

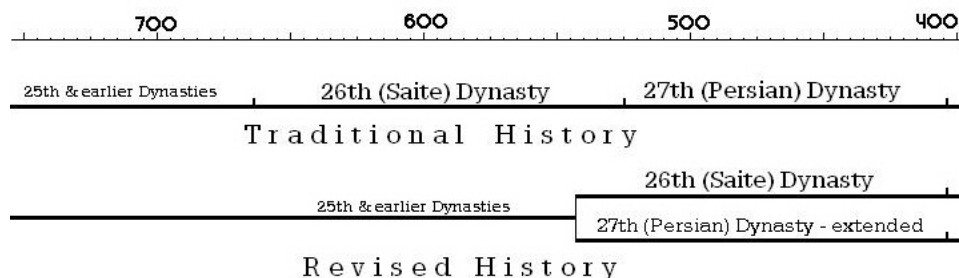
Paper #3 Revising the dates of the Phoenician kings of Byblos (ancient Gebal) serves to validate the 840-774 BC revised dates for Ramses II.

This paper will be longer than most in this new series and for good reason. In order to convince readers of the truth of any chronological facts it is essential that those readers have some familiarity with the timetable under consideration. So rather than leave it to individuals to digest the content of the 860 pages in the first three books of our *Displaced Dynasties Series*, we provide here a nine page summary of the history of the time frame under consideration, outlined from the point of view of the revised history. Needless to say, those individuals already conversant with our revised chronology can safely ignore these nine pages, though we have structured this summary to highlight material most relevant to our upcoming discussion of the Byblos kings. It is therefore recommended reading.

A. Overview of the Revised History of Dynastic Egypt in the years 774-650 BC

In the first book in our series we moved the 139-year-long 26th dynasty of Egypt forward 121 years from the time frame 664-525 BC to the years 543-404 BC, overlapping completely the 27th (Persian) dynasty, and extending the length of the latter to accommodate the move. Figure 1 below, borrowed from page 40 of our first book, visualizes the process.

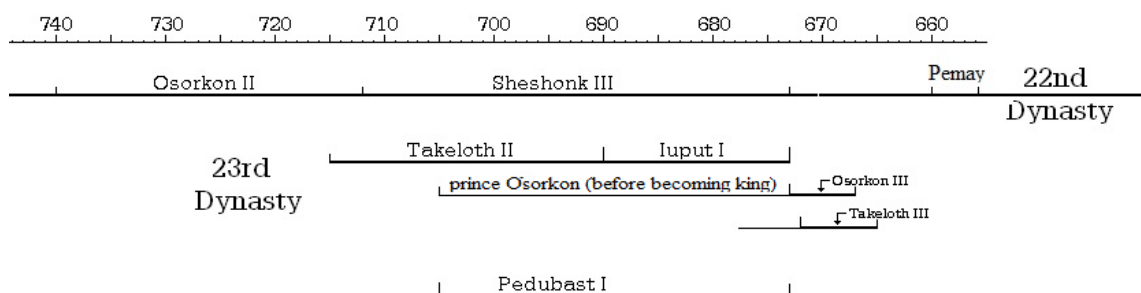
Figure 1: Timeline – The Saite Dynasty Displaced 121 Years



We then began the process of filling the vacated years with detail, it being the case that all dynasties earlier than the 26th must necessarily move forward in time by at least 121 years, a domino effect. For sundry reasons we decided to begin this process by demonstrating, in [chapter three](#) of book one, that the Egyptian 22nd and 23rd dynasty pharaohs, who in the traditional history occupy the

approximate time frames ca 945-730 BC and ca 817-730 BC respectively, must instead be dated in the interval between the mid-8th and mid-7th centuries BC. Our focus in book I was largely confined to the activities of the 22nd dynasty pharaohs Osorkon II (740-712), Sheshonk III (712-673), and Pemay (660-654) and their interactions with the 23rd dynasty kings Takeloth II (715-690), Pedubast I (705-679), Iuput I (691-673), Osorkon III (675-672) and Takeloth III (672-665), for whom we determined the regnal years indicated. For the time being we left out of consideration the earliest kings of the 22nd dynasty, Sheshonk I, Osorkon I, and Takeloth I. Our Figure 2 below, borrowed from page 75 of book 1, diagrams the results of our research.

Figure 2: Revised placements of some of the intermediate kings of Dynasties 22 & 23.



Following our book one chapter three research we returned to the subject matter which motivated this book one revision, and the balance of the first volume was spent authenticating our displacement of the 26th dynasty. But our brief foray into matters concerned with the 22nd and 23rd dynasties had brought to our attention at least five important facts related to the time frame under consideration in Figure 2, all of which have some bearing on our discussion later in this paper. We itemize them here.

1) Around the year 674 BC the Assyrian king Esarhaddon attacked Egypt and was rebuffed by the Egyptian pharaohs, his army driven from the country. Three years later, in 671 BC, he returned and successfully overran Egypt, establishing Assyrian suzerainty which lasted through the balance of his reign and that of his son Ashurbanipal, ending only when the 25th dynasty king Piankhi liberated Egypt around the year 637 BC. The annals of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, those dated between the years 671 and 665 BC, inform us

concerning the administrative structure of the country at that time. Among many important details they record the fact that the administration of the district of Busiris was left to a king named Sheshonk, clearly the 22nd dynasty pharaoh who belongs in the 13 year gap between Sheshonk III and Pemay in Figure 2, a space we left unfilled when writing our first book, not yet convinced of this king's identity. That identity crisis was addressed in our book two [Appendix B](#). [Please note that the link will take you to Appendix A, requiring you to scroll down to pages 294-301 where we discuss this pharaoh in some detail] There we remark on the fact that the Egyptologist Aidan Dodson had in 1993 identified the king reigning between Sheshonk III and Pemay as yet another Sheshonk, and furthermore, had concluded that the prenomen of this Sheshonk was the identical Hedjkheperre Setepenre as that possessed by pharaoh Sheshonk I, who is identified (in the traditional history) as the founder of the dynasty. The 22nd dynasty was now blessed with two kings with the identical name, at least if we believe traditional historians. But that fact is called into question in our book two [Appendix A \(pages 284-293\)](#), where we detail what must certainly be the genealogy of both of these Sheshonks, and where we conclude that they were *probably* not namesakes. While we agree with Dodson that the pharaoh named Hedjkheperre Sheshonk did govern a portion of Egypt in the years 673-660 BC, between the reigns of Sheshonk III and Pemay, we are less convinced that the Sheshonk who founded the dynasty had the identical prenomen.

2) When we revised the dates for the dynasty 22 and dynasty 23 pharaohs in chapter three of book one, the relative chronology of those kings did not change appreciably from relative dating accepted by the traditional history. In most instances only the background changed along with the revised absolute dates, the intrusion of the Assyrians being the most conspicuous feature. According to the traditional history [Osorkon II](#) governed a portion of Egypt in the approximate years 872-837 BC. We assign him the dates 740-712 BC, a reduction of roughly 130 years, at least consistent with our 121 year lowering of dates for the 26th dynasty.

One feature only of the combined 22nd/23rd dynasty revised chronology is noteworthy here, namely, the fact that Egypt was not governed by a single pharaoh at any one time in the ca 760-650 time frame. It is Egyptologists, not the author of this paper, who first drew attention to the fact that Egypt was

Consequently, the errant dating of all Egyptian dynasties prior to the 20th now escalates dramatically. Whereas our revised history was compelled to lower the dates for the 22nd dynasty king Osorkon II by just 130 years, the dates for Smendes I, the assumed founder of the 21st Tanite dynasty, had to be lowered by three times that amount. This dynasty, as stated above, began in the year 1087 BC according to Egyptologists. We have assigned to Smendes the years 760-734 BC, a reduction of 327 years (1087 – 760). The lowering of dates for the 20th dynasty is even more dramatic, since we assign to Setnakht, the founder of that dynasty, the years 759-757 BC, thereby reducing his dates a resounding 425 years (1184-759). That 425 year error, of necessity, must at minimum apply to all dynasties preceding the 20th. It should not surprise the reader, therefore, that in our book three we have dated the 19th dynasty king Ramses II in the years 840-774 BC rather than the 1290-1224 BC dates assigned him by Sir Alan Gardiner in his classic *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. This astounding 450 year reduction in Ramses' dates is not science fiction. The revised dates are supported by volumes of evidence, including the Berlin stele we will be discussing momentarily.

One further error in the traditional history is evidenced by our Figure 3, and needs to be mentioned in passing before we move on to the contents of book three. The error relates to the group of kings designated by Egyptologists as the 21st (Theban) dynasty, the middle timeline in our Figure 3. In the infancy of Egyptian historical research, soon after the 18th century successful translation of the hieroglyphic script, this group of kings appeared out of nowhere in Egyptian documents, seemingly contemporary with the kings of the 21st Tanite dynasty. But Manetho appeared to know nothing about them. They were, quite literally, an enigma, especially so since Egyptologists had already determined that the 21st Tanite dynasty kings belonged to the 11th and 10th centuries BC, and were, followed sequentially by the 22nd dynasty kings.

Compounding the problem of identifying these Theban kings was the fact that early Egyptologists had mistakenly determined that they ruled in the south of Egypt at precisely the same time that the Tanite priest/kings governed in the north, hence the designation of both groups as belonging to the same 21st dynasty. That was an egregious error. It is true that according to inscriptional evidence a 21st dynasty Theban king by the name of Pinudjem, the first to bear this name, was definitely a contemporary of a 21st dynasty Tanite king by the

name Psusennes, but other evidence makes it certain that the synchronism was with Psusennes II, as in our Figure 3, and not with Psusennes I, as in the traditional history. Based on our interpretation of the relevant documents, the Theban 21st dynasty connection with the 21st Tanite dynasty disappears entirely, raising the following question. If the so-called 21st Theban dynasty is unrelated to the 21st Tanite dynasty, who are these Theban kings and why does Manetho fail to acknowledge them? To which we answer: *Manetho does recognize them*. When we move the 21st dynasty forward in time by approximately three hundred years, and thus the 21st dynasty Theban kings by approximately four hundred years, the latter turn out to be the progenitors of the line of kings Manetho identifies as his 25th (Ethiopian) dynasty. Though Manetho does not include in his listing of 25th dynasty kings any of the names cited on our 21st Theban time line, he does insist that the second king of his 25th dynasty was named Piankhi, and we spend the first five chapters of our second book proving that Piankhi's adopted Egyptian name was Menkheperre Thutmose, and arguing that the Menkheperre named in our Figure 3 timeline [31] must be identified as Piankhi. The fact that Menkheperre is an Egyptian name, while several of the other 21st Theban kings bore non-Egyptian (and arguably Ethiopian) names, supports our argument that the Menkheperre in our Figure 3 timeline is actually Piankhi. Further support is provided by the fact that Menkheperre's grandfather in our timeline was named Piankh.

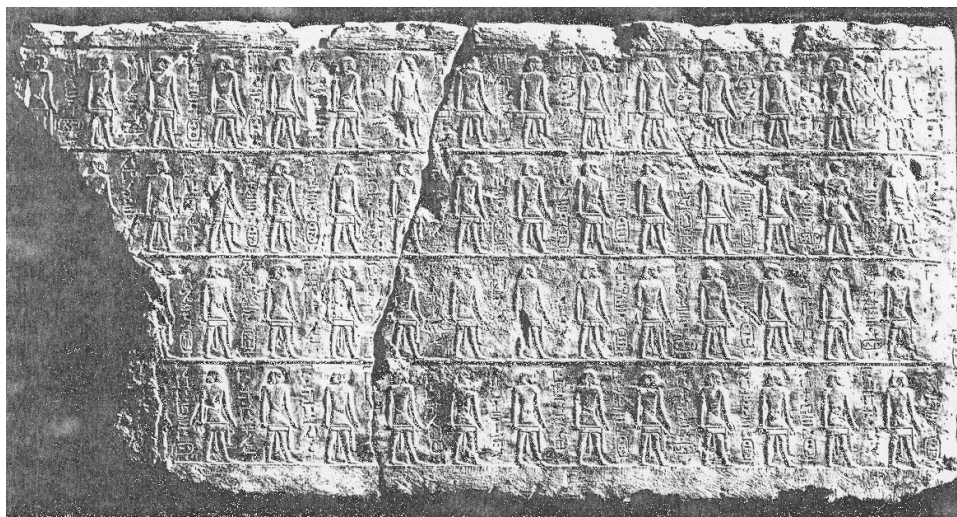
3) The third relevant discovery made early in our research, mentioned for the first time on pages 202-203 of volume two, was the existence of a massive stele, now housed in a Berlin Museum, that eventually served as our template for determining dates for dynasties 11-19. This stele (see Figure 4 below) contains a record of the succession of the high priests of the cult of Ptah in Memphis, based on documentation meticulously kept for over a thousand years of Egyptian history, spanning the approximate years 1500-600 BC.

As we state on page 202 of book two:

In many instances the (Berlin stele) inscription names a king under whose rule a particular high priest held office. (For example), it states that two high priests ruled during the lengthy reign of Psusennes I, near the beginning of the 21st (Tanite) dynasty, while the high priest in the third generation prior ruled under Ramses II of the 19th dynasty. The 20th dynasty is noticeably absent from the document, leading to

speculation (among Egyptologists) that an haplography has caused the artisan to omit entirely the line of priests contemporary with the Ramesside kings of the 20th dynasty.

Figure 4 The Berlin Stele



Other anomalies in the document convinced Egyptologists that the Berlin stele inscription could not be relied upon to validate the existing chronology of dynastic Egypt. We agree entirely with that sentiment, though we argue that the fault lies with the existing chronology of dynastic Egypt, not with the Berlin stele chronology. Its omission of the 20th dynasty is proof of its accuracy, not evidence that its chronology is defective. When we first encountered this monument we had already determined that the 20th and 21st dynasties were contemporaries. The priests of Ptah in Memphis flourished in the general area of the north-eastern Delta, an area controlled by the Tanite kings. By contrast, the Ramesside kings were tenured well over three hundred miles to the south, in the vicinity of Thebes. Which of the two groups of kings should we expect the priests of Ptah to reference in their documentation?

We strongly advise the reader, new to our Displaced Dynasties chronology, to familiarize themselves with this important monument. Of particular relevance are the comments on pages 202-03 of book two and especially [pages 8-18 of book three](#).

4) A fourth observation relates to the extremely brief interlude which separates the death of Ramses II in the year 774 BC and the onset of dynasties 20, 21, and 22 around the year 760 BC. While it was a surprise to this author to discover that the dates for Ramses II had to be lowered by 450 years, it was even more surprising to find that only fifteen years separate the death of this 19th dynasty pharaoh from the approximate beginning of dynasties 20, 21 and 22. But the evidence was overwhelming, and we had no choice but to accept it. And in a moment we will see validation of these numbers in our analysis of the Byblos kings. And it should not escape the notice of our readers, that once we validate the fact that the beginning of dynasties 20-22 follow the death of Ramses II by at most a few decades, we are not only verifying the accuracy our dating of Ramses II, but also authenticating the reliability of the Berlin stele chronology, on which almost the whole of the revised history depicted in our books three and four depends.

5) In our second point we commented on the extreme political fragmentation which existed in Egypt beginning around the year 760 BC, a situation which actually escalated in the country in the years that followed, lasting through most of the following century. While the reader can appreciate somewhat the extent of this fragmentation by simply superimposing the timelines in our Figures 2 & 3, that procedure fails to adequately portray the extent of the diversification of political influence that occurred. There were literally dozens of powerful dignitaries in control of cities and provinces throughout the country. One writer, quoting the Egyptologist Klaus Bauer, underscores the severity of this political fragmentation and distribution of power by commenting on diversification within the obscure 23rd dynasty alone:

The 23rd dynasty has traditionally been viewed as a single line of kings beginning with Pedubast I, this following Manetho. Only recently has the argument been made that Takeloth II was a Theban pharaoh and that the 23rd dynasty begins with his reign. Klaus Bauer distinguishes five independent branches to this 23rd dynasty, with centers at Thebes, Tanis, Leontopolis, Hermopolis, and Heracleopolis ("The Libyan and Nubian Kings of Egypt: Notes," JNES 32 (1973) 4-25).

It is surely significant that when Esarhaddon and his son Ashurbanipal assumed control of Egypt in the years 671-637 BC, they left the governance of the country in the hands of approximately twenty nomarchs, several bearing royal titles. We presume that these individuals were not newly installed in their respective

districts. It is almost a certainty that the Assyrian kings merely left the existing nomarchs in place to administer the country on their behalf.

We repeat from our second point this claim of extreme political fragmentation within Egypt in order to raise the following question. What brought about this extreme diversification of political authority within Egypt in the span of approximately fifteen years, the time separating the death of the all-powerful pharaoh Ramses II (774 BC) and the situation where twenty or more nomarchs shared power within Egypt (760 BC)? In book three of our Egyptian series we provide the answer. Even the most casual student of Egyptian history knows that in the brief interval separating the reigns of Ramses II and Ramses III something monumental happened in the Mediterranean world. Some natural disaster brought to an end the Anatolian kingdom of the Empire Hittites, ended the Minoan civilization, and spawned massive migrations of desperate peoples occupying nations bordering the Mediterranean, some of them extremely militaristic - the so-called Sea Peoples of the history books. The fact that this natural disaster brought the 19th dynasty to an end, populated Egypt with foreigners, of which the Libyans (the assumed ethnicity of the 22nd and 23rd dynasty nomarchs) were the most prominent element, are facts agreed upon by all Egyptologists. Where the revised history diverges from the traditional history is in the dating of this natural disaster, and the fact we do not believe that the 20th dynasty pharaohs managed to drive the Libyan invaders out of Egypt.

In our book three we identified the source of this Sea Peoples movement - the eruption of the mega-volcanic island of Santorini, north of Cyprus. We will not repeat here our description of the event. The interested reader can follow our description beginning on pages 113-117 and continuing through [the whole of chapter six \(pages 118-140\)](#), the concluding chapter of our third book. Only one aspect of that catastrophic event bears repeating here. On pages 124-129, in a section entitled "Raash in Syria", we documented the devastating results of the massive tidal waves and rainstorm of molten ash that fell on the east coast of the Mediterranean, the homeland of the Phoenician kings. Following the description of the event, in the book of Amos in the Hebrew Bible, we noted that 90% of the population of the Levant died as a result. What we did not discuss was the inevitable destruction of property that took place, including inevitable damage to

even megalithic structures such as the temples of the country, a fact which has some bearing on our dating of the Phoenician king named Yehimelek.

With that we turn our attention to Phoenicia, to the city state of Byblos (ancient Gebal) on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and to the kings of that maritime city.

B. Phoenician Inscriptions and Assyrian annals serve to validate the accuracy of our Revised Chronology, especially the 840-774 BC dates for Ramses II.



For the benefit of the uninformed, we begin this section by itemizing the most often cited inscriptions referred to under the rubric *Byblian Royal Inscriptions*, providing a brief description of the discovery and publication of each. We cite them here in the order in which they were discovered. They are five in number, but for completeness we add a sixth, perhaps the most valuable of all in validating our dating of the Egyptian 19th dynasty.

All of these inscriptions were written in a script known popularly as Old Byblian, though in reality the script was employed at locations throughout the Levant. It follows that it is best described as early Phoenician, a variant of paleo-Hebrew, the latter conceived by

traditional scholars as a derivative of the former (though in fact, as we will demonstrate in later papers, the Hebrew script without question antedates the Phoenician).

1. [The Abibaal Inscription](#), incised on a statue of a 22nd dynasty king named Hedjkheperre Sheshonq, published in 1903 by [Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau](#),

Inscription égypto-phénicienne de Byblos, Comptes rendu, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Paris, 1903). A translation of the inscription is provided here:

(1) [The statue (?) which] Abibaal, king of [Byblus, son of Yehimilk (?), (2) king] of
Byblus, [br]ought from ⁴² Egypt for Baal[ath- Geba], his lady. May Baalath-Geba prolong the days of Abibaal and his years over Byblus!

The above translation, and thus the claim that Abibaal was a son of a king named Yehimilk(?), is attributed to the noted Semitic scholar William Albright, who examined photographs of multiple Phoenician inscriptions in 1947 and published his results in an article entitled “The Phoenician Inscriptions from the 10th century B.C. from Byblus” (JAOS 67: 153-160). Since this pivotal paper will be cited several times in the pages that follow, but will be inaccessible to most readers, we have included a photocopy of his article at the end of this paper (see pages 24-31). But in addition to the translation above, we also include here a copy of Albright’s table of Phoenician kings duplicated from his page 160, the last entry in the article. Due to Albright’s standing in the academic community, these dates for the Phoenician kings have endured, relatively unchanged, through to the present.

Ahiram	c. 1000
Ittobaal (son of Ahiram)	c. 975
Yehimilk	c. 950
Abibaal (son of Yehimilk?)	c. 930
Elibaal (son of Yehimilk)	c. 920
Shipit-Ba'al I (son of Elibaal)	c. 900
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Shipit-Ba'al II (Sipitti-bi'il)	c. 740
Ormilk I (Uru-milki)	701
Milk-asap (Milki-ašapa)	c. 670
.	
Shipit-Ba'al III ⁶³	c. 500 ?
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Ormilk II	
Yihar-Ba'al (son of Ormilk II) ⁶⁴	
Yehaw-milk (son of Yihar-Ba'al)	c. 450 ?
.	
El-pa'al ⁶⁵	c. 360
*Ozi-Ba'al	348
Addir-milk	c. 340
*Ayyin-El	333

The statue bearing the inscription of Abibaal bears the cartouche names Hedjkheperre Setepenre Sheshonk Meryamun, and is therefore credited by Egyptologists as belonging to the king by that name who founded the 22nd

dynasty in Egypt. In turn this Sheshonk is identified by traditional scholars as the pharaoh Shishak who assaulted the city of Jerusalem in the 5th year of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, in the approximate year 925 BC, a lynchpin date that supports the scholarly claim that this king ruled Egypt in the approximate years 943-922 BC, dates which mark the beginning of the Egyptian 22nd dynasty. Additionally, this king is claimed to be the author of the famous Bubastite Portal Inscription on a wall separating the 2nd portal of the Karnak temple in Thebes, and the small temple of Ramses III that opens into the first courtyard of that Karnak temple.

When Albright wrote his 1947 article Egyptologists were aware of only one Hedjkheperre Sheshonk. Now there are supposedly two, and in the revised history the second Hedjkheperre governed the Bubastite nome in Egypt around the years 673-660 BC (see above, pp 2-3). If so, it follows that he cannot be the Shishak who invaded Jerusalem 250 years earlier in the approximate year 925 BC. In a subsequent paper we will argue that the Bubastite Portal Inscription describes battles that took place around the year 674 BC. And since we believe that the Abibaal inscription was inscribed on a statue of this second Sheshonk, it follows that we should date the reign of Abibaal, king of Byblos, in the approximate time frame 680-670 BC, and the inscription itself to the year 674 BC. Time will tell if we are correct.

2. [The Ahiham Sarcophagus Inscription](#), inscribed on a [sarcophagus discovered in Byblos in 1923](#) in a tomb containing also two fragments of alabaster vases inscribed with the name of Ramses II, published by [René Dussaud](#), *Les inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Ahiham, roi de Byblos*, Syria 5 (1924): 135–157.

Albright translates the sarcophagus inscription on pages 155-56 of his paper:

<p>The coffin which ²² [It]tobaal, son of Ahiham, king of Byblus, made for his father as his ab(o)de in eternity. And if ²³ any king or any governor</p>
<p>or any army commander attacks Byblus and exposes ²⁴ this coffin, let his judicial scepter be broken, let his royal throne be overthrown,²⁵ and let peace ²⁶ flee from Byblus; and as for him, let a vagabond (?) ²⁷ efface ²⁸ his inscription(s) !</p>

For the most part we leave it to the reader to read the Wikipedia articles related to the discovery of the tomb of Ahiham, the reading of the inscription on the [Ahiham sarcophagus](#) left by his son & successor Ithbaal (or Ittobaal), and

especially the description of the other contents of the tomb, those which raised questions in the minds of scholars about the dating of the inscription. To simplify the stated task we choose to quote a few paragraphs from the book *Ramses II and His Time* authored by the noted revisionist Immanuel Velikovsky, who believes, as does the present author, that the Byblos king Ahiiram must be a contemporary of the 19th dynasty king Ramses II.

Near the entrance to the burial chamber several fragments of an alabaster vase were found, and one of them bore the name and royal nomen of Ramses II. Another fragment, also of alabaster, with Ramses II's cartouche was in the chamber; there was also an ivory plaque found and evaluated by R. Dussaud as of Mycenaean age; but pottery of Cyprian origin was also there and it looked like seventh-century ware. The tomb was violated, probably in antiquity, argued the historians, despite the warning in Hebrew (Phoenician) letters. The scholars had to decide on the time in which King Ahiiram lived.

The Phoenician inscriptions on the sarcophagus did not reveal it. Montet, the discoverer, assigned the tomb to the time of Ramses II, thus to the thirteenth century. He subscribed to the view that all objects in the tomb, the Cyprian vases included, were of the time of Ramses II. But the age of the Cyprian pottery was claimed by other scholars to be that of the seventh century. Dussaud, a leading French orientalist, agreed that the tomb dated from the thirteenth century, the time of Ramses II, but he insisted that the Cyprian ware was of the seventh century. Dussaud also assumed that in the seventh century tomb robbers broke in and left there the pottery of their own age. Signs of intrusion and violation were obvious: the lid of the sarcophagus had been moved from its proper position, alabaster vases were broken, jewelry was missing.

Dussaud wrote: "Together with Mycenaean relics, Montet found fragments of Cypriote pottery, characteristic of the seventh century, which thus fixes the time of the tomb violation. No fragment of a more recent date was found." He continued: "There is no doubt that, [faced with a choice] between the age of Ramses II and the seventh century [as the time when the tomb was built and the inscriptions were made], the first must be accepted." **But intruders certainly would not have brought six- or seven-hundred-year-old vases into the sepulchral chamber. Why they would have brought any vessels into the mortuary chambers they had come to loot is not satisfactorily explained.** (emphasis added) (*Ramses II & His Time*, 65-66)

In our opinion Montet was absolutely correct. All the artifacts in the tomb are more than likely items actually owned by Ahiiram, who must necessarily be dated to the time of Ramses II. But in the revised history Ramses II does not belong to the 13th century. His reign spanned the years 840-774 BC.

In our opinion Dussaud was also absolutely correct, save for his attribution of the Cypriote pottery to the tomb robbers. The Mycenaean plaque and the Cypriote pottery are not out of place, though we would dispute the seventh century date assigned the Cypriote ware. Pottery from that island was produced over the span of at least six hundred years, from ca 1000 to ca 400 BC according to the experts, though scholars continue to question the precise dating of the [Geometric, Archaic and Classical production periods](#). There is no doubt, however, that the presence of Cypriote pottery in Ahiram's tomb does prove one thing, namely, that the 13th century traditional dates for Ramses II are at minimum three hundred years too early. As for the Mycenaean plaque, we need only remind the reader that when we move forward the dates for Ramses II by 450 years, we necessarily move forward the Mycenaean age by an equal amount. That age did not end until after the death of Ramses II. And when we claim, as we do in our revision, that the fall of Troy, and the probably survival of Agamemnon in Mycenae, must both be dated around the year 765 BC, those facts are absolutely consistent with our claim that Ahiram's life preceded that of Agamemnon by at least a half century, and possibly longer. His life was lived in a Mycenaean world.

In short, when we claim below that Ahiram's reign roughly spanned the years 820-800 BC, and those of his son Ithba'l the years 800-780 BC, we cannot be far wrong, a decade or so at the most. And with those dates absolutely every detail related to Ahiram's tomb is more than adequately explained.

3. [The Eliba'l Inscription](#), inscribed on a statue of a 22nd dynasty king Osorkon and published by [René Dussaud](#), *Dédicace d'une statue d'Osorkon 1er par Elibaal, roi de Byblos*, Syria 6 (1925): 101–117.

Albright translates the inscription on page 158 of his article:

<p>(1) 'The statue¹ which Elibaal, king of Byblus, son of Yehi[milk, king of Byblus,] made (2) [for Ba]alath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath[-Gebal] prolong (3) [the days of E]libaal and his years over [Byblus]!</p>

It must be noted that the statue was inscribed with the cartouche names Sekhemkheperre-Setepenre Osorkon Meryamun. Egyptologists assign this name to their Osorkon I, the successor of their Sheshonk I, and we have absolutely no argument with the identification, other than to repeat our claim, made earlier in

this paper, that the Sheshonk who founded the 22nd dynasty probably did not bear the prenomen Hedjkheperre Setepenre.

We have always assumed that Manetho is probably correct in his claim that the 22nd dynasty began with three kings named Sheshonk, Osorkon and Takelot, all of whom must have occupied Egypt in the time frame ca 760-740 BC, this because we are adamant that the fourth king, Osorkon II, governed in the time frame 740-712 BC and that the 22nd dynasty began in Egypt around the year 760 BC. We suspect that one or more of the three predecessors of Osorkon II began their reigns before they invaded Egypt as part of the Sea Peoples movement. We suspect also that two or all three of these kings governed different parts of Egypt as contemporaries after entering Egypt. Egyptologists credit Osorkon I with either 33 years (Kitchen [TIP](#) p. 182 sect 150) or 36 years (Gardiner [EP](#) page 448) but Kitchen admits that the year 33, read on a Ramesseum bandage fragment, might actually read year 13, thus crediting Osorkon I with a much shorter reign, one more in agreement with Manetho who assigns this Osorkon 15 years.

Regardless, we can safely position the reign of this king somewhere in the time frame 760-740 BC, and date the inscription of Elibaal accordingly around the middle of that time frame.

4. [The Yehimelek Inscription](#), published in 1930 by [Maurice Dunand](#), “Nouvelle Inscription Phénicienne Archaïque, RB 39 (1930): 321-331.

According to Albright (page 157) the inscription of Yehimelek, king of Biblos, reads:

(1) The temple which Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built—(2) it was he who restored ³³ the ruins of these temples. (3) May Baal-shamem ³⁴ and Baal-(ath)-Gebal (4) and the assembly ³⁵ of the holy gods of Byblus (5) prolong the days of Yehimilk and his years (6) over Byblus as a rightful king and a true (7) king ³⁶ before the h[oly] gods of Byblus! ³⁷

We will say more about king Yehimelek in our next point, where he is identified as the grandfather of the Byblos king Shipitbaal. Our only concern at this time is to assign to him approximate dates, and since we agree entirely with scholarly community in positioning this king the successor to Ithbaal, son of Ahiram, to whom have assigned the dates 800-780 BC, we are inclined to position Yehimelek

the time frame 780-760 BC. Even if we were to disregard the consensus opinion of Egyptologists we would have selected this time frame for two reasons. **The first** relates to the successors of this king, three of whom are conclusively dated in the late 8th century BC. Already we have assigned to Elibaal the dates 760-740 BC. The others will be discussed in point 5 which follows. **The second** factor relates to a comment in the inscription itself, seldom if ever commented on by scholars. We refer to Yehimelek's statement that he was preoccupied with restoring "the ruins of these temples" presumably a reference to the temples in the vicinity of Byblos. And in the opinion of this author, there is only one possible reason why multiple temples in the district of Byblos should all be in ruins simultaneously, especially around the middle of the 8th century BC on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

We assume that Yehimelek was the king of Byblos at the time of the "great raash" recorded in book of Amos in the Hebrew Bible. There is no need here to repeat the comments on the subject made earlier in this paper. When massive tidal waves swept away and killed 90% of the population of the Levant in the approximate year 765 BC, clearly Yehimelek was one of the few survivors, and one of the driving forces in the restoration of the country which followed. Even temples made of stone would have suffered considerable damage. And temples would have been a top priority in the restoration effort. We assume therefore that the Yehimelek inscription was made around the year 760 BC, near the end of his life.

Before we proceed we summarize the conclusions made thus far. The table below reproduces the admittedly crude date ranges for the reigns of the five kings thus far discussed:

Table 1: Five 9th-7th century kings of Byblos

King of Byblos	Approximate regnal years (BC)	Approximate date of source (BC)
Ahram	820-800	n/a
Ithbaal	800-780	800 (inscription)
Yehimelek	780-760	760 (inscription)
Elibaal	760-740	750 (inscription)
Abibaal	680-670	674 (inscription)

5. [The Shipitbaal Wall Inscription](#), published in 1945 by [Maurice Dunand](#), *Biblia Grammata: Documents et Recherches sur le Développement de L'écriture en Phénicie* (Beyrouth: Direction des Antiquité, 1945): 146–151.

Once again we observe how Albright translates the inscription, this time on page 158 of his article:

<p>(1) The wall which Shipit-Ba'al, king of (2) Byblus, son of Elibaal, king of Byblus, (3) son of Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built for Baalath-(4) Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong (5) the days of Shipit-Ba'al and his years over Byblus!</p>

Since this inscription clearly identifies Shipit-baal as a son of Elibaal and grandson of Yehimilk, we can, without further adieu, assign to him the date range 740-720 BC. And for the first time we can unequivocally confirm absolute dating of this time frame, not only from the point of view of the revised history, but from the annals of the Assyrian king [Tiglath-Pileser III](#), whose approximate dates 745-727 BC are agreed upon by both traditional scholars and the Displaced Dynasty history.

Early in the reign of this powerful Assyrian king, sometime in first decade of his reign, Tiglath-Pileser raided the Phoenician coast, and recorded his conquests in his annals. The relevant section is translated by [Oppenheim in Pritchard's classic collection of Ancient Near Eastern Texts](#) (aka ANET), where we read:

[] I received tribute from Kuštašpi of Commagene, Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of [Samaria](#), Hiram of [Tyre](#), [Sibitti-bi'li of Byblos](#), Urikki of [Qu'e](#), Pisis of Karchemiš, I'nil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhūlara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Melitene, Dadili of Kaska, Uassarne of Tabal, Ušhitti of [Tuhana](#), Tuhamma of Ištunda, Urimme of Hubišna, and Zabibe, the queen of [Arabi](#) - gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant-hides, ivory, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed wool, ebony-wood, boxwood-wood, whatever was precious enough for a royal treasure; also lambs whose stretched hides were dyed purple, wild birds whose spread-out wings were dyed blue, furthermore horses, mules, large and small cattle, male [dromedaries](#), female dromedaries with their foals. ANET 283 (emphasis added)

[Menahem](#) reigned in Israel in the latter half of the 8th century BC. According to the Wikipedia article describing his reign his dates vary, from 745-736 according

to Schrader, 745-738 in the opinion of Albright, and in the extreme, 752-742 according to Thiele in his [Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings](#). Since the campaign referenced in ANET 283 probably took place around the year 740 BC, and Menahem is governing in Samaria, we must either extend Thiele's date range by several years, or accept the opinion of Albright and Schrader. In either case it is clear that these annals of Tiglath-Pileser suggest that we are near the beginning of Shipitbaal's reign, and can tentatively assign him the date range 740-720 BC, and lacking further information, date his wall inscription to the middle of that range, as does Albright.

Our table 2 now reflects this addition:

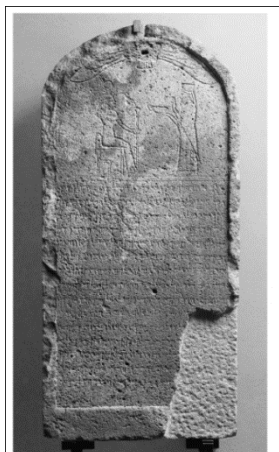
Table 2: Six 8th/7th century kings of Byblos

King of Byblos	Approximate regnal years BC	Approximate inscription date BC
Ahram	820-800	n/a
Ithbaal	800-780	800 (inscription)
Yehimelek	780-760	760 (inscription)
Elibaal	760-740	750 (inscription)
Shipitbaal	740-720	740 (annals) 730 (inscription)
Abibaal	680-670	674 (inscription)

The addition of Shipitbaal does not prove that we have correctly dated the six listed kings, but it does strengthen our argument. Scholars are well aware of Tiglath-Pileser's annals entry, and the fact a Byblian king by this name did exist in the late 8th century. They simply refer to him as Shipitbaal II and they continue to argue that a Shipitbaal I, son of Elibaal, son of Yehimelek lived in the 10th century BC. And they strenuously argue that Shipitbaal I and Elibaal were contemporaries of the 22nd dynasty kings, whom they continue to date in the years 945-730 BC, as we mentioned earlier. But this assumption of namesake kings must be seriously questioned. As always, let the reader decide. Is it mere chance that this 8th century Phoenician king appears on the scene at precisely the right moment in time to fill the vacant spot in our Table 2? After all, we had already reasoned the existence of Phoenician kings Yehimelek and Elibaal in the 3rd and 4th positions of

our table 1. The next entry simply had to be a Phoenician Biblian king named Shipitbaal. And this will not be the first coincidental appearance of a Phoenician king at an opportune time, as we will see in our next inscription.

6. The Yahawmelek inscription is recorded on a large stele discovered near



Byblos around the year 1874 (see photo to the left). The inscription was first presented to the world in a communication made to the *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* in the year 1875 by Melchior marquis de Vogüé. We have provided a link to this communication, which bears the title [Stele de Yehawmelek, roi de Gebal](#), though regrettably, for the sake of our readers not conversant with French, we cannot find a suitable online translation of the French text of either the entire communication or the inscription contained in it. Regrettably also, Albright neglects

to even mention the stele, though he is well aware of its content. Fortunately, this omission is not a problem, since we are concerned in this paper with only the initial line of the inscription, which reads:

Je suis Yehawmelek, roi de Gebal, fils de Yahdibaal, petit-fils de Urimelek, roi de Gebal, race royale que la dame Baalath-Gebal a établie sur Gebal.

Here Yahawmelek clearly identifies himself as a king of Gebal (ancient Byblos), son of Yahdibaal, and grand-son of Urimelek, king of Gebal. This inscription is of profound interest to this author, in spite of the fact that Albright omits mention of it in his article. Albright's avoidance is best explained by the late 6th/ 5th century dates he assigns to these three names (see his list of Phoenician kings duplicated on page 11 above). Other scholars date Yahawmelek a century or two earlier. Nothing in the inscription precludes our redating it to the early 7th century.

Though the inscription clearly describes the lineage of Yahawmelek, providing the names of his father Yahdibaal and grandfather Urimelek, the opening line recording that patrimony on the stele is clearly out of the ordinary, both in the omission of the title "king of Byblos" applied to Yahdibaal, and the reference to Urimelek as the grandfather of Yahawmelek. Those features have raised serious questions in the minds of all scholars commenting on the stele inscription. Here

we cite one instance only, that of Charles Clemont-Ganneau, on page 8 of an article entitled “[La Stele de Byblos](#)” published in 1880 in a fascicle of the *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole Des Hautes Etudes*.

Clemont-Ganneau remarks on the wording of the first line of the stele, particularly on the exceptional omission of the descriptive phrase “roi de Byblos” in relation to Yahdibaal and the inclusion of the Phoenician equivalent of the term grand-son. What would normally be expected in this type of genealogical reference would be a statement reading “Yehawmelek, king of Byblos, son of Yahdibaal, king of Byblos, son of Urimelek, king of Byblos. The language used on the stele appears to be deliberate, and Clemont-Ganneau draws from it the only reasonable conclusion, namely, that Yahdibaal, the parent of Yehawmelek, was not a king of Byblos, and that the governance of Byblos had passed directly from grandfather to grandson, a fact we assume to be the case in our table 3. In the words of Clemont-Ganneau:

L'on comprend à la rigueur que le roi de Byblos Yehawmelek, fils de Yahdibaal, se rattache directement à son grand-père Ourimelek, roi de Gebal, en se disant 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏, *petit-fils*, de ce dernier, son père Yahdibaal n'ayant pas régné et le mot 𐤅𐤁𐤁𐤏 exprimant alors, pour ainsi dire, la continuité de la royauté qu'on ne saurait concevoir comme interrompue, ne fût ce qu'un moment. Il est impossible de deviner pour quel motif Yahdibaal n'a pas occupé le trône : peut-être quelque événement politique était-il intervenu pour l'en priver; peut-être était-il mort avant son père Ourimelek, si tant est qu'il fût le fils d'Ourimelek, ce dont on pourrait douter en se plaçant à un point de vue que j'indiquerai plus bas.

Of Clemont-Ganneau's suggested causes of this unusual succession, we accept as most probable his suggestion that Yahdibaal died before his father Urimelek, and that when Urimelek died the throne of Byblos passed directly to a grandson. That interpretation of the genealogical statement is reflected in the fact that we include only two names, rather than all three, in our Table 3 list of Phoenician kings. Our table also suggests that the Yahawmelek stele was likely erected to commemorate his ascendancy to the throne of Byblos, and likely follows immediately the death of Urimelek.

Table 3: Eight 9th-7th century kings of Byblos

King of Byblos	Approximate regnal years (BC)	Approximate date of source (BC)
Ahram	820-800	n/a
Ithbaal	800-780	800 (inscription)
Yehimelek	780-760	760 (inscription)
Elibaal	760-740	750 (inscription)
Shipitbaal	740-720	740 (annals) 730 (inscription)
Urimelek	720-700	701 (annals)
Yehawmelek	700- 680	700 (inscription)
Abibaal	680-670	674 (inscription)

We assure the reader that we are not guessing when we position of the names of Urimelek and Yehawmelek as we do, between the names of Shipitbaal and Abibaal. The positioning is confirmed at both the upper and lower extremes.

On the one hand we are absolutely certain that a Phoenician king named Urimelek sat on the throne of Byblos in the last decade of the 8th century, and that this king was very likely the immediate successor of the Shipitbaal named in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III. A glance back at Albright's list of Phoenician kings on our page 11 confirms that fact, though once again the traditional history is compelled to hypothesize the existence of namesake kings. In Albright's list the late 8th century Urimelek is referenced as Urimelek II, while the 10th century king, listed as a successor of Shipitbaal, is identified as Urimelek I. The source document for the late 8th century Urimelek is once again the annals of an Assyrian king, this time Sennacherib (705-681 BC), in his 3rd campaign, which included an assault on Judah and Jerusalem. The year was 701 BC., and the reader can read the relevant section of his annals both [here](#) and [here](#)).

On the other hand we are certain that Yehawmelek immediately preceded Abibaal. Recall from our earlier depiction of the Abibaal inscription that Albright inserted a question mark following his mention of the Phoenician king's father Yehimelek. Small wonder, since in his transcription of the Phoenician characters into Hebrew, he lists the phrase "son of Yehimelek" as בִּיהַמֶּלֶךְ (?). We have no

problem with the assumption that the “bet” at the start of the word is shorthand for “son of”, but the five remaining characters suggest that the “yod”, the third character in the name **Yeh(i)melek**, is not visible, or not identifiable. If that third character was a “waw”, as we believe, the name should be read Yehawmelek, rather than Yehimelek. Enough said.

7. Milki-ashapa, king of Byblos. This king might well be omitted from this listing, save for the fact that Albright has included his name in his listing of kings of Byblos, assigning him the date c. 670 BC (see page 11 above). Since the source of this name is entirely consistent with our table 3 timetable, we simply follow Albright’s lead.

We have previously described the fact that the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (681-669 BC) invaded Egypt twice, the second time (671 BC) successfully. The assault apparently was carefully planned and carried out, and lasted for well over a year. Today it is referred to as Esarhaddon’s Syro-Palestinian campaign, during the course of which he recruited the assistance of multiple Phoenician kings, including that of Milkiashapa of Gebal (see ANET 291). Albright dates the annals entry to the year 670 (see page 11 above). Following the successful conquest of Egypt Esarhaddon returned to Nineveh where he died the following year. Again rebellion broke out in Egypt, prompting his son & successor Ashurbanipal to initiate his 1st campaign in order to quell the uprising. While en-route to Egypt in ca 668 the Assyrians again recruited the assistance of several dozen Levantine kings, among whom, again, we find reference to Milkiashapa of Gebel (see ANET 294). The texts of the annals which document these campaigns can be read by following the link provided to an online copy of Pritchard’s [Ancient Near Eastern Texts](#) and scrolling down to the respective pages.]

Our listing of the kings of Gebal in the late 9th through early 7th centuries is complete, fixed in place by artifacts and historical circumstances, not to mention well dated entries in the annals of the Assyrian kings Tiglath Pileser III, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. We produce the completed list in our Table 4 on the following page. What makes this list compelling is not the individual entries viewed singularly, but the cumulative weight of the successive entries. The list of the kings of Gebel as presented clearly do not “prove” that Ramses II lived in the years 840-774 BC. Were that the case Egyptologists would long ago have cast aside the currently accepted chronology for dynastic Egypt.

Table 4: Nine 9th-7th century kings of Byblos

King of Byblos	Approximate regnal years BC	Approximate date of source BC
Ahiram	820-800	n/a
Ithbaal	800-780	800 (inscription)
Yehimelek	780-760	760 (inscription)
Elibaal	760-740	750 (inscription)
Shipitbaal	740-720	740 (annals) 730 (inscription)
Urimelek	720-700	701 (annals)
Yehawmelek	700- 680	700 (inscription)
Abibaal	680-670	674 (inscription)
Milki-ashapa	670-660	670 (annals) 668 (annals)

As we have seen, none of the inscriptions or annals entries referenced here are unknown to the current generation of scholars, and ad hoc explanations have been concocted to explain every anomaly. Rather, it is the accumulated weight of the evidence that must convince the reader that we are correct. Our dating of Ramses II was based on the combined evidence presented in 850 pages of carefully reasoned text in three books of our Displaced Dynasty Series, supported by the testimony of the priests of Ptah based on documentation preserved over a thousand years of temple activity, and literally carefully “written in stone”. What we have added here is the supplementary witness of six late 9th- early 7th century Geblite kings and four well known and securely dated Assyrian kings.

As always, let the reader decide.

The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B. C. from Byblus

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THE PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TENTH CENTURY B. C. FROM BYBLUS

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THE DISCOVERY in 1923 of the sarcophagus of Ahiiram, king of Byblus, was at the time a scholarly sensation.¹ Two fragments of alabaster vases, found in the debris which filled the tomb itself and the adjacent shaft leading to the surface, bore the name of Ramesses II, and were naturally believed to date the contents of the tomb to the thirteenth century B. C. Moreover, several of the Phoenician letters in the Ahiiram inscription were so archaic in appearance that it seemed only natural to date them centuries before the Mesha Stone, at that time the oldest datable document in the North-Semitic alphabet. Since the Mesha Stone is fixed by Israelite synchronisms to about 835 B. C., a date for the Ahiiram sarcophagus in the thirteenth century did not seem unreasonable.

However, doubts began to be heard almost at once. When Dussaud issued the official publication of the Ahiiram inscription in 1924 he included a discussion of the epigraph of Abibaal, king of Byblus, which had been published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1903.² Before 1924 no scholar had been able to decipher the text satisfactorily, owing to the presence of an archaic *kaph*, which was then read as *shin* and dated much too late. The inscription had been incised on a large fragment of a statue of Shishak, first king of the Twenty-second

Dynasty, who reigned cir. 935-915 B. C.³ It now became clear that the Phoenician text must have been incised on the statue during the lifetime of Shishak, or immediately after the latter's death. The script of the Ahiiram and Abibaal inscriptions is so nearly identical that it no longer seemed quite so evident that the former dated at least three centuries before the latter.

In 1925 Dussaud published a torso belonging to a statue of Osorkon I (cir. 915-885 B. C.), son and successor of Shishak, three fragments of which had been known for several decades and had finally been acquired by the Louvre.⁴ Additional fragments of the same statue were excavated by Montet and Dunand at Byblus in the following years.⁵ This statue bore an inscription of Elibaal of Byblus, in the same archaic script, obviously almost contemporary with the statue itself. Dussaud's publication was followed by the discovery of other inscriptions in the same script, especially that of Yehimilk, king of Byblus, published by Dunand in 1930.⁶ None of these other inscriptions added anything to the solution of the chronological picture.

The present writer had meanwhile been lowering his date for Ahiiram from the twelfth century to

¹ On this inscription see the bibliography given by Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (1928), p. 238, n. 1, to which should be added especially Torrey, *JAOS* 45 (1925), 269 ff.; S. A. Cook, *Pal. Expl. Fund. Quar. State.*, 57 (1925), 210 ff.; Albright, *JPOS* 6 (1926), 76 ff.; S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, 12 (1927), 1-40; Lidzbarski, *Or. Lit.-zeit.*, 1927, cols. 453 ff. Reproductions of the text, with photographs, are given by Montet; Vincent, *Rev. Bib.*, 1925, 183 ff. and Pl. VIII; Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, Pl. I-IV, who gives by far the best.

² See *Syria*, V (1924), 145 ff., and for a bibliography of the inscription see Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 57; the latest treatment is by B. Maisler, *Leshonenu* 14 (1946), 174 f. For photographs see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, VI, 74 and Pl. II.

³ See *BASOR*, No. 100, 16 ff., for my dating of Rehoboam (cir. 922-915), on which the chronology of Shishak must rest, since the fifth year of the former fell not long before the 21st of the latter: i. e., Shishak's 21st year must be dated soon after 918/7 B. C.

⁴ See Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 54, for a bibliography; the text is published by Montet on Pl. XXXVI-XXXVII. Additional fragments of the statue were published by Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I (1939), 17 f., one containing a vital word of four letters.

⁵ Three fragments of the statue (one of which seems later to have been lost) were reported in 1881 in a private collection and two subsequently entered the Louvre; three were excavated by Montet and two were recovered by Dunand in the neighborhood.

⁶ See *Rev. Bib.*, 1930, 321 ff., and the official edition in *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 30 and Pl. XXXI.

about 1000 B.C. ("not later than cir. 975 B.C."), against strong opposition from most scholars.⁷ However, the discovery of alphabetic inscriptions from the thirteenth century B.C. at Lachish and elsewhere in Palestine made it increasingly clear that the script of these Byblian documents was much too developed to belong to that century. In 1942 the writer pointed out that the potsherds of Cypriote type which were found in the débris of the entrance shaft could not antedate the middle of the eleventh century.⁸ In 1943 Aimé-Giron independently dated the Ahiham sarcophagus in the tenth century,⁹ and in 1946 Maisler followed him in this reduction of the chronology.¹⁰ Finally, in April, 1946, Dunand reversed his earlier position after a detailed study of the sherds from the entrance shaft, and dated the sarcophagus about 1000 B.C.¹¹ There is, accordingly, at long last, general accord as to the date of this important monument.

In 1945 Dunand published a new royal inscription from Byblus, belonging this time to a king named Shipit-Ba'al, whom he dated provisionally in the sixteenth or seventeenth century B.C.¹²

⁷ See "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," *Studies in the History of Culture (Leland Anniversary Volume)*, 1942, pp. 34 f., n. 78, and the epigraphic discussion, *BASOR*, No. 92 (1943), 19. Spiegelberg and Lidzbarski had never accepted the high chronology of the excavators.

⁸ Cf. the preceding note. This argument holds, but it must be remembered that the middle of the eleventh century is a *terminus a quo*; the sherds may easily be half a century or even a century later. It must also be remembered that there seems to be something of a lag between the appearance of this pottery in Phoenicia (as controlled by Palestinian evidence) and its spread to Cyprus.

⁹ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1943, pp. 284 ff., quoted from Maisler, *op. cit.*, p. 178, n. 53.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹¹ *Byblia Grammata*, "Post-scriptum," pp. 197 ff. (circulated after publication of the book). His revision of previous views is based primarily on the finding of typical Iron-I pottery in some unexcavated débris in the shaft of the Ahiham tomb. His further view that the sarcophagus was usurped by Ittobaal for his father and that the carved representations on it are older than the latter is very tempting, though not yet demonstrable because of our lack of comparable Phoenician reliefs of known date.

¹² *Byblia Grammata*, Beyrouth, 1945, pp. 146 ff. The high date is based primarily on the context in which the 'Abda' sherd was discovered (p. 155), but since the sherd was not sealed in with these objects by a floor or layer of ashes and since the objects themselves do not

Since his reduction of the date of Ahiham by a quarter millennium, he would perhaps also lower this date by several centuries. Aside from the *beth*, all letters in this and a shorter inscription published at the same time have substantially the same form as in the other, previously published, royal inscriptions from Byblus. In 1946 both Maisler and the writer came out against Dunand's relative chronology, placing Shipit-Ba'al after the tenth-century group already established, not before it.¹³ The forms of letters are in a number of cases relatively late and the aberrant *beth* is probably an ephemeral cursive form, without influence on the development of the script as a whole.¹⁴ Maisler was inclined to lower the dates of these rulers either to the period 950-750 B.C. or to 1000-800 B.C.¹⁵ In the writer's judgment there is no need to date any of them after the beginning of the ninth century, and the group as a whole belongs to the tenth century; see below for details.

When the first documents of this category were published there was much less external evidence bearing on grammar, lexicography and spelling

seem to be very characteristic, the argument remains weak. To me the 'Abda' sherd looks like an object from Early Iron I (cf. also Maisler, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 f., though he inclines to a still later date, for which there is no evidence, in my opinion).

¹³ See Maisler, *op. cit.* (*Leshonenu*, 14, 166 ff.); the writer, *BASOR*, No. 102, 20, and 103, 14 f.

¹⁴ It is now certain that the peculiar quasi-cursive *aleph* of Ahiham is a local graphic peculiarity, which did not last long, since it is absent from both earlier and later inscriptions. The backward thrust of the bottom horizontal stroke of *beth* in Yehimilk and 'Abda' is also an ephemeral graphic fad, somewhat analogous to the backward thrust often found at the bottom of a cursive Hebrew *beth* of today (originating in ligatures, as pointed out to me by Julian Obermann). It cannot be used as an argument for an early date for these inscriptions relative to the others of our group, especially since other letters, such as *mem*, are distinctly later in type.

¹⁵ Maisler was led to lower his dates unduly for Shipit-Ba'al and the latter's immediate precursors by his insistence on the identification of the latter with the *Si-pi-it-ti-bi-i-il* who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III about 738 B.C. (or a little earlier). However, the name appears again in the fifth century as that of a king of Byblus, while it also appears among Canaanite names in the Amarna Letters from the early fourteenth century B.C. as *Sipi-Ba'al*. Moreover, the script of the late ninth and eighth century in Phoenicia and Syria is very well known, and no such archaisms appear in any Northwest-Semitic inscriptions belonging to the middle of the ninth century and later. There is, accordingly, no reason whatever to give up the secure synchronisms with early Bubastite Egypt.

than there is today. All scholars made numerous mistakes. No new material approaches in significance the mass of tablets from Ugarit (Ras esh-Shamrah), which will immensely facilitate all future investigation in the field of the early North-west-Semitic dialects.¹⁶ It is true that some scholars, including particularly Albrecht Goetze, have insisted on the autonomy of Ugaritic and have been inclined to minimize the relationship existing between Ugaritic and South Canaanite.¹⁷ Our observations on the inscriptions will bring out our own position.

I. INSCRIPTION ON THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AHIRAM (EARLY TENTH CENTURY B.C.).¹⁸

ארן . זפעל . [א]תבעל . בן אחרם . מלך נבל . לאחרם .
אבה . כש <ב>תוהו¹⁹ . בעלם . ואל . מלך . במלכם .
וסכן .

¹⁶ The number of verbal coincidences between Ugaritic and Byblian texts is very remarkable, as we shall see below. Of course, in judging them we must remember that the Ugaritic epics of Baal, Keret and Aqhat (Dan'el) were composed farther south, in Phoenicia proper, as is clear from the place-names and the divine names which they contain. I do not deny that their language has been modified somewhat by the Ugaritic dialect in which they are written, but this can hardly have been true of their vocabulary as a whole.

¹⁷ See especially Goetze, *Language*, 17 (1941), 127 ff. I have been intending for several years to reply in detail; for the present cf. my discussion of method in *Cath. Bib. Quar.*, 1945, 14-18.

¹⁸ In dealing with these inscriptions I shall not attempt to repeat what my precursors have established, except where it has been disregarded more recently; for details students must examine the literature on each inscription.

¹⁹ Hitherto the reading of the text, כשתה, has been accepted by all except Ronzevalle, who queried the final *he* and proposed כשתר (*op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.), which he equated with Heb. סתר, "place of concealment, shelter." However, if all remaining cases of *he* and *resh* are compared, it becomes clear that it is just as easy to complete the character above by filling out two horizontal strokes as it is to fill out the head of the *resh*, which would occupy the same position with reference to the surviving traces. Moreover, Ronzevalle's etymology is impossible phonetically. It is true that the verb *st* has now been well established for older Canaanite from Ugaritic, and that Friedrich's proposal to vocalize *ki šta-hu ba-ōlam* (i) (*Mélanges Dussaud*, I, 43, below), i.e., "when he put him in eternity (= the tomb)," remains possible. However, in view of the certain omission of a letter in the sixth word following ours and the highly probable omission of a whole word immediately afterwards, my proposed reading *ka-š(i)btūh(u)* = Heb. *ka-šibtō*, "as his dwelling," becomes almost certain, in my judgment. Both

בם <כ>גם . וחמא . מחנת . עלי <על> . נבל .
וינל . ארן .

זן . תחתם . חמר . משפחה . תחתם . כמא . מלכה .
ונחת . תברח . על . נבל . ווא . ימח ספרה . לפך .
שבל .²⁰

The coffin which ²² [It]tobaal, son of Ahiiram, king of Byblus, made for his father as his abode in eternity. And if ²³ any king or any governor

Hebrew and Ugaritic provide close analogies to this expression. Note especially the phrase in the prayer of Solomon, מכוֹן לְשִׁבְתְּךָ עוֹלָמִים, "a dais for thy dwelling (= enthronement) for ever" (I Kings 8:13 and II Chron. 6:2) and the phrase *ks'u šbtū(h)*, "throne of my abode (sitting)," etc., in Ugaritic literature (e.g., V AB, F: 15). Note Accad. *šubtu*, "dwelling," for **šibtu*.

²⁰ Since 1926 I have felt that the haplographical ellipsis of 'l must be assumed here, but it is the preposition, not the verb, which was accidentally omitted by the stone-cutter. There can no longer be any doubt that the spelling *עלי* is correct for the perfect of a verb *tertiar* *yodh* but false for the preposition. Final *yodh* appears in these tenth-century documents in the perfects בני (twice) and וְהִי, "he restored" (*pi'el*); cf. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 1936 (cited hereafter as *Grammar*), p. 45. Pronounce *banai*, etc.; the diphthong remained uncontracted because during the Late Bronze Age, when diphthongs were being contracted in Canaanite (Ugaritic, Amarna, most Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire), the final short vowel had not yet been elided and the form was pronounced *banaya*. The preposition appears as *על* in Ahiiram, Yehimilk, Abibaal and Shipit-Ba'al; see n. 43 for its occurrence in Eliabaal. Whether it was pronounced 'al or 'alē or both, as in Hebrew, we cannot say; in any case the original diphthong had been contracted in Late Bronze. "To go up against" is the normal Hebrew expression for "attack"; for the use of a perfect in the protasis and imperfects in the apodosis see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²¹, p. 519, § 159 n.

²¹ This word has been a stumbling block, but the reading *resh* for the second letter may be considered as almost certainly wrong after my discussion, JPOS VII, 122 ff., and especially after Ronzevalle's treatment (*loc. cit.*). On the other hand, my attempt to read מתבל must be ruled out completely, not only because of the epigraphic traces, but also because the evidence against the use of a preposition *min*, "from," in Canaanite increases constantly (see n. 42).

²² The relative translation is now certainly to be preferred to the demonstrative; see especially Friedrich, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I (1939), 39-47.

²³ The rendering "if" is now accepted by nearly all translators; the alternative identification with the Hebrew preposition 'el, "to," encounters very serious difficulties, since the preposition in question has not been found hitherto in either Ugaritic or Phoenician, and since the resulting syntax is very awkward. The explanation of the form is still uncertain; I adhere to my

or any army commander attacks Byblus and exposes²⁴ this coffin, let his judicial scepter be broken, let his royal throne be overthrown,²⁵ and let peace²⁶ flee from Byblus; and as for him, let a vagabond(?)²⁷ efface²⁸ his inscription(s)!

tentative identification of the word with Heb. 'aldai, "perhaps, if," which suits the context here exactly as it does in such passages as Gen. 18:24.

²⁴The form is a characteristic imperfect with *waw* consecutive, agreeing in tense with the previous perfect *וַיֵּלֶךְ*; here, then, we have the form which Harris missed (*Grammar*, p. 39). In this connection it may be added that the Nora text from the ninth century adds to the examples of the Phoenician perfect with *waw* consecutive cited by Harris (*BASOR*, No. 83, 19).

²⁵As has already been pointed out by several scholars (cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179) this passage agrees almost word for word with I AB, vi: 28 f., which forms the final cola of the tricolon *l-ys' alt tbt k l-yhpk ks'a mlkk lyfbr hf mtpsk* = "May he (El) tear out the pillars (?) of thy dwelling, || may he overturn the throne of thy kingship, || may he break thy judicial staff!" As Torrey and Ginsberg have pointed out, the Phoenician gender of the nouns is feminine, agreeing with Ugaritic and Accadian against Hebrew.

²⁶The meaning of the passage has been clear since 1927; cf. *JPOS* VII, 125. The word *nht* (i.e., *nōhāt* < *naubatu*), "peace," corresponds to Heb. *monāhah*, which has just this meaning, e.g., I Kings 8:56; it occurs as *nht* also in Ugaritic (V AB, D: 47 = Keret II, vi: 24), where *l-nht l-kht drkt* should be rendered "on the peaceful throne of authority," resolving the characteristic hendiadys.

²⁷The last two words have been an enigma ever since the publication of the text. The latest suggestion is Gaster's (*Iraq*, VI, 140, n. 222), reading *תכל*, "from the face of the earth," or the like. If it were not for the fact that my reading must be given up, as shown effectively by Ronzevalle (*loc. cit.*), I should be strongly inclined to accept it. *לפף* I derive directly from *lpp* (Aram., Accad., Arab. *lpp*, "to wind") in the sense of "wend (one's way)"; cf. also Arab. *liff*, *lafif*, "crowd, mob." The word *šbl* can scarcely be separated from Heb. *šobil*, Aram. *šblā*, Arab. *sabil*, "road, way," so *lōpēp šabil*, or the like, would mean "wayfarer, vagabond." It may be added that the word *šbl*, "road," is found in two Edomite (so!; cf. the independent conclusions of Noth, *Zeits. Deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*, 1938, 277-304, and myself, *Archiv f. Orientf.*, XII, 385 f.) names of places in the Shishak List, lines 73-76; one is *šblt Ngby(t)* (so!; the inserted *r* is vertical dittography), "Southern Roads," the other is *šblt Wrkyt*, "Northern Roads" (cf. Heb. *צפון*, "extreme north").

²⁸*Ymš* can only be jussive singular, *gal* or *nif'al*; indicative sing. and jussive plural would be written *ymhy*.

Ia. GRAFFITO ON THE SIDE OF THE TOMB SHAFT OF AHIRAM.

(1) לרעת . (2) הן ישר . (3) תחת זן

(1) Attention! (2) Behold, thou shalt come to grief³⁰ (3) below here!

II. INSCRIPTION OF YEHEMILK (MIDDLE OF TENTH CENTURY B. C.).

1. בת . זבני . יחמלק . מלך נבל
2. יה'את . חיו . כל . מפלת . הבתם
3. אל . יארך . בעלשמש . ובעל <ת>
4. נבל . ומפחת . אל נבל
5. קדשם . ימת . יחמלק . ושנתו
6. על נבל . כמלק . צדק . ומלך
7. ישר . לפן . אל נבל . קדשם

³⁰This reading was established by Vincent, *Rev. Bib.*, 1925, Pl. VIII, and p. 189, n. 1.

³¹Vincent's interpretation, *hmyd lk* from a supposed verb *ypd*, "look out for thyself!", is unparalleled linguistically. He should have adhered to his own combination with Heb. *pid*, "misfortune, ruin," which offers admirable sense; cf. the Arabic *fāda*, *yafādu*, *fauḍ*, "to die, dying, death," and *fā'ida*, "to suffer a stroke" (from *fu'ād* = Ugar. *p'ed*, "heart, etc."), *faiḍ*, "dying." Note also the possible Aramaic cognates *pod* (*paudā*, "error") and *pdd*, "to err, wander." The syntax is easy; note the frequent use of the impersonal construction with the masc. sing. passive in Arabic (Wright de Goeje, II, pp. 268 f., § 133) and with the intransitive or passive followed by *l* in Hebrew (König, *Lehrgebäude*, III, pp. 351 ff., §§ 323 f.), indicating a possible vocalization *yupād*.

³²I have no hesitation whatever in reading *he* instead of *zayin* here—the photographic reproduction in *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Pl. XXXI, 2 seems particularly clear, since the lower end of the vertical shaft of *he* appears on it distinctly. Since the *זאת* hitherto read here by all scholars is grammatically unintelligible, it must in any case be discarded. In favor of reading the emphatic demonstrative and personal pronoun ending in *t* here is the fact that the plural *hmt*, "they, them, those," Ugar. *hmt*, is common in Phoenician, and that the forms *hwt*, "he, him," and *hwt*, "she, her," have now been proved to exist in Ugaritic (Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, § 5. 10 f., p. 23). Previously these forms were known to exist in South Arabic (Sabaean *hwt* and *hwt*, whence Ethiopic *we'ētā* and *ye'ētā*, from **hūwatu* and **hiyati*, respectively), while parallel forms were known from Egyptian (*hwt* and **hyt* beside *hw* and *hy*) and Accadian (**hūwatu* and **hiyati* beside Old Accad. *su'a* and *si'a*). The alternation of *waw* and *aleph* in these forms is, of course, well illustrated by Arabic *huwa* and *hiya* beside Heb. Phoen. *hw* and *hy*. Phoenician thus possessed the following personal pronouns of the third person singular: masc. *hw*, fem. *hy*, emphatic masc. *hwat*, fem. *hiyat*.

³³Since no such deity as "Baal-Gebal" is otherwise

(1) The temple which Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built—(2) it was he who restored³³ the ruins of these temples. (3) May Baal-shamem³⁴ and Baal-(ath)-Gebal (4) and the assembly³⁵ of the holy gods of Byblus (5) prolong the days of Yehimilk and his years (6) over Byblus as a rightful king and a true (?) king³⁶ before the h[oly] gods of Byblus!³⁷

III. INSCRIPTION OF ABIBAAL ON STATUE OF SHISHAK (CIR. 925 B. C.).

1. [מש (?) וי] רבא . אבבעל . מלך גבל .
ביחמלך (?) .
2. מלך . גבל . במיצרם . לבעל נת . גבל .
ארתו . תארך .
בעלת . גבל . ימת . אבבעל . ושנתו . על גבל

known, while Baalath-Gebal appears repeatedly in these texts, we may rest assured that the omission of the final *tau* was a slip of the stone-cutter, presumably due to the fact that he had just carved the name *Ba'al-shamem*.

³³ On the meaning and etymology of this word (vocalized approximately *hawway* for old **hawwaya*) see *JBL*, 1944, 223, n. 108.

³⁴ *Ba'al-shamem*, "Lord of Heaven," is evidently the name of Baalath-Gebal's consort. The problem of this deity is far from settled; cf. most recently Eissfeldt, *Zeits. Alttest. Wiss.*, 1939, 1-30, and Levi della Vida, *JBL*, 1944, 1-9 (where on p. 6, n. 24, my remarks in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 72, have been misinterpreted).

³⁵ It has been pointed out by several scholars (cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179) that *mphrt 'l Gbl* is paralleled closely by Ugaritic *mphrt bn 'El*.

³⁶ It has not yet been observed that there is a striking verbal parallel between this passage, in which the abstract nouns *qdq* and *ydr* are successively combined with *mlk*, "king," and Keret I, i: 12 f.: *'aft qdq l-yypq mtrht ydrh* = "Let him find his rightful wife, [i] his true spouse."

³⁷ Note the length of the sentence in lines 3-7. There can be no doubt that Phoenician prose could be quite involved, though probably less so than the rhetorical prose of the Canaanites of the Bronze Age, whose case-endings and modal endings served to avert confusion. Note the extraordinary length of some sentences in the Prologue of the Code of Hammurabi. However, it is also to be observed that subordinate clauses, so familiar in Hebrew prose of the Deuteronomistic type (seventh-sixth centuries B. C. [cf. *BASOR*, No. 73, 21]), appear to be missing.

³⁸ The character before *aleph* is lost, except for the slanting stroke on its upper left, which Clermont-Ganneau's photograph shows to be drawn a little too far down in the line by Montet (*Rev. Bib.*, 1926, Pl. VI; *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 53). There is only one letter which this

(1) [The statue (?) which] Abibaal, king of [Byblus, son of Yehimilk (?), (2) king] of

stroke will fit, a *beth*. I do not, therefore, hesitate to restore *x-yb'* instead of the *yfn'* or *nb'* which have hitherto been popular (though neither *nun* nor *shin* fits the traces). The form *yb'* is causative perfect in Phoenician; the fact that this form has not yet been found in such an early text is doubtless accidental. The meaning of Heb. *hēbī'*, "he caused to come, he brought," fits perfectly into the text; see n. 40.

³⁹ Abibaal may have been an older brother of Elibaal, or possibly a younger brother of Yehimilk; other possibilities are naturally not excluded. For the correct explanation of the previously enigmatical [] ביי in the Elibaal inscription as "son of Yehimilk" see the discussion by Maisler, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f. The phonetic reduction of *ben*, "son," to *b* occurs also in the cuneiform alphabetic inscription from about the thirteenth century B. C. published by Yeivin (cf. *BASOR*, No. 99, p. 21) and in the two recently published Byblian inscriptions (our Nos. V and Va); Maisler has gone too far in the enthusiasm of discovery in making further identifications, but I am very much impressed with his Phoenician (!) source for the name *Bidgar* in *Bindikiri*, which occurs with other Phoenician names in an Assyrian tablet of the seventh century. As H. L. Ginsberg has correctly pointed out, *a* remains unassimilated before laryngeals.

⁴⁰ This reading seems certain to me, despite Maisler's objections (*loc. cit.*). The traces in Clermont-Ganneau's photograph of the squeeze are indeed rather wide for a narrow character, but they are much too narrow for two characters; *šade* is in fact the widest archaic Phoenician character, as a rule. Moreover, the horizontal traces at the right agree only with the horizontal strokes in the tenth-century *šade*, for which cf. the arrow-head of Ruweisah (Guigues and Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, 1926, 325-338) and the Gezer Calendar (cf. *BASOR*, No. 92, 20). In fact, all that is missing is the short vertical stroke at the left, which may be present, but is not clear in the photograph. Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, Montet and their successors are thus correct in reading *Misrēm*. The only personal name containing the consonants *M...rm* known to me is *Mūkirām* (*Mal-kirām*), but the traces preclude any such reading.

⁴¹ This word is not to be read *'adotto* (or the like), as supposed hitherto, but unquestionably *'adottew* (or the like), corresponding to the Hebrew masculine *'adōnāw* (older *'adōnēw* [*BASOR*, No. 92, 22, n. 27]), "his lord." In Hebrew the masculine appears (except in the case of *'adōnī*, "my lord," which was evidently used in addressing men in order to obviate any confusion with *'adōnāi* as an appellation of Yahweh) nearly always (virtually always with pronominal suffixes) as an honorific plural (*pluralis majestatis*) applied both to God and to men. We should, therefore, expect the same usage where the feminine form of the word is applied to a goddess. However, just as in Hebrew we find the masculine singular used with the first person in Punic *donni*, "my lord" (Plautus); the derived Greek *Adōnos* is phonetically somewhat obscure. The suffixed *waaw* is used exactly as in שנתו, "his years."

Byblus, [br]ought from⁴² Egypt for Baal[ath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong the days of Abibaal and his years] over Byblus!

IV. INSCRIPTION OF ELIBAAL ON STATUE OF OSORKON I (CIR. 915 B.C.).

1. וּמִשִּׁי . זַפְעֵל . אֶלְבַּעַל . מֶלֶךְ . גְּבַל . בִּיחַמְלֶךְ .
מֶלֶךְ . גְּבַל
2. [לִבְ]עֵלֶת . גְּבַל . אֶדְתּוֹ . תֹּאדֶךְ . בַּעֲלַת [גְּבַל]
3. [יִמֵּת . אֶ]לְבַּעַל . וּשְׁנָתּוֹ . עַל⁴³ [גְּבַל]

(1) 'The statue¹ which Elibaal, king of Byblus, son of Yehi[milk, king of Byblus,] made (2) [for Ba]alath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath[-Gebal] prolong (3) [the days of E]libaal and his years over [Byblus]!

V. INSCRIPTION OF SHIPIT-BA'AL (END OF TENTH CENTURY B.C.).

1. קָר . זַבְנִי . שַׁמְבַּעַל . מֶלֶךְ
2. גְּבַל . בֶּן אֶלְבַּעַל . מֶלֶךְ . גְּבַל
3. בִּיחַמְלֶךְ . מֶלֶךְ . גְּבַל . לְבַעֲלַת
4. גְּבַל . אֶדְתּוֹ . תֹּאדֶךְ . בַּעֲלַת גְּבַל
5. יִמֵּת . שַׁמְבַּעַל . וּשְׁנָתּוֹ . עַל . גְּבַל

(1) The wall which Shipit-Ba'al, king of (2) Byblus, son of Elibaal, king of Byblus, (3) son of Yehimilk, king of Byblus, built for Baalath-(4) Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong (5) the days of Shipit-Ba'al and his years over Byblus!

⁴² The preposition *b* was regularly used in the sense of "from" both in Ugaritic and in Phoenician. For Phoenician examples cf., e.g., *ואל יעמסן במשכב ז עלת*, "משכב שני", "and let it not be removed from this resting-place to another resting-place" (Eshmun'azar, lines 5 f., 7 f.) and *נגריש האדם הא ... כשרדן* (ninth-century inscription from Nora in Sardinia; *BASOR*, No. 83, 19), "[That ma]n (shall) be banished [] from Sardinia." Heb. *min*, "from," is not attested in Phoenician any more than in Ugaritic; the parallel example, *מנמ*, in the Carthage Tariff (CIS 167:6) is unquestionably the indefinite pronoun *mam*, common in both Ugaritic and Phoenician; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, 1934, 250, 1935, 182. The few remaining instances (cf. Harris, *Grammar*, p. 120) may easily reflect assimilated or dissimilated forms of *b*, since they always precede two nasals and a labial. They may also reflect dialectal usage.

⁴³ Some scholars have read *עלי* [גְּבַל], but the sloping stroke after *lamedh* can only belong to *gimel*—certainly not to *yodh*; see Mortet's photograph and drawing.

Va. INSCRIPTION OF 'ABDA' (ABOUT 900 B.C.).⁴⁴

[ל] וְעִזְרָא . בְּכַלְבִּי . תִּזְרִי [צַר]

[Belonging to] 'Abda', son of Kalbai,⁴⁵ the p[otter].

VI. INSCRIPTION ON A BRONZE SPATULA (ABOUT 1000 B.C.).⁴⁶

[י] . לְעִזְרָא בַּעֲלֵי
תִשְׁעִים . שְׁלֹם . [י] סָג
נִשְׁבַּת . אִם נָחַל
תִּנְחַל . מִנְשֶׁתָּךְ⁴⁷
עֶלְךָ . וּמִנְשֶׁתָּ
לִי⁴⁸

(1) []ay (says) to 'Izri-Ba'al, (2) Dost thou seek (?) reconciliation? Withdraw, (3) let us

⁴⁴ See Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*, pp. 152 ff. My reading agrees with his, except that I prefix a *lamedh*, in accordance with the analogy of similar Palestinian vase inscriptions; cf. Maisler, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁴⁵ For *b* instead of the full *בן*, "son of," cf. n. 39. The name *Klbai* appears also in the Ugaritic texts; on it cf. *BASOR*, No. 82, 47, n. 26.

⁴⁶ For the literature on this spatula see my latest study, *BASOR*, No. 90, 35-37, Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*, pp. 155-7, and Torczyner, *Leshonenu*, XIV (1946), 158-165. My reading remains unchanged since my last previous study of the text in 1943 except for giving up the *a* in line 2, in accordance with the traces; there is insufficient space for any letter, so we must probably restore a stroke of separation.

⁴⁷ This cannot be *pe* with Dunand and Torczyner, since all hitherto published examples of tenth-century *pe* are rounded, most of them achieving an arc or even a semi-circular appearance. The angular *pe* noted by Dunand in his table (*Byblia Grammata*, p. 160) is actually rounded; cf. his photograph, *ibid.*, Plate XVIa, line 1, and note that its stance is as different as possible from that of the supposed *pe* on the spatula. The supposed *pe* of the spatula is identical in form with the two examples of *gimel* in lines 4 and 5; moreover, this same form of *gimel* appears also in Ahiiram (several times, a little more vertical in stance) and elsewhere (e.g., Shipit-Ba'al, line 4, end (sloping slightly to the left instead of the right)).

⁴⁸ Almost certainly plural; cf. my remarks, *ibid.*, p. 36, n. 9.

⁴⁹ Dunand supplies initial 'ayin, reading *עלי* [י], but there is no trace of it either in his photograph or his hand-copy; moreover, the *lamedh* is so far (relatively speaking) to the right of the *lamedh* in the previous line as to leave no room for it. Torczyner reads it as though there were no question about the reading. In my opinion the context virtually excludes it.

settle (our case)!⁵⁰ If thou dost truly (4) inherit (the property), thy offering(s) (5) shall be incumbent upon thee, but my offering(s) (6) shall belong to me.

The latest translation, following previous ones by Dunand, Obermann and the writer, has been proposed by Torczyner, who interprets the text as follows:⁵¹

(1) What is incumbent upon me (to pay) 'Azar-Ba'al (2) is 90 (shekels)—pay the silver⁵² (3) (which) thou hast taken⁵³ (borrowed)! If thou dost truly (4) inherit (my portion also of the inheritance), thou shalt pay (as compensation the money which thou hast taken) from⁵⁴ (the yield up to the present of) thy flax (fields which thou hast inherited); (5) and from (the yield of the) flax (fields which belong to my inheritance, which thou dost acquire from me now, shalt thou pay the debt) (6) which is incumbent upon me!⁵⁵ (In other words, this shall be the price of the inheritance which thou art now acquiring from me.)

These tenth-century inscriptions have two particularly significant aspects: (1) the light which they shed on the question of Ugaritic-Phoenician relationship; (2) the light which falls from them on the orthography of Hebrew.

As pointed out repeatedly above, there are many similarities in language between Phoenician and Ugaritic. Since Byblus is only about 100 miles in a straight line from Ugarit, and since only some four centuries separate the two groups of inscriptions, this is to be expected. If the opinion of

most Ugaritic scholars, that Ugaritic is a Canaanite dialect, is right, the close relationship between them would be inevitable. Illustrations of verbal similarity have been given above, in notes 19, 25, 26, 31, 35, 36, 48, etc. Among the most striking parallels of grammatical significance are the new pronoun *h't* = Ugar. *hwt*, the use of *b* instead of *min* in the sense of "from" in both, the use of the *ifte'al* in both, the feminine gender of the words for "scepter" and "throne," against Hebrew usage; Ginsberg, Gordon and others have pointed out other parallels from later Phoenician inscriptions.⁵⁶ One which should be emphasized strongly is the fact that both employ *bl*, not *l*, for negation.⁵⁷ Of course, the Canaanite of the Amarna letters from Byblus resembles Ugaritic still more closely, since they are contemporary instead of being separated by four centuries or more.

The spelling of the tenth-century inscriptions from Byblus is just as phonetic as that of the Canaanite stele of Kilamuwa, from the latter part of the ninth century, but it is more archaic in several respects. E.g., the final *yodh* of perfect *tertiar-infirmar* verbs is no longer written in the third person masculine singular in Kilamuwa, while the pronominal suffix of the third person singular is no longer *he*, but *yodh*, in Kilamuwa, just as in all later Phoenician inscriptions except apparently the royal Byblian inscriptions from the sixth-fourth century (Shipit-Ba'al III,⁵⁸ Yehawmilk,⁵⁹ Bat-no'am⁶⁰). It is not yet certain whether Harris is right in assuming a special Byblian dialect (*Grammar*, p. 51) or whether I was correct in treating these forms as archaizing (*JAOS* 60, 420). In any case some revision of current assumptions with regard to the suffixed pronominal elements is necessary. It is a mistake to suppose that the late Byblian inscriptions indicate the suffix of the first person singular by *yodh*, except in the case of 'ל and 'ל', both of which can be explained as historical survivals from the beginning of the first millennium, in which the *yodh* still appears with

⁵⁰ This passage vividly illustrates Prov. 18:18; the word *gābūt* is used there in exactly the same sense as I attribute to it here: "(the lot) settles (legal strife)." For details see my discussion, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹ The following English paraphrase is based on Torczyner's vocalized text and Hebrew paraphrase on p. 165 of his paper. I know of no ancient legal documents where so much must be read into the text to make sense.

⁵² Reading 'אזר[בא]ל; see n. 47.

⁵³ Deriving *nšbt* from the verb which appears as *nšb*, "take, bring," in Aramaic. This is possible only if the Syriac verb corresponds to a Hebrew **nšb* and to Arab. *nšb* (with Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, *ad voc.*), but not if the Aramaic corresponds to Arab. *nšb*, as I strongly suspect.

⁵⁴ The improbability of treating the initial *mem* as the preposition will be seen from n. 42.

⁵⁵ Reading 'ל[ג]; cf. n. 49.

⁵⁶ Cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179 f.; Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, pp. 88 ff.

⁵⁷ Against Obermann, *JBL*, 1946, 233-248.

⁵⁸ See Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 31 f.

⁵⁹ See most recently, utilizing an additional fragment from Byblus, Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, V, 57-85.

⁶⁰ See most recently Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 31.

genitives, just as in Ugaritic. Yehaw-milk twice employs קל for qôlî, "my voice," where the noun is unquestionably singular. On the other hand, we find in these texts עצמי, "my bones," and רבתי, i. e., *rabbôtai*, or the like, not *rabbatî*, "my lady"; for the *pluralis majestatis* see above, n. 41. Moreover, לפני and עלי both follow the plural pattern, just as in Hebrew. All cases of affixed *waw* in the late Byblian inscriptions represent the third-person masculine singular suffix with plural nouns (e. g., שנתו, יטו), except possibly in the case of זרעו, where Hebrew parallels suggest a singular noun; however, this is not certain, and in view of cases like קל and ען for 'ênê, I find it hard to believe that the form was pronounced *zar'ô*, as in Hebrew. In all these instances, except possibly the last, we have full agreement with Byblian practice in the tenth century, a fact which appears to weight the balance in favor of my theory of archaistic spelling.

In view of the completely phonetic consonantism of the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, which was doubtless shared by the orthography of the Phoenicians in general at that time, it seems to me highly improbable that the Israelite orthography of the tenth century was any less phonetic, since the cultural influence of Phoenicia on Israel was demonstrably at its height then. In fact my studies of the Gezer Calendar⁶¹ and the Oracles of Balaam,⁶² confirmed subsequently by examination of such tenth-century texts as II Sam. 22 — Psalm 18, have fully confirmed this expectation. Naturally, owing to minor differences between

Phoenician and Hebrew morphology, one cannot expect entire agreement in the consonantal spelling.

In conclusion I append a summary list of the kings of Byblus known to have flourished after cir. 1100 B. C.

Zakar-Ba'al	c. 1075 B. C.
Ahram	c. 1000
Ittobaal (son of Ahram)	c. 975
Yehimilk	c. 950
Abibaal (son of Yehimilk?)	c. 930
Elibaal (son of Yehimilk)	c. 920
Shipit-Ba'al I (son of Elibaal)	c. 900
Shipit-Ba'al II (Sipitti-bi'il)	c. 740
Ormilk I (Uru-milki)	701
Milk-asap (Milki-asapa)	c. 670
Shipit-Ba'al III ⁶³	c. 500 ?
Ormilk II	
Yihar-Ba'al (son of Ormilk II) ⁶⁴	
Yehaw-milk (son of Yihar-Ba'al)	c. 450 ?
El-pa'al ⁶⁵	c. 360
Ozi-Ba'al	348
Addir-milk	c. 340
Ayyin-El	333

⁶¹ Cf. n. 58.

⁶² See Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, V, 75.

⁶³ For these kings see most recently Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 407 ff.

⁶¹ *BASOR*, No. 92, 16-26.

⁶² *JBL*, 1944, 207-233.