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column 2: *k ġ [s]* (or: *[s] ġ k*)  
 column 3: ] *t b<sup>c</sup> l t*  
 365b: traces of 2-3 letters] *ṣ r ḥ ṛ t*

6. ca. 1700-1500 B.C.
7. The identification of the lowest two letters of column 2 of 365a is very uncertain.

I would suggest a tentative reading of a *g*, rotated to lie horizontally (cf. the sharp angles on a Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasty hieratic form of T14, “throw-stick” recorded by Möller [I, 457] and a semi-cursive hieroglyphic form of that sign from Wadi Hammamat drawn by Goyon [1957: 180], artificially rotated for comparison). Although that would involve ignoring two lines to the left of the diagonal head, it seems a stronger possibility than the *nûn* previously proposed (see Sass 1988: 34, fig. 77) given the very large and different form of the latter in column 1.

The form of the lowest letter on column 2 is obscure except for a horizontal line and a roughly triangular outline (Sass 1988: figs. 77, 79). Even more tentatively, I would suggest that this could be the remnant of the top a *sāmek*, comparing a Second Intermediate Period form of that letter’s antecedent, R11, from an unknown provenance (Stewart 1979: pl. 35.3). While this would better account for these remnants than the earlier proposal of *ḏāl* (Sass 1988: 34), the uncertainties are large enough here to warrant notation as a reconstruction and not a reading: *[s]*.

Fig. A.38  
 Hieratic T14,  
 “throw-stick”  
 Möller I, 457



Hieroglyph T14  
 Goyon 1957: 180  
 rotated



Sinai 365a  
*g*?

Hieroglyph R11  
 Stewart 1979: pl. 35.3



Sinai 365a  
*[s]*

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Traces below the original surface of the plaque at the top of 365b are suggestive of a  $\delta$  and  $\theta$ , with perhaps room for one more letter (cf. Albright 1966: fig. 10; Sass 1988: 34, figs. 78, 80; Colless 1990: fig. 2.8), but are not strong enough to claim readings.

Fig. A.39  
Sinai 367



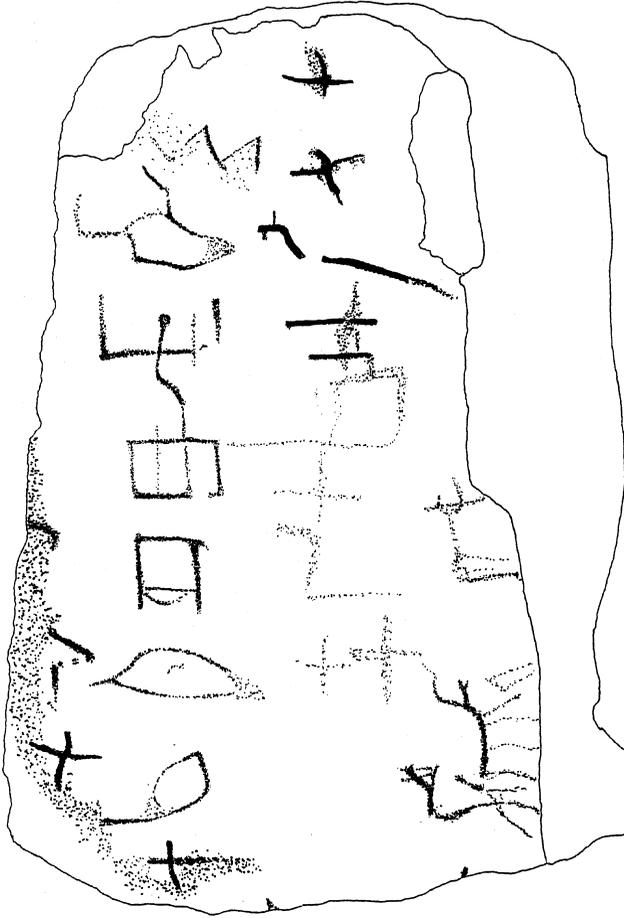
(traced from a WSR digitized photograph of the negative of Butin 1932: pl. 17)

1. Butin 1932: 195, pl. 17; Albright 1966: 27; Sass 1988: 35, figs. 81, 82; Colless 1990: 26, fig. 3.17; p. 62, n. 49 above (a new linguistic decipherment)
2. “Discovered in a tumulus, 150 m south of Mine L [at Serabiṭ el-Khadim]” (Sass 1988: 35)
3. Steliform panel on a stone block, 26 by 14 cm. (Sass 1988: 171), approximately 10.25 by 5.5 inches

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4. Vertical
5.  $y \dot{d} \dot{b} \dot{c} \dot{j}$
6. ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. See p. 49 above for a discussion of the third-to-last letter and a possible, but not certain correction to its right.

Fig. A.40  
Sinai 374



(traced from Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 9, fig. 19 = Sass 1988: fig. 84)

1. Starr and Butin 1936: 33, pl. 9, fig. 19; Leibovitch 1940: pl. 14; Albright 1966: 27, fig. 8; Sass 1988: 36, figs. 84, 85; Colless 1990: 41, fig. 5.36

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2. “Discovered in the excavations of Mine M [at Serabit el-Khadim]” (Sass 1988: 36)
3. Apparently a plaque in the shape of a stele, 19 by 12 cm. (Sass 1988: 181), approximately 7.5 by 4.75 inches
4. Vertical
5. Numbering from the right:
  - column 1: [                    ] *n̄*
  - column 2: *i i n̄ ð* [perhaps 4-5 letters]
  - column 3: *m̄ ʾ h b̄ b̄ c̄ l̄ t*
  - column 4: [                    ] *t* [
6. probably ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. With Colless (1990: 41, fig. 5.6), the *m* and *ʾ* at the top of column 3, although faint, are clear enough (Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 19; Sass 1988: fig. 84) to claim readings, rather than reconstructing them (contrast Sass 1988: 36).

Fig. A.41  
Sinai 375



(traced from Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 10, fig. 21 = Sass 1988: fig. 87)

*Appendix 1 · 373*

1. Starr and Butin 1936: 33, pl. 10, fig. 21; Leibovitch 1940: pl. 14; Albright 1966: 28; Shehadeh 1987: 231; Sass 1988: 36, 37, figs. 86-88; Colless 1990: 42-43, fig. 5.39
2. “Discovered in the excavations of Mine M [at Serabiṭ el-Khadim]” (Sass 1988: 36)
3. A stone plaque in fragmentary condition; “present dimensions 25 x 25 cm” (Sass 1988: 36), approximately 10 by 10 inches
4. Vertical
5. Numbering from the right:
  - column 1: at least 1 or 2 letters]  $\dot{\text{r}} \dot{\text{q}} \dot{\text{t}}$
  - column 2: at least 1 letter]  $m p \dot{\text{d}} t$  [1 or 2 letters]
  - column 3: at least 1 letter]  $\theta l \theta [\dot{\text{s}}?] \dot{\text{b}} \dot{\text{t}} \dot{\text{m}}$
  - column 4: at least 1 letter]  $m \dot{\text{d}} \dot{\text{c}} \dot{\text{i}} p n$
6. ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. Traces of letters along the top edge of columns 2 and 4 strongly suggest that this inscription is not complete in that area (cf. Sass 1988: 36; Colless 1990: 43).

All of the readings of the complete extant signs are certain except for the fourth letter of column 3. Obscured in its lower half and on the left, it appears to be a pentagonal figure with a line connected to its upper point—so the photographs (Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 21; Leibovitch 1940: pl. 14; both reproduced in Sass 1988: figs. 87, 88) and Starr who examined the original (Starr and Butin 1936: 33; Sass 1988: 37, n. 30, fig. 86). Butin (Starr and Butin 1936: 37) suggested identifying it as a *l*, Leibovitch (1940: 106) and more hesitantly Sass (1988: 37) as a *r*, Albright (1966: 28) as a  $\dot{\text{g}}$ , and Colless (1990: 43) as a  $\dot{\text{s}}$ . The first two are extremely unlikely because of the marked difference between this letter and a clear *l* two letters above it or a certain *r* in column 1, while the third proposal represents an *ad hoc* solution that has been rightly criticized by Sass (1988: 37, 127-28), and the fourth would match no known form of  $\dot{\text{s}}$ . My guess—and it only a guess—is that this mostly obscure letter could represent a developed form of  $\dot{\text{s}}$  as seen (albeit unclearly) on Sinai 357. The latter probably descends from a wide-bodied form of M44, “thorn/triangle?” Hieratic forms of that sign from the Eleventh-Twelfth Dynasties through to the Hyksos Period (Möller I, 567) are reproduced below. But the graphic matches between cursive forms of M44 and the letter on Sinai 375 are far from perfect even after the latter has been artificially

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rotated for formal comparison (clear point on the right side; line off the top left). Since aspects of the š on Sinai 357 are themselves debatable, one may be using a difficult form to interpret an obscurity. In the end I would render this letter as: [š?].

Fig. A.42  
 Hieratic M44, "thorn/triangle?"  
 Möller I, 567

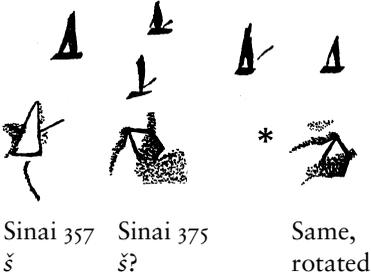
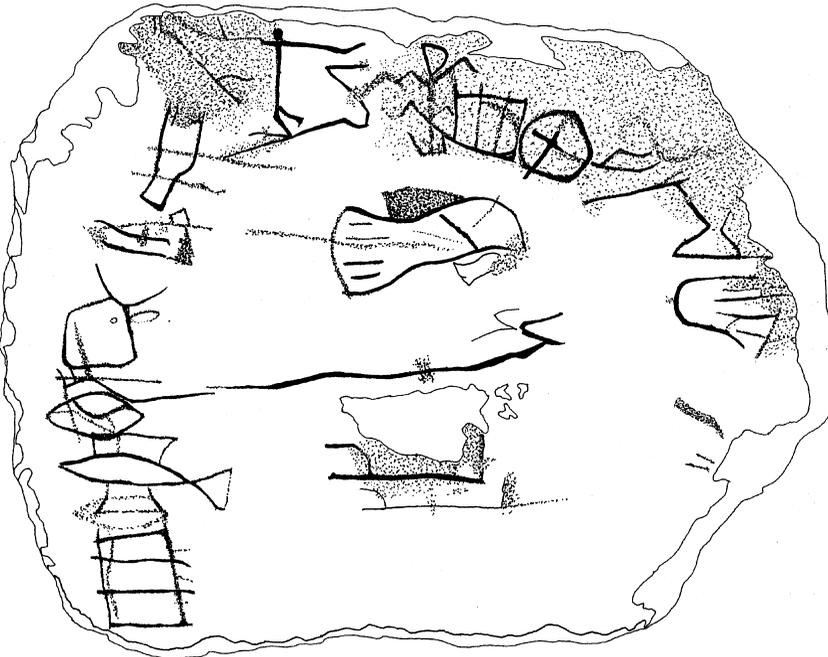


Fig. A.43  
 \*Sinai 375a



(traced from a transparency of a WRS digitized photograph of the original)

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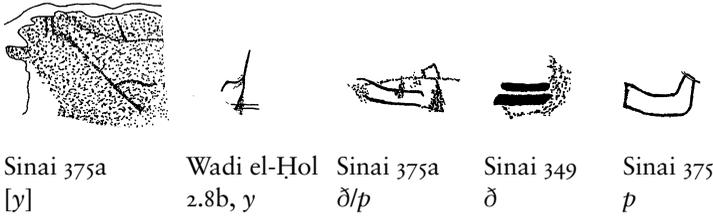
1. Starr and Butin 1936: 22, 42, pl. 9, fig. 18; Grimme 1937: 156-63; Leibovitch 1940: 101-2, 107-8, fig. 17; Sass 1988: 44, figs. 132, 133; Colless 1990: 43-44, fig. 5.40 (misidentified as Sinai 383 and inaccurately drawn)
2. “Discovered in the excavations of Mine M [at Serabit el-Khadim]” (Sass 1988: 44)
3. A plaque of a hard stone, probably limestone (definitely not sandstone [so Colless 1990: 43]), 17.5 by 13.5 cm. (cf. Sass 1988: 173), approximately 6.75 by 5.25 inches. On the back of this plaque one finds a roughly incised jackal (Starr and Butin 1936: pl. 18).
4. Two vertical columns; one horizontal line ending in a vertical arrangement
5. Numbering from the left:  
 column 1: [y]  $\overset{\circ}{k}$   $\overset{\circ}{d}/\overset{\circ}{p}$   $\overset{\circ}{n}$   $\overset{\circ}{c}$   $\overset{\circ}{d}$   $\overset{\circ}{h}$   
 horizontal line along the top edge: [y]  $\overset{\circ}{h}$   $\overset{\circ}{n}$   $\overset{\circ}{s}/\overset{\circ}{z}$   $\overset{\circ}{h}$   $\overset{\circ}{t}$  [y?]  $\overset{\circ}{z}$   $\overset{\circ}{k}$   
 column 2:  $\overset{\circ}{d}$   $\overset{\circ}{a}^n$   $\overset{\circ}{n}$   $\overset{\circ}{y}$  ;
6. *ca.* 1850-1700 B.C.
7. After its discovery the front of this plaque (unnecessarily queried as a stele by Sass 1988: 44, 173) was dipped in some kind of a tinted substance, possibly linseed oil and red paint (probably for better viewing of the more faintly incised letters). This modern coating interferes with the discernment of several letters even when working with the original. Since this plaque was inadequately published—I doubt that the usually meticulous Butin ever examined the original—and it has only recently been rediscovered, a few more comprehensive comments seem in order.

Column 1 has three difficult letters. In the damaged top left hand corner one finds faint but clear remnants of a short diagonal line to which is attached a small “lazy S.” While these are distinctive of the remains of a “curved palm” type of  $\overset{\circ}{y}od$  (cf. Wadi el-Ḥol 2.8b), perhaps set on an angle so as to read with either this column or the horizontal line (or both), the area in which they occur is damaged enough to warrant notation only as a restored letter: [y]. The third letter down can be read either as a  $\overset{\circ}{d}$  (cf. the narrowest form of that letter on Sinai 349) or a  $\overset{\circ}{p}$  (cf. one of the lower right hand corners on 375), depending on how one evaluates the damaged marks on its far right. The fifth letter is definitely a two-horned viper form of  $\overset{\circ}{n}un$  (cf. two writings from a Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian inscription from Serabit [Stewart 1979:

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pl. 32.2] reproduced in fig. 2.45 above), bisected by a horizontal scratch (of which there are several more above it).

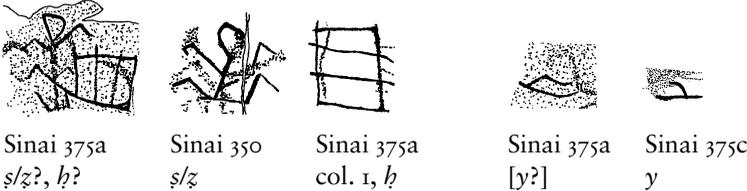
Fig. A.44



Differentiating the bottom of the \**dag*- and top of the *h* in the lower left hand corner is difficult. An elliptical letter form was possibly lightly incised beforehand for spacing (*ʿ* or *d*).

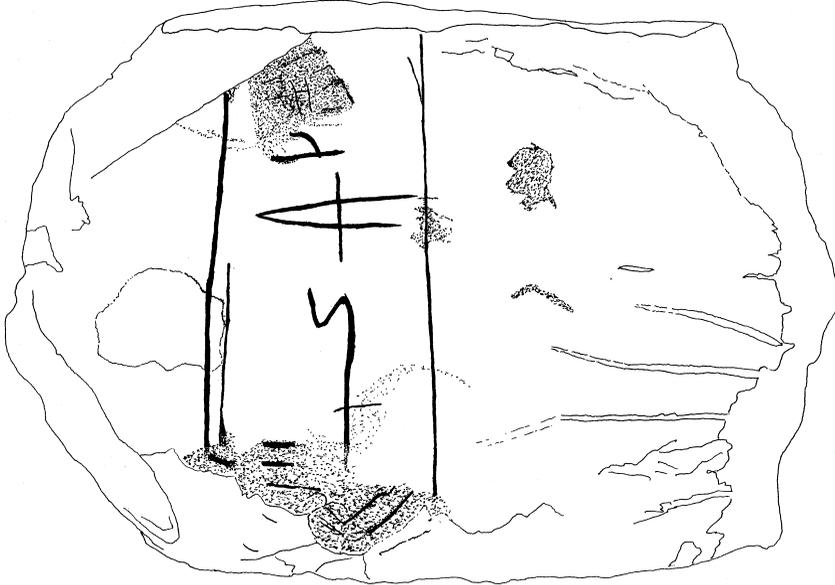
There are also three or four difficult letters in the horizontal line along the top edge. See above concerning the remnants of a *y* in the left hand corner. The reading of the fourth letter of the horizontal line is uncertain. Nothing more than a roughly triangular head is clear in this very damaged area. The surrounding carat-shaped marks appear to be part of this letter or only damage depending on how one turns the plaque. A comparison with the damaged but certain form of *s/z* on Sinai 350 suggests the most likely but by no means certain reading. The fifth letter is only slightly less mutilated. Its most likely identification is *h*, a form comparable to but with a different stance than the certain writing of that letter at the bottom of the first column. I simply could not tell if the marks following the clearer *t* constituted a “curved palm” type of *y* (cf. that letter on Sinai 375c) or were created by damage to the stone surface now obscured by the secondary coating; a transliteration of [y?] might be appropriate as there is room in the upper right hand corner for one more letter.

Fig. A.45



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Fig. A.46  
\*Sinai 375c



(traced from a transparency of a WSR digitized photograph of the original)

1. Starr and Butin 1936: 23, 42, pl. 11, fig. 22; Grimme 1937: 163-64; Leibovitch 1940: 110-11, fig. 20; Sass 1988: 45, fig. 137; Colless 1990: 44-45, fig. 5.41 (misidentified as Sinai 381 and inaccurately drawn); Hamilton 2002: 40, n. 5; p. 310 above (a new linguistic decipherment of this plaque)
2. “Discovered in a tumulus above Mine M [at Serabiṭ el-Khadim]” (Sass 1988: 45)
3. A stone plaque (not a slab [Sass 1988: 45] or a stele [Hamilton 2002: 40, n. 5]), 24 by 16 cm. (cf. Sass 1988: 173), approximately 9.5 by 6.25 inches
4. Vertical—a positioning suggested by M. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman’s new photograph of the original taken after the discovery of Wadi el-Hol Text 1 with a similar stance to *nûn*. Compare the less satisfactory vertical positioning that necessitates unique stances for that type of *yôd* and an *ʾālep* with that much extension of the crossbars advocated by Starr and Butin (1936: pl. 22), Leibovitch (1940: fig. 20), Sass (1988: figs. 136, 137), and Colless (1990: fig. 5.41)

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5. [l] y<sup>ʿ</sup> n ḏ
6. ca. 1250 B.C. (± 100 years)
7. The first letter can be restored as a short G-form of l (cf. the Old Canaanite *lāmeds* on the Qubur Walaydah Ostrakon [Cross 2003: 215, fig. 32.2]).

The significance of the long vertical, short diagonal, and two or three short parallel horizontal lines found inside the left margin is unknown. Most of those lines are clearly incised and would appear to have been extant before the lowest letter was made since the *ḏāl* is placed to the right of the other letters in the column.

Fig. A.47

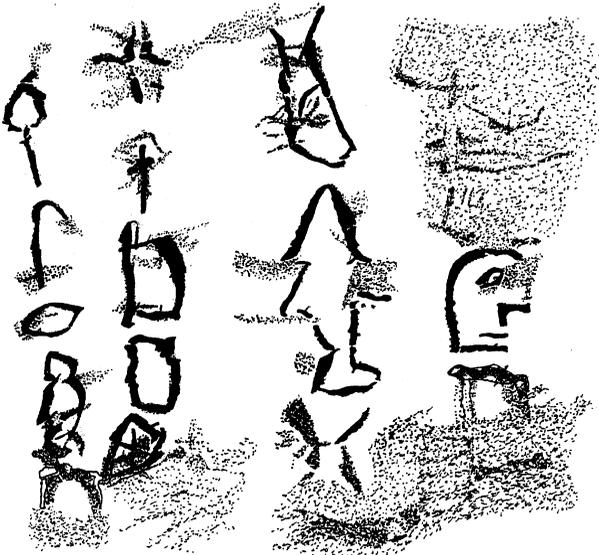


Sinai 375c  
[l], y



Qubur Walaydah Ostrakon  
*lāmeds*

Fig. A.48  
Sinai 376



(traced from Gerster 1961: pl. 65 = Sass 1988: fig. 93)

*Appendix 1 · 379*

1. Gerster 1961: 61, pl. 65; Leibovitch 1961: 460-63, fig. 2; Gardiner 1962; Albright 1966: 12, 28-29, fig. 11; Cross 1967: 16\*-17\*; 2003: 323-24, nn. 51-57; Rainey 1975: 106-11, fig. 1, pl. 11; Sass 1982: pl. 2; 1988: 37-38, figs. 91-93; Dijkstra 1983: 36-37; Colless 1990: 12-13, fig. 2.1
2. "Discovered at the end of the 1950s (1959?) by Gerster, on a saddle about 800 m north-east of the Bir en-Naṣb on the ancient path to Serabiṭ el-Khadem; inscription 377 was inscribed next to it" (Sass 1988: 37)
3. "Rock inscription; maximum dimensions of the actual text, 18 cm high and 20 cm wide" (Sass 1988: 37), approximately 7 by 7.75 inches
4. Vertical
5. Numbering from the right:
  - Column 1: [2 or 3 letters] *r* [1 or 2 letters]
  - Column 2: <sup>ʔ</sup> *d*<sup>3</sup>
  - Column 3: *t š/z/ḥ d b š/ṯ* [1 letter?]
  - Column 4: *w l<sup>c</sup> q b̄*
6. Probably ca. 1700-1500 B.C.
7. This is one of the Semitic inscriptions from the Sinai that has sparked the most controversy, probably because the effacement of its text along the right side and bottom has given rise to several different readings.

In column 1, only the *r* is legible. Not enough remains of the letters above and below it (most conveniently, see Sass 1988: fig. 93) to claim any readings with confidence (compare the proposals by all previous researchers listed in the bibliography above).

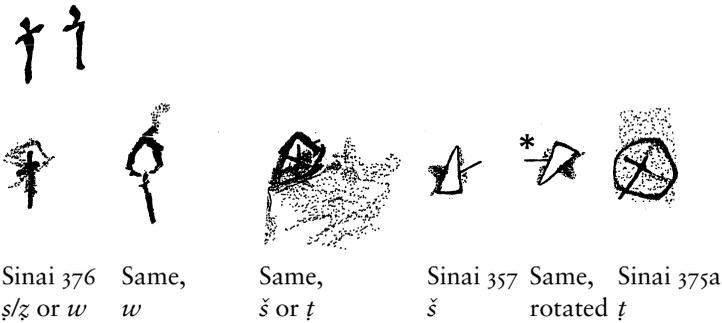
In column 2, the remnants of the top of the lowest letter are similar enough to the top of the highest letter to claim the reading of an <sup>ʔ</sup> (with Cross 1967: 16\*-17\*, 2003: 323; Albright 1966: 28-29; Rainey 1975: fig. 1; Colless 1990: 12; against Sass 1988: 38).

In column 3, the previous readings of the second and fifth letters need to be questioned given new information about certain letter forms charted in the body of this study. The second letter may be a *š/z* derived from a hieratic form of M16 from the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty (Möller I, 279), rather than a *w* with a very faint head and different formation than the clear writing of that letter in the fourth column (cf. Rainey 1975: fig. 1; Sass 1988: figs. 91, 93; Colless 1990: 12; Cross 2003: 323, n. 54). The fifth letter preserved in column three is practically illegible. As

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admitted by Sass (1988: 38), its identification as a *r* is problematic since it does not resemble the clearer form of that letter in the first column. I suspect that it could be either a rotated/mirrored *š* (if one discounts the inner markings) or an oddly angular *ṭ* (if one considers them integral to this letter form). Compare the single early and not well-preserved writings of those letters on Sinai 357 and 375a respectively.

Fig. A.49  
Hieratic M16  
Möller I, 279



In the fourth column, the lowest constellation is to be read as a *q* and the top of a *b* (so Cross 1967: 16\*-17\*; 2003: 323, n. 56) rather than a single letter, *b* (so Albright 1966: 28, 29; followed by Rainey 1975: fig. 1; Sass 1988: 38, fig. 91; and Colless 1990: 12, fig. 2.1). The latter reading would not conform to any known example of that letter (see *\*harm-*, Chapter 2). The form of the incomplete *b*, however, is likely a simple upright rectangle (as in the third column), rather than an off-kilter square open at the bottom left as proposed by Cross (1967: 16\*; 2003: 323, n. 56).

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Fig. A.50  
Sinai 377



(traced from Gerster 1961: pl. 65 = Sass 1988: fig. 96)

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1. Gerster 1961: 61, pl. 65; Leibovitch 1961: 460, pl. 2; Gardiner 1962: fig. 1; Albright 1966: 29; Rainey 1975: 108, n. 3; Sass 1982: 370, n. 21, pl. 2; 1988: 39, figs. 94-96; Dijkstra 1983: 36; Colless 1990: 13, fig. 2.2; Briquel-Chatonnet 1998: 59, fig. 48
2. “Discovered in 1905 by Petrie; rediscovered and correctly identified at the end of the 1950s (1959?) by Gerster” with Sinai 376 on a saddle about 800 meters northeast of Bir en-Naşb, on the ancient path to Serabiṭ el-Khadim (Sass 1988: 39, 37)
3. “Fragments of a rock inscription in a steliform panel; panel width 27 cm, estimated panel height 40-45 cm (now 37 cm)” (Sass 1988: 39, fig. 94), approximately 10.5 by (presently) 14.5 inches
4. Vertical
5. Numbering from the left:  
 Column 1: ʔ *l*  
 Column 2: ʔ *m* [1 or 2 letters]
6. Probably ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. I am fairly sure that this inscription comprised two columns of approximately the same length, and not just three letters (ʔ, *l* on the left; *m* on the right). Both possibilities were raised by Sass (1988: 39) who viewed the original *in situ* (cf. the bizarre reading/interpretation by Colless [1990: 12]). I would tentatively propose a “curved-palm” type of *y* for the highest letter in the second column (cf. examples of one prototype of that letter on a Twelfth Dynasty stele [*HT* 2: pl. 2] and its form on Sinai 375c) since its form is clear on photographs taken from two different perspectives. However, an identification of possible form(s) below the preserved *m* is precluded by differing images of the unevenness in the rock surface (cf. Sass 1988: figs. 94, 96 and Briquel-Chatonnet 1998: 59, fig. 48).

Fig. A.51  
 Hieroglyph D47, “hand with curved palm”  
*HT* 2: pl. 2



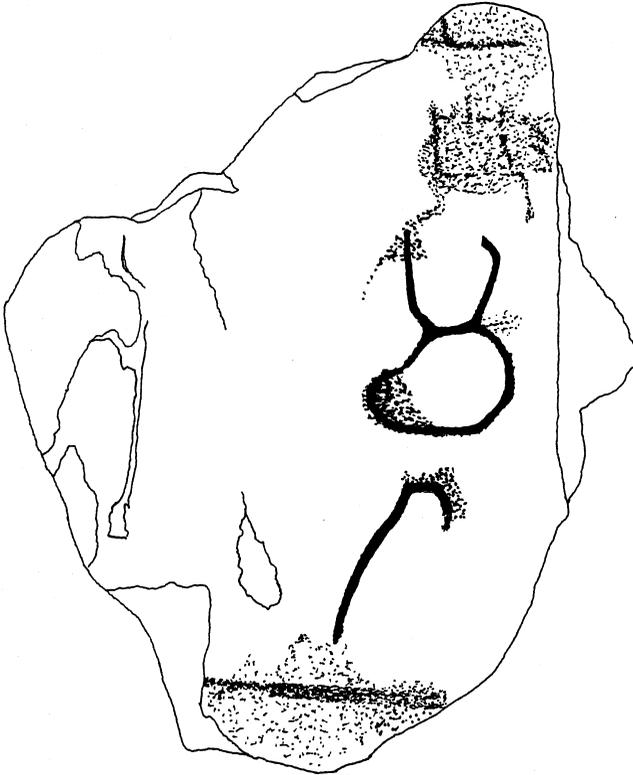
Sinai 377  
 tentative *y*



Sinai 375c  
*y*

*Appendix 1 · 383*

Fig. A.52  
\*Sinai 378



(traced from Beit Arieħ 1978: pl. 48 = Sass 1988: fig. 98)

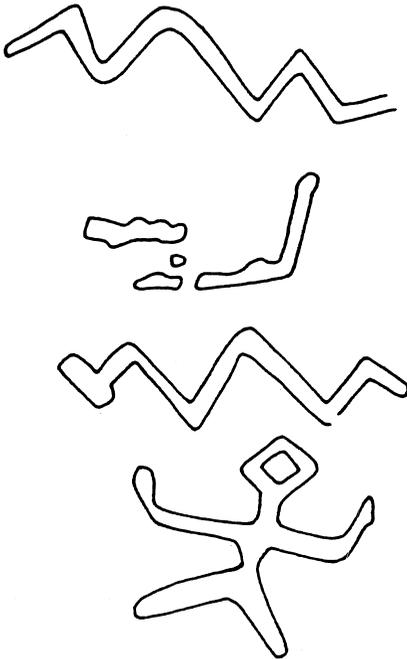
1. Beit Arieħ 1978: 178, pl. 48, fig. 5; Sass 1982: 360; 1988: 39, figs. 97, 98; Colless 1990: 37, fig. 4.31
2. “Discovered by I. Beit-Arieħ in 1977 in the excavation of Mine L” (Sass 1988: 39) at Serabiř el-Khadim
3. A stone fragment “with the remains of a panel frame; dimensions of the fragment, 19 by 15 cm” (Sass 1988: 39), approximately 7.5 by 6 inches. Although the dimensions of this fragment fall within the parameters of plaques discovered at Serabiř (Sinai 363, 364, 365, 375, 375c, with 375a at 17.5 by 13.5 cm./6.75 by 5.25 in. being most comparable), I question whether it should be categorized as a plaque (as do Beit Arieħ [1978: 178]; Sass [1988: 39]) given its heavy

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weight and recessed edge, most visible on the mid-right side (Beit Arieh 1978: pl. 48; Sass 1988: fig. 98). One may very tentatively compare two architraves and two lintels inscribed with hieroglyphs from Serabit dating to the Middle Kingdom (Valbelle and Bonnet 1996: 77, fig. 95; 81, fig. 9; 144, fig. 167) and the jamb of a monumental doorway similarly incised that was discovered at Tell ed-Dab'a and securely dated to the Second Intermediate Period by Bietak (1996: 65-66, fig. 52).

4. Vertical
5. ]'l
6. Probably ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. Non-identifiable traces of incised letters above the ' were apparent under red light conditions when I viewed the original in Jerusalem, suggesting that the two preserved letters formed the ending of an originally longer text (contrast Sass 1988: 39).

Fig. A.53  
Sinai 379



(Sass 1988: fig. 101)

*Appendix I · 385*

1. Sass 1978: 183-85, pl. 51; 1982: 360; 1988: 39-40, figs. 100-102; Puech 1986: 194, fig. 7.5, pl. 2.2; Colless 1990: 20, fig. 3.10
2. "Discovered at the opening of a mine on the south-east of the Serabit el-Khadem plateau" (Sass 1988: 39)
3. "Rock inscription, dimensions of the text 18 x 11 cm" (Sass 1988: 39), approximately 7 by 4.25 inches
4. Vertical
5. ] *m y m h* [?
6. Probably ca. 1850-1700 B.C.
7. Puech (1986: 194) may be right that there were more letters incised after the *h*, but his clear drawing of them, fig. 7.5, overstated their possible traces in the very disturbed rock surface depicted in his more complete photograph, pl. 2.2 (cf. Sass 1988: 40, fig. 102; Colless 1990: 20).

Fig. A.54  
Sinai 380



(Sass 1988: fig. 103)

1. Sass 1978: 185-87, pls. 51, 52, fig. 10; 1982: 360; 1988: 40, figs. 100, 103-105; Colless 1990: 20-21, fig. 3.11
2. Discovered above the entrance to a mine at Serabit el-Khadim, near Sinai 379 (Sass 1988: 40, fig. 100)
3. "Rock inscription; dimensions of the text 22 by 11 cm" (Sass 1988: 40), approximately 8.5 by 4.25 inches
4. "[A] vertical column and a horizontal line split into two parts"

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(Sass 1988: 40), that may be complete at both ends (see especially Sass 1988: figs. 104, 105)

5. *q n m n m t l<sup>c</sup>/y r [ð?] b* ʾ

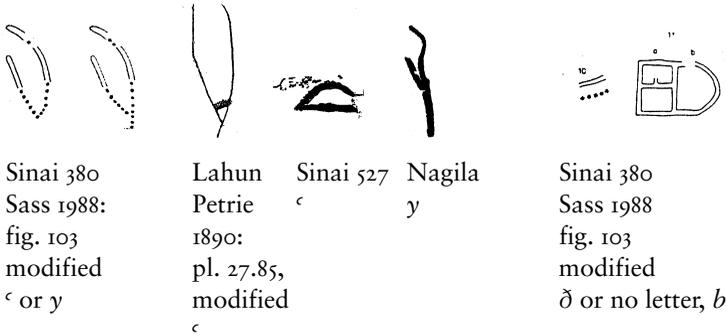
6. Possibly ca. 1700-1500 B.C.

7. The identification of only two letters remains uncertain.

The eighth letter could be restored as either an *ʿ*, probably with an open end (cf. that feature on one positioning of the vertical *ʿ* on the Lahun Heddle Jack and the horizontal *ʿ* on Sinai 527), or, as an upright “curved palm” type of *y* (cf. the complete *y* on the Nagila Sherd).

The short diagonal line numbered “10” by Sass (1978: fig. 10; 1988: fig. 103) could be the upper half of a *ð* or simply a pre-existent imperfection in the rock surface, of which there are many surrounding this text, that the writer avoided by incising the next letter slightly to its right (see especially Sass 1988: fig. 105).

Fig. A.55



Sinai 380  
Sass 1988:  
fig. 103  
modified  
*ʿ* or *y*

Lahun Petrie  
1890:  
pl. 27.85,  
modified  
*ʿ*

Sinai 527  
*ʿ*

Nagila  
*y*

Sinai 380  
Sass 1988  
fig. 103  
modified  
*ð* or no letter, *b*

