THE PROTO-SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR DECIPHERMENT

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE DECIPHERMENT [1]

THE first inscription of the category now known as Proto-Sinaitic was discovered and copied by E. H. Palmer in Wâdi Maghârah during the winter of 1868–1869. The text was not published until 1904 [2] and seems subsequently to have eluded rediscovery. But this find was useless until the Sinai expedition of (Sir) W. M. Flinders Petrie, who, while digging at Serābît el-Khâdem in early 1905, discovered eleven inscriptions on objects or in rock

[1] I wish to thank Dr. Herbert Huffmon and Mr. Simon Parker, who were my research assistants in 1962–64, for valuable assistance during the process of checking and rechecking the data on which this study is based. Dr. Huffmon was particularly helpful in drawing and redrawing the figures, as well as in criticism of successive stages of the decipherment. He is not responsible for the drastic final revision of various drafts of the study. Note the following abbreviations:

ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. James B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950, 1955).
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
Butin	See references in n. 5, below.
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago, 1956–). Cited by content of volume.
Cowley	"The Sinaitic Inscriptions," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 15 (1929), 200–218.
EA	Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, ed. by A. Knudtzon, E. Ebeling and O. Weber (1915).
Gardiner	See n. 4, below.
Gardiner Peet	The Inscriptions of Sinai, Part I, Introduction and Plates, ed. by A. Gardiner and T. E. Peet (London, 1917).
Grimme	Althebräische Inschriften vom Sinai, by Hubert Grimme (Hannover, 1923).
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
Jean Hoftijzer	C. F. Jean and Jacob Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest (Leiden, 1960).
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph.
Posener	Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie, by Georges Posener (Brussels, 1940).
PPG	Phönizisch-punische Grammatik, by Johannes Friedrich (Rome, 1951).
PRU	Palais royal d'Ugarit, ed. by C. F. A. Schaeffer (Paris, 1955–).
Ranke	Die ägyptischen Personennamen (Glückstadt, 1935–).
Sethe	Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des mittleren Reiches (Berlin, 1926).

[2] R. Weill, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï (Paris, 1904), 154, No. 44. See below on Text No. 348.

panels shaped like stelae (steliform), with unidentified script which seemed to have strong Egyptian affinities. Photographs of two of the objects appeared in Petrie's official report,[3] together with his suggestion that the script represented a linear alphabet which had been used by Syrian miners. Speculation about the inscriptions now began, but the first break-through did not come until 1915, when the late (Sir) Alan Gardiner (in a paper presented to the British Association for the Advancement of Science)[4] recognized that several signs were acrophonic and succeeded in reading a commonly occurring group of signs as *l-b'lt*, "(belonging) to Ba'lat (Baalath, 'the lady')." This interpretation correlated beautifully with the prominence of Ḥathor, the Egyptian patroness of the temple at Serābît el-Khâdem, especially since the small sphinx bears an Egyptian dedication to Ḥathor together with a Proto-Sinaitic dedication to Ba'lat.

Subsequent progress, however, was slow, with little advance beyond Gardiner's correct identification of nine letters. Indeed some "decipherments," notably the adventurous combinations of Hubert Grimme, were steps backward. Meanwhile three additional inscriptions were found by the 1927 Harvard Sinai expedition, which had detoured on its return from St. Catherine's in order to remove the texts left behind by Petrie to the safety of the Cairo Museum. Subsequent finds by the Harvard-Catholic University of America expeditions to Serābît el-Khâdem (1930, 1935), also directed by Kirsopp Lake, nearly doubled the material available for decipherment. (The Finnish expedition of 1929 had also found one fragment.) In several careful studies Father R. Butin published the results of a personal examination of all available texts and provided new photographs and much more accurate drawings, as well as full bibliography of previous studies.[5] In 1940 a useful study was published by J. Leibovitch,[6] in which

[3] Researches in Sinai (London, 1906), Figs. 138–139, 141, with discussion on pp. 129–32.

[4] See Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 3 (1916), 1–16, and, for a report on the circumstances of his discovery, see Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, 1929, 48–50.

[5] See Harvard Theological Review 21 (1928), 9–67; ibid. 25 (1932), 95–203; Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadem (Studies and Documents, VI; London, 1936).

[6] See Annales du Service des Antiquités 40, 101–22.

he advanced the hypothesis that the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions were Meroitic (subsequently abandoned). But his drawings, based on repeated examination of the originals in Cairo, have independent value.

In 1935 I ventured without much success into the study of the Proto-Sinaitic texts.[7] Later, during the winter of 1947–1948, I had an opportunity to examine the important and well-preserved cave inscription (No. 357) *in situ* at Serābîṭ el-Khâdem, as well as to study closely all the inscriptions then preserved in the Cairo Museum. This led to a renewed effort at decipherment, as a result of which I tentatively identified nineteen characters.[8] Now I believe that it is possible to identify twenty-three letters out of a probable twenty-seven, with two more perhaps identifiable on the Lachish dagger (below, No. 4). If correct, this would leave only two(?) — Ṡ and Ḍ — still unrecognized.

The stock of available texts has been increased by two, thanks to the explorations of Dr. Georg Gerster, who found them five years ago in the Wâdi Naṣb close to an almost completely effaced hieroglyphic text of Amenemmes III.[9] Though short and incomplete, these texts add important details to our knowledge and help to refocus attention on Proto-Sinaitic.[10] My present study was begun in November, 1957, and has been subsequently extended considerably in scope. It is a direct continuation and expansion of the 1948 essay; revisions and additions, though numerous and significant, seldom change my 1948 transcriptions and identifications of words. Syntax and interpretation have been greatly improved. In August, 1958, I received Olga Tufnell's Lachish IV: The Bronze Age. Here we have (Plate Volume,

[7] Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 15, 334–4c. See also BASOR 110 (1948), 9. Two new signs (Ḥ and Q) and some new words were, however, correctly identified.

[8] BASOR 110 (1948), 6–22.

[9] See G. Gerster, Sinai (Darmstadt, 1961), 62, Figs. 65–66.

[10] Note the discussions by J. Leibovitch, Le Muséon 74 (1961), 461–66, who now regards the texts as Semitic, and Sir Alan Gardiner, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 48 (1962), 45–48. We should also mention the articles by A. Van den Branden, Al-Mashriq (1958), 361–97, and Oriens Antiquus, I (1962), 197–214, in which he attempts to decipher Proto-Sinaitic on the basis of Proto-Arabic scripts and Arabic vocabulary, with most unsatisfactory results, from my point of view.

Plates 37 and 38, No. 295) drawings of four sides of a little prism about 2.4 cm. high, together with photographs of three sides (see Figs. 2–3). In 1937 three faces of the prism were photographed at the Palestine Museum, when it was found to be in a very soft and friable state. One face seems to have been inadvertently overlooked by the photographer. In 1947 Miss Tufnell wrote again to the Museum, but the photographer decided that the object was by this time in such poor condition that nothing could be done.[11] Even with the photographs and drawings now available more can be recognized. Counting prism faces from the right, we have the name and titulary of Amenophis II (ca. 1436–1413 B.C.) in perfect condition. The second prism face contains the figure, name and partial titulary of the chief god Amūn-Rē': "Amūn-Rē', lord of years (nb rnp.wt)." The third face contains the standing figure of Ptaḥ, god of Memphis, with his mummiform body and human head, holding the w3ś staff in front of him, just as in our Proto-Sinaitic steliform text No. 351. In front of the god is a vertical inscription in Proto-Sinaitic characters, reading [']⌈L⌉ Ḏ GT, corresponding to the divine appellation Ḏ GNT in No. 353. (Note that in Palestinian place-names in the Amarna Tablets and Egyptian sources we find more spellings as Ginti than as Git(t)i, while at Ugarit only Gt appears.[12] The original form of the word for "winepress" was, of course, gintu/i.) The divinity in question is probably the Semitic equivalent of Eg. Shesmu (Šśmw), a Memphite deity of Ptaḥ's entourage who was regarded as special patron of the wine-press.[13] Since it can be demonstrated that the 'Apiru and other peoples of Asiatic origin were the chief vintagers in the north-eastern Delta during the Late Bronze Age,[14] it is only natural that

[11] I owe these and other details to the kindness of Miss Tufnell, who wrote me in detail Sept. 5th, 1958.

[12] Cf. the list in the index to Virolleaud, Palais Royal d'Ugarit, II, 227, which lists nearly thirty place-names of which Gt is the first component.

[13] See H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte (1952), 679ff. The cult of this god goes back to the Pyramid Age, and — at least in early times — he was also patron of the olive press and involved in mummification rites. To the Semites he was apparently only a form of his immediate chief, Ptaḥ.

[14] Note that the 'Apiru are represented in texts of the early fifteenth century as vintagers; see Säve-Söderbergh, Orientalia Suecana, I, 5–14, and G. Posener in J. Bottéro, Le problème des Ḫabiru (1954), 166ff. On this subject note the

they should have adopted Shesmu as one of their principal deities. The divinity represented on the fourth prism face is certainly Asiatic, and may well have been Resheph.[15] It is hard to tell whether the name is in Egyptian hieroglyphs or in alphabetic Canaanite.

As soon as the first examples of Proto-Sinaitic writing had been studied, it became apparent to Petrie and others that the characters, which were schematic in outline and linear in form, were so limited in number that an alphabetic script was indicated. It was also widely assumed that these inscriptions, coming from Sinai, where the Egyptians were known to have encountered Semites, were in a Semitic dialect.

Granted that Semitic, and presumably Northwest-Semitic, was the language of the texts, there was further epigraphic information relevant to decipherment. First, the fact that the early Semitic alphabet was purely consonantal, was proved by the agreement of the early Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos, published since 1923, with the early South-Arabic inscriptions on this point. Second, Max Burchardt [16] and others had demonstrated from Egyptian transcriptions that early Northwest-Semitic still distinguished several phonemes that had coalesced with other sounds in later periods. This view was confirmed by the discovery and decipherment (1930) of Ugaritic, which had twenty-seven consonantal graphemes besides two additional signs for 'aleph and a second šamekh. It was further supported by the discovery of the Ugaritic abecedaries and other texts, which proved that five consonants were lost about the thirteenth century B.C., leaving precisely the twenty-two Phoenician-Hebrew consonants in place of the older twenty-seven. Unfortunately, however, many

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biblical evidence adduced in my Harper Torchbook, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra (1963), 11ff. See also below, n. 36.

[15] The draughtsman has missed a number of points in the photo: the clear 'nḫ sign hanging from the divinity's right hand (so also Miss Tufnell); the bent left arm holding an upright spear at a distance; the cap with a fillet holding it in place above a bearded (?) face. All these are characteristic of the bearded Resheph with a similar cap on the well-known British Museum stele (Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures [1954], fig. 473, with descriptive text on p. 304).

[16] Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen, I (1909), especially the indexed table on p. 52. See also my discussion in Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 6 (1926), 82.

attempts at deciphering Proto-Sinaitic assumed vowel-letters and a reduced consonantal phonemic inventory like that of Biblical Hebrew.[17]

Meanwhile the Proto-Sinaitic texts, which had been rather isolated, were joined by early alphabetic inscriptions from Syria-Palestine which were clearly earlier or later than the Proto-Sinaitic forms (see the list of twelve such selected items below). Since these new finds could be dated archaeologically to the late Middle Bronze (Gezer, Lachish) or the Late Bronze Age (Shechem,[18] Lachish, etc.), they served to confirm Petrie's dating of the Proto-Sinaitic material in the fifteenth century B.C., on the basis of Egyptian finds at Serābît el-Khâdem.[19] This approximate date enables us to use evidence from historical linguistics, especially in the light of Ugaritic and other nearly contemporary material. The Sinaitic texts clearly antedate the loss of inflectional endings (preserved in Ugaritic and in Amarna Canaanite) and the accompanying shift in accent.[20] If we follow Gardiner's chronology, the texts would date before the loss of mimation.[21] I attempted to find mimation in my 1935 decipherment, while I still followed Gardiner's chronology, but in 1948 I had to abandon that position, for reasons explained at the time; my 1948 decipherment, like the present study, does not yield any mimation.

Since the Proto-Sinaitic texts are not themselves homogeneous palaeographically, but show marked evolution in their script,[22] we may tentatively date them between ca. 1550 and 1450 B.C. — probably between ca. 1525 and ca. 1475 (see below). This general date is confirmed by the Lachish prism, as shown above. The

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[17] See the writer's discussion in Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society 15 (1935), 335–36.

[18] See below.

[19] For discussion of chronology see my remarks in BASOR 110 (1948), 9–10, and J. Leibovitch, Le Muséon 76 (1963), 201–203, with an "Additional note" by the writer, 203–205, in reply to the article by Gardiner cited above, n. 10, in which Sir Alan maintained his XIIth Dynasty date for the texts.

[20] See Z. Harris, Development of the Canaanite Dialects (New Haven, 1939), 50, 59–60.

[21] See Harris, op. cit., 32–33.

[22] Probably beginning with the Gerster text (ca. 1525) and ending with the sphinx (ca. 1475).

evidence from palaeography is now more significant than all other data in this respect.

That the script was acrophonic, as suggested by Gardiner, has been further supported by recent studies of the development of Canaanite writing[23] and by an Ugaritic bilingual giving simplified names of letters.[24] The coincidence of Proto-Sinaitic forms and later Semitic names of letters, such as the serpent, Proto-Sinaitic N, Ethiopic *naḥās* (Heb. *nāḥāš*, Ugaritic *nḥš*,[25] "serpent") for older **naḥas*,[26] provides independent confirmation which, together with the traceable palaeographic development, makes the scepticism of Gelb and Hallo seem quite unwarranted.[27] (See Figure 1.)

However, in the course of extending Gardiner's decipherment, use of the acrophonic principle has seldom been of primary value. The writer's approach has been essentially combinatory, within the framework of pertinent linguistic phenomena as far as they can be reconstructed by comparative and historical analysis. A phoneme count is of little use, owing to the limited amount of material and the high proportion of repetition in the texts.

The following decipherment yields a grammatical structure and vocabulary which fully agree with what is known about more or less contemporary Northwest-Semitic dialects. There

[23] See F. M. Cross, Jr., BASOR 134 (1954), 15–24.

[24] See Cross and T. O. Lambdin, BASOR 160 (1960), 21–26.

[25] See Ch. Virolleaud, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1962), 106, 108.

[26] See the early discussion by M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I (1902), 132.

[27] Against the use of the acrophonic principle see especially I. J. Gelb, A Study of Writing (Chicago, 1952, new ed. and paperback, 1963), passim (especially 138ff.), with an excellent bibliography, and W. W. Hallo, Jour. Bib. Lit., 77 (1958), 324–38. Gelb, though extremely well informed, has neglected to mention the Egyptian enigmatic or cryptographic system so vigorously debated in detail by the late Etienne Drioton and H. W. Fairman; on its largely acrophonic character see Drioton, Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 40 (1940), pp. 305–429, passim, and recently Erik Iversen's emphatic insistence on the importance of the acrophonic principle in interpreting Egyptian cryptographic writing in his study, Papyrus Carlsberg Nr. VII: Fragments of a Hieroglyphic Dictionary (Danish Academy of Sciences: Hist.-fil. Skrifter, Vol. 3, No. 2, Copenhagen, 1958), 8. Since the cryptographic system in question can be shown to go back to the Eleventh Dynasty and to have remained in use through the New Kingdom, a priori rejection of the acrophonic principle in a script so obviously influenced by Egyptian is gratuitous.

are some possible indications of relative archaism, such as the unassimilated *n* and perhaps the dominance of the š-causative in a dialect used so far south. All this would be in accord with our provisional date between ca. 1550 and ca. 1450 B.C. Furthermore, the divine names, place-names and personal names are nearly all otherwise attested in second-millennium texts; the few remaining names occur in later times or belong to well-known types. No decipherment that does not meet these requirements has much chance of being correct.

During the analysis of the individual texts and the preparation of copies, all characters in the inscriptions have been carefully checked and rechecked with the available photographs, drawings, squeezes and contextual evidence. The author is particularly indebted to Msgr. Patrick Skehan of the Catholic University of America, who kindly put Father Butin's squeezes at his disposal. These squeezes have been invaluable. In addition, the author drew upon his own firsthand examination of many of the texts during his 1947–1948 visits to Cairo and Serābît el-Khâdem. Dr. Huffmon has spared no pains in redrawing nearly all the inscriptions on the basis of all available sources of information. A few have been recopied or retouched since Dr. Huffmon left Baltimore for Chicago.

It is important to note that our texts do not mark separation between words, so that word division is generally mine. Furthermore, although the normal arrangement of the texts is in single vertical columns read from top to bottom (several examples), or in series of such vertical columns read from right to left (numerous examples), other arrangements are found. One text with vertical columns appears to be best interpreted reading from left to right (No. 363), being thus comparable to some horizontally inscribed lines that must be read from left to right (No. 345 and Nos. 346, 357 in part). Another text is arranged in horizontal lines and reads right to left from the top down (No. 349). The longer Gerster text, arranged in vertical columns, reads from right to left, but the third column runs upward *boustrophedon* (see below). Apart from these general considerations, it should be pointed out that the lineation is not precise, so that a text may run down and then go back up slightly and even circle

around, very much as in later North-Arabian graffiti. Accidentally omitted letters or groups may be inserted between lines or in even more unexpected places. In some cases an individual sign seems to be intended to be read in both of the two columns between which it stands. All these phenomena may be paralleled in Thamudic and Safaitic graffiti from Hellenistic-Roman times.[28]

[28] For a wealth of recently published material see, e.g., A. Van den Branden, Les inscriptions thamoudéennes (1950) and Les textes thamoudéens de Philby, I–II (1956); G. L. Harding and E. Littmann, Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (1952); F. V. Winnett, Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan (1957).

Phon. Value	Schematic Forms	Early North-west Semitic	Early South Semitic	Early Letter Names	Meaning of Names
ʾ		(14th) (13th)	(Jamme)	ʾalp-	ox-head
b		(17th) (13th)		bêt-	house
g		(15th) (12th)		gaml-	throw-stick
d		(10th)	(Jamme)	digg-	fish
ḏ	?		(Jamme)	?	?
h		(10th)		hô(?)	man calling
w		(10th)	(ʾ used for y)	wô(waw)	mace
z	?	(16th) (10th)		zê(n-)	?
ḥ		(12th) (10th)		ḥê(t-)	fence (?)
ḫ		?	(Jamme)	ḫa( )	hank of yarn
ṭ	?	(16th) (10th)		ṭê(t-)	spindle?
y		(13th) (10th)	(orig. w)	yad-	arm
k		(17th) (13th)		kapp-	palm
l		(14th) (13th)	(Jamme)	lamd-	ox-goad
m		(15th) (13th)	(9th) (8th)	mêm-	water
n		(14th) (12th)		naḥš-	snake
ṡ	?	(10th)		(šamk-?)	?
c		(12th) (10th)		ʿên-	eye
ḡ		(15th)	(Jamme)	ḡa( )	?
p		(10th)		piʾt-(?)	corner?
ṣ/ẓ		(10th)		ṣa(d-)	plant
ḍ	?	?		?	?
q		(14th) (10th)	(Jamme)	qu(p-)	?
r		(16th–14th)		naʾš-	head of man
ṡ/ṯ		(13th) (10th)		ṯann-	composite bow
š		?	(Jamme)	?	?
t	+	+ (13th)	(Jamme)	tô(taw)	owner's mark

Schematic Table of Proto-Sinaitic Characters

FIG. I.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND INFERENCES

Assuming the general correctness of my decipherment, it is now possible to draw some historical inferences from the content of the inscriptions and the circumstances of discovery. As already pointed out, there has been a great change since 1948, when my chronological discussion was largely based on archaeological context and Egyptian stylistic parallels. Now we can set the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions squarely in an evolutionary sequence of letter forms beginning in the 17th century B.C. and extending down into the Iron Age. The following table of the dozen most significant items or groups, arranged according to their approximate dates, illustrates the situation in 1965. The Proto-Sinaitic group follows the Lachish dagger and precedes the Lachish prism; both of the latter items are dated quite independently of palaeography.

1. *Gezer* (sherd from offering stand, ca. 17th century B.C.). Read vertically (BASOR 58 [1935], 28f.) [ ]K–(?)–B[ ].

2. *Lachish* (dagger blade, ca. 1600–1550 according to tomb context). I read Ṭ(!)–R–N–Z(!) = Alalaḫ *Turranza*, D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets, No. 139:31 (Index of Personal Names, pp. 150ff.). The name is Hurrian; for the two elements, *tur-* and *-anza*, see Gelb, Purves and MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names, 269ff. and 201ff. Both the Alalaḫ IV and Nuzi names date from the 15th century.

3. *Sinai* (Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, ca. 1525–1475 B.C.).

4. *Lachish* (little prism, between 1435 and 1423 B.C.). See above.

5. *Shechem* (soft limestone incantatory plaque, ca. 1450–1400). I read [...t]ᵍbᵍ rḡm m'r [t...], "[...shall] come to pass the words of [this] curse." Note that *rḡm* > Heb. *r'm*, "noise, voice"; Accad. *rigmu*, also meaning "noise, voice," and Ugar. *rgm*,

"word," both show normal dissimilation. Note that *m'r*[*t*] appears in Hebrew as *me'ērát,* "curse (of)." I have hitherto been led to adopt too early a date by overreliance on the quilted edging of the robe of the divinity shown on the plaque. But since the edging is so exaggerated, I suspect that it has been influenced by the serpent-goddess type (Tell Beit Mirsim D), and can be used only as a rough *terminus a quo.* (The edging in question was at the height of fashion during the reign of Niqmepuḫ at Aleppo and Alalaḫ, about 1600 B.C.) Judging from the forms of letters a date in the second half of the 15th century is reasonable. The inscription was carved roughly from left to right along the margin.

6. The St. Louis seal cylinder (14th century, well dated by Goetze, BASOR 129 (1953), 8–11). I read *Tbl 'rqy* "Shobal the Arkite" (see F. M. Cross, Jr., BASOR 168 (1962), 12).

7. *Byblos* (Fragment of funerary slab, 14th–13th century). See most recently BASOR 116 (1949), 12–14.

8. *Lachish* (votive ewer and bowl, ca. 1235 B.C.). See F. M. Cross, Jr., in BASOR 134 (1954), 20ff.

9. *Megiddo* (gold ring, Megiddo Tombs, 173–176, found with pottery from final phase of Late Bronze II, second half of 13th century). Read probably *l-'št Bky,* "belonging to the wife of Bikay ("Man of the Mastix Tree"; the tree is Heb. *bākā',* Eg. *bika',* with the personal name *Bika'i,* etc., well attested in 13th century Egyptian).

10. *El-Khaḍr,* near Bethlehem (javelin head, twelfth century). The vertical inscription reads *ḥẓ 'bd-lb't,* "luck of *'Abd-Lab'at.*" See F. M. Cross, Jr., and J. T. Milik, BASOR 134 (1954), 5–15, and S. Iwry, Jour. Am. Or. Soc. 81 (1961), 27ff.

11. *Revadim* (seal with four letters, ca. 12th century). See F. M. Cross, Jr., BASOR 168 (1962), 12–18.

12. *Beth-Shemesh* (ostracon, with both sides carelessly inscribed, twelfth-eleventh centuries). The horizontal (right-to-left) inscription on the obverse contains two clearly written names: *Gm'n* and *Ḥnn* (biblical *Ḥānûn*).
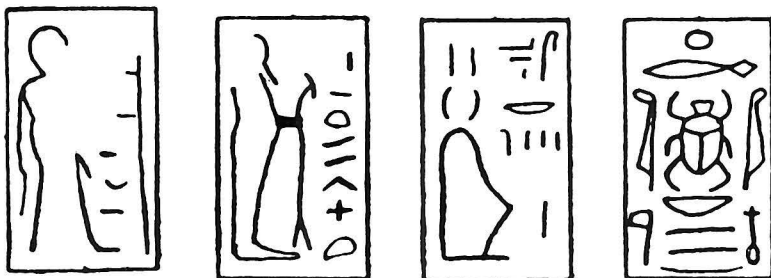
FIG. 2. Four sides of a paste prism (1.4 cm. high) from Lachish (Courtesy of the Trustees of Sir Henry Wellcome). — *See Fig. 3.*

FIG. 3. Sides 1, 3 and 4 (right to left) of Lachish Prism (Courtesy of the Trustees of Sir Henry Wellcome). — *See Fig. 2.*

Thanks to the work of J. Leibovitch (see above and note 19), it appears highly probable that Text No. 345 on the wingless sphinx from the Ḥatḥor temple belongs to the reign of Ḥatshepsut (1483–1468 B.C.). A date about 1475 is thus established for this object as well as for the broken sphinx statuettes, Nos. 347 and 347a. To the same phase probably belong the cuboid figure from the temple (No. 346) and the steliform text, No. 349, both of which are dedicated to Ba'lat. Palaeographically, the oldest text is clearly Gerster, No. 2, with its archaic D and especially Ḥ; note also that it does not resemble any other preserved text in formulation. The reference to the "mines of Wawat" in No. 351 indicates that some, at least, of the texts which follow the domi- nant formulation are to be dated well after the occupation of Wawat by Kemose (see below, on No. 351), since the Semitic miners can scarcely have been sent to Nubia as state slaves before then. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that Hyksos captives (see below) should have been sent to Sinai to work under ex- traordinarily difficult conditions until after Amosis had occupied the Hyksos fortresses at the southern fringe of Palestine toward the end of his reign, i.e., after about 1550–1540 at earliest, ac- cording to Richard A. Parker (Bibliotheca Orientalis, 1964, 65). A date between ca. 1525 and 1475 thus appears reasonable, with maximum range of a century, ca. 1550–1450.

In view of the presence of at least three Egyptian personal names in the Proto-Sinaitic texts, of Semitic equivalents or appel- lations of at least five Egyptian deities (Ptaḥ = El, Ḥatḥor = Ba'lat, Shesmu = *Dhû ginti*, Osiris = *Dhû ladêyu mar'îtu*, and Anubis = *Dhû tanni*),[29] and especially of at least half a dozen Egyptian sculptures and line-drawings — with no Asiatic elements — it appears certain that the miners came to Sinai from Egypt, or carried on a long tradition of Northwest-Semitic settlers in Egypt. From these facts, combined with the now established date of the inscriptions, we may safely infer that they belonged to the recently conquered Hyksos elements of the population.

The bearing of the new documents on Biblical tradition is con- siderable, though indirect; we shall obviously have to await addi-

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[29] Cf. my remarks in my Harper Torchbook, The Biblical Period from Abra- ham to Ezra (1963), 13; and below in this study.

tional documentation before attempting any true synthesis. What we learn from Sinai about the language, culture, and especially the religion of the Semites in Egypt at the end of the Hyksos period, definitely supports the traditional view that there was substantial continuity between the Semites in Northern Egypt during the Hyksos age [30] and under the Pharaohs of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. In other words, there was presumably little basic change in the nature of Semitic life in Egypt during the two centuries between our inscriptions and the Exodus. To be sure, there were new fashions and new situations, such as the Aten revolution and the transfer of the Egyptian capital from Thebes to Tanis-Rameses. New lots of Semitic captives and refugees brought new influences from Asia, and, as I have strongly insisted in recent years, there was normal overland intercourse between the Hebrews and Canaanites in Egypt and their relatives in Palestine.[31] All were subjects of the same Egyptian empire!

These documents throw much light on the continuity of language, practices and ideas. Many Hebrew words, idioms and personal names appear already at Serābît; see the Glossary below. This fact is particularly noticeable in sacrificial terminology (though Ugaritic usage is still closer, as might be expected from its nearness in time). Our Serābît vocabulary throws light on the background of patriarchal religious tradition; see particularly the important study by Frank M. Cross, Jr., on "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," [32] where much of the relevant material is collected. Cross was the first to note the obvious identity of 'l d̲- 'lm with 'El 'ôlām in Gen. 21:33 (in a letter to me dated Nov. 6, 1957). He also discusses the various appellations of El as "god of mercy," d̲-ṭb (dhû-thôbi) at Serābît, 'El d-p'ed at Ugarit, 'El rāḥûm we-ḥannûn, etc., in Hebrew.

We shall certainly learn a great deal eventually about the funerary beliefs and practices of the Hebrews in the Patriarchal Age from new Proto-Sinaitic material and closer analysis of the

[30] It must be remembered that early biblical names appear among the Hyksos (e.g., Ya'qob [full form Ya'qub-'al] and Ḥur), as well as among Semitic captives in Egypt just before the first Hyksos conquest (see my discussion in Jour. Am. Or. Soc. 74, 222–223 and especially 232ff.).

[31] See my Harper Torchbook (n. 29), 10ff., 32ff.

[32] Harvard Theological Review 65 (1962), 225–59 and especially 238ff.

Serābîṭ inscriptions. In 1948 I had a very easy time proving that the so-called "sleeping shelters" were the remains of burial cairns (*bâmôt*), where a number of funerary inscriptions were first discovered.[33] There may be a reference to a hero cult in Nos. 352 and 364, but the translation is uncertain. Since the miners could not procure sacrificial animals themselves, they had to resort to imploring those who could obtain the animals to show the deceased miners this last kindness. Animals available in the wilds of Sinai were picked for this purpose: wild cows, wild ewes and fatlings (i.e., young male animals which could be fattened). The divinities usually invoked were El and his consort Asherah (apparently identified with a Nubian serpent-goddess),[34] as well as the lady Ḥathor. It is impossible, however, to separate "He in Whose Charge Is the Meadow" [35] from Osiris, lord of the Field (or Meadow) of *i3rw*, the Egyptian Elysium; it is equally difficult to distinguish between "Lord of the Jackals" and the Egyptian jackal gods Anubis or Wep-wawet. The "Lord of the Winepress" is especially significant.[36]

It is quite possible that the reference to Egypt as the "iron smeltery" (*kûr barzel*), in passages attributed to Solomon and Jeremiah and certainly familiar to the Deuteronomist, actually goes back to traditions of state slavery in the mines of the New

[33] See BASOR 110 (1948), 10ff., and Vetus Testamentum 9 (1959), 248ff.

[34] See especially BASOR 110 (1948), 17, and below, Text No. 351.

[35] It is not impossible that the enigmatic *'El dē'ôt*, used as an appellation of Yahweh in the "Prayer of Hannah" (I Sam. 2:3) should be read *'El rĕ'ût*, "God of Pasturage," and is connected with *Ḏû ladêyu mar'îtu*; *ladêyu* stands for older **ladayhu* (see Glossary below). Note that the word *mar'îtu*, "pasturage," is also found in Hebrew, Aramaic and Accadian (*merîtu*). The word *rĕ'ût* actually occurs in Hebrew only in the sense of "female companion," but this meaning was presumably derived from "pasturage." Parallels are numerous; note especially Eth. *mar'āwē*, "bridegroom," and *mar'āt*, "bride"; El is the divine shepherd, as often in the Bible.

[36] See Text No. 353, as well as Glossary, s.v. *gnt*. This divinity is particularly significant in view of the now well-established fact that the 'Apiru turned to viticulture and viniculture when the caravan trade became slack. This shift is independently attested by the evidence brought together by Säve-Söderbergh and myself; see above, n. 14. Whether *Dhû gi(n)ti* also reflects the Northwest-Semitic wine-god Tiršu (Hazor, Ugarit; the name is the source of Ugar. *trṯ* and Heb. *tîrôš*) we do not know, but it seems plausible. For the god Tiršu see my remarks on the name *'Abdi-Tirši*, spelled *ᵐÊR-tir-ši* at Hazor and *ÊR-ti-ir-ši* at Ugarit (PRU III, No. 16.257, iv: 8), in BASOR 139 (1955), 18. For the Ugaritic word for "wine" see Virolleaud, Comptes Rendus, Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1962, 111. The divine name without an ending would be **Tîraš* in Canaanite,

Kingdom.[37] Sinai and Wawat in the early Eighteenth Dynasty were scarcely the only cases of forced mining activity. Texts No. 350, 352, 356 and 374 clearly or probably allude to the sufferings of the miners.

We have not yet mentioned one intriguing but still elusive problem: the date of the introduction of the Northwest-Semitic linear alphabet. I had hoped to have clear evidence from my efforts to decipher the hieroglyphiform alphabet on Hyksos scarabs of the early Semitic phase before the establishment of the Fifteenth Dynasty about 1650 B.C., but my results are still spotty and may, therefore, be misleading. Suffice it to say that this supposed alphabet can scarcely be earlier than the Thirteenth Dynasty (18th century B.C.). Recent discoveries make it probable that the Ugaritic alphabet and its South-Canaanite counterpart go back to a common source which may be a good deal older than the 14th century B.C.[38] Since the order of letters and even their names imitated the order and names (judging from the objects represented, on the acrophonic principle) of the linear alphabet,[39] we may ultimately find ourselves forced back into the Twelfth Dynasty for the origin of our alphabet. *Dies diem docebit*!

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like *Bă'ăl* from *ba'lu*, *Ḥădăd* from *Haddu* and *Dăgăn* from **Dagnu*. In Phoenician (and North Israelite) these names became *Hādōd* (*Adōdos*) and *Dāgōn*. Hence *tīrōš* from **Tīrăš* would be normal.

[37] Needless to say, the word for "iron" has presumably replaced a word for "copper," just as camels have replaced donkeys in some passages in Genesis. The word *kûr* was borrowed in Egyptian, where *kura*, *kurya* (with the determinative for ship), Ugar. *kry* (not *wry*) probably meant "refinery ship" like the 13th-century ship recently excavated by George Bass off the southwestern coast of Anatolia and like the Hebrew *'oniyôt taršîš*, which I have rendered "refinery ships" (BASOR 83 [1941], 21ff.). For the Egyptian word [spelled syllabically *ku-ra*, *ku-ur*, *ku-ur-ya* (pl.)] see M. Burchardt, Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte . . . im Aegyptischen, II (1910), No. 997 (to which should probably be added the occurrences of the *qur* ship in No. 912 (but not No. 921). For Ugar. "*wry*" see my remarks in the Festschrift Alfred Bertholet (1950), 5, n. 3; K and W are very often confused in Ugaritic.

[38] See BASOR 173 (1964), 53.

[39] See notes 23 and 24 for recent literature.
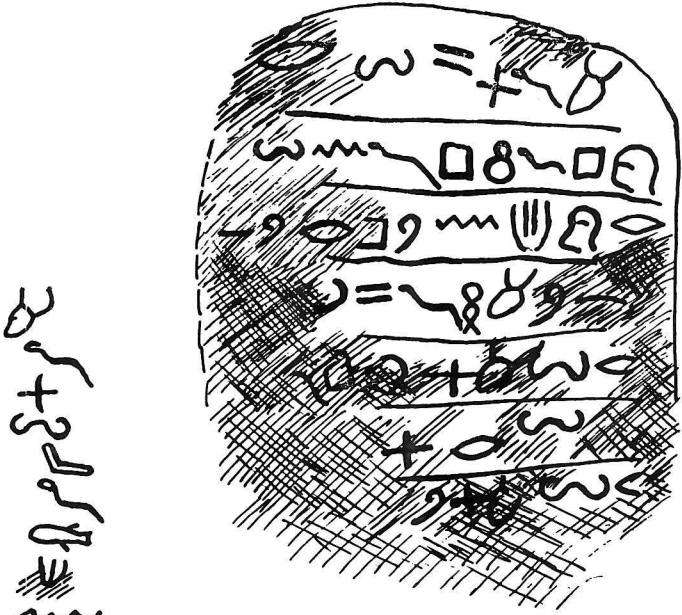
No. 349, traced from photograph and collated with original.

W.F.A.

No. 357, traced from Butin's facsimile copy and corrected from the original and photographs of it.

FIG. 4. The 1948 drawings of Nos. 349 and 357 with minor revisions.

FIG. 5.

367

FIG. 7.

362

359

347

347a

346a

346b

FIG. 6.

Approx. scale

Approx. scale

354

Approx. scale 0 ___ 5

356

0 _____ 5

374

0 _____ 5

375 Approx. scale 0 5

361

0 __ 5 __ 10

Fig. 8.

364

365b

363

365a

Scale

FIG. 10.

113

358

360

Scale
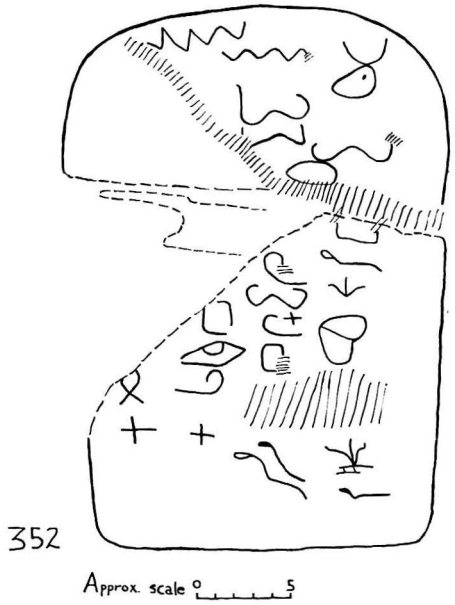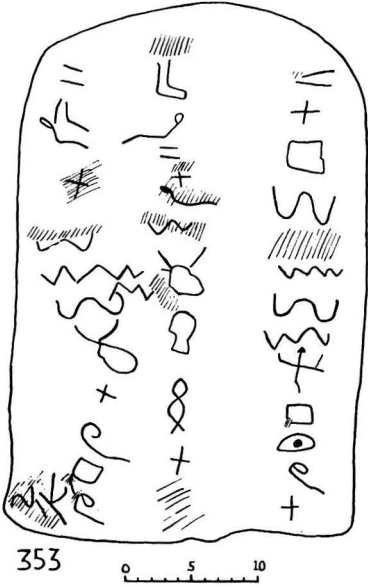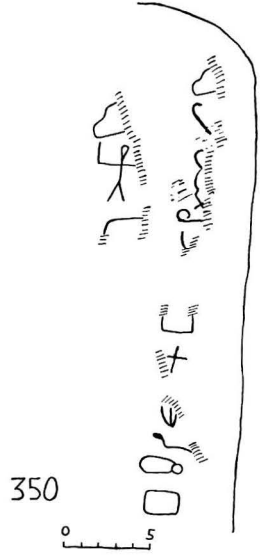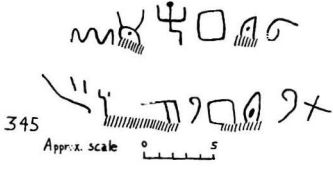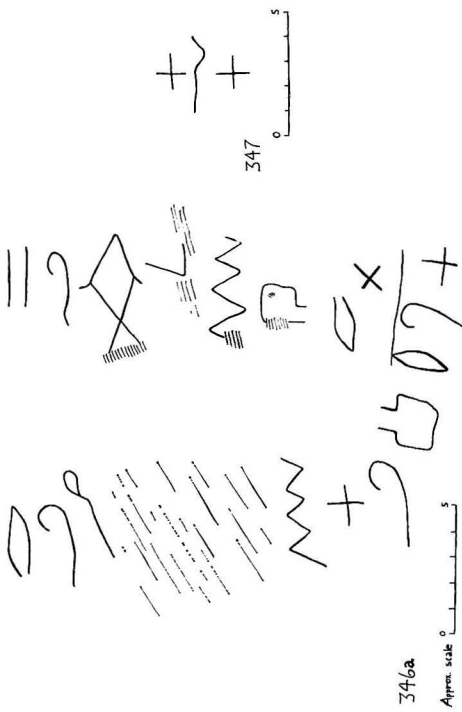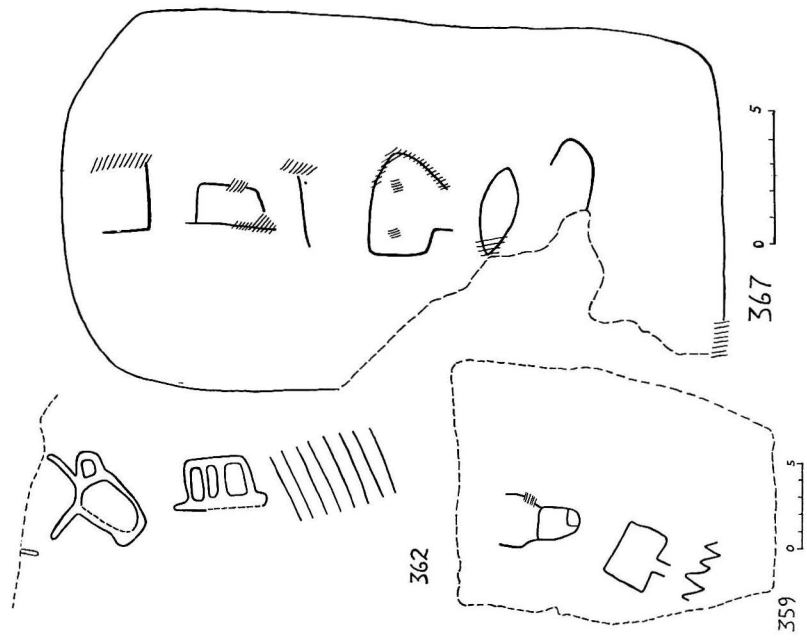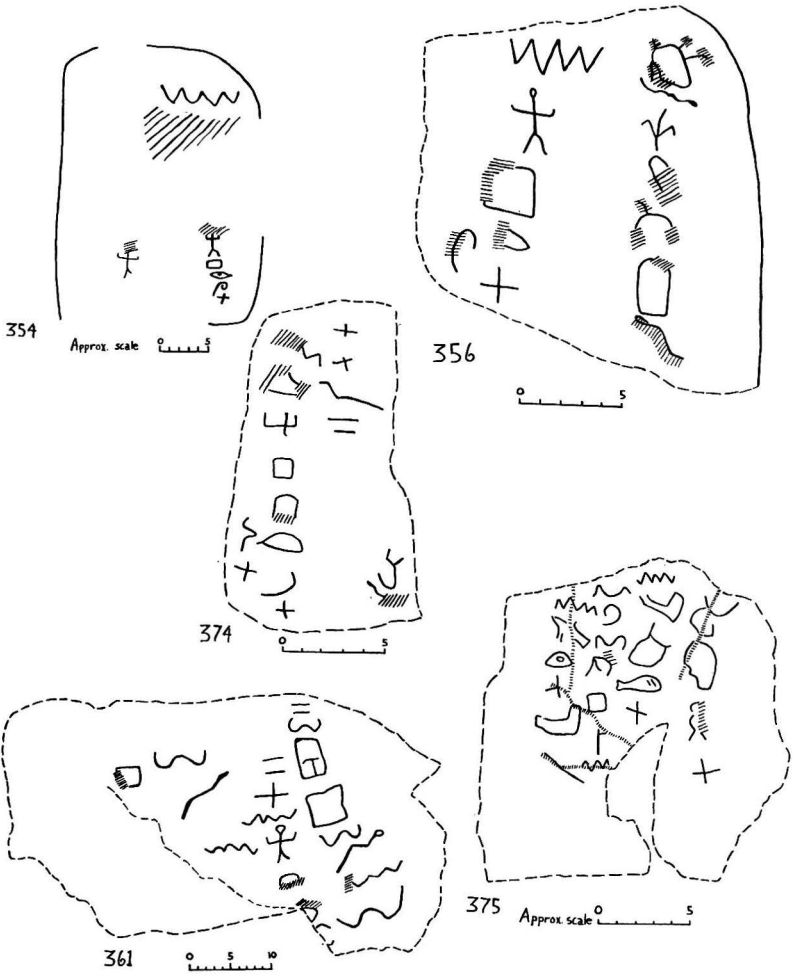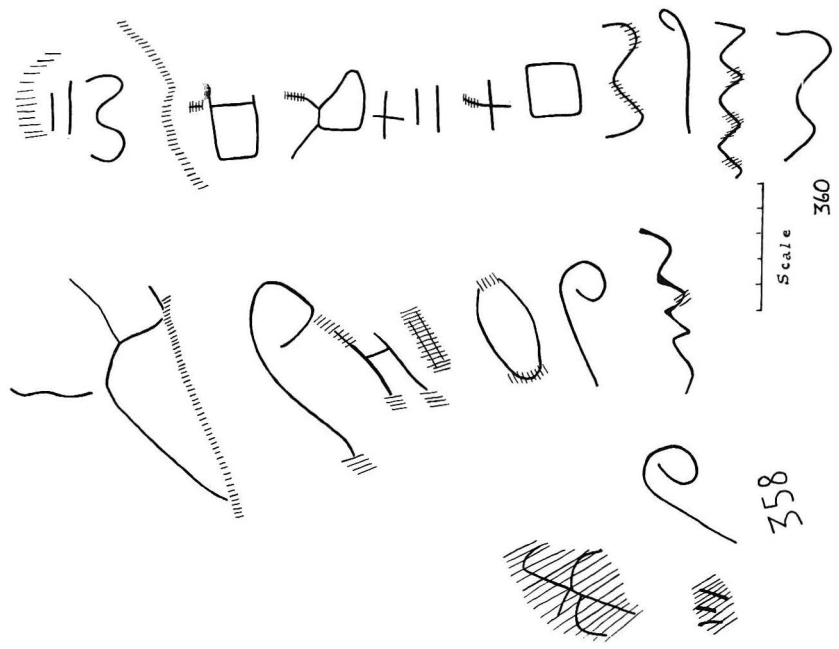
FIG. 9.
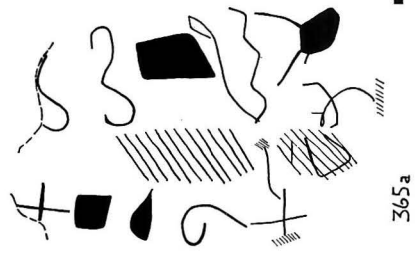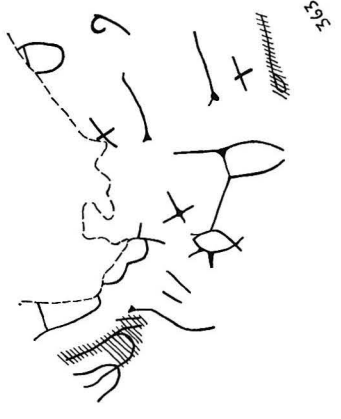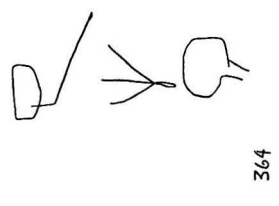
FIG. 11. Gerster. No. 1 (Courtesy of Dr. Georg Gerster).

CHAPTER III

THE TEXTS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

Text No. 345 (on two sides of a female sphinx)   [Fig. 5]

Location: Ḥathor temple (now British Museum, 41748)

The text is drawn from the photographs in Grimme (Tafeln 4–5), taken before the inscription was chalked in. The photographs in Gardiner, 1916, are presumably the same (but with only one view of each side). They are taken from a slight angle.

Right side of the sphinx (left to right):
M' HB 'L[T]   "Swear to give a sacrifice"

Left side of the sphinx (continuation) (left to right):
NḌ⌐B(?)Ḥ⌐ LB'LT   "in order that we may sacrifice to Baalath"

m' hb 'l[t] nḏbḥ l-B'lt

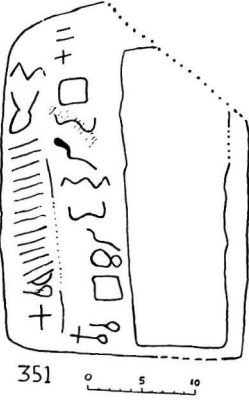Note that the left side of the sphinx has been scraped, perhaps to fit a certain location, so that the bottoms of the letters have disappeared. The suggested restoration agrees with the remaining traces (the markings above the left side of B are somewhat more faint and do not accord with any known letter) and seems to be the only possibility that makes sense. Elsewhere in these texts we have *ṯ'(y)*, "offering," and *hb 'lt*, "bring a sacrifice," instead of *ḏbḥ*, "sacrifice," but note that a century or so later, at Ugarit (Text RSh 2), we find the expressions *ṯ' nṯ'y*, "the offering which we offer," and *dbḥn ndbḥ*, "our sacrifice which we sacrifice," alternating in a way that suggests their essential synonymity.

Text No. 346a–b (on top, front and side of a cuboid statuette)
[Fig. 6]

Location: Ḥathor temple (now Cairo Museum, 38268)

The text is drawn from the photographs in Grimme (Tafeln 6–10, esp. Tafeln 9–10). For the relationship of the top to the front note esp. Grimme, Tafel 6.

Column I (running vertically along the left shoulder and on to the front):

ḎLDY MRʿT (*ḏû-ladêyu marʿîtu*) "O (thou) in whose care is the meadow (or pasturage)"

Column II (running vertically along the left shoulder and, after a break, continuing from left to right, curving down, on the front), continuation:

ʿL N[ʿM] MT⟨N⟩ LBʿLT   "on behalf of N[uʿmu], a gift for Baalath"

Column III (running vertically down on the right side, then up and down), continuation:

ʿL NʿM RB NQBN[M]   "on behalf of Nuʿmu, chief of the miner[s]"

Texts Nos. 347, 347a (two female sphinx heads, one with upper chest preserved)   [Fig. 6]

Location: Ḥathor temple (now Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire)

Text 347 is drawn from Butin, 1932 (Pl. XIII).
     TNT   "gift"
We may perhaps restore TNT [LBʿLT], in apparent agreement with text 347a. The reading and interpretation follow G. Ryckmans.

Text 347a is drawn from Butin, 1932 (Pl. XIII); see also Grimme, Tafel 12. The text on the left shoulder reads:
     LB[ʿLT]
We can probably restore [TNT] in the center, under the head, as supported by various traces. The reading is not clear, however, from any of the photographs.

Text No. 348

Location: Wâdi Maghârah

This text was seen by E. H. Palmer in the Wâdi Maghârah during his 1868–69 Sinai expedition and was published from his squeeze by R. Weill, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï* (Paris,

1904), 154, no. 44 (drawing), although its true character was not recognized until later. The text has not been located since and the squeeze does not seem to be acceptable in quality. For the best copy (drawn from Palmer's squeeze) see Gardiner, 1916, 15, and Pl. III, and Gardiner-Peet, 1917, Pl. LXXXIII. According to Butin, 1928, 167, Gardiner's photograph was taken from Palmer's squeeze; I follow Butin's readings (with my own rendering, of course):

... M]ṮT-M HB 'LT   "[. . .] his [la]dy. Bring a
                          sacrifice!"

Text No. 349 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 4]

Location: Near entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52511)

My 1948 copy is here reproduced (Fig. 4), with slight changes in lines 5 and 7; it is based on prolonged inspection with a flashlight in the Cairo Museum, checked by available photographs and the drawings of Leibovitch and Butin. The translation has been changed in detail since 1948. Note that this is the only steliform text written exclusively in horizontal right-to-left lines.

Line 1 'NT DṮ⌐ʿ⌐   Line 5 ⌐ʿ⌐ Ṯ⌐ʾ⌐Ṯ
     2 RB NQBNM   ⌐L BN⌐[H '?]
        Ṯ[ʿ]   6 [LY?]Ṯʿ
     3 ʿRK M L   Ṯ[N Ḏ Ṯ]
        ⌐B'LT⌐   7 ⌐ʿ⌐ Ṯ⌐ʾʾṮ⌐ L
     4 ⌐L⌐ 'ḤN Ḏ   [B'LT?]
        ⌐Ṯ⌐[ʿ Ṯ]

[1]'nt ḏ-ṯʿ [2]rb nqbnm ṯ[ʿ] [3]ʿrk-m l-B'lt [4]l 'ḫn ḏ-ṯ[ʿ ṯ]
[5]ʿ ṯʾt l-bn[h '?] [6][ly?]ṯʿ ṯ[n ḏ-ṯ] [7]ʿ ṯʾt l-[B'lt?]

[1] Thou, O offerer, [2] (or) chief miner, an offering [3] prepare for Ba'lat, [4] on behalf of Aḥêna, — O offerer, — an [5] offering of a wild ewe. <On> behalf of [his] son, [6] [Elya]ṯuʿ(?), gi[ve, O offer]er, [7] a wild ewe for [Ba'lat(?)].

The formulas employed in this text are partly paralleled and

elucidated by similar expressions and formulas in Nos. 346a–b, 347–347a, 365b and 374. Needless to say, it is possible that one or more of our restorations may be wrong, especially since it is obvious that the scribe who drew up the text to be copied by the stonecutter was not formally educated. It is possible that the word for "wild ewe" was plural, but most unlikely in view of the quasi-legal character of sacrificial texts, where precise numbers would be expected.

Text No. 350 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 5]

Location: Near entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52517)

The text is drawn from Butin, 1932 (Pl. XIV), with comparison of the photographs in Grimme and Butin, 1928, all of which help to clarify some of the letters. Note that fragments from the upper right-hand side of the "stele" have been lost and are not given in all the photographs. Two columns of the text are partially preserved. I failed to recognize the third letter of the first column as a good Ḥ, apparently with three loops, as in Gerster No. 1, until the plates had all been mounted; the outline has been inserted in Fig. 5. The resulting translation gives a vivid picture of the wretched situation of the miners. Unfortunately, it appears impossible to reconstruct the seated figure of a divinity, clad in a long robe, at the left of the inscription.

Column I (right column, running vertically):
'L ⌈ḤLṢ⌉[N]   ⌈B⌉T⌈K⌉ NQB

Column II (left column, restoring according to the formula):
[M]' H⌈B⌉   ['LT]

ⁱ'l ⌈ḫlṣ⌉[n] ⌈b⌉t⌈k⌉ nqb   ⁱⁱ[m]' hb ['lt]

ⁱ O my god, ⌈rescue⌉ [me] ⌈from⌉ the interior of the mine.
ⁱⁱ [Swe]ar to bring [a sacrifice].

Text No. 351 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 5]

Location: Entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52514)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932, aided by

the photographs in Butin, 1928, and Grimme. The inscription presumably began above the inserted shrine of Ptaḥ (with the characteristic figure of the god inside) and continued in the two vertical columns to the left. According to the formula one may restore:

[Ḍ ṮB 'T]   "[O Merciful One, with]

Column I: ḌT BṮN MṮ NQB WWT
                    the Serpent Lady, lords of the
                    mine(s) of Wawat,

Column II: M' [HB] 'LT   swear [to bring] a sacrifice"

Note the ligature of W and T at the bottom of Column I. The reading *Wwt* naturally transcribes Egyptian *W3w3t*, name of a well-known district of Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts, familiar from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty down into the middle of the Twenty-first. For detailed references to Wawat see the indices to Breasted, Ancient Records, V, 102b, and Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien (1941), 270a. Since precious stone is expressly said to have come from Wawat, there is no difficulty here, especially since turquoise is among the stones in question. It should be added that all this part of Nubia was in Egyptian hands from early in the reign of Amosis and probably even from the latter part of his brother Kemose's short reign, as indicated by the finds of W. K. Simpson at Toshka (where two rock inscriptions of Kemose have now been found, over fifty miles downstream from the Second Cataract); see Expedition 4 (1962), 42, 45. Captured Hyksos prisoners may well have been forced to work in the mines of lower Nubia from the middle of the sixteenth century or earlier down to the time of our texts. The divinities in question presumably reflect a mixture of Semitic, Egyptian and Nubian religious ideas. The name *W3w3t* is not Egyptian but is spelled in Old Kingdom consonantal orthography; there is no reason why final *t* should be feminine and therefore no longer pronounced about 1500 B.C.

Text No. 352 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 5]

Location: Entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52510)

The text is drawn from Grimme, Tafel 18, aided by the photographs in Butin, 1928, 1932. The inscription is written in four columns, but at least one sign is apparently intended for both columns (', cols. i–ii). The "fish" in the lower part of cols. i–ii is lightly carved and secondary to the text.

Column I: 'Ṯ' BN ẒR   *Col. III*: M[NḪT(?) M'
['[]ẒN   H]B 'LT

Col. II: MṮṮ' LṮT   *Col. IV*: ['R]ḤT
LB['T(M)
Ṯ]NN

ⁱ *ṯ' bn ẓr [']ẓn* ⁱⁱ *mṯṯ' lṯt lb['t(m) ṯ]nn.* ⁱⁱⁱ *m[nḫt(?) m' h]b 'lt* ^{iv} [. . . 'r]ḥt*

ⁱ 'Itha' son of Zur, give me an oracle (Heb. *^aṣēnī*). ⁱⁱ Thou who didst save [me] from two lio[nesses, gr]ant me a ⁱⁱⁱ r[esting-place(?). Swear to bri]ng a sacrifice ^{iv} [. . . a wild] cow.

Note that in Column I the required ' of [']ẒN may perhaps be partly preserved at the very front part of the "fish." Near the tail of the "fish" one can perhaps recognize traces of the horns of the ' of LB['T(M)]. The second Ṯ is clear in one photo. For the syntax of [ṯ]nn m[nḫt(?)] see especially Aqhat II D, 6:27ff.: *'erš ḥym w-'atnk, blmt w-'ašlḥk,* "Ask life and I will give (it) thee, immortality and I will grant (it) thee," as first pointed out by H. L. Ginsberg. The text appears to be a prayer to a dead hero, conceivably identical with North-Arabic 'Ita', Greek Ethaos, attested during the first centuries of our era. For the reading cf. BN ẒR in No. 364.

Text No. 353 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 5]

Location: Entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52515 or 52513)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932, with comparison of the photographs in Grimme (especially) and Butin, 1928. The text is written in three columns, with the usual right-to-left column order.

Col. I: ḎT BṮN MṮM HB 'LT

Col. II: [L]PN Ḍ TN ŚM 'RḤT [LPN]

Col. III: Ḍ GNT ŚM Ṭ'T L ḠLYN(?)

ⁱ *ḏt-bṯn mṯ<t>-m ḥb 'lt* ⁱⁱ[*l*]*pn ḏ-tn śm 'rḫt* [*lpn*] ⁱⁱⁱ *ḏ-gnt śm ṭ' t l-Ḡlyn.*

O Serpent Lady, his(!) mistress, bring a sacrifice, [be]fore the Lord of Jackals present a wild cow, [before] the Lord of the Winepress present a wild ewe on behalf of Ḡulyân(?).

For Ḍ-GT as an appellation of Ptaḥ = El, see Lachish IV, Plate 38, No. 295 (discussed above). Note that the end of Column III is uncertain. Probably read Ḡlyn, as a personal name (see glossary). The Ḡ can scarcely be B, since the stroke below the "box" touches the edge of the incised "box." The name Ḡlyn is attested at Ugarit and in the Bible (Gen. 36:23).

Text No. 354 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 8]

Location: Entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52510; partly lost)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1928, as completed by the photographs in Gardiner, 1916, and Grimme. Note that none of the photographs shows all the fragments of the right column which were preserved (some of which became lost before 1928), so that a composite drawing must be made. In addition, the photographs in Gardiner, 1916, and Grimme, show the two halves of the face of the stele at different scales and from separate photographs.

Column I: M HB 'LT   ". . . (swear) to bring a sac-
                                  rifice."

Column II: H

Note: the M in Col. I, considerably larger than the other characters, may well be unrelated to the inscription below.

Text No. 356 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 8]

Location: Entrance to Mine L (now Cairo Museum, 52513 or 52515)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932, as compared with the photographs in Butin, 1928. Parts of two columns of text are preserved.

Column I: Š(?)NṢLN(?)   "Rescue me(?), O chief of the
               RB   m[iners],
               N[QBNM]

Column II: M['(?)]   HB   sw[ear] to bring an offering.
               'LT[ ]

Note the presumed ligature, RB, in Column I, suggested by the unusually oblong shape of B and the rounded top. For a clear example of a ligature see the note to No. 351. The bottom of Col. I as preserved is apparently chipped along the line of the last N preserved.

Text No. 357 (carved on rock wall)   [Fig. 4]

Location: Mine L (in situ)

My 1948 drawing is reproduced with a few modifications. With one exception the reading is the same, but there are some changes in the translation. (This was the inscription which I collated with the greatest care in January, 1948, and on which I based the 1948 decipherment.)

Vertical line: 'nt Ṯpn dk-m l-'bb mn VIII (?)

Horizontal line: Šm'' mr' rb '[prm(?)].

Thou, O Shaphan, collect from 'Ababa eight(?) minas (of turquoise). Shimea, groom of the chief of the car[avaneers(?)].

This inscription deals with purely mundane matters, in apparent contrast to the great majority of the Proto-Sinaitic texts. Ababa had presumably contracted a gambling (or other) debt to Shimea, which Shaphan was expected to collect. The latter may have been chief miner. The preposition *l* often meant "from" in Ugaritic as well as in Phoenician and early Hebrew. The expression for "eight minas" is written exactly as in Egyptian (*mn* in singular, followed by eight vertical strokes in two rows). Since the only state laborers of foreign origin at the mines would probably be the miners and the caravaneers (both of which categories

are listed in the Egyptian monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty from Sinai), it stands to reason that we must complete the last word as indicated. For details see the glossary.

Text No. 358   [Fig. 9]

Location: Inside Mine M (in situ)

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze.

Column I: 'L   D   'LM   "El (god) of eternity"
Column II: [   ]   L

The correct reading was first pointed out by Frank M. Cross, Jr. (Harvard Theological Review 55 [1962], 238). The second column is broken off; the apparent letter above L seems unique, although it is perhaps a variant of Ṣ. The possible K to the left of the L is unlikely.

Text No. 359   [Fig. 7]

Location: Not given (now Cairo Museum, 52516)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932. Only part of the inscription is preserved.

]'BM[Apparently a personal name, perhaps something like *'Abī-ma*-['ēl], Gen. 10:28.

Note that Cowley, 1929 (p. 217), gave the text (his No. 360) as L'BM[   ], on the basis of a photograph provided by Gardiner (the photograph has not been published). If correct, Cowley's reading would indicate that a portion of the text was subsequently lost. See Butin, 1932, 132, 185–86.

Text No. 360   [Fig. 9]

Location: Cairn on ridge (now Cairo Museum)

The text consists of one column on the right side of a stele-like slab. The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. Note that the inscription was added after the slab had already been eroded, so that the upper part of the text is not evenly spaced. The text was presumably left unfinished.

Ḏ ṮB 'T ḌT BṮN MṮ   "O Merciful One with the
Serpent Lady, lords . . ."

Text No. 361 [Fig. 8]

Location: Near Mine N (now Cairo Museum)

The text, found on an "undetached small rock," is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932. Note that columns I–II must be combined in accordance with the usual formula:

Column I: Ḏ ṮB BṮN
          MṮ
                            ḏ-ṯb ḏt bṯn mṯ-m ḥ⌐b⌐
Col. II: ḌT M H⌐B⌐
       ⌐L⌐[T]
                            ⌐ʾ⌐[t]

"O Merciful One, O Serpent Lady, (his) two lords, bring a sacrif[ice]"

Col. III: ṮN[?]M[   ]

Col. IV: B[   ]

Apparently the engraver accidentally omitted ḌT after Ḏ ṮB and then, noting his error, carved the two letters to the left of Col. I, following them with the continuation of the inscription which began in Col. I. The case is extreme but absolutely clear; it warns us that we may expect similar incongruities (from our point of view) elsewhere.

Text No. 362 [Fig. 7]

Location: Cairn above Mine L (now Cairo Museum)

The text, which is very fragmentary, is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1932. Although only two signs are fully preserved, they are clearly written and furnish good examples of the orthography.

[   ]'Ḥ[?]

Note that the sequence 'Ḥ is common in Egyptian; one could suggest a number of names, such as *iḥ3* (older *'ḥ3*), "warrior," in the Middle and especially in the New Kingdom, both alone and as first element in longer names (Ranke, Die ägyptischen Per-

sonennamen, p. 44, Nos. 6ff.), or *i'ḥms*, "Amosis," either in full or in hypocoristic form (*i'ḥ*, ibid., p. 12, No. 13). The full name was common in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries and became particularly common after Amosis' conquest of all Egypt.

Text No. 363 [Fig. 10]

Location: Cairn south of Mine L (now Cairo Museum)

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. Parts of four columns are preserved on the slab. The order of the columns has been reversed, as suggested by Dr. Huffmon; I now read from left to right.

Col. I: H(?)NḎ (?)   *Col. III:* [M]TN NTᵀNⁱ

Col. II: 'ḤT'   *Col. IV:* [L] 'L

ⁱ This (is what) ⁱⁱ 'Aḫuta' ⁱⁱⁱ has given as [a gi]ft ⁱᵛ [to] El

Text No. 364 [Fig. 10]

Location: Dump in front of Mine M (now Cairo Museum)

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. This small fragment appears to contain a proper name.

[. . .]BN ẒR   ['ṭ'(?)] *bn* *Ẓr*

See No. 352 for the name.

Text No. 365a [Fig. 10]

Location: Camp of the Egyptians (now Cairo Museum)

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. The inscription is apparently a palimpsest, in that the center column is very faint and doubtless either older or intentionally "erased." Neither of the other two columns is completely preserved.

Col. I: [ ]ṮṮBN M'   [ ]restore me; swear to bring
            H[B]

Col. III: ['?]T B'LT   [wi]th Ba'lat

Note: The restoration in Col. III is only one of several possibilities.

Text No. 365b (reverse of No. 365a)   [Fig. 10]

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. Note that the carving is clearly by a different hand than that of No. 365a, and much more cursive. As with No. 365a, the top of the inscription is probably not preserved.

$$\begin{bmatrix} T \\ N \end{bmatrix}$$
Ḏ
Ṭ   [TN(?)]   Ḏ   Ṭ[ʻ]   ʼRḪT   L   ꜥKꜥ[   ]
[ʻ]
( )   "[Give(?)] O offerer, a wild cow for K[   ]
ʼ
R
Ḫ   T
L
ꜥKꜥ

The characters at the bottom of the line must be read in the order required by meaning, as so often in these inscriptions.

Text No. 367 (steliform rock panel)   [Fig. 7]

Location: Cairn south of Mine L (now Cairo Museum)

The text is drawn from Butin's squeeze. There is one vertical column, apparently fully preserved, consisting of a personal name.

YḤNBʻL   Yaḥun(n)-Baʻal

Note: The "eyes" in the B are obviously later additions, perhaps accidental.

Text No. 374   [Fig. 8]

Location: In debris inside Mine M (now Cairo Museum, 65466)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1936 (Pl. 9, Fig. 19). The first two columns are only partially preserved.

Col. I: [   ]'N   *Col. III*: ⌐M⌐ HB B
                                   'LT

Col. II: T TN Ḍ [T'   *Col. IV*(?): [?]Ṭ(?)T
       Ṭ'T(?)]

[O . . . .] thou give, O of[ferer, a wild ewe(?)]; ⌐swear⌐ to
bring a sacrifice[?]

Text No. 375   [Fig. 8]

Location: Debris inside Mine M (now Cairo Museum, 65467)

The text is drawn from the photograph in Butin, 1936 (Pl. 10,
Fig. 21). The inscription is in four columns, all of which may
be completely preserved, but the text is obviously incomplete.

Col. I: 'RḤT   *Col. III*: ṬLṬ ĠBT

Col. II: MP'DT   *Col. IV*: MD'T PNM

'rḥtm p'dt ṭlṭ ġbt md't pnm

Two wild cows (as) a (sacrifice for) mercy, three fatlings (as) an
offering before him (Heb. *pānêmō*).

Gerster, No. 1   [Fig. 11]

Wâdi Naṣb (Sinai), above Bîr Naṣb (in situ)

This text was discovered by Dr. Georg Gerster of Zürich, who
wrote me about it on 7th March, 1960, offering me at the same
time the right to publish it in BASOR. I ceded this right to
J. Leibovitch, who published the new text in Le Muséon 74
(1961), 461–66; see also Sir Alan Gardiner's last paper in
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 48 (1961), 461ff. There has
been some question on the part of all students as to whether the
weathered remains at the right belong to our text or are Egyp-
tian. Since they include the outlines of a rectangular panel with
a rounded corner and a cartouche suggesting the name of the
fifteenth ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Sekhem-rē'-khu-tawi,
who reigned over three years and has left numerous monuments
(ca. 1760 B.C.), the latter alternative is far the more probable.
Since no familiar formula appears to be used in our text, I was
for a time inclined to think that the text had been chalked in.
This view was wrong, as I have been assured by Dr. Gerster, so

I have taken the photographed traces at face value, with plausible results. The text is archaic in comparison with the latest monuments of our series — especially those that come from the temple of Ḥatḥor at Serābît. The lowest preserved sign in Col. III has three loops like the Egyptian character from which it was copied; the fish in Col. I is remarkably detailed. The sign above the fish, which I long took to be an antelope, is definitely an ox-head; I suspect ancient "retouching" of the horns, since there seem to be traces of the ox horns (very clear in the third sign). The fish, the goad (twice) and the W are all drawn vertically instead of horizontally. I now read (the third person of the suffix is normal honorific):

’D ’[L] T⌐N⌐ L ḤB⌐R⌐ [N]Ḥ ‘LW
O father E[l], gra[nt] to (my) companion [re]st beside him!

[Perhaps better, "O father E[l], gra[nt] to Heber re[st] beside him!" Heber appears as the name of an early clan of Asher and as the name of a Kenite family or person in the twelfth century B.C.]

Gerster, No. 2

Location: Wâdi Naṣb (in situ)

The presence of Proto-Sinaitic signs here, already hinted at by Černý, was confirmed by Dr. Gerster, who reported that the signs, immediately to the right of the inscription of Amenemmes III, are less weathered than that text and are apparently later. The text, photographs of which have been published by Gerster, Leibovitch, and Gardiner, has a clear ’ and, perhaps, also M and ‘, although the latter signs, if such, are badly eroded.

Note also the following items listed by Butin:

No. 355 (steliform). Location: Entrance to Mine L (now lost)

This small fragment of a text undoubtedly comes from the upper left-hand corner (note the rounded edge of the stele), but no part of the text is clear. It may only be random alphabetiform doodling. For a photograph of the text see Gardiner, 1916, Pl. V.

No. 366. A fragment of a text with the reading M . . (see

Butin, 1932, p. 195). For a photograph see Butin, 1932, Pl. XXIII.

No. 368. Steliform, almost completely defaced, but with the traces of several letters at the upper left. Photograph in Butin, 1932, Pl. XXIV.

No. 369. An Egyptian (!) inscription; see Butin, 1936, p. 31, n. 1.

No. 370. A defaced rock, which may have been inscribed, having two possible cases of Ṭ. Photograph in Butin, 1932, Pl. XXIII.

No. 371. This is a rock fragment with a drawing of a bird and two possible Proto-Sinaitic signs. Photograph in Butin, 1932, Pl. XXI.

Nos. 372a, b. Possible workman's marks; photographs in Butin, 1932, Pl. XXVI.

No. 373. Not an inscription. Photograph in Butin, 1932, Pl. XVI.

Some other very dubious "inscriptions" are reported by Butin, 1932, pp. 199–200, and Butin, 1936, p. 42 (figs. 22, 18, and 20 respectively).

CHAPTER IV

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

A. PHONOLOGY: INVENTORY OF GRAPHEMES.

’ *b g d ḏ h w ḥ ḫ y k l m n* ‘ *ḡ ṣ/ẓ p q r ś/ṯ š t*

Not yet known: *ś*, *ḍ*; known from later South-Canaanite texts: *z*(?), *ṯ*(?). Apart from nine characters (’ *b h l m n* ‘ *r t*) whose values are rather obvious and have been generally accepted, the following list gives the Proto-Sinaitic consonants with citation of most words or roots in which they occur. These words and roots are in turn listed and discussed in the Glossary, Chapter V.

g   *gnt*, *gt* (Lachish prism); form continues in North and South Semitic.

d   *’d, dk, ldy, md‘t, p’dt*.

ḏ   *ḏ* (masc.), *ḏt* (fem.), *ḏbḥ, hnḏ*(?).

w   *Wwt* (place-name), *‘lw*.

ḥ   *Yḥnb‘l, ḏbḥ, ḥbr, ’ḥ* (personal name), *Ḥnn* (Beth-shemesh).

ḫ   *’ḫn, ’ḫt’* (personal names), *’rḫt* (common).

y   *Yḥnb‘l, ldy, Ḡlyn*.

k   *‘rk, tk, dk*.

ḡ   *ḡbt, Ḡlyn, rḡm* (Shechem plaque).

ṣ   1. *ẓ–Ẓr* (in *bn Ẓr*) (personal name).
     2. *ṣ–šnṣl*(?).

p   *p’dt, pn, Ṭpn* (personal name).

q   *nqb, nqbn-(m)*, *‘rqy* (St. Louis seal).

š   *šm‘* (personal name), *šnṣl*(?).

ṯ   1. *ś–śm*.
     2. *ṯ–bṯn, mṯ, mṯṯ‘* (*yṯ‘*), *ṯ’t, ṯb, ṯlṯ, ṯ‘, ṯt, Ṭpn, ’ṯ*.

  1) Merging of consonants

    a) Proto-Semitic *ṣ* and *ẓ* are represented by the same grapheme and presumably had coalesced. These two sounds were still distinguished in Ugaritic, but they fell together in Hebrew, Phoenician and Old Aramaic

(at first). It is still quite uncertain whether $ḍ$ had fallen together with them in Proto-Sinaitic or not.

b) Proto-Semitic $ṯ$ and $ś$ are represented by the same grapheme. The grouping $*ṯ$ plus $*ś$, on the one hand, and $*š$, on the other, contrary to most Northwest-Semitic languages (which either distinguish $*ṯ$ from $*š$ and $*ś$, taken together [Amorite, Ugaritic, and Aramaic, in different ways], or group $*ṯ$ and $*š$ versus $*ś$ [Hebrew]), is precisely that grouping of the sibilants found in New Kingdom Egyptian transcriptions of Canaanite names and words from Phoenicia and (Western) Palestine; see W. F. Albright in JPOS 14 (1934), 108, with reference to the views of H. Bauer, and in BASOR 110 (1948), 15, n. 42.

2) Assimilation and non-assimilation

a) Preformative $*š$ of the Shaphel is assimilated to initial $*ṯ$ of the verbal root in $*šaṯībnī > *ṯaṯībnī$, and in $*mašōṯiʿ$ (for $*mašawṯiʿ$) $> *maṯōṯiʿ$. This is regular in Ugaritic; see Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, § 5. 28.

b) N does not always assimilate to a following dental or spirant. Without assimilation note $*ʾant$ ($ʾnt$), $*gint$ (gnt), and $*šanṣil$ ($šnṣl$). However, with assimilation we may note $*ṯi(n)t$ ($ṯt$). Note also $gt = *gi(n)t$ in the Lachish Prism. For a similar interchange note $git(t)i$ and $ginti$ in place-names in the Amarna letters.

3) Contraction of diphthongs

It is clear that diphthongs were regularly contracted just as in contemporary South Canaanite (Amarna, Egyptian transcriptions) and Ugaritic. Among examples from our texts we may cite $*ʿôlăm$ ($ʿlm$), Heb. $ʿôlām$ from a probable augmentative $*ʿawlăm$ [like $Kawṯar$ in Aram. and Arab. $>$ Ugar. $Kôṯar$ (transcribed $Kušar$ in Accadian) and Heb. $Kôšār(ôt)$ $>$ Phoen. $Kûšôr$ (Greek $Chúsōr$); Aram. $ʿâl(a)mâ$ $>$ Arab. $ʿālam$ is a typical hyper-correction (back-formation)]; $*tôk$ (tk) $=$ Heb. $tôk < *tawk$ ($tāwek$). Similarly, $*ladêyu$ (ldy) comes from $*ladayhu < *la-ya-dayhu$; see Glossary. Note also $*ṯôb$ ($ṯb$) for $*ṯawb$, lit.

"turning," as well as a number of feminine nouns such as *'ôlît ('lt) = Heb. 'ôlā, "burnt offering" (both are active participles like Can. hômît [Amarna humit-] and Ugar. *hâmîtu, Heb. hômā, "wall of a town"), *ḡabît (ḡbt), plur. *ḡabôt, all exhibit vocalic contraction (and perhaps also the influence of analogy in the vocalization of the penultimate syllable); note that the reduction of an original plural *ḡabiyôt to *ḡabôt is like the Hebrew shift of *hômiyôt, "walls," to hômôt, where Ugaritic still had *hâmiyât and Phoenician probably *hômiyôt. Exactly the same reduction took place in Accadian in cases like rabîtu, plur. rabâti (older rabiâti).

B. MORPHOLOGY (in general only fully preserved forms are cited; for occurrences see the Glossary)

1) Pronouns

Owing to the paucity of texts we have only *'anta ('nt), 2nd masc. sing., among independent pronouns. There are several cases of suffixed n with verbs, especially [']ẓn (*w/y'ẓ) and ttbn, in both of which we have the 1st per. sing. Quite instructive is the appearance of alternative 3rd masc. sing. suffixes y and w in *ladêyu (ldy) for *ladayhu and *'alêw ('lw) for *'alêu < *'alayhu, respectively. The former underlies the standard Phoenician suffix 3rd masc. sing. y and the latter agrees with corresponding Hebrew forms ending in êw (Massoretic āw, as in 'alāw, pānāw). For discussions of these forms and their development see especially Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 10 (1951), 228–30, and their book, Early Hebrew Orthography (1952), especially 11ff., 47, 68ff., as well as J. Friedrich, Phönizisch-punische Grammatik (1951), 13, 46. It must be remembered that the orthography of the linear Canaanite alphabet can scarcely have been fixed this early, and that it is still more unlikely that the miners would have been familiar with any such standardization if it already existed.

Just before completing the present study, I realized that

I should have applied the evidence which Friedrich and I had collected in the late fifties to the elucidation of a group of forms which I had recognized in principle as long ago as 1948. This I shall proceed to do as succinctly as possible. In 1948 I found several cases of *m* as enclitic after the word *mṭ*, which I rendered as "lord, etc.," but I failed to understand its morphology until Friedrich had collected a considerable number of Punic examples of *m* as 3rd masc. sing. suffix (Zeits. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 107 [1957], 290–292). The latter was inclined to consider the suffix as non-Semitic, but I immediately correlated it with a number of close parallels in Phoenician proper, early Northwest-Semitic and Biblical Hebrew (unfortunately my announced plan to include a paper on this subject in the Friedrich Festschrift could not be carried out for lack of time). The Punic ending is *-im* in *binim*, "his son," etc., in strict accord with vocalization in Ugaritic and at Gozan (thirteenth-tenth centuries B.C.), where the Ugar. and Phoen. name *'bd'lm* (lit. "Servant of his god," like the common Accadian (*W*)*arad-ilišu*) is vocalized *'Abdi-ilimu* (see my treatment in Anatolian Studies 6 [1956], p. 81 and n. 36). Similarly, *'lm Nrgl* and *'lm B'l-Ṣdn* in late Phoenician inscriptions mean "(of) his god Nergal" and "(of) his god *Ba'al-Ṣidôn*" (for references see Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language [1936], p. 77). In Hebrew *panêmō* = *pnm* in No. 375 (see Glossary), *kappêmō*, *'alêmō* we still have the archaizing ending *mu* preserved in fossil form (recognized cautiously by Bauer and Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache, 253, n. 1); it also appears in numerous previously unrecognized forms, both verbal and nominal. Among the nominal forms listed by Horace Hummel, Jour. Bib. Lit., 76 (1957), 92ff., 99ff., there are nearly a dozen (all in poetic passages) which fall into this category, and more may now be cited. In other words, our evidence for the antiquity and diffusion of the 3rd masc. sing. suffix ending in *-mu*, later *m* where the short final vowel was dropped

and -*mō* where it became fossilized, is now so overwhelming that we cannot be surprised to find it in Proto-Sinaitic.

We have the following demonstrative/determinative pronouns in Proto-Sinaitic: masc. sing. **ḏû* (*ḏ*), used possessively and as a relative pronoun; fem. sing. **ḏât* (*ḏt*), documented only as a possessive; *h(?)nḏ*, "this one here" (see Glossary for cognate forms). There is no apparent difference in use between these forms and the cognate Northwest and Southwest-Semitic words; early Hebrew had the same or closely related forms.

2) Nouns and Adjectives

Masc. sing. — *bn, bṯn, mn, mr', mtn, mṯ, nqb, nqbn, 'lm, rb, tn, ṯ'*

Masc. dual const. — *mṯ(m)*   Masc. pl. — *nqbnm*

Fem. sing. — *'rḫt, gnt, mdʿt, mrʿt, 'lt, ḡbt, p'dt, tnt, ṯ't*

Fem. dual — *'rḫtm, lb['t(m)]*   Fem. pl. — *ḡbt*

Note: Nouns designating animals include *bṯn* and *tn*, which are probably common in gender and collective in number, just as in many animal and plant names in other Semitic languages.

Other augmented forms:

   a) Prefixed *m-*: *mdʿt* (from **wdʿ*), *mrʿt* (from **rʿy*), *mtn* (from *ntn*)
   b) Suffixed *-n*: *nqbn*, presumably *naqbân*, with the -*ân* of nomen agentis; see Brockelmann, Grundriss, I, 393.

3) Verbs

	Imperative	*Imperfect*	*Participle*
a) *Qal*			
	2nd masc:	3rd masc:	
	'rk	*yḥn (ḥnn)*	
	m' (wm')	2nd masc:	
	hb (whb)	*ttn (ntn)*	
	dk (dky)	1st pl:	
	śm (śym)	*nḏ[b]⌈ḥ⌉*	

b) š

2nd masc:
šnṣl   *mṯṯʿ* (w/yṯʿ)
ṯṯb (ṯwb)

Note: The presence of Shaphel forms is unexpected but
causes no difficulty. The Shaphel is the normal
causative in Ugaritic, in both the older poetic and
the later prose dialects. In Hebrew we also have
rare nouns such as *šalhébet* and *šeqaʿrūrōt*, and
especially the forms of the reflexive verb *hištaḥᵃwā*.
The name *Yašaśkir > *Višaśkar, "Issachar," is
also an old Shaphel; see Jour. Amer. Or. Soc. 74
(1954), 227 and n. 32. But a wider use of the
Shaphel in the Late Bronze period is indicated by
Amarna Canaanite, not only in Canaanite variations
of Accadian Shaphel forms (see E. Ebeling, "Das
Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe," Beiträge zur As-
syriologie, VIII/2 [1910], 64), but also in the oc-
currence of such Canaanite Shaphel forms as *šu-um-
ri-ir* (EA, 185.74), *yu-ša-am-ri-ir* (EA, 103.30),
and *tu-ša-am-ri-ru* (EA, 77.24) (note also [š]a?-
am-ru-ri, EA, 58.12, and *im-ru-ur*, EA, 185.66).
Note that *mrr*, "go away, leave," attested in Uga-
ritic and Arabic, does not seem to be known in
native Accadian texts, so that the forms in question
seem to be Canaanite. Some Shaphels appear in
Amorite: e.g., in the names *Šunuḫra-ammu* and
Šunuḫra-ḫālu (BASOR 78 (1940), p. 24, n. 5),
and they were not uncommon in Aramaic; the
"Amorite" names in question may be dialectal
Accadian.

4) Particles

The emphatic enclitic particle, -*m*, occurs twice with an
imperative: *ʿrk-m, dk-m*
The previously adduced cases *mtm* and *pnm* have a differ-
ent explanation; see above and Glossary.

5) Prepositions

't	**'itt-*
b-	**ba-*
btk	*batôk*
l-	**la-*
ldy	**ladêyu* (cf. Arabic *laday-* and discussion above)
[*l*]*pn*	**[la]panê*
'l	**'al-*

6) Numerals

tt, "two (fem.)" — *tt lb*['*t*(*m*)]
tlt, "three (masc.)" — *tlt ḡbt*

C. THE PLACE OF PROTO-SINAITIC IN NORTHWEST-SEMITIC

The language of the Proto-Sinaitic texts is Late Bronze Northwest-Semitic, as indicated by the phonetic structure, but does not exactly correspond with any known dialect. The use of the Shaphel is closely paralleled by Ugaritic, but the treatment of the sibilants agrees with South Canaanite as known through Egyptian transcriptions. Since there seems to be sporadic use of the Shaphel in Amarna letters from Byblos and the hinterland further south (Ḫazi), and since Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew still preserves cases of it, the language of the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions is best classified as a kind of Canaanite *koinē* (*lingua vulgaris*), which had perhaps evolved into a separate dialect. With so little textual data, it is unsafe to extrapolate further.

GLOSSARY

'*bb*   Probably Egyptian personal name, **'Ababa, *'Abeba,*
          well known in the Middle Kingdom (Ranke, p. 21:6–
          10). I much prefer this to my previous identification
          with the month name *'Abîb* (see BASOR 110 (1948),
          p. 21, n. 73) — 357.

'*bm*[Personal name Abimael, 362.

'*d*(?)   **add-*, "father"(?), Gerster 1. For the context, *'d '[l]*,
          note that El is called *'ab 'adm*, "father of man" at Ugarit;
          cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., Harvard Theological Review 55, 240.
          The word appears as *'ad* in Ugaritic and as *adda* in Ac-
          cadian texts.

'*ḥ*   Personal name, 362. Perhaps Egyptian; see above.

'*ḫn*   Personal name, 349. *Aḫêna*(?) for *Aḫiyana* (PRU III,
          194). "Our brother" less probable.

'*ḫt*'   Personal name, 363. This is a hypocoristicon with **'aḫ-*
          and the ending **-uta'*, as in *Ab-du-ta', *'Abduta'*, from
          Alalaḫ IV (Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets [London,
          1953], Pl. XXXV, 342.9), and *'m(m)wt', *'Ammuta'*,
          in the Execration Texts (Sethe, e 13). Another possible
          example from these texts is *'Irt', *'Iluta(')* ? (Posener,
          E.38), although the reading is uncertain.

'*l*   *'El*, either as divine name (probably in 363 and Gerster
          1) or merely "god" (350, and in the title *'l ḏ 'lm*, "'El of
          eternity," 358).

['*ly*]*ṭ*ʿ Probably a personal name in 349; cf. *Ili-ešuḫ* for
          *Eliyaṭuʿ in Old Babylonian texts and Heb. *'lyšʿ* (Elisha).

'*nt*   **'anta*, "thou (masc. sing.)," 349, 357, 374.

'*rḫt*   **'arḫat-*, "wild cow" (Ugar. *'arḫ-*, Acc. *arḫ-*; Arab.
          'a/irḫat-, "heifer"): dual, *'rḫtm*, 375; collective probably
          'rḫ (Ugar. pl. *'arḫt*), [352], 353, 365b.

'*t*   **'itt-*, "with," 360, [365a].

'*ṭ*ʿ   Probably a personal name in the group *'ṭʿ bn Ẓr*, which

may tentatively be vocalized as *'Iṭaʿ* son of (*bin*) *Ẓûr* — 352. Note also]*bn ẓr*, *bin (son of) *Ẓûr* — 364. *'ṭʿ* may be derived from **yṭʿ/wṭʿ*, "save" (Hebrew, Moabite, Old South Arabic), and compared to the North-Arabian deity, *'ṭʿ*, (Gk. Ethaos), and to *išḫ-*, **Yiṭʿ-*, a frequent element in Amorite personal names. *Ẓr*, **Ẓûr-*, Heb. *Ṣûr*, "mountain" (Aram. *ṭûrâ*) is a well-known divine epithet in the Old Testament and among Amorite personal names. A *Ṣûr* was prince of Midian in the 13th century (Num. 25: 15, etc.).

b	**ba-*, "in, with, from": 350 (*btk*), 374; see also *m' hb b-'lt*, below.
b'lt	**Baʿlat-*, divine name: 345, 346, [347a], 349, 365a. Except for the last example *Baʿlat-* is preceded by *l-*.
bn	**bin-*, "son," in (*'ṭʿ*) *bn ẓr*, above, also in 349.
bṯn	**baṯ(a)n-*, "serpent" (Heb. *bšn* [see Albright, HUCA XXIII, 1 (1950–51), 27], Ugar. *bṯn*, Old Aramaic *btn* [see Fitzmyer JAOS 81 (1961), 198a, 218], Accad. *bašm-*) in the phrase *ḏt bṯn*, "the one (fem.) of the serpent; the Serpent Lady": 351, 353, 360, 361.
gnt	**gint-*, "(wine-)press" (Hebrew *gitt-*, Ugar. *gt*, inf. of *wgn), in *ḏ gnt*, "the one of/ Lord of the Winepress," on the Lachish Prism.
dk	*dky, "levy, collect" (Accad. *dakū*) — *dk*, imperative, with enclitic -*m*: 357. For a similar use in Accadian, see CAD, D, 125b.
ḏ	1a. *ḏû (masc.) demonstrative, in sense, "the one of," occurs in the phrases *ḏ-gnt*, *ḏ-ldy mr't*, *ḏ-ʿlm*, *ḏ-tn*, *ḏ-ṯb*, *ḏ-ṭʿ*, listed under the second word. It is also found in the same function in all early Northwest and Southwest Semitic languages.
(*ḏt*)	1b. **ḏât-* (fem.) demonstrative, occurs in the phrase *ḏt bṯn* (see above, *bṯn*). Correlated with *ḏû* in most Semitic languages.
ḏbḥ	*ḏbḥ*, "sacrifice," in the verbal form *nḏ[b]⌐ḥ⌐*, 1st pl. imperfect: 345.

wwt Geographical name, **Wawat* (*W3w3t*), northern Nubia — 351.

w‘ẓ See *‘ẓ*.

ḥb **whb*, "present" (Aram. *yhb*; Arab., OSA *whb*; cf. Hebrew *hab*), in *ḥb*, imv., occurring in the phrases *m' ḥb* (*b*)*‘lt* and *ḥb ‘lt*, listed below.

ḥnḏ **hanḏā*, "this" (Ugar. *hnd*; cf. old North-Arabic dialectal *ha(n) . . . ḏā*, Classical *hāḏā*, Heb. *hazzeh* for **hanḏay*); probable interpretation of *h(?)nḏ*, 363. See M. Liverani, Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, XIX (1964), 9–10.

ḥbr **ḥabr-*, "companion" (Heb. *ḥābēr*; Syr. *ḥabrâ;* Ugar. *ḥbr*, Accad. *ebru*) — Gerster 1. [Or a personal name, *Ḥeber*.]

ḥlṣ **ḥlṣ*, "draw out, strip; (*pi‘el*:) rescue, save" (as in Bib. Heb.) — 350, where we read ⌐*ḥlṣ*⌐[*n*], "rescue me."

yḥnb‘l Personal name, **Yaḥun(n)-Ba‘al*, "May Ba‘al be Gracious" — 367. Cf. Phoenician *Yḥnb‘l* (Z. Harris, Grammar, 103; Lidzbarski, Handbuch, 287) and Amorite *Ya-ḥu-un-AN?* (Archives royales de Mari, VII, No. 211.4) and *Ya-ḥu-un-pi-el* (Simmons, JCS 14 (1960), 27, No. 54.18). For the geminate form note also Hebrew *yāḥōn*.

yṯ‘ See *ṯ‘* (2).

k[ ] First consonant of probable personal name, 365b.

l **la-*, "to, for (the sake of), from": 345, 346, 347a, 365a (all *l-b‘lt*); 352, 353, 357.

lb[*'t*] **lab'at-*, "lioness" (Ugar. *lb'it-*, Arab. *labu'at-*; cf. Heb. *lābī'*, "lioness" ["lion"?]; Accad. *labū*, "lion"), in *ṯt* (two, fem.) *lb*[*'t(m)*] — 352. On the various vocalizations of the words in Canaanite and Egyptian see BASOR 89 (1943), 16, n. 51a, and Jour. Bib. Lit. 63 (1944), 218, n. 75.

ldy **ladêyu* <**la(ya)dayhu*, "in his (two) hands, in his care"; Ugar. *bd* (cf. Amarna *badeu*, "in his hands"), Phoen. *bōd* (PPG 31, §80a), "in the hand[s] of"; Heb.

ba(d)dîm, "handles"), in the phrase ḏ ldy mrʿt, ḏū ladêyu marʿîtu, "the one in whose care is the meadow" — 346.

m' *wm', "swear" (Aram. ym' [Jean-Hoftijzer, 108], Syr. ym', Accad. wamā'u, tamā'u; cf. Arab. wm', "nod"), in m', imv., occurring in the phrase m' ḥb (b)ʿlt, discussed below. Assyrian mā, introducing direct discourse, may be cognate.

m' ḥb 'lt/m' ḥb b-'lt
"swear to present/bring a sacrifice" ("swear, present a sacrifice"): 345, [350], [351], [352], 356, [365a], and (with the object after the preposition b-) — 374.

mdʿt m- noun from *wdʿ, "put down, deposit" (Arab., OSA), in the sense of something put down for a deity — 375. It is possible that mdʿt refers to a practice like Hebrew leḥem pānîm.

mn *man-, "mina" (Accad. manū, borrowed as Eg. mn, Ugar. mn, Heb. mānê, Aram. manyâ', etc.; see BASOR No. 110, 21, n. 74) — 357.

m[nḫt](?) *ma[nôḥat], "resting-place"; Ugar. mnḫ, Heb. mānôḥ, mĕnûḥā with same meaning; cf. identical expression, used of God: nātán mĕnûḥā (I Kings 8:56) — 352(?). Cf. also t[n] . . . [n]ḫ in Gerster 1, with the same probable meaning.

mr' *maru'-, "groom" (Ugar. mr'u, mur'u [in Accadian script, PRU, III, 234, etc.; loan-word ma-ru-'u/i in New Egyptian, which preserves the older vocalization [BASOR 110 (1948), 21, n. 78]) — 357.

mrʿt m- noun from *rʿy, "pasture," in the sense of "meadow, pasturage" (cf. Heb. marʿît, mirʿê; Syr. marʿîtâ, Accad. merîtu) — 346.

mtn *matti/an-, "gift" — probably mt⟨n⟩ l-Bʿlt in 346a, and [m]tn ntn in 363.

mṯ mṯ, "lord" (Ugar. title of Baal's son by a heifer), mṯt, "lady" (title of the chief wives of Keret and Danel): 351 and 360 (mṯ, "the [two] lords of"), 361 (mṯ-m, "his [two] lords"), 348 ([m]ṯt-m) and 360 (mṯ<t>-m),

"his lady." On the forms with final *m* see above, pp. 33–35. I now explain the stem *mt* as clipped by dissimilation from *mtl l*, "to be like (to), to represent" in most Semitic languages. For Phoen. *mš*, "statue," cf. South Arab. *mtl*, Accad. *tamšīlu*, Arab. *tamtāl*, etc.; for *mt*, *mtt*, "lord, lady" cf. Heb. *môšēl*, *mimšāl*, "ruler," properly "(royal) representative."

nḫ   **nwḫ*, as in nearly all Semitic languages (*[n]ḫ* in Gerster 1; see *m[nḫt(?)]*).

nʿm   Personal name from **nʿm*, "be pleasant, favorable," very common in personal names. From Ugarit note *Nʿmn*, *'Adnnʿm*, *Mlknʿm* (Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, p. 208), and note also *naḫm-*, *niḫm-*, and *nuḫm-*, in Amorite names in Accadian texts from Alalaḫ and Mari. On Old Testament *'Abī/'Aḫinoʿam* see Albright, JAOS 74 (1955), 227, n. 35. One may vocalize *Nuʿmu*, *Naʿmu*, etc. In the Sethe Execration Texts from 20th-century Egypt it occurs in the hitherto unrecognized name *Ymʿnʿwmw*, which reflects a vocalization *Yamʿi-nuʿmu* (as pointed out to me by Dr. Huffmon); the first element is attested elsewhere.

nṣl   **nṣl*, "draw out," *Š*, "deliver, save (exactly like Heb. caus. *hiṣṣīl*)," in *š(?)nṣln(?)*, *Š* imv. (with 1st sing sf.) — 356.

nqb   **naqbu*, "mine, tunnel" (Hebrew *nqb*, "to tunnel" [cf. Siloam inscription, ANET 321] and *neqeb*, "mine" [see BASOR 110 (1948), 13, n. 39); Arab. *naqb*, "tunnel, mine," OSA, *nqbt*, "underground passage"), from **nqb*, "bore through" — 350, 351.

nqbn   **naqbân*, "miner," from **nqb* (see above), in the title *rb nqbnm* (pl.), 349; *rb nqbn⟨m⟩*, 346; *rb n[ ]*, 356.

ʿl   **ʿal-*, "on behalf of": 346 (twice), 349; "with, near": *ʿlw* (with 3rd ms. sf.), Gerster 1.

ʿlm   **ʿôlăm-*, "eternity" (from **ʿawlam-*); see also above, IV.A.3. In *'l ḏ-ʿlm* Heb. *El ʿÔlām* (F. M. Cross, Jr., Harvard Theological Review 55, 236–40) — 358.

ʿlt   **ʿălît-*, "sacrifice, offering," from **ʿly* (cf. Heb. *ʿôlā*, Ugar. *šʿly*, "offer [sacrifice]" = Heb. *heʿlā*). See the dis-

cussion in BASOR 110 (1948), 16, n. 52. This word occurs in the phrases *hb 'lt* and *m' hb* (*b-*)'lt, discussed above.

['] *ẓ* *y'ẓ, "advise, give counsel/oracle" (Heb. *y'ṣ*, Aram. *y't*, Arab. *w'ẓ*, "exhort," in [']*ẓ/ṣn*, imv. (with 1st sing sf.) — 352.

'*rk* *'rk, "prepare" (Hebrew), in '*rk-m*, imv. (with -*m* enclitic) — 349. See also the discussion in BASOR 110 (1948), 16, n. 47.

ḡbt *ḡabît-, "fatling," from *ḡby, "be fat, thick" (Heb., Aram. '*by*, Accad. [*ebû*]; cf. Eth. '*by*, "be large"; Arab. *ḡby*, "be dense, stupid" [cf. Syr.], *ḡabab*, "belly [of a cow]"), in *ṭlṭ ḡbt* (pl.: *ḡabôt-) — 375. (The verb '*by* is used of a fattened beast in Deut. 32:15 [eleventh century B.C.]. *Dhû-Ghabât* (ḌḠBT), name of the chief deity of Liḥyân (Dedan), may mean "Lord of Fatlings.")

ḡly(w) Personal name, Ugaritic *Ḡlyn* (see PRU II, No. 35:24: *Ḡlyn* in *Bn Ḡlyn*, and Edomite '*Alwân* (*LXX*, *Gōlōn*), Gen. 36:23) — 353.

p'dt *p'dt, "mercy(?)" (cf. Ugar. *p'id*, in *ḏ/d-p'id* [epithet of El]; Arab. *fâ'ida*, "benefit, good; profit, tax"; cf. also Arab. *fu'âd*, "heart") — 375.

pn *pan-, "face," used as preposition, "before" — 353 (*l-pn*, Heb. *lipnê*), 375 (with -*m* as in Psalm 11:7, *pânêmō*, "his [God's] face").

rb *rabb-, "great; chief," in the following titles (used as in Aramaic, Ugaritic and later Accadian): *rb nqbnm*, "chief miner," 346, 349, 356; *rb '*[*prm*(?)], "chief caravaneer"(?). In addition cf. Ugar. (and Phoen.) *rb khnm*, "chief priest"; *rb kzym*, "chief groom"; Accad. (Ugar.), *rab malaḫḫi*, "chief mariner"; Accad. (Amarna) *rab ṣâbi*, "chief of troops." In late Assyro-Babylonian and Aramaic there are hundreds of additional examples.

šm'' Personal name (Heb. *Šim'a'*) — 357. This is a hypocoristic form of *Yišma''el*, Ishmael. On hypocoristic -' see Albright, JAOS 74 (1954), 227 (n. 30); Cross,

BASOR 168 (1962), 17. For the name here see BASOR
110 (1948), 21, n. 77.

t̠/šm   *šym*, "set, present": in *šm*, imv., — 353.

tk   *tôk* from *tawk-*, "midst": *btk*, 350.

tn   *tann-*, "jackal" (Heb. *tann-*), in *ḏ-tn*, "Lord of (the)
jackal(s)"; probably Eg. Anubis [see above] — 353.

tn   *ntn*, "give" (Heb., Aram., Amorite; cf. Accad. *nadānu*
and *mtn* [see ad voc.]), or possibly *ytn*, "give" (Ugar.,
Phoen.), in *tnt*, *tin(a)t*, "offering," 347, 347a; also in
ntn, pf. (3rd ms.), 363, *tn* (imv.), 349, 374, *ttn*, impf.
(2nd ms.), 374.

t̠'t   *t̠'t*, "wild ewe" (Ugar. *t̠'at*; Old Aramaic *š't* [Sefîre I],
š'h [*Pnmw* II]; Imperial Aram. *t'h/t* [see Dupont-Som-
mer and Starcky, Sfire, 37–8]) — [349], 353. See also
BASOR 110 (1948), 16, n. 48.

t̠b   *t̠wb*, "turn, answer," in *t̠b*, *t̠ôb* < *t̠awb*, "turning,"
i.e. "showing mercy, restoring," with many Hebrew ex-
amples in *qal* of verb and in personal names, e.g., *Šubna-
'el* [see BASOR 79 (1940), 28ff., n. 1; 82 (1941), p. 17;
123 (1951), 27ff.]), "Answering, Merciful (One)," oc-
curring in the phrase *ḏ-t̠b* (*'t*) *ḏt-bt̠n*, 360, 361; also in
t̠t̠bn, Š imv. (with 1st sing. sf.), 365a.

t̠lt̠   *t̠alāt̠-*, "three" — 375.

t̠'   1) *t̠'y*, "offer, give" (Ugar. *t̠'y*, "offer, give"; *t̠'*, "gift,
offering"; cf. OSA *mt̠'y*, "oblation"), in the phrase
ḏ-t̠', *ḏû-t̠a['i]*, "offerer" — 349 (three times, never
fully preserved), 374 (once, broken); as [*t̠*]',) imv.
— 349; as *t̠'*, "offering" — 349 (three times, fully
preserved only once, in a broken context). Compare
t̠' dbḥn ndbḥ, "an offering, our sacrifice which we
sacrifice" (RSh 2). For the equivalence with Heb.
šay(y), "gift, offering," for *ša'y*, as proposed by H.
L. Ginsberg, see BASOR 110 (1948), 15, n. 41. This
has now been confirmed by F. M. Cross's reading
t̠/šy, "gift, offering" in the 13th-century Lachish ewer
(BASOR 134 (1954), 21), and has been further
proved by Virolleaud's 13th-century letter from

Ugarit (PRU II [1957], 29), where we have *ṭy ndr* (No. 13: 13), "votive offering."

2) **y/wṯ‘*, "save" (Heb., Moabite, OSA), in *mṯṯ‘[n]*, **maṯōṯi‘[ni]*, Š participle — 352. This same root may occur in *’ṯ‘*, 352, tentatively taken as a personal name, but which could be a *Qal* impf., "I cry for help."

ṯṯ   **ṯitt-*, from **ṯint-*, "two (fem.)," — 352.

ṯpn   Personal name, **Ṯapan*, "hyrax, coney" (Heb. *šāpān*). See also BASOR 110 (1948), 21, n. 71.

Additional Notes for the second edition

Two valuable discussions of the material have appeared since the manuscript of the first edition was completed in September, 1964: The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet, by Frank Moore Cross, Jr., in Eretz-Israel VIII (E. L. Sukenik Memorial Volume, Jerusalem, 1967), 8*–24*; and a detailed review of the present monograph by Herbert Donner, in Journal of Semitic Studies XII (1967), 273–81. A number of proposals for reading early Canaanite texts (new texts and a few corrections) have been made to me by H. Goedicke, but until they have been published, I shall not discuss them. I have numerous suggestions to make with respect to points in the first edition, but most of them are not especially significant, being largely concerned with defense of my published views. Below I shall include a few of the more important items.

The most valuable contribution made by Cross in the above-cited study concerns the development of the Canaanite script between the thirteenth and the tenth century B.C., as illustrated by ostraca and especially by javelin heads and arrowheads used in belomancy (18*–23*). Note that *Ršp-ḥẓ* in Ugaritic and *Ršp-ḥṣ* in later Phoenician refer to the underworld divinity as patron of good fortune, confirming the interpretation first advanced by S. Iwry that *ḥṣ* in these belomantic texts refers to "luck," and is not the name of a weapon. (Cf. my Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, YGC [London, 1968], 121.) There is also a challenging interpretation of the Gerster inscription from Sinai (above, 28f.) as well as of the Beth-shemesh ostracon (above, 11, no. 12); Cross is probably right about the vertical stance of the lines of characters; I doubt whether much can be made out of the obverse (my reverse, by mistake). My original date for the sherd was Late Bronze, because of the paste; I now suggest a date in the thirteenth century instead of the 12th–11th (as above, 12).

Prof. Donner's review is one of the best I have seen in recent years; I accept most of his observations and corrections. As he notes, I have repeated as little as possible from my fundamental essay of 1948 (BASOR 110, 6–22, where the evidence for dating and for mortuary character of most inscriptions is presented in detail). In view of the fact that these mortuary inscriptions were found in or very near burial cairns (with the oblong burial cavity still partly preserved in a number of cases), there could be no doubt about their purpose.

In discussing the proposed Semitic adaptations of Egyptian appellations of divinity, Donner (276f.) might have recalled the unquestioned fact that all the Proto-Sinaitic carved panels and sculptures bearing inscriptions closely follow Egyptian models; there are no imitations of Asiatic prototypes. This alone suggests a long period of settlement in Egypt before the period of the inscriptions in Sinai.

My translation of *'rḫt* as "wild cow" (first proposed in 1935) was actually not based on the obvious fact that domestic cattle would scarcely be found near Serābît el-Khâdem, but rather on the then accepted translation of Accadian *arḫu* as "wild ox" or "wild cow" by Assyriologists. The now popular rendering "cow" does not accord with the clear evidence of the vocabularies (e.g., ḪAR.ra = *ḫubullû* XIII, 333–34 [JNES IV (1945), 172], where áb = *arḫu* and áb-šilam = *littu*, whereas in the Practical Vocabulary of Assur [AfO XVIII, 332, 351–52, between words for "camel" and "elephant"] GUD.AM = *ri-e-mu* and GUD.AB.AM = *arḫu* [AM is evidently added to the second equivalence to make clear that the cow is wild]). Sum. šilam is written with an ideogram for "cattle enclosure" with the sign for "female" inside, so *littu* is properly "domestic cow." There is much other confirmatory material in Sumero-Accadian literature. In Ugaritic we need only refer to the familiar passage in the Baal Epic where the heart of Anath yearns over Baal like that of the *'arḫ* for her calf and the *ṯ'at* for her lamb, as she seizes Death and destroys him. It is absurd to render the two words as anything but "wild cow" and "wild ewe" respectively, either in Ugaritic or in Sinai. That wild animals have much more violent reactions than tame beasts under such circumstances is well known. Wild cows were much more lithe than their males and could run faster, just as Arab mares generally outrun stallions. Hence Accadian *arḫiš*, "fast," meant literally "like a wild cow."

On the Canaanite-Ugaritic divinity *Tiršu/Trṯ* (doubted by Donner, 277, n. 2) see the additional confirmation brought by M. C. Astour from Ugaritic texts to appear in Ugaritica V (JAOS 86 [1966], 284). It is clear that *tirōš* was indeed a word for "wine" (not for unfermented grape juice) in Hebrew, and that it was not derived from the Semitic verb *wrṯ* at all but from the name of the wine-god. (On the development of the Hebrew word see YGC, 161f.)

Professor Donner's objections to translating the suffix *m* as "his (lord)" in Text No. 353 (his review, 278) are entirely justified; it should naturally be "my (lord)." The discussion of this suffix above, 33–35, has suffered by my limitation of its personal scope; actually I should have followed my much earlier view, demonstrated by H. D. Hummel in his basic study on enclitic *mem* in Hebrew (JBL 76 [1957], 92ff.). Mitchell Dahood has also made use of this principle in his Anchor Psalms, Vols. I and II (1966 and 1968). In a forthcoming study of the Pyrgi inscription I shall try to demonstrate that Phoenician *'lm*, when applied to a divinity, means "my god/goddess" as well as "his god/goddess" and is not a plural of majesty (for which we should expect *'lnm* like Heb. *'ĕlôhîm* and Amarna Accadian *ilāni*), even in Karatepe, Statue, III, 16. In the Bronze Age the vocalization would have been **ilimi* and *ilimu* respectively; in later Phoenician it became *ilim* in both cases (like Punic *binim*, "his son").

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES