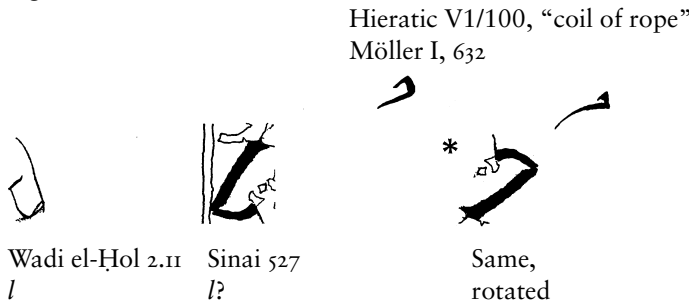


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Gardiner, Peet, and Černý [1955: 222] and Sass [1985; 1988: 105]), uncertainty remains about how to interpret three possibly intentional dots underneath the *t* of that column and the identification of any letters in column 1.

The remnants of letters in column 1 are illegible, with one possible exception. The marks on the far left have been interpreted as a *lāmed* (Knauf 1984; Colless 1990: 47), the supposed shape of which has been taken as an indication that the forms of the letters provide conflicting paleographic signals (Sass 1985: 19). I am very uncertain whether the slightly curved short line attached to a longer diagonal that juts upward form a letter since their juncture on the left touches the inscriptional frame (where the letters in column 2 are placed away from it) and no traces of letters occur directly below it. The form and stance of this possible letter are not necessarily those of an eleventh-tenth century *l* (so Sass 1988: 19) given more recent discoveries. The certain *l* of Wadi el-Ḥol 2.11 also has its “head” on the bottom and a diagonal shaft. Two hieratic forms of the Egyptian antecedent of *l*, V1/100, from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (Möller I, 632) are similar in form but differ in stance to the marks on Sinai 527 (secondarily rotated for comparison below). But I remain unconvinced that these marks constitute a letter.

Fig. A.57



The dots under the *t* are considerably more clearly drawn in Gardiner, Peet, and Černý (1952: pl. 94; Sass 1988: fig. 289) than can be traced in the best published photograph of this inscription (Sass 1985: 21; 1988: fig. 290). On the one hand, since there are sim-

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ilar indentations in the rough stone surface in that column (one to the right of the *n* and two below them), they might be regarded as imperfections in a perhaps poorly prepared stone surface. On the other hand, if the three circles under the *t* were intentionally made, then, as intimated by Sass (1985: 20), they could be derivatives of the Egyptian sign N33, three pellets of sand (Gardiner 1957: 490), the determinative of plurality (Hannig 1995: 1066), which can be arranged either horizontally or vertically. The same symbol arranged horizontally is known from the Twelfth Dynasty *Ḥekanakhte Papers*, where it is used as a measure of capacity to indicate three *ḥekot* (traced from James 1962: pal. 15).<sup>11</sup> While it is conceivable that the three dots on Sinai 527 similarly denoted a numeral, 3, perhaps indicating a grain offering that accompanied this text, such must remain conjectural given their state of preservation and our knowledge of the use of numerals in Proto- and Old Canaanite writing (cf. Sinai 346a).

Since a blank space with no traces of letters occurs below these dots, whether intentional or not, one can be certain that the writer had reached the end of this column, and likely of the text itself (see remnants of a letter placed lower in the left hand column).

Fig. A.58

Three *ḥekot*

from James 1962: pal. 15

Hieroglyph; hieratic

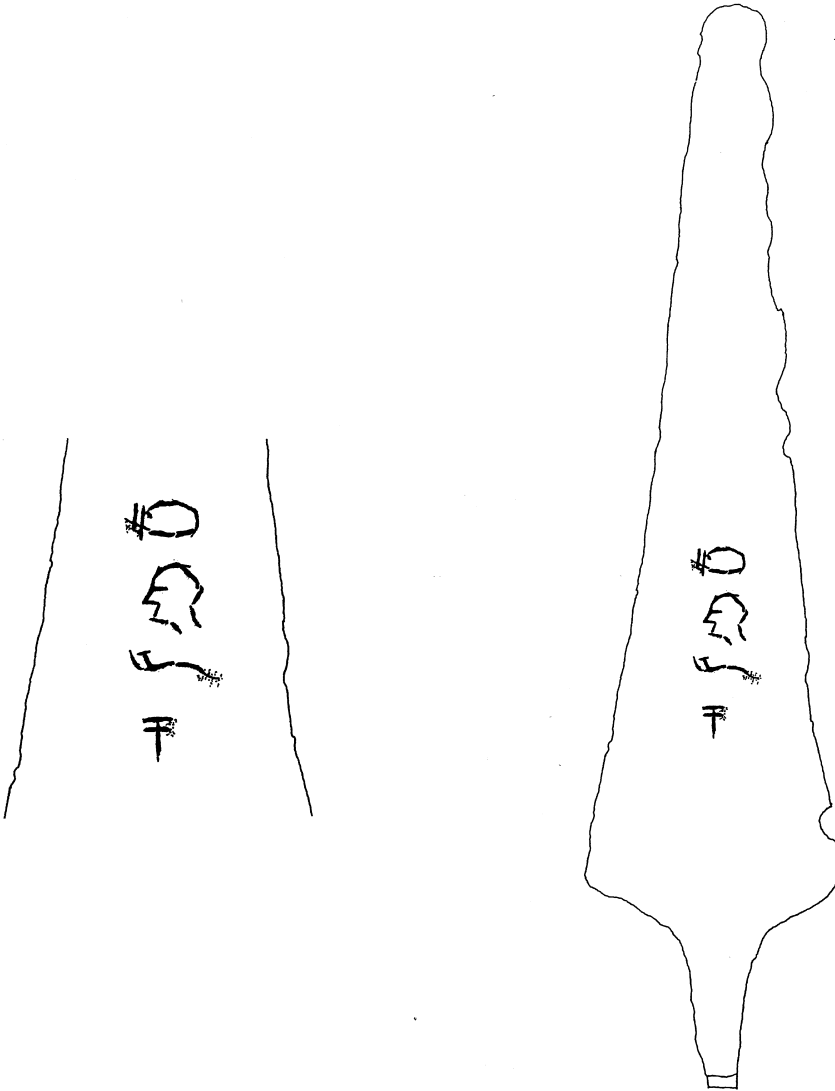


Sinai 527

<sup>11</sup> See Sinai 346a above for a possible occurrence of a specifically hieratic form used as a numeral. Three dots, vertically arranged, are also known from the Lachish Ewer of the thirteenth century B.C. (Cross 1979: 115, fig. 4; 2003: 333, fig. 53.4), where they have been interpreted as a separation mark (an option unlikely on Sinai 527 given the clear horizontal line used in that function at the beginning of the same column).

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Fig. A.59  
\*Lachish Dagger



(traced from Tufnell et al. 1958: pl. 22.15)

- I. Starkey 1937: 228; Diringier 1943: 25; Tufnell et al. 1958: 127-31, fig. 6, pls. 22.15, 42.2; Cross 1967: 10\*, nn. 11, 12; 2003: 319, nn. 12, 13;

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Albright 1966: 3, 10, 11; Driver 1976: pl. 41; Puech 1986: 195-96, fig. 6.7; Lundin 1986; Sass 1988: 54-55, figs. 140-142; Colless 1991: 35-36, fig. .04; Lemaire 2000: 112-13, 117, 125, figs. 7a,b; Tubb (pp. 303-4, n. 37 above); p. 149, n. 181 above (a new proposal for its linguistic decipherment); Dobbs-Allsopp 2006: 497

2. "Discovered in 1934 in Starkey's excavations, in Tomb 1502, of the Middle Bronze II period; the inscription was revealed in 1936 when the dagger was cleaned" (Sass 1988: 53)
3. "Bronze dagger, 21 x 4 cm...of Maxwell-Hyslop's Type 27A" (Sass 1988: 53), approximately 8.25 by 1.5 inches
4. Vertical
5. *ḏlrnt*
6. ca. 1725 B.C. (± 25 years)

Fig. A.60

\*Tell en-Nagila Sherd



(traced from Leibovitch 1965: pl. 42 = Sass 1988: fig. 144)

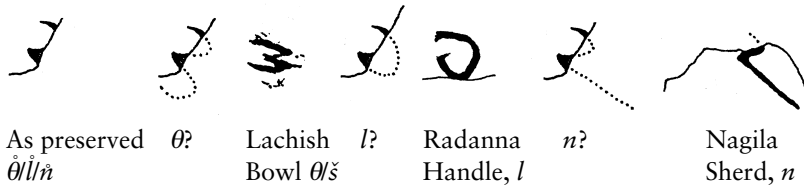
1. Amiran and Eitan 1965: 121, 123, fig. 10; Leibovitch 1965: 229-31, pl. 42; Mazar 1968: n. 92; Naveh 1973b: 206; Sass 1978: 184; 1988: 54-55,

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figs. 143, 144; Cross 1984: 74; 2003: 294-96, fig. 46.4; Puech 1986: 184, fig. 6.3; Colless 1991: 44, fig. .15; Lemaire 2000: 114, fig. 10; Dobbs-Allsopp 2006: 497

2. "Discovered in 1963 in the excavations of Amiran and Eitan at Tel Nagila, in a residential quarter" (Sass 1988: 54)
3. "Body sherd, 5 by 6 cm, of a jug with an inscription incised before firing" (Sass 1988: 54), approximately 2 by 2.5 inches
4. The direction of writing used for the highest letter is unknown. The lowest letters clearly form a horizontal line, probably to be read from right to left (Cross 1984: 74; 2003: 295-96).
5. highest letter: ] *n* [  
horizontal line: ] *θ l l n h w y l y* [  
6. ca. 1750-1550 B.C., probably from the latter half of that period
7. The remnants on the right side of the horizontal line can be restored as one of three letters (in descending order of probability): a *θ* in vertical position (so, tentatively, Colless [1991: 44]), with or without all junctures pointed, as attested early in Wadi el-Ḥol 1.10 (cf. a *θš* on the Lachish Bowl below); a short form of *l* (so Cross [1984: 74; 2003: 295]) also attested early on the Lachish Dagger and among the Gezer Jar Signs, with a small "tick" (cf. the *l* on the later Radanna Handle), a possibility denied by Sass (1988: 55), but entertained by Lemaire (2000: 114); or, less likely given the depth of head needed to be a reconstructed, a *n* (so Leibovitch [1965: 229]; cf. the slightly incomplete *n* higher on the sherd). Naveh's suggested restoration of a *m* (communicated in Sass 1988: 55), considered possible by Lemaire (2000: 114), is less likely still, given the depth of zigs and zags that would be required.

Fig. A.61



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Fig. A.62  
\*Shechem Plaque  
Front

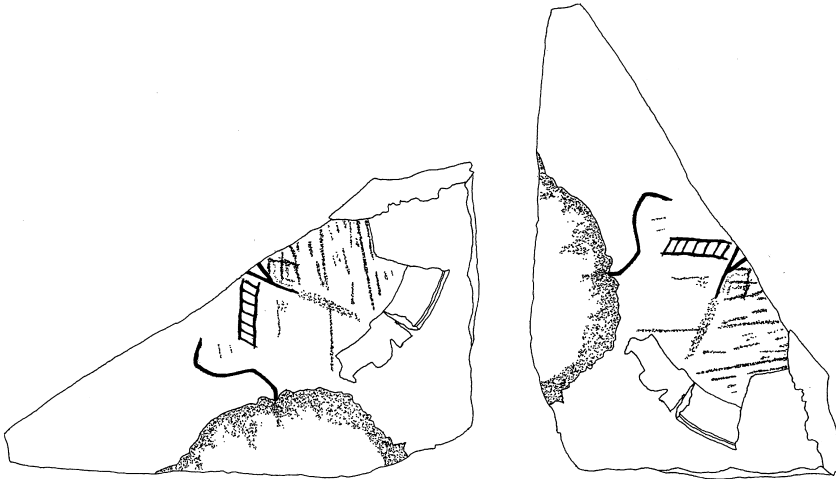
Estimated Minimum Height of the Front



(traced from Sass 1988: fig. 149; the robed figure traced from Schroer 1985: Abb. 30, reversed)

Back  
As a vertical column:

As a horizontal line:



(traced from Sass 1988: fig. 153)

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1. Alt 1935: 6; Böhl 1938; 1939; Cross 1967: nn. 12, 16; 1979: n. 12; 1980: n. 5; 2003: 215, n. 8; 319, nn. 13, 18; 332, n. 13; Albright 1966: 10-11; Merhav 1985: 36-37, pl. 4.3; Schroer 1985: 68, 69, Abb. 19; Puech 1986: 185-87, figs. 6.8, 9; 1987: 13; Sass 1988: 56-58, figs. 148-153; Colless 1991: 33-35, fig. .03; Lemaire 2000: 113-14, fig. 9; Wimmer 2001 (front; with previous literature and drawings); Dobbs-Allsopp 2006: 498, fig. 7
2. “Discovered in Sellin and Steckeweh’s excavations in 1934, stratigraphic context unclear” (Sass 1988: 56)
3. “Fragment of a limestone relief, 8 by 5 cm” (Sass 1988: 56), approximately 3 by 2 inches. I would concur with Merhav (1985: 36-37, pl. 4.3) that the remnant of the robed figure can be used to estimate the original height of the plaque, some 18 to 19 cm., approximately 7 to 7.5 inches, depending on whether the figure was portrayed wearing a conical (e.g., Sass 1988: fig. 152) or tighter fitting cap (as above on the MB-LB plaque from Hazor, drawn, for comparison, to face left from Schroer 1985: Abb. 30).<sup>12</sup> But the original width of this plaque cannot be estimated with any degree of confidence (against Merhav 1985; Wimmer 2001: 26), given the portrayals of both solitary robed figures (so on the Hazor plaque) and groups of such figures on seals of the Middle Bronze Age (following Sass 1988: 57, figs. 150-152). Nor can one know how much of the text on the front side is missing, given arrangements attested on other Proto-Canaanite inscriptions: simply a column on the right side (so, most comparably, the Grossman Seal); a horizontal line along a reconstructed top and column on the side (an up-down mirror of the arrangements found on Sinai 357, 380, and the left side of 346a); or both of those plus a reconstructed column on the far left (cf. Sinai 375a).
4. Front: vertical; no matter whether the inscription is contemporaneous with the making of this plaque or an addition to it (so, hesitantly, Sass [1988: 57-58] and Lemaire [2000: 114]), the art work sets the position in which to read the text on the front (most recently, contrast Lemaire [2000: 126, fig. 9] and Wimmer [2001]).  
Back: the three letters on the other side of this plaque could be read either as the end of a vertical column or the beginning or

<sup>12</sup> For different views on the dating of the Hazor plaque, which was found in an LB context, see especially Beck (1983) and Redford (1992: 196-97, fig. 7).

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end of a horizontal line reading from either direction (Puech 1986: 185). See especially parallels to the complete *dālet*, Chapter 2.

5. Front: ]  $\dot{y}/\dot{b}$   $\dot{r}$   $k$   $\theta/\dot{s}$   $\theta/\dot{s}$  [ $p?$ ] <  $\dot{r}$  >

Back: either: ]  $\dot{y}$   $d$   $\dot{\theta}$  or:  $\dot{\theta}$   $d$   $\dot{y}$  [

6. either ca. 1650-1550 or 1450-1400 B.C.

7. Following Sass (1988: 58), the remnant of the highest letter on the front of this plaque could be restored as a *b* of a simple rectangular type, discounting the internal line as damage due to chipping. Or, more likely, by including that line, this letter could be an “enclosure” type of *b* now known to have been in the alphabetic repertoire early (cf. Wadi el-Hol 1.2). The resultant stance, however, would be unusual (cf. a form of that type of *b* with its opening at the top on Sinai 375). Reading with Colless (1991: 33), it could also be restored it as a “forearm” type of *y*, with an outlined upper arm, common in Egyptian writing (e.g., D4 on HT 5: pl.16 [late Middle Kingdom]) but previously unattested in alphabetic scripts (cf. the simpler form of *y* on Sinai 375a and 379). The “nick” on the far left edge of this broken plaque suggests the presence of a hand that did not connect with the forearm. Either reading is possible.

Fig. A.63

Hieroglyph D4, “forearm”

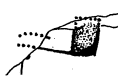
HT 5: pl. 16



Shechem *b?*  
As preserved  
*b* or *y*



Wadi el-Hol *y?*  
1.2, *b*



Sinai 379  
Sass 1988: fig.101  
*y*

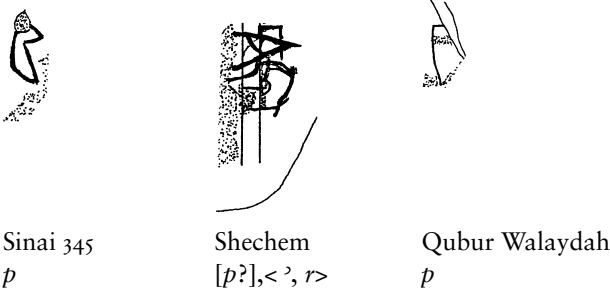
The *crux* in interpreting the front side of this fragmentary text occurs below the second  $\theta/\dot{s}$ , where one finds a short horizontal line attached at a right angle to a slightly longer vertical that is overwritten by the deeply incised second  $\dot{r}$  (cf. the renderings by six scholars collated by Wimmer [2001: 22-23] and previous readings by Colless [1991: 33]). Concerning this area Sass (1988: 58)



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wrote, “A strongly incised mark intended to cross out a sign, probably a rectangle (its base is formed by the frame line).” While I would agree with his assessment of the corrective function of the  $\text{?}$ , using the margin as part of a letter form would be unusual (cf. the highest  $r$ , Chapter 2). Perhaps the underwritten letter is a right angular  $p$ , a mirror image stance of an older outlined form attested on Sinai 345 and similar to a single-line model of  $p$  with a slightly more developed angle to its leg on the later Qubur Walaydah Ostrakon. This section is poorly preserved enough to warrant notation of such a proposal in square brackets, [ $p?$ ]. The more difficult question is whether the writer meant for the  $\text{?}$  to override that letter or simply squeezed all three letters in at the end of the column after becoming aware that space was running out.

Fig. A.64

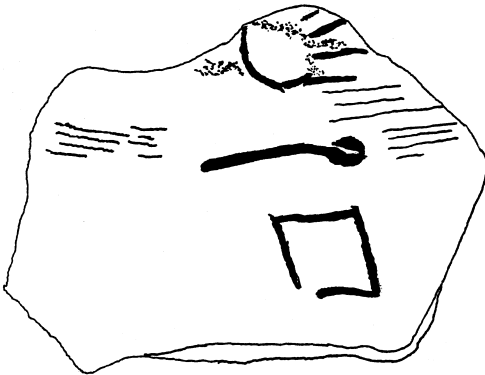


Sinai 345  
 $p$

Shechem  
[ $p?$ ], <?,  $r$ >

Qubur Walaydah  
 $p$

Fig. A.65  
\*Gezer Sherd



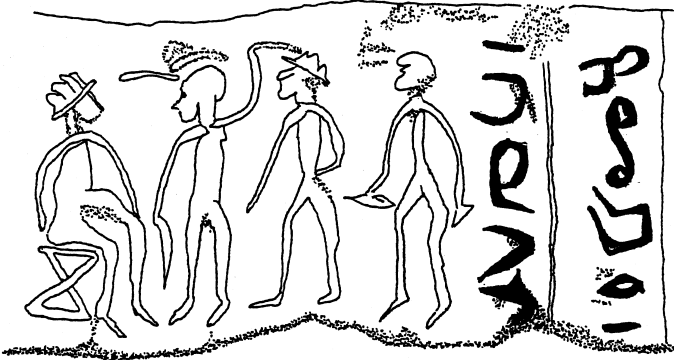
(traced from Butin 1932: pl. 28 [before cracking])

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1. Taylor 1930a; 1930b; 1931; Butin 1932: pl. 28; Albright 1935a; 1966: 10; Mazar 1968: 95-96; Cross 1967: 10\*, n. 13; 319, n. 15; Naveh 1987: pl. 1; Puech 1986: 195, fig. 6.6; Dever 1987: 171; Sass 1988: 55-56, figs. 144-147; Lemaire 2000: 113, 126, fig. 8; Hamilton 2002: 39; Colless 1991: 31-32, fig. .02; Dobbs-Allsopp 2006: 497
2. “Discovered in 1929 on the surface of Tel Gezer during a field trip of the American Schools of Oriental Research” (Sass 1988: 55)
3. “Body sherd, 7 x 5 cm, of a closed vessel, probably a stand, with an inscription incised before firing” (Sass 1988: 55), approximately 2.75 by 2 inches
4. Vertical
6. ] *k w b* [
7. ca. 1500 B.C. ( $\pm$  100 years)

Fig. A.66

Grossman/St. Louis/Goetze Seal



(traced from a WSR digitized photograph of an impression = Hamilton 2002: 38)

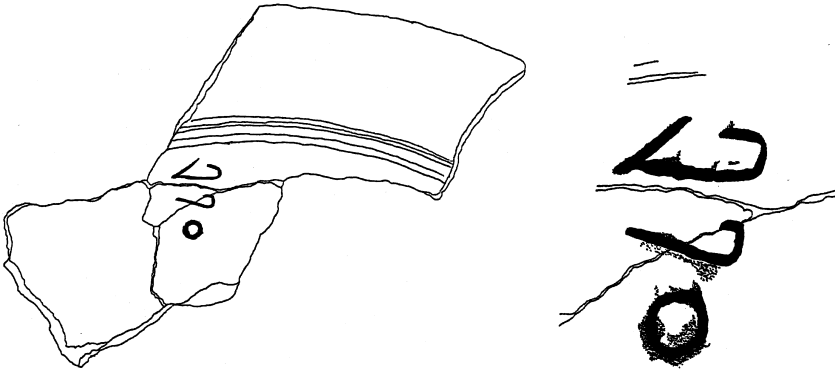
1. Goetze 1953: 8-11; Cross 1954: nn. 9, 24; 1962: 14-15; 1967: 10\*, n. 14; 1979: 100, n. 19; 1984: 74, fig. 4; 2003: 294, n. 7; 300, n. 6; 312, n. 24; 319, nn 12, 14; 334, n. 20; Buchanan 1966: 213; Albright 1966: 10-11; Puech 1986: 182, 184, fig. 6.1; Shehadeh 1987: 323; Sass 1988: 99, fig. 252 (not 251); Colless 1991: 58-60, fig. .30; Hamilton 2002: 37-38 (color photographs); Darnell et al. 2005: 77; Dobbs-Allsopp 2006: 498, fig. 8
2. Purchased in 1952 by Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Grossman of St. Louis, MO from an antiquities dealer in London, England for £5 (letter,

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Mrs. E. Grossman, 6 Dec. 1984). That low price of would provide one indication that this seal is not a modern forgery (also see “Chronological Concerns,” Chapter 3). The original is now in the Harvard Semitic Museum’s collection (Cross 2003: 294, n. 7).

3. Steatite seal: 27-25 mm., 14 mm. in diameter (Goetze 1953: 8). Scene and inscription: 6.3 by 2.5 cm., approximately 2.5 by 1 inches<sup>13</sup>
4. Vertical
5. Numbering from the left (boustrophedon, following Cross [1967: 10\*, n. 14; 2003: 312]):<sup>14</sup>  
 Column 1: | l b θ š  
 Column 2: | c r q y
6. ca. 1400 B.C. (± 100 years)

Fig. A.67  
Tell el-Hesi Sherd



(traced from Sass 1988: figs. 246, 247)

1. Bliss 1892: 109-10; 1894: 88-89, 133; Albright 1929; 1936: 9, n. 3; 1943: 31; Cross and Freedman 1952: 8, n. 36; Cross 1967: 10\*, n. 15; 2003: 319; Millard 1976: 144; Lemaire 1985: 15-17, pl. 3b; Puech 1986: 185, fig. 6.5; Sass 1988: 96-97, figs. 243-247; Colless 1991: 44-45, fig. 16
2. “Discovered in Bliss’ excavations in 1891, in ‘City IV’ from the end of the Bronze Age” (Sass 1988: 96)

<sup>13</sup> I am grateful to Dr. M. Lundberg for taking the latter measurements from an impression in the USC Collection.

<sup>14</sup> For a comparable use of two unit markers to define the beginning and end of significant words or phrases on tablets from Ugarit, see especially Robertson (1999: 89-90, and the literature cited in nn. 2, 3). My thanks to Prof. Smith for this reference.

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3. “Fragment of a carinated bowl, about 15 cm long, with an inscription incised before firing” (Sass 1988: 96), approximately 6 inches in length
4. Vertical (contrast Sass 1988: 96)
5. | *b̄* | *l* <sup>c</sup>
6. ca. 1350 B.C. (± 50 years)
7. Although the identification of the highest configuration on this column remains uncertain, it can be delimited to a separation mark followed by a developed form of *bêt* or, less likely, a *lāmed*. Parallels to separation marks at the beginnings of columns occur on Sinai 527 and the Grossman Seal (both as horizontals). The best graphic parallels to the oblique stance of the mark on this sherd come from the later Lachish Boustrophedon Text (Sass 1988: fig. 165; Cross 2003: 294, fig. 46.1) and Qubur Walaydah Bowl (Sass 1988: fig. 182; Cross 2003: 215, fig. 32.2); one mark on the latter is reproduced in fig. A.68 below because of its slightly diagonal posture and closeness to the letter that precedes it.<sup>15</sup> The continuation of the Hesi separation mark beyond the end of the letter to its right and the slight narrowing of the closest end of that letter suggest that the touching of each may be accidental (similarly Sass 1988: 96). The letter itself, a higher horizontal of medium length connected to a short vertical connected to a long lower horizontal,<sup>16</sup> is most likely a *bêt* (with Sayce in Bliss [1894: 88-89]), comparable in stance to one subsequently identified on Sinai 362 and closer in form to an asymmetrical *b* on the Lahun Heddle Jack (reproducing below the stance of the latter employed by Petrie [1890: pl. 27.85]). The probable *b* here appears to have developed a longer horizontal, likely through assimilation to forms of *l* (a well-attested phenomenon from pairings of other shorter forms of those letters [Hamilton 1985: 219-20]).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 2 for instances of two letters set side by side horizontally on vertical columns. The positioning of a separation mark and letter on this sherd thus has close parallels and should be taken as an archaic trait.

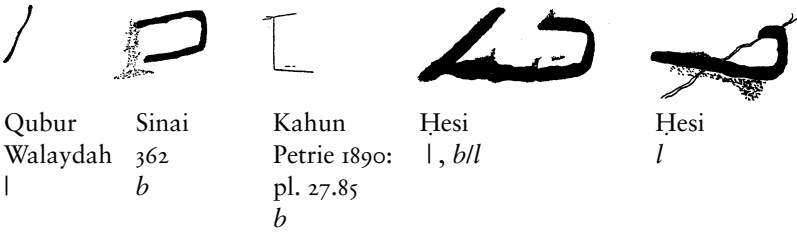
<sup>16</sup> Subsequently published photographs (Sass 1988: figs. 246, 247) negate Puech’s understanding (1986: fig. 6.5) of the configuration as being closed at the top.

<sup>17</sup> On the place names *belā* in Biblical Hebrew (Gen 14:2, 8) and *būla* in Arabic, see Knauf (1992: 654). For a similar woman’s personal name, *bl<sup>c</sup>*, recently found on an inscription at Mount Gerizim, see Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania (2004: 26, 58).

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One of the alternate readings entertained by Sass (1988: 96) and Colless (1991: 45), *l*, is also possible given the similar form of this letter and the certain *lāmed* below it (but note their small contrasts as well).

Fig. A.68



## APPENDIX 2

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## Three Arrangements of Letters

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### I. Groups of Letters

The letters on most Proto-Canaanite texts are arranged one after another (whether vertically or horizontally), whereas most of the signs in Egyptian texts are arranged in groups (whether part of vertical columns or horizontal lines).<sup>1</sup> The contrast between these two arrangements are illustrated in fig. A.1 by Gardiner's drawing (1916: pl. 3) of both the hieroglyphic and alphabetic inscriptions on Sinai 345 (on one shoulder and the sides of that small sphinx respectively). The hieroglyphic signs of the poorly executed but clear Egyptian inscription on right shoulder, *mry ḥthr mfk3t*, "beloved of Hathor, [lady of] turquoise" (James 1982: 176), are written in groups,<sup>2</sup> while the letters on the right side of the base, *mḥb'lt*, "Beloved of the Lady" (Sethe 1917: 466; Sass 1988: 12-13), are arranged in single file.

Vestiges of the usual hieroglyphic way of arranging signs in groups are attested in early alphabetic texts (fig. A.1). The arrangement of the letters on Sinai 346b serves as a clear example of the persistence of this pattern. It begins as a single file line and ends up as a quadrant of letters: *ʿl nʿm rb nqbn*, "On (behalf of) *Nʿm*, chief of our mine" (simi-

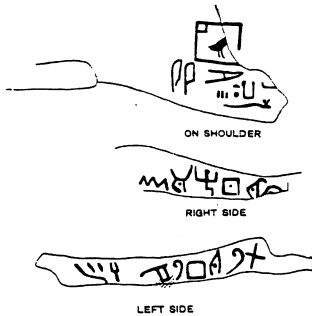
<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner (1957: 25) and, most recently, Loprieno (1997: 24-25) for discussions and examples of the arrangements of signs in Egyptian.

<sup>2</sup> Note Russmann's evaluation of the low quality of the handwriting on this Egyptian text (pp. 301-2, n. 36 above).

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larly, Albright 1966: 17; Pardee 1997b: 354).<sup>3</sup> Sinai 365b starts out a single file column of individual letters but terminates in a group of three letters that are arranged horizontally (an arrangement perhaps mandated by the lack of space but one nonetheless sanctioned by the writer of that inscription).<sup>4</sup> At the end of the leftmost single file vertical column of Sinai 353, three letters also occur in a horizontal cluster (again, presumably conditioned by the limited space available at the end of the inscription, but an arrangement tolerated by that writer). The letters on the left side of Sinai 363 may also be described as clusters (in marked contrast to the two single file columns on their right—not included below—see Appendix 1). So too, Sinai 358 shows a group of three letters on the left but a single-file column on the right. Clearly the dominant way of arranging Egyptian hieroglyphic signs was not abandoned by West Semitic writers of their consonantal alphabet immediately.

Fig. A.1  
Sinai 345  
Gardiner 1916: pl. 3

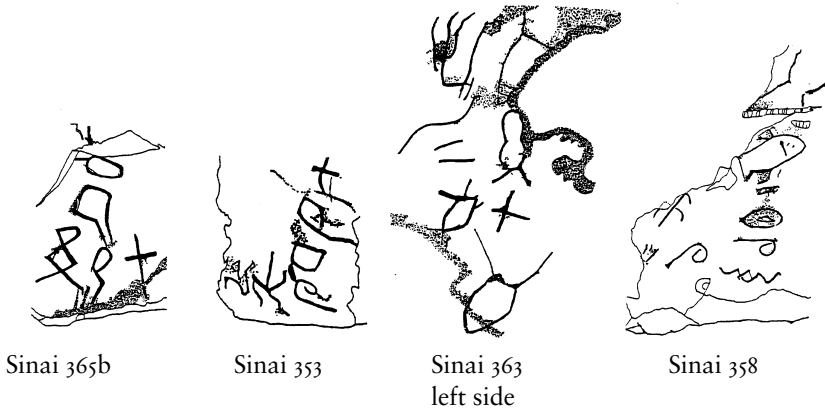


Sinai 346b

<sup>3</sup> Compare the single file arrangement of the letters on the front side of this statue, Sinai 346a (Appendix 1).

<sup>4</sup> The arrangement on the front of that plaque, Sinai 365a, is harder to classify since a *hê* straddles two columns.

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## II. Two Letters Together

Looking solely at the physical arrangement of signs, occasionally one also finds in hieroglyphic writing columns of signs (or horizontal lines) that are arranged mostly as single files with only a few signs written side-by-side. These relatively rare arrangements usually occur when the margins are narrow as illustrated by the three columns of part of a Twelfth Dynasty niche stele from Abydos (*HT* 2: pl. 19; photo: Russmann 2001: 97). Only a few times in the outer columns excerpted from that inscription do two (or more) signs share the same horizontal axis (highlighted by arrows in fig. A.2). Graphically the rest of the signs in those narrow columns are arranged one after another (cf. the middle column where the usual pattern of groups of signs predominates).

This mixture of graphemes largely arranged as single files, but with some combinations of two graphemes sharing the roughly the same horizontal axis also occurs in at least three early alphabetic texts: the vertical columns of Wadi el-Ḥol Text 2, Sinai 352, and the Lachish Dagger (“double letters” highlighted by arrows in fig. A.2 below).<sup>5</sup> Wadi el-Ḥol Text 2 shows its *ʾālep* and *lāmed* at the bottom of the column written together on a horizontal plane (so Darnell et al. 2005: fig. 16). Its *yôd*, a new reading, and *tāw* in the middle of the column should also be described in the same manner. In the middle of a single file

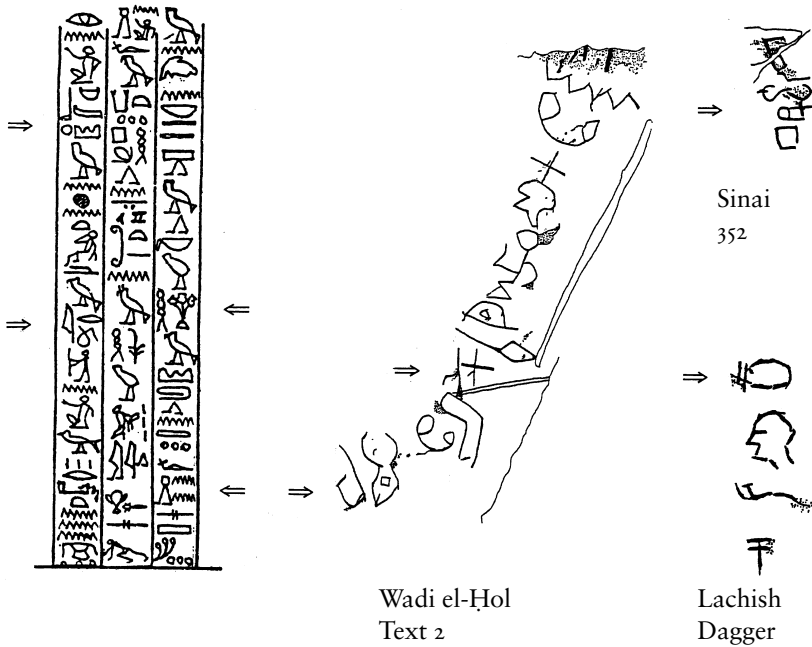
<sup>5</sup> See Wadi el-Ḥol Text 1, Appendix 1, for a conceptually similar but less certain occurrence of this phenomenon on a horizontal line.



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column on Sinai 352 one also finds two letters together, a *lāmed* and *tāw* (or is it *tāw* and *lāmed*?). As posited above (see *ḏāl* and *lāmed*, Chapter 2), the highest configuration on the Lachish Dagger witnesses this phenomenon of two letters occupying basically the same horizontal axis on an otherwise vertically arranged text. Such an arrangement likely stems from the parent script and should be recognized as an archaic arrangement of letters. Of even greater consequence, those deciphering early alphabetic texts paleographically and linguistically need to look for this kind of arrangement of letters and not disregard letters that are not lined up in a single file (as I believe has happened with Wadi el-Hol Text 2 [see Wimmer and Wimmer-Dweikat 2001; Darnell 2003; Darnell et al. 2005] and the Lachish Dagger [see, among others, Lundin 1986; Colless 1988: 59; 1991: 35-36]).

Fig. A.2  
 HT 5; pl. 19  
 Abydos  
 Dyn. 12



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## III. Single File Arrangement of Letters

Most early alphabetic writers continue the single file arrangement of graphemes attested as a comparatively rare placement of signs known in hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. Darnell et al. (2005: 93, n. 21) situated that arrangement well,

A lack of group quadrants (on which see conveniently Loprieno 1995: 21-22) is never common for Egyptian, but does occur, more often in hieratic and lapidary hieratic inscriptions. . . . Žába 1974: no. 69 [3 columns] is . . . a good example of single-file orthography where such is not dictated by the signs employed. There is in fact some suggestion that such a style of individual signs, one after the other, is more common during the early Middle Kingdom (cf. the remarks of Goedicke 1988: xxii: “the particular arrangement of narrow columns of single hieroglyphs appears to be typical for the period of the later Eleventh Dynasty”). A tendency to single-file orthography appears in a number of inscriptions, alongside occasional sign groups (cf. Darnell 2002: pl. 93; [Wadi el-Hol Rock Inscription 13 (lapidary hieratic)] probably of First Intermediate Period date.<sup>6</sup>

Given some overlap with other Egyptian arrangements of group writing and two signs written together horizontally on columns, it seems almost certain that early alphabetic writers also adopted this simplest, but fairly rare Egyptian way of arranging graphemes. A single file arrangement of letters soon became a standard feature of alphabetic writing, one that, when consistently applied, differentiated

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful for the correction of some errors in my dissertation concerning this phenomenon made by Darnell et al. (2005: 93, n. 21). One might see the outer coffin of Djehuty-hakht from Deir el-Bersha dating to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty now in the collection of The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (MFA 20.1822-26) with literally dozens of narrow columns of incised hieroglyphs arranged in single files (reproduced in part in Malek 1999: 199, fig. 113 [lower right corner]). For instances where single files of hieroglyphs occur as just part of a text, with cluster writing dominating in most areas, see a carefully incised rock inscription from Wadi Hammamat dating to the reign of Sesostriis III (Goyon 1957: 90); and Sinai 107, a stele of Ammenemes III, from Serabit (photo: Parkinson 1999: 163). A single-file arrangement of signs is also common in papyri with semi-cursive hieroglyphs dated to the late Twelfth or Thirteen Dynasties in which the columns are narrow (Gardiner 1955: pls. 15-22).

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it from the parent writing system. A rare practice of arranging signs one after another in Egyptian texts fairly early became the set way of placing letters in single files in Proto-Canaanite and derivative alphabetic scripts.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Sporadically short spaces were left between sense units (see the end of Wadi el-Hol Text 2 [fig. A.2 above], the beginning of Sinai 346b [fig. A.1 above], and the bottom of the complete column of Sinai 351 [fig. A.14, Appendix 1]). Separation marks, a better term than word dividers (following Leibovitch 1965: 230; cf. Robertson 1999: 89-90), were also used on occasion to mark units, certainly on the Nagila Sherd (Amiran and Eitan 1965: 123), Sinai 527 (Dijkstra 1983: 35; Knauf 1984), and the Grossman Seal (Albright 1966: 11; Cross 1954: 21, n. 4; 1984: 72; 2003: 312, n. 24; 294, n. 7; cf. Puech 1986: 182), and on Sinai 363 (Butin 1932: 190). Otherwise, writers of Proto-Canaanite inscriptions employed *scriptio continua* (contrast, *inter alia*, Millard 1970: 2-15; Naveh 1973b: 6-8; Cross 1980: 4; 2003: 216, n. 21).

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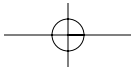
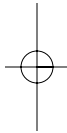
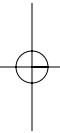
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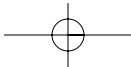
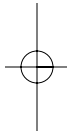
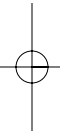


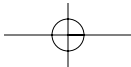
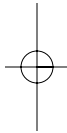
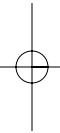
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