYŠ, «to give»<sup>42</sup>.

The designation ʔŠ + PN, «man of PN» appears on 10 arrowheads out of 61<sup>43</sup>. It has been proposed that this expression could be compared with ʔanšē dāwīd, «retainers of

34 Milik, *loc. cit.* (n. 32), p. 3; Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12\*, fig. 4; Bordreuil - Briquel-Chatonnet, *loc. cit.* (n. 3), p. 194, fig. 1-2.

35 Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 56, fig. 1; McCarter, *loc. cit.* (n. 14), p. 10\*, fig. 1-2.

36 McCarter, *ibid.*, p. 123\*, fig. 1-2; Bordreuil, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), p. 208, fig. 2.

37 Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 10\*, fig. 1-2.

38 Cross - Milik, *loc. cit.* (n. 7), p. 23 (with bibliography).

39 Benz, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 89, 288.

40 *Ibid.*, pp. 313-314; G. Halff, "L'onomastique punique de Carthage. Répertoire et commentaire", *Karthago* 12, 1963-64, pp. 11, 1-112; H. Sader, *Iron Funerary Stelae from Lebanon*, Barcelona 2005, p. 80, No. 60.

41 G.R. Driver, "Seals and Tomb Stones", *ADAJ* 2, 1952, p. 64, pl. VIII: 7; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription araméenne d'époque perse trouvée à Daskyléon (Turquie)", *CRAI*, 1956, p. 53, l. 1; *KAI* 100, l. 6 (no comment in the notes); N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, pp. 80, 478, 485.

42 For example F.M. Cross, "An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion", *BASOR* 184, 1966, p. 8, n. 17; J. Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique", *Syria* 45, 1968, p. 376, No. 83; E. Lipinski, "Obadiah 20", *VT* 23, 1973, pp. 368-370; P. Bordreuil, "Inscriptions sigillaires ouest-sémitiques II", *Syria* 52, 1975, pp. 115-117; Benz, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 277-278; Fowler, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 399-400; R. Deutsch, *Messages from the Past*, Tel Aviv 1999, pp. 105-106, No. 38.

43 No. XIII, XVI, XIX, XXI, XXVII, XXX, XXXIV, XLIX and Deutsch - Lemaire, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 9, No. 1.

David» and that the title ʾŠ could belong to ranking military retainers<sup>44</sup>. Anyway, the meaning of ʾŠ is not «servant» or «minister» since ʿBD appears on a recently published arrowhead<sup>45</sup>. The third name inscribed on this arrowhead is ŠQ<sup>2</sup> who is the chief of the owner [B/H]N<sup>3</sup>. I know a single example of a name ŠQ<sup>3</sup> on a scarab found in Egypt, which F.L. Benz has proposed to relate with Hebrew *šq*ʿ, «to sink» in sense of being low, a personal quality?<sup>46</sup>.

### 3. Bronze arrowhead, broken at its extremity and sharpened later (Pl. III).

#### Dimensions:

Overall length preserved: 47mm.

Blade - Length preserved: 25mm; width: 13mm; thickness: 2mm.

Tang - Length: 22mm; widest diameter: 5mm.

#### Description:

Same as arrowhead No. 1.

The central rib bears on both sides an inscription, relatively deep and firmly incised, but the end of each inscription is missing and only 11 letters are left. Besides, the corrosion has obscured some letters on the first side. I propose to read the remaining letters as follows:

(obverse)	ḤṢ G/L/PB <sup>3</sup> Ḥ(?)	“Arrow of X,
(reverse)	BN DN <sup>3</sup> [	son of Dana <sup>3</sup> [”.

The *beth* is exactly the same form as on arrowhead No. 2. The second letter is shaped with two unequal strokes meeting at a sharp angle; its stance is a normalized position for *gimel* or *pe*, or rotated for *lamed*. The *dalet* is without a leg, rather narrow and reversed to the right as on El-Khadr arrowheads No. III and IV, dated from about 1100 B.C., and on arrowhead No. XIII, dated from the first half of the 11th century. The reading of the last letter on the first side is uncertain; it could be a reversed *he*<sup>47</sup>. The *het* is drawn as a simple box, as on previous arrowheads. Both *nuns* have their arms of approximately equal length and still a somewhat rotated stance. The two exemplars of ʿ*ayin* have a rough form as on previous arrowheads. The *šade* is similar to the one on arrowhead No. 1 and unremarkable. In summary, the typological features of the script of this arrowhead point to a date in the mid-11th century, which roughly fits with the typology.

The name of the owner of this arrowhead is quite uncertain: GB<sup>3</sup>[, LB<sup>3</sup>[ or PB<sup>3</sup>[, which are not documented. LB<sup>3</sup>[ is attested once in an Edomite impression: MLKLB<sup>3</sup> which is unparalleled<sup>48</sup>. The name of his father is DN<sup>3</sup>[, from the common Semitic root

<sup>44</sup> Bordreuil, *loc. cit.* (n. 14), p. 190; F.M. Cross, “An Inscribed Arrowhead of the Eleventh Century BCE in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem”, *ErIs* 23, 1992, p. 22\*.

<sup>45</sup> Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 3).

<sup>46</sup> *RÉS* 1913; Benz, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 425.

<sup>47</sup> Deutsch - Lemaire, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 10, fig. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Avigad - Sass, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 511, No. 1050. Corrections were suggested, summarized in A. Lemaire, ‘Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits’, in Sass - Uehlinger, *op. cit.* (n. 24), note 9.

DYN/DN, «to judge», used for example in Hebrew, Ammonite, Aramaic and Nabataean personal names such as DN<sup>3</sup>L, <sup>3</sup>LYDN or KMŠDN<sup>49</sup>.

4. Bronze arrowhead, with the extremities of blade and tang broken (Pl. IV).

Dimensions:

Overall length preserved: 43mm.

Blade - Length preserved: 29mm; width: 12mm; thickness: 2mm.

Tang - Length preserved: 14mm; widest diameter: 4mm.

Description:

Same as arrowhead No. 1.

The central rib bears also on both sides an inscription, but most of the letters are poorly preserved or obliterated by corrosion.

(obverse)	Ṭ(?)Ṛ/D..[	?
(reverse)	ZKRṚB[	“Zakerba[‘al]”.

The *beth*, poorly preserved but clear to me, is the same as on arrowheads No. 2 and 3. The *ayin* is the archaic unremarkable type: the joinline is vertical between the two rather long horizontal lines<sup>50</sup>. The damaged *kaph* seems to be the same as on arrowhead No. 1. The first *resh* (or *dalet* ?) is a triangle with a short shaft, surprisingly tilted to the left: the second *resh* is tilted to the right<sup>51</sup>. If it is not a simple cross-shaped drawing, the *taw* is large and its two crossbars have the same length<sup>52</sup>. Since the inscription is poorly preserved and that no letter is remarkable, I propose to date this arrowhead from the mid-late 11th century by comparison with typological features of arrowheads No. 1 and 3.

The name TR/D[, followed by two illegible letters, cannot be understood. We know only the name TDB<sup>3</sup>L, attested on arrowhead No. XXXV and which is unparalleled. On the other side, the reading of ZKRṚB[ is very likely. The name Zakerba‘al is attested on arrowheads No. XII and XXIX (king of Amurru), and on No. V, abbreviated like here. ZKRṚB<sup>3</sup>L/SKRṚB<sup>3</sup>L, from the common Semitic root ZKR, «to remember», is well attested in Phoenician and Punic<sup>53</sup>. This inscription does not begin as usually with the word ḤṢ, «arrowhead», which lacks only on arrowhead No. XI, and the two names are not related by BN, «son», which maybe occurs only on arrowhead No. XX, if the reading proposed

<sup>49</sup> J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, Leiden *et al.* 1995, s.v. dn; cf. Fowler, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 107, 341; Avigad - Sass, *ibid.*, No. 898, 1030; M. Kochavi, *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* III, Jerusalem 1977, p. 774; A. Negev, *Personal Names in the Nabataean Realm*, Jerusalem 1991, p. 118.

<sup>50</sup> Milik, *loc. cit.* (n. 32), p. 3; Bordreuil, *loc. cit.* (n. 14), p. 188, fig. 1; Deutsch - Heltzer, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 21, pl. 1, 5; Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 4), p. 12\*, fig. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Bordreuil - Briquel-Chatonnet, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), p. 208, fig. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Deutsch - Heltzer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 21, pl. 1, 3-4; McCarter, *loc. cit.* (n. 14), p. 123\*, fig. 1-2; Sader, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 63, stela No. 41-42, p. 31, stela No. 7.

<sup>53</sup> Benz, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 305-306; M.A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau 1869, p. 28, No. 13; CIS I, 1218. 1354. 5253 (?); Starcky, *loc. cit.* (n. 30), p. 182.



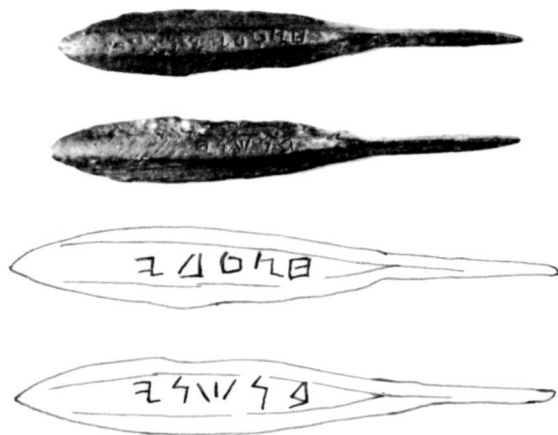
by É. Puech is correct<sup>54</sup>. In this case, it is impossible to know if Zakerba'al is the father or the son.

These four new exemplars are a welcome addition to the small corpus of inscribed arrowheads of this period. They complete Groups B and C (Mid-Late 11th century) of Cross<sup>55</sup>, a period of rather rapid palaeographic development extending from the beginning to the end of this century. The nine names they bear are of no little interest, one only being already attested on arrowheads. Arrowhead No. 2 bears three names, which occurs only one time on arrow No. XI.

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<sup>54</sup> Puech, *loc. cit.* (n. 6), p. 255, No. 20.

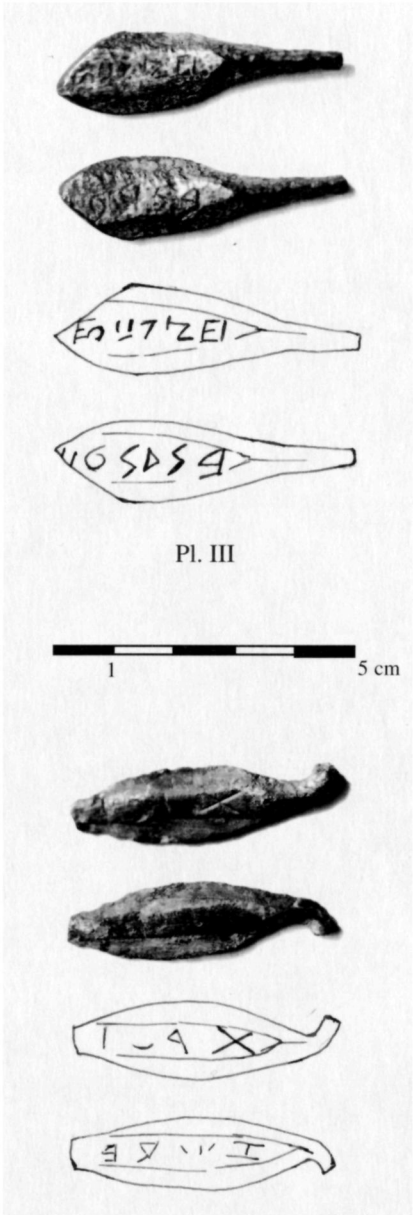
<sup>55</sup> Cross, *loc. cit.* (n. 44), p. 25\*. I see no reason for the moment to lower the dating as suggested by B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millenium: The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE: the Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets*, Tel Aviv 2005.



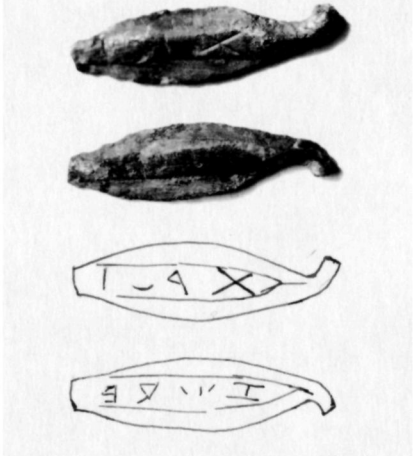
Pl. I



Pl. II



Pl. III



Pl. IV