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The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment

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THE interest aroused in the Aramaic stele inscription discovered at Tel Dan in 1993¹ prompts us to hasten the publication of two new pieces found in June 1994. These have been designated Fragments B1 and B2; consequently, the fragment found last year is called here Fragment A. The Hebrew Union College excavations at the site in 1994 concentrated on the area of the Israelite fortifications to the east of the square uncovered the previous year.² The Israel Antiquities Authority and the Israel Government Tourist Corporation continued their conservation and restoration of the city wall here, and our excavation was extended accordingly along the base of the wall.

While excavating the accumulated debris, a Roman clay pipe was uncovered, under which the tops of standing basalt monoliths appeared. Further excavations revealed a construction, 4.50 × 2.50 m., with three monoliths, 1.17 m., 0.73 m. and 0.50 m. high respectively (Fig. 1). In front of the largest one there was a basalt bowl on a decorated capital set on a flat base (Fig. 2). A large quantity of ash was found around the stones, and there were traces of fire on the inside of the basalt bowl as well. We identified the standing stones as *maššebot*, behind a small flagstone pavement. The construction may well be a *bamah* built on top of the level of the destruction debris of the Assyrian conquest of northern Israel

1 A. Biran and J. Naveh: An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan, *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 81–98.

2 This year's expedition, under the direction of A. Biran, included Rachel Ben Dov, R. Barnor, Y. Ben Ephraim, Gila Cook, R. Goren, Malka Herslikovitz, Hanni Hirsch and Morag Kersal. For last year's excavation, see Biran and Naveh (above, n. 1), p. 82, Fig. 2, and p. 83, Fig. 3.

Figs. 4, 8 and 9 were photographed by Z. Radovan; the others by A. Biran.



Fig. 1. Tel Dan, 1994: three monoliths uncovered in debris accumulated along base of city wall.

in 733/732 B.C.E. This level of destruction also covered the remains of buildings dated to the ninth–eighth centuries B.C.E. (Fig. 3).³

Excavation of the debris south of the stone construction continued, and at a distance of c. 2 m. a basalt stone was found, on which Area Supervisor Malka HersHKovitz recognized an inscription. This was on 20 June, 11 months after the discovery of Fragment A on 21 July 1993. The latter was found some 13 m. to the south-west, in a wall built on the flagstone pavement of the square. The newly discovered stone — Fragment B1 — was found in the debris 0.80 m. above the level of the pavement. This piece is c. 20 cm. long and 1.4 cm. wide, and contains six lines inscribed on a flat surface, 15 × 11 cm. The letters are clearly written and the words separated by dots (Fig. 4).

The excavation along the city wall continued eastward. A stone pavement running along the foot of the wall was uncovered. Approximately 5 m. of the pavement's width and 25 m. of its length have been cleared, and it appears to extend further to

³ These may well represent the *hūšōt* of Dan (cf. 1 Kings 20:34).

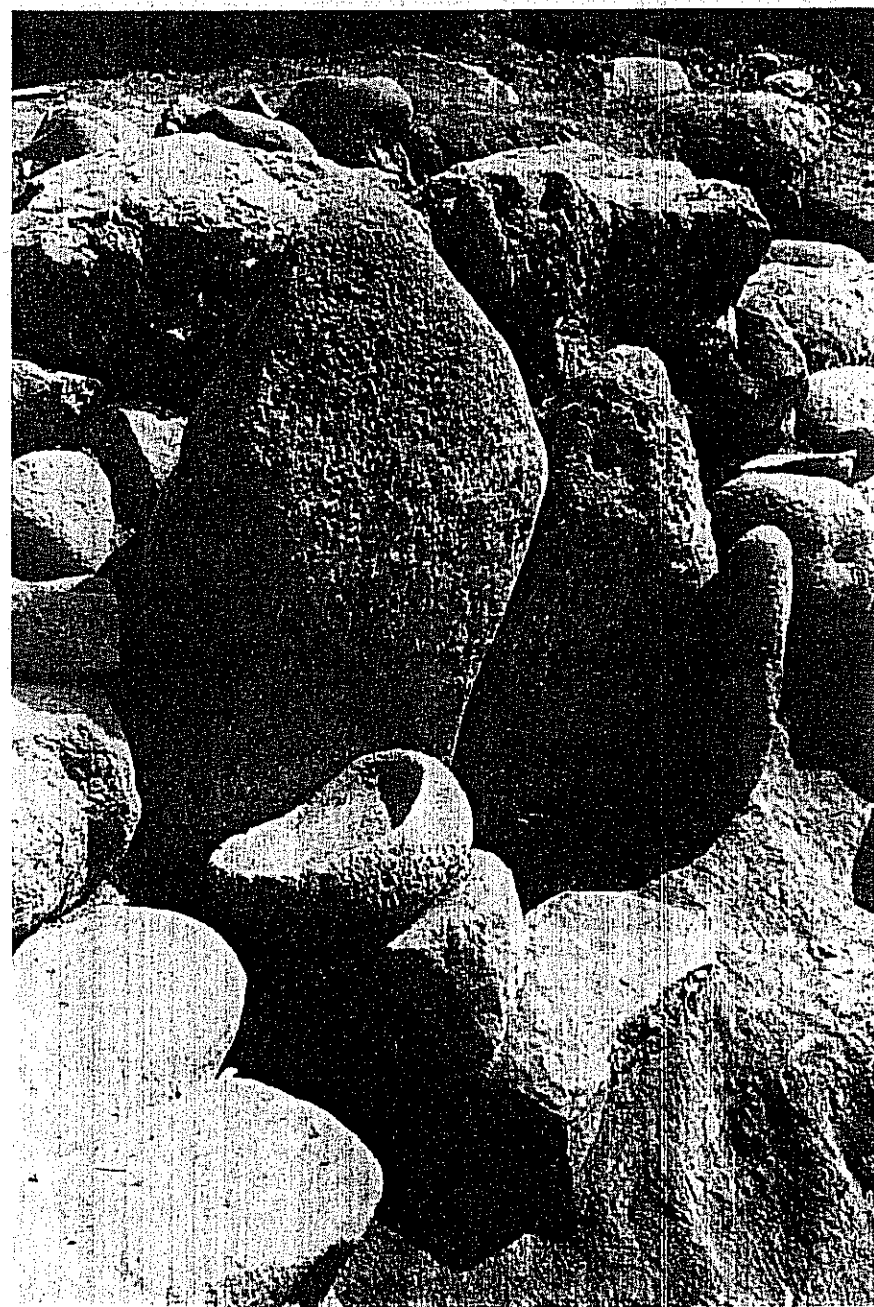


Fig. 2. Basalt bowl on decorated capital set on flat base, in front of monolith.



Fig. 3. Remains of ninth–eighth-century B.C.E. buildings at Tel Dan.

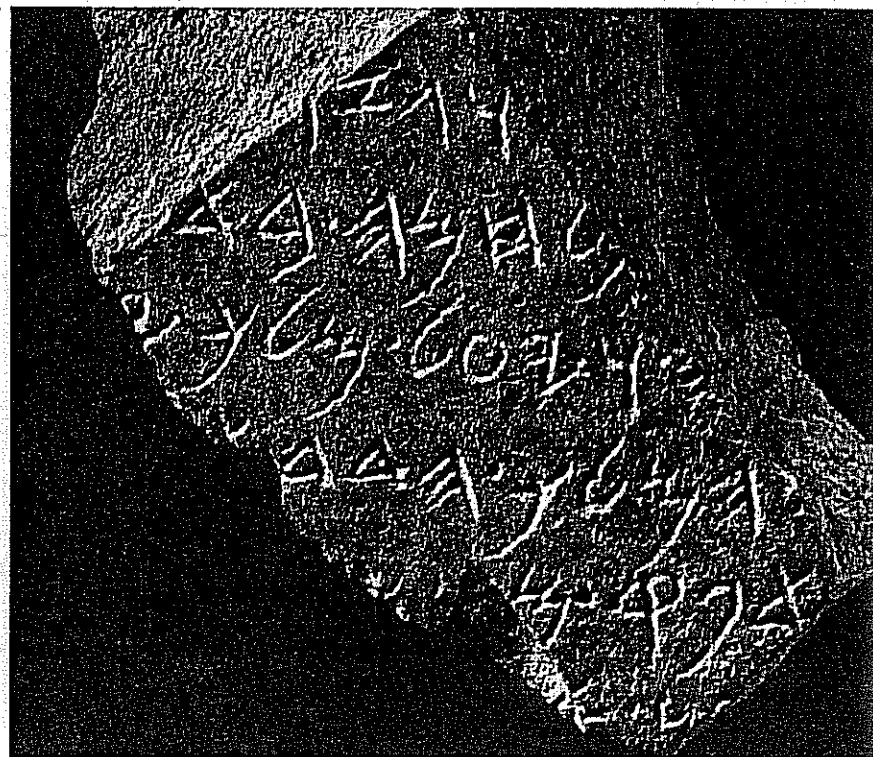


Fig. 4. Fragment B1.

the south and east. At a distance of 40 m. from the outer gate, five *maṣṣebot* were found (Fig. 5). A probe carried out under the two easternmost ones (Fig. 6) showed that the *maṣṣebot* were laid at the base of the wall, about 40 cm. below the level of the flagstone pavement, before the area was paved.

A small amount of pottery found in the probe was dated to the end of the ninth/beginning of the eighth century B.C.E. Pottery found in other probes under the flagstone pavement support the dating of the pavement to this period. This is relevant to the dating of a third piece of the inscription, which was found on 30 June, when the flagstone pavement was completely cleared. Surveyor Gila Cook, who had found Fragment A last year, spotted this third piece — designated Fragment B2 — while inserting a measuring rod into the base of the wall, about 8 m. north of the find-spot of Fragment B1. The builders who had laid the pavement had used Fragment B2 as just another flat stone (Fig. 7). Fragment B2 is 10 × 9 cm., and contains four lines inscribed on a 9 × 6 cm. surface. The letters are clear, and the words separated by dots (Fig. 8).

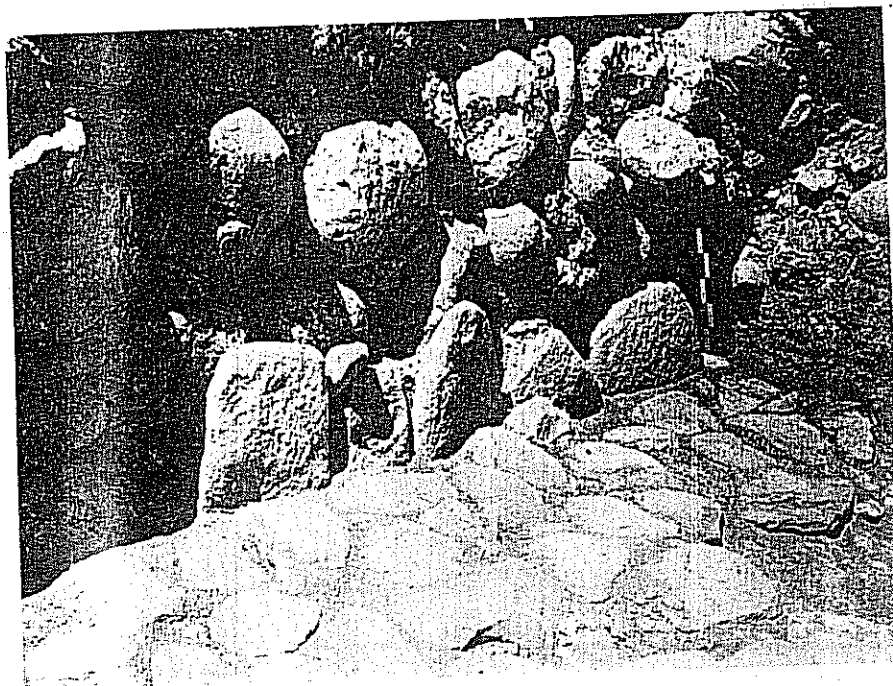


Fig. 5. Five *māṣsebot*, 40 m. from the outer gate of Tel Dan.

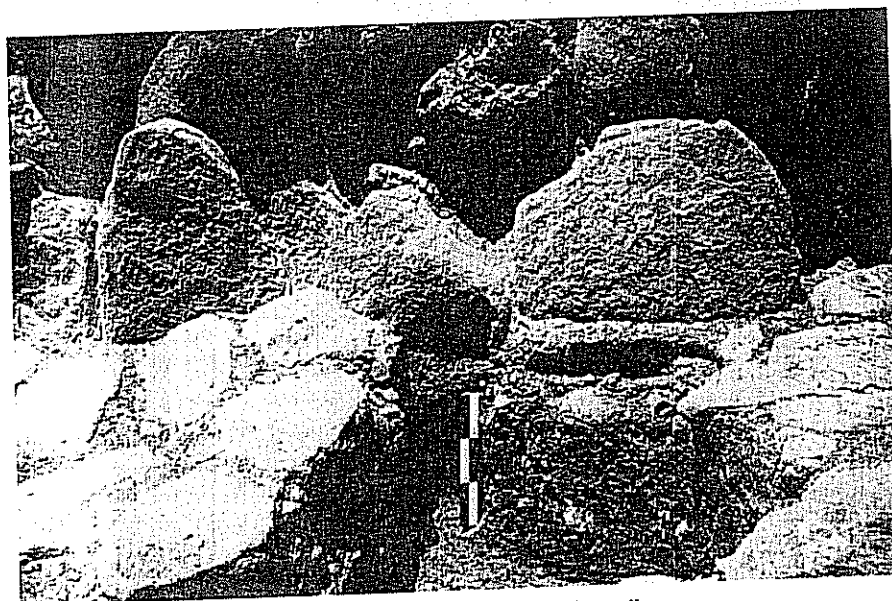


Fig. 6. The two easternmost *māṣsebot*, laid at the base of the wall.



Fig. 7. Find-spot of Fragment B2, in the base of the wall, about 8 m. north of where Fragment B1 was found.

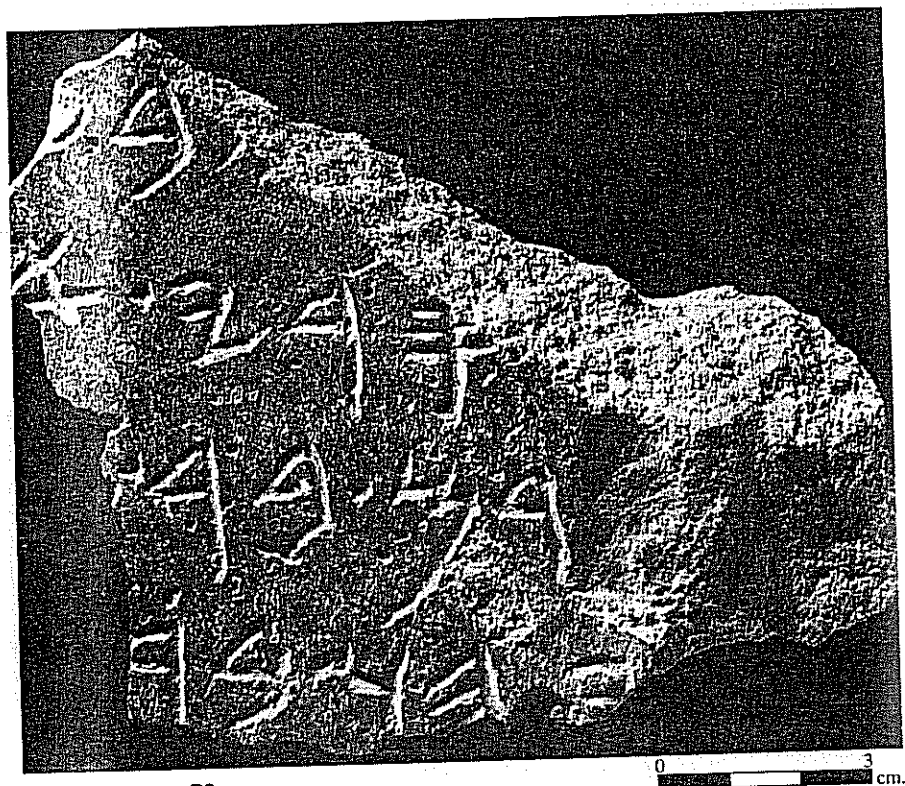


Fig. 8. Fragment B2.

This piece, together with the entire pavement, was covered by the debris of the Assyrian destruction. Consequently, it could not have been set in place later than the conquest of northern Israel by Tiglath-pileser III. In an attempt to determine how much earlier, the probe carried out at the find-spot of Fragment B2 was enlarged to remove the entire flagstone pavement in this area. The latest pottery collected is from the end of the ninth/beginning of the eighth century B.C.E., indicating that the pavement could not have been set in place before the beginning of the eighth century B.C.E. By that time the inscription was of no significance to the builders of the pavement, who, in all likelihood, were unaware of the fact that it was part of a broken stele erected by an Aramean king. The excavations have not revealed as yet when the stele was smashed and by whom.

There were, however, two kings of Israel during that period who were independent enough to have destroyed the stele set by a victorious Aramean king: Jehoash, grandson of Jehu, and his son, Jeroboam II. They ruled from c. 800–745 B.C.E., by which time the Assyrians under Adad-nirari III (805–782 B.C.E.) had crushed

the power of Damascus. According to 2 Kings 13:25, Jehoash had recovered the cities that had been taken by the Arameans, and Jeroboam II in turn extended the boundaries of his kingdom far to the north and east (2 Kings 14:25–28). Neither would have tolerated a reminder of the former weakness of their kingdom. Of the two, it is reasonable to assume that Jehoash, who fought the Arameans three times and defeated Ben Hadad, would have been responsible for smashing the stele, which was probably erected by Hazael (see below, p. 17–18).

The two newly discovered pieces were joined together to form Fragment B (Fig. 9). The maximum dimensions of its surface are 19.5 × 12 cm. The surviving letters are as follows:⁴

וּגְזֹרִין	.1
תְּלַחְמָה.בֹּא-	.2
ה.וִיעֵל.מִלְכִּין	.3
יְהִמְלֵךְ.הַדָּרִין.א	.4
אֶפְקָמָן.שִׁבְעֵן	.5
עֵן.אֶסְרִיא	.6
רַם.בֶּרֶךְ	.7
יְהוֹ.בֶרֶךְ	.8

It was clear at first glance that in lines 7–8 of the new fragment, two kings of Israel and Judah, who ruled at the same time, are mentioned. This conclusion is borne out by the unequivocal reconstruction of these lines as follows:

יְהוֹרָם.בֶּרֶךְ.אַחֲזָה.מֶלֶךְ.יִשְׂרָאֵל.
אַחֲזָה.יְהוֹ.בֶרֶךְ.יְהוֹרָם.מֶלֶךְ.בִּיתְדֹד.

The only king, either of Israel or of Judah, whose name ends with *resh* and *mem* is Jehoram. This was the name both of the son of Ahab, king of Israel, and of the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. The letters יהו, followed by בר 'the son of', must belong to a Hebrew theophorous name. In the ninth century B.C.E., the two royal names ending with יהו were אַחֲזָה(ו) and עֲתַלְיָה(ו). The latter became queen of Judah after her son Ahaziah. The name Ahaziah was borne by both a king of Israel and a king of Judah, but only one can be taken into consideration: the son of Jehoram and grandson of Jehoshaphat, who ruled in Judah for one year

⁴ A number of articles have appeared in the wake of the publication of Fragment A. This paper does not discuss the views expressed in these articles, since the publication of Fragment B refutes many formerly expressed opinions (including our own) and opens the discussion anew.

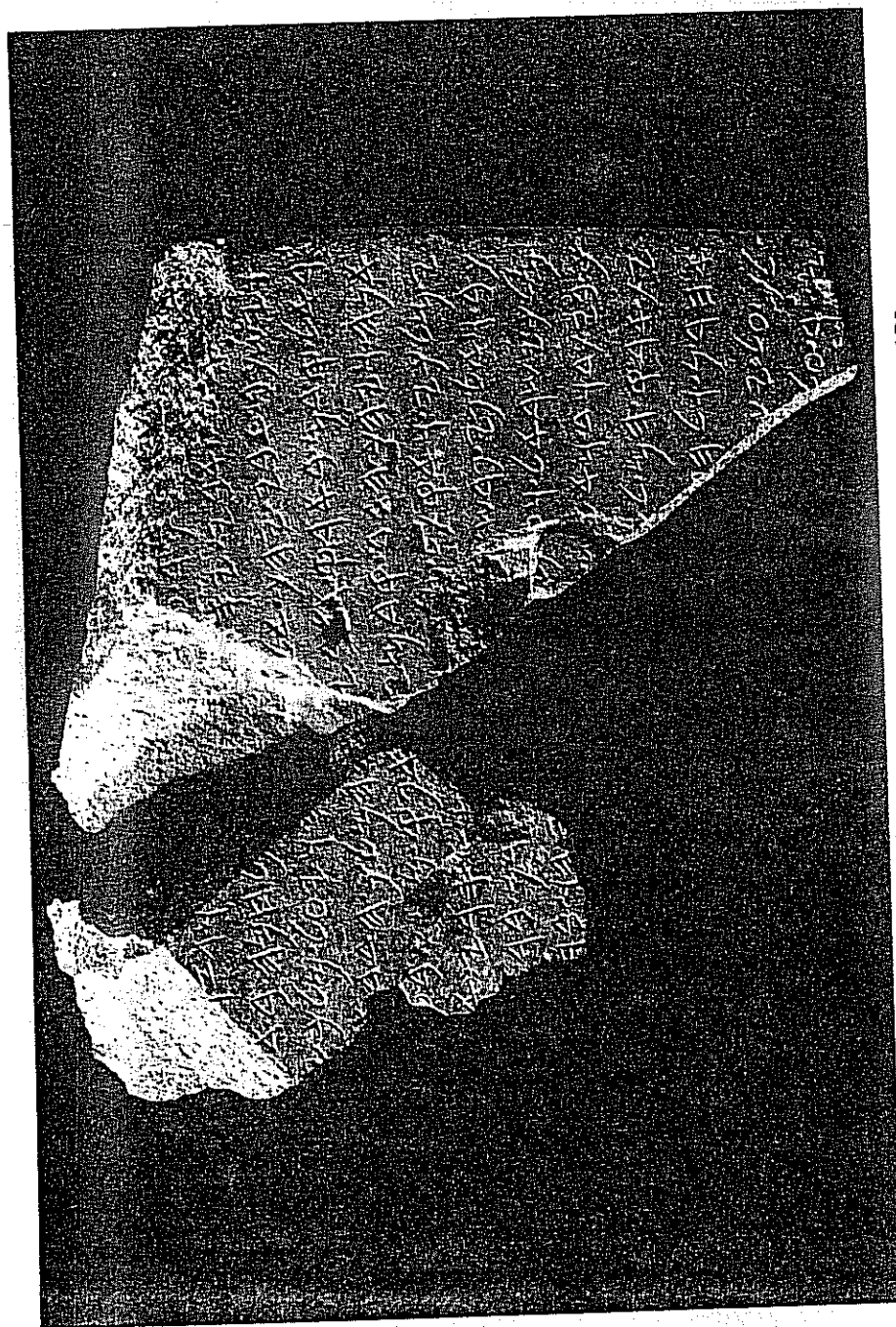


Fig. 9. Fragments A (right) and B (left). Fragment B is composed of B1 and B2.

(2 Kings 8:25–26) and was the ally of Jehoram of Israel. According to 2 Kings 9:24–28, both Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah were slain by Jehu; this took place after Hazael seized the throne from Ben Hadad II, king of Aram-Damascus, and defeated Jehoram at Ramoth Gilead (2 Kings 8:7–15, 28). Since Hazael fought against Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah (see 2 Chron. 22:5), it becomes apparent that the stele is to be attributed to the time of Hazael.

Fragments A and B cannot be joined in an obvious, unequivocal way. Three possibilities have been considered: 1) Fragment B preceding Fragment A, an unlikely possibility since the reference to the writer's father normally belongs to the beginning of the stele; 2) Fragment B belonging to the lines below Fragment A; and 3) Fragment B to the left of Fragment A (Fig. 9). The latter placement provided, albeit with some difficulties, a meaningful and continuous text. This solution was corroborated by three experienced restorers, who independently have demonstrated that the stone of both fragments can be joined below the surface at line 5.⁵ After placing the fragments next to each other so that the eight lines of Fragment B are the continuations of lines 1–8 of Fragment A, the space between the two fragments at line 5 leaves a space of one letter. The number of letters to be restored in the other lines between the fragments was based on the assumption that the left upper edge of Fragment B and the lower right edge of Fragment A form a straight line of the same break (Fig. 10). Unfortunately, the letters of Fragment B do not constitute a direct continuation of the text of Fragment A in any line, and no line in Fragment B is complete at its end. Nevertheless, in most lines, after restoring some letters between the fragments and at the line ends, a more or less meaningful text was obtained.⁶

The following presentation and interpretation of the inscription is hypothetical. Further discoveries will no doubt lead to modifications, if not major changes, in the understanding of the inscription. We believe, however, that even at this stage we should offer a possible historical scenario for the background of the inscription, on the basis of what we can glean from the two fragments discovered so far. The join below the surface of line 5 allows us to offer the following reconstruction:

5 The restorers were Nili Cohen (Hebrew Union College) and A. Weiner and Ruth Yekutieli (Israel Museum).

6 Thanks are due to Dr. Ada Yardeni for sharing with us her knowledge and experience in reading and reconstructing the text, and to Prof. Israel Eph'al for his valuable remarks on many details in this article. The opinions expressed here are solely the responsibility of the authors.

Text

- | | | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| [| וגזר] | מרע] |] | 1. |
| [| אבי יסקן. עלוה. בה] | תלחמה. בא-] |] | 2. |
| | וישכב. אבי יהך. אלן] | אבהרן. ויעל. מלכיןש] | | 3. |
| | ראל. קדם. בארק. אבי] | ויהמלך. הודר] | אנית] | 4. |
| | אנה. ויהך. הודר. קדמי] | ר. אפק. מן. שבעת. ---] | | 5. |
| | י. מלכי. ואקתל. מל | כן. שב] ען. אסרי. אנלפיר] | | 6. |
| | כב. ואלפי. פרש. קתלת. אית. יהו] | רם. בר. [אחאב.] | | 7. |
| | מלך. ישראל. וקתל] | ת. אית. אחוז] יהו. ברן. יהורם. מל] | | 8. |
| | ך. ביחרוד. ואשם. אית. קרית. הם. חרבת. ואהפך. א] | | | 9. |
| | ית. ארק. הם. לן | ישמן | | 10. |
| | אחרן. ולה-] | | | 11. |
| | לך. על. ישנראל. | | | 12. |
| | מצר. עלן.] | | | 13. |

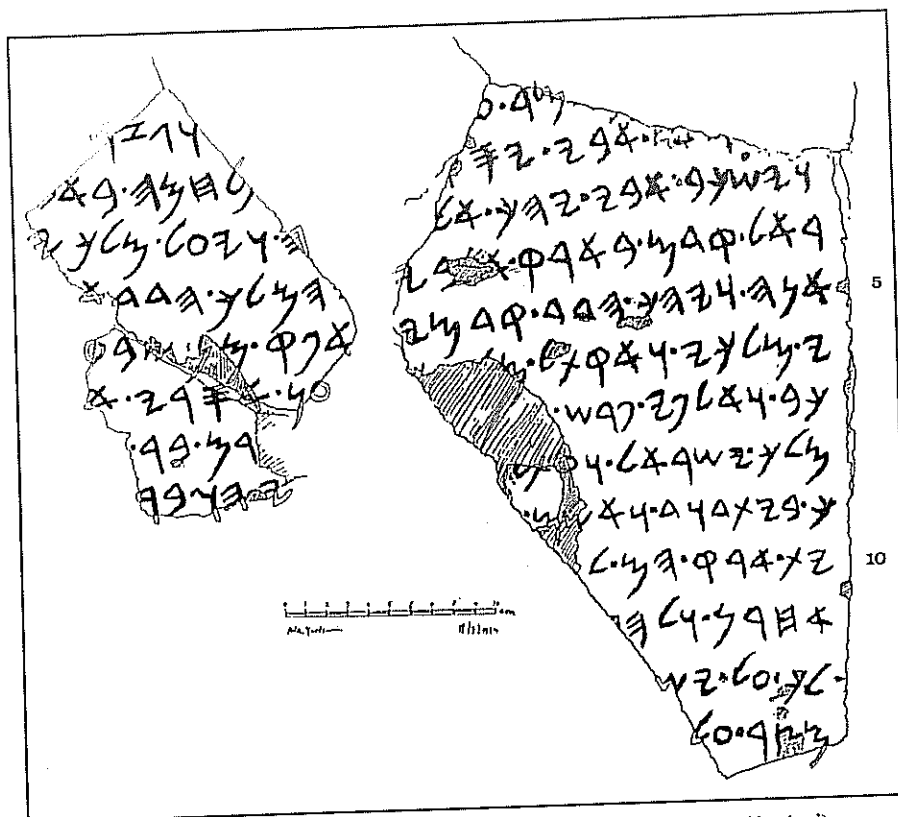


Fig. 10. Fascimile of the inscription on Fragments A and B (drawn by Ada Yardeni).

Translation

1. [...] and cut [...]
2. [...] my father went up [against him when] he fought at [...]
3. And my father lay down, he went to his [ancestors] (viz. became sick and died). And the king of I[s-]
4. rael entered previously in my father's land. [And] Hadad made me king.
5. And Hadad went in front of me, [and] I departed from [the] seven [...-]
6. s of my kingdom, and I slew [seve]nty kin[gs], who harnessed thou[sands of cha-]
7. riots and thousands of horsemen (or: horses). [I killed Jeho]ram son of [Ahab]
8. king of Israel, and [I] killed [Ahaz]iahu son of [Jehoram kin-]
9. g of the House of David. And I set [their towns into ruins and turned]
10. their land into [desolation ...]
11. other [...] and Jehu ru-]
12. led over Is[rael ...] and I laid]
13. siege upon [...]

Commentary

Line 1. The verb גזר occurs in Sfire I (KAI, 222) A:7 בר גזר וי עדיא אלן וי עדיא גזר and this treaty that Bar-Ga[yah] has concluded'; parallels the Hebrew expression ברת ברית. It also appears in Sfire IA:39-40 זנה איך וי גזר עגלא זנה 'Just as this calf is cut in two, so may Mat'el be cut in two, and may his nobles be cut in two'; here גזר equals Hebrew בחר Gen. 15:10 (see also Jer. 34:18). Since the distance between גזר and the letters [מרע], surviving in the first half of the line, is quite large, any reconstruction would be a mere guess.

Line 2. For אבי יסקן, see the publication of Fragment A.⁷ The reading תלחמה [בה] is based on the recurrence of this verb (in *hipta'el*) in the Mesha inscription: בהלחמה 'when he fought against me' (line 19); ואלתחם בקר 'and I fought against the town' (line 11); ואלתחם בה 'and I fought against it (Nebo)' (line 15); go, fight against Hōronēn' (line 32).

It is not quite clear to which letter the diagonal stroke (and the 'knee' above it) at the edge of the break, after the aleph of [-]תלחמה בא-], belongs. Two letters may be taken into consideration: *beth* or *pe*, although the stroke is too high for a *beth* (see אבי in lines 2 and 3) and too straight for a *pe*. Nevertheless, the following reconstructions may be suggested: [בה]תלחמה באבן] 'when] he fought against my fa[ther]'; [בה]תלחמה באבן] 'when] he fought at A[bel](-Beth-Maachah);

⁷ Biran and Naveh (above, n. 1), p. 91.

interpreted as 'my kingdom'.¹⁷ The abstract noun **mulk* occurs in Ugaritic and in the early tenth-century B.C.E. Aḥiram inscription from Byblos (*KAI*, 1).¹⁸ [ו]אפק מן [י]אפק מן may perhaps mean 'And I went forth (to war) outside of the seven [districts] (?) of my kingdom'.

Line 6. The reconstruction [שב]ען [מל]ך was suggested by Ada Yardeni, who recognized the tip of the *nun* at the edge of the break at Fragment A:6 and read [מל]ך.¹⁹ Seventy is 'a typological number used to express totality, all-inclusiveness'.²⁰ This is quite common in the Bible, e.g. בשמרון (2 Kings 10:1); and ויהרג אביו ויהרג שבעים מלכיו ביהרג אביו ויהרג שבעים מלכיו (Judg. 1:7); in the Panamu inscription, lines 3–4: 'and he slew his father Baršur and he slew the seventy kinsmen of his father'. The word order, [שב]ען, i.e. the noun preceding the number, is quite common in later Aramaic.²¹

Lines 6–7. 'and I slew [seve]nty kin[gs], who harnessed thou[sands of cha]riots and thousands of horsemen'. אסרי is the construct state of the plural active participle 'those who harness', i.e. those who possessed thousands of chariots and horsemen. For אסר רכב, see Exod. 14:6; 1 Kings 18:44 and 2 Kings 9:21. As פרש may also mean 'horse' (e.g., 2 Sam. 1:6; Ezek. 27:14), the translation 'those who harness (אסרי) ... horses' is also possible.

In the publication of Fragment A, אלפי was translated 'two thousand', taken as a definite number in the list of the enemy's casualties.²² In the context of the two fragments, however, אלפי should be interpreted as an undefined number 'thousands of'.

Lines 7–9. See above, p. 9, for the restoration [מל]ך ישראל and [רם.בר.אחאב.מל]ך ישראל. It should be noted that after [רם.בר.] only four

17 See S. Aḥituv: Suzerain or Vassal? Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan, *IEJ* 43 (1993), p. 246.

18 H.L. Ginsberg (An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters, *BASOR* 111 [1948], p. 25) translated the expression מלך מלך, in the Adon letter from Saqqara, as 'lord of kingdoms', and J.A. Fitzmyer (*The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, Rome, 1967, pp. 74–75) reconstructed it in Sfire I B:6 and I C:6.

19 This tip was reconstructed by Puech as an *aleph*. See E. Puech: La stèle araméenne de Dan: Bar Hadad II et la coalition de Omrides et de la Maison de David, *RB* 101–102 (1994), pp. 218–219, 225.

20 M. Cogan and H. Tadmor: *II Kings* (*The Anchor Bible*), New York, 1988, p. 113.

21 See S. Segert: *Altaramäische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1975, pp. 342–346.

22 Biran and Naveh (above, n. 1), pp. 90, 93. That אלפי could have been the construct state of the dual אֶלְפִין* should be obvious from a stone weight inscribed 'two sheqels of Hamath'; see P. Bordreuil and E. Gubel: Bulletin d'antiquités archéologiques du Levant inédits ou méconnues 1, *Syria* 60 (1983), p. 341.

letters and one dot, [אחאב.], may be restored at the end of line 7 in order to join with מלך ישראל in line 8, whereas after [יהו.בר.] in line 8 seven letters and two dots, [יהו.בר.מל.], are missing before ביהרג in line 9. Since no remnants of the left edge of the inscription have yet been found, one wonders whether unlike the beginnings of the lines, the line ends were not aligned, or whether there was another reason for the discrepancy in the number of letters missing, such as haplography of one of the *mems* in יהו.בר.מל.²³

[יהו.בר.מל.] in Fragment A:8 seems to be the repetition of the same verb restored in line 7.

Lines 9–10. This restoration has already been suggested in the publication of Fragment A.²⁴

Lines 11–12. Since the killing of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah brings the story to the time of Jehu, the suggested reconstruction is [ו]יהוא מלך על ישראל and Jehu ruled over Is[rael].

DISCUSSION

Although quite a number of problems remain unresolved, if the above reconstruction is correct in the main, the suppositions based on Fragment A alone should be changed. The text now points to the time of Hazael, whose *coup d'état* preceded Jehu's revolt in 842 B.C.E. Moreover, it clearly indicates that the author of the stele was Hazael himself, although his name does not appear in the fragments found to date.²⁵ Hazael was a usurper; this is clearly recorded in the prophetic narrative of 2 Kings 8:7–15 and alluded to in the appellation 'the son of nobody' in an inscription of Shalmaneser III (*ANET*, p. 280b), as well as the use of the verb המלך in the phrase [ו]יהוא מלך הדר אניתן / אנה

It is unusual for a usurper to mention his father in his royal inscription. The writer of the stele, however, mentions 'my father' at least three times: his father fought (against the king of Israel?); he died; and a certain land was called 'my father's land', which the king of Israel entered. Hazael's appellation 'the son of nobody' presumably means that as a usurper he did not belong to the lineage of the Damascene

23 For scribal errors in monumental royal inscriptions, see, e.g., the Aḥiram inscription (*KAI*, 1; בסמך); the Tibnat inscription (*KAI*, 13), line 7 (אל יל זרע) and the Kilamuwa inscription (*KAI*, 24), lines 5–6.

24 Biran and Naveh (above, n. 1), p. 93 and n. 20.

25 It should be noted that B. Margalit, who suggested an impossible reconstruction of Fragment A, attributed the Dan stele to Hazael; see *NABU* 1994 (No. 1, March), pp. 20–21.

kings of Ben Hadad I and Ben Hadad II (Adad-idri). Who was Hazael's father?²⁶

There is a serious contradiction between the Dan inscription and the biblical narrative in 2 Kings 9, which describes in detail how Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah were slain by Jehu. The biblical tradition, also alluded to in Hosea 1:4–5, relates the uprooting of the house of Ahab to Jehu's rebellion, as predicted in the prophecies of Elijah (1 Kings 19:17) and Elisha (2 Kings 9:6–10). On the other hand, the author of the stele inscription ascribes the slaying of Jehoram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah to himself. Is it possible that Hazael saw Jehu as his agent?

The fragmentary text of the Dan inscription alludes to Hazael as the king who erected the stele, but there is no indication as to when this occurred. The inscription was presumably a memorial stele describing Hazael's deeds.²⁷ The extant text deals only with the early years of Hazael's reign, which lasted more than 40 years until the end of the ninth century B.C.E.²⁸ After speaking of his father, Hazael related that after becoming king he went out to war with 'Hadad going in front of him'. In his wars he killed 'seventy kings', among them Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah. The original inscription may have continued to record Hazael's further activities. At present we have no indication of the form of the stele and its length. We do not know, therefore, whether the inscription was erected shortly after the events it records took place, or whether it included his version of the war with Shalmaneser III, his invasion of Israel and the area across the Jordan (2 Kings 10:32–33) and his attacks on 'Umqi, Arpad, Hamath and Lu'ash, from whence he took booty marked by his registrars.²⁹ Moreover, the original stele might very well have recounted events not recorded in the extant sources. We may find some indication in the possible mention of 'seventy kings'. It seems hardly conceivable that a king in the early years of his reign would declare that he had defeated so many kings. We would suggest that the inscription was erected in the later part of Hazael's reign. 'I killed "seventy" kings' is a summary written at the beginning of the inscription, which then goes into details. Although Hazael was active on many fronts, it may be that the inscription erected at Dan deals only (or mainly) with his affairs with Israel and Judah. Until further fragments of the stele are found, questions concerning its exact date, proper meaning and the circumstances of its erection at Tel Dan remain open.

26 One should not exclude the possibility that Hazael belonged to a secondary branch of the royal dynasty in Damascus; cf. the relation of Darius I to the family of Cyrus (see R.N. Frye: *The Heritage of Persia*, London, 1962, pp. 79, 293). If קדם is a geographical designation, Hazael might have been the son of a ruler in the Land of Qedem; this brings to mind the name Hazael 'king of the Arabs' from the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, more specifically c. 689–677 B.C.E. See *ANET*, pp. 191, 292, 298, 301; Eph'al (above, n. 13, 1982), pp. 112–169, 227.

27 We use the term 'memorial stele' in the sense described by M. Miller: 'The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stela', *PEQ* 106 (1974), pp. 9–18.

28 See W.T. Pitard: *Ancient Damascus*, Winona Lake, 1987, pp. 145–160.

29 1. Eph'al and J. Naveh: Hazael's Booty Inscriptions, *IEJ* 39 (1989), pp. 197–198.

Linguistic Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan

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IMPORTANT light on the early history of the Aramaic language is shed by the recently published Aramaic stele inscription from Tel Dan.¹

1. *The Preterital Use of the Prefix Conjugation*

In this fairly short inscription we find as many as six prefix conjugation forms, all of which may be regarded as preterital in function:

- 1) יסך 'he went up' (line 2)
- 2) וישכב 'and he lay (on his death bed)' (line 3)
- 3) יהך 'he went (to join his forefathers [?])' (*ibid.*)
- 4) ויהך 'and he went' (line 5)
- 5) ואקחל 'and I killed' (line 6)
- 6) ואשם 'and I placed' (line 9)

In contrast, only one possible suffix conjugation form occurs: וקחלנך 'and I killed' (line 8). While the context as we have it renders it rather unlikely that the restored form is a participle, an infinitive absolute is not to be precluded: וקחלנך. אקחל.² In the context of the inscription there is nothing to compel us to think that these apparently preterital prefix conjugations indicate a durative, habitual, or iterative aspect. They must, therefore, represent the so-called 'short' imperfect. Hence, No. 6 ואשם is to be compared with לשם 'Let him place' in the Tell Fekheriye inscription (line 11), as against וישם 'and he will place' (line 12).³

1 A. Biran and J. Naveh: An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan, *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 81–98. The text is dated by the authors to the mid-ninth century B.C.E. on both archaeological and palaeographic grounds.

2 For possible attestation of such a syntagm in Old Aramaic, see, e.g., Sfīre III 12–13 נכה נכה חכה 'you must strike it'; נכה חכה *ibid.* 13; הסכר הסכרהם 'you must hand them over' *ibid.*

2. Cf. also T. Muraoka: The Tell Fekheriye Bilingual Inscription and Early Aramaic, *Abr-Nahrain* 22 (1983–1984), pp. 79–117, esp. p. 100. Thus also R. Degen: *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, 1969, pp. 116–117.

3 See Muraoka (above, n. 2), pp. 95–96.