

ARAMAIC PAPYRI
OF THE
FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

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ARAMAIC PAPYRI

OF THE

FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

EDITED, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

BY

A. COWLEY

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P R E F A C E

NO apology need be made for re-editing these texts, for every fresh examination sheds fresh light on them, and in spite of the very extensive literature to which they have given rise, much still remains to be done. Moreover, it is obviously convenient to have them all collected in one volume and arranged as far as may be chronologically. Professor Şachau himself suggested to me in 1912 that we should collaborate on a new edition, and in 1913, with this object in view, I began to make a careful study of the facsimiles and of the articles and reviews which had appeared up to that time. During the war I continued the work, with many interruptions, as far as the anxieties of the time allowed. It no doubt shows many inconsistencies for that reason. I had originally intended going to Cairo and Berlin when the work was more advanced, to verify some of the readings on the originals, and to discuss difficulties with Professor Sachau. As this was impracticable, the present edition has been finished without that advantage. Fortunately, however, the previous editions contain such excellent facsimiles of all the texts (except nos. 79, 80, 83) that it was possible to work on them with confidence. and it was unnecessary to re-issue facsimiles with this volume.

As a first result of the revision of the texts, I published in 1919 translations of thirty-six of the most important of them, together with the 'Words of Aḥikar' and the fragments of a version of the Behistun inscription (*Jewish Documents of the time of Ezra*, London, SPCK., 1919). The present volume contains the Aramaic texts from which these translations were made, together with others, and a commentary in support of

the readings and interpretations adopted. Consideration of expense has obliged me to restrict the commentary so that many interesting questions have been left undiscussed. Further treatment of many of these will, however, be found in the special articles to which reference is made.

I acknowledge gratefully the help obtained from Sachau's original edition, and from Ungnad's small edition, though often differing from both of them. I also wish to thank Mr. F. Ll. Griffith for help in matters relating to Egypt, Professor Langdon and Mr. G. R. Driver for help in Assyriological questions, and the staff of the Clarendon Press for the care they have bestowed on the production of the book.

A. COWLEY.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,

January, 1923.

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LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

The following are some of the books and articles which have been consulted, besides those mentioned in the notes :

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INTRODUCTION

THE present volume comprises all the legible pre-Christian Aramaic papyri known to me.¹ The best preserved and the most important are nos. 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13-15, 20, 25, 28, published by Sayce and Cowley in *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906); no. 27 published by Euting in *Mémoires présentés . . . à l'Académie des Inscriptions* (Paris, 1903); and many of those published by Sachau in *Aramäische Papyri . . .* (Leipzig, 1911). The rest are fragments from Sachau, some much mutilated texts from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* ii, 1, two others published by me in *PSBA* 1907, p. 263 (with notes by Sayce), and 1915, p. 217, and one fragment of accounts, not previously published, which was brought to my notice by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith, in the Harrow School museum.² The genuineness of the papyri published by Sayce-Cowley and Sachau has been questioned³ on the ground that the double dates in some of them do not seem to be consistent. I do not propose to deal with the dates, because they have been discussed by such competent authorities as Mr. Knobel,⁴ Dr. Fotheringham,⁵ and Dr. Smyly,⁶ and the possible errors are not a sufficient ground for condemning the texts. A more serious attack has been made by Prof. Margoliouth,⁷ whose opinion deserves every consideration. His arguments however have not gained acceptance, and a careful study

¹ For a bibliography of the texts known up to 1906 see Seymour de Ricci in Sayce and Cowley, p. 25. Some post-Christian pieces were published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvi (1903), p. 1.

² The late Mr. B. P. Lascelles kindly procured photographs of this for me.

³ By L. Belléli in *An Independent Examination . . .* 1909, and by G. Jahn in *Die Elephantiner Papyri*, 1913; reviewed by Rothstein in *ZDMG* 1913, p. 718, to whom Jahn replied in *ZDMG* 1914, p. 142.

⁴ *Monthly Notices of the R. Astron. Soc.*, March 1908, p. 334, and Nov. 1908, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 1908, p. 12; March 1909, p. 446; June 1911, p. 661, against Ginzel's *Handbuch der . . . Chronologie* ii (1911), p. 45.

⁶ *Proc. R. Irish Academy* 1909, C, p. 235.

⁷ *Expositor* 1912, p. 69.

of the texts will furnish the unprejudiced reader with answers to them.

The collection consists of letters, legal documents, lists of names, accounts, and three literary pieces. Some of these are complete, others are more or less fragmentary. A large proportion of them are dated, unmistakably, and these have been arranged here chronologically, so as to form an historical sequence. In many cases the date is given both in the Egyptian and the Jewish reckoning, and there may be errors in these equations (see above, p. xiii). Some texts which are not dated can be fitted into the sequence from their contents: others, which give no certain clue as to date, are put at the end. The dated texts cover practically the whole of the fifth century B.C., and on palaeographical grounds the undated texts (with a few exceptions) may be assigned to the same century. They thus confirm the brilliant discovery of Mr. Clermont-Ganneau¹ that the similar texts in the *CIS* (which were all he had to go upon) belong to the period of the Persian rule in Egypt. The exceptions are nos. 81-83, in a much later style of writing. Since, however, it is unlikely that Aramaic continued in popular use in Egypt long after the time of Alexander the Great, we may with some confidence date these before or about 300 B.C.

The interest of documents such as these is that they are contemporary with the events to which they relate. They present therefore a trustworthy picture of their surroundings, not distorted by lapse of time, nor obscured by textual corruption. These particular documents have the additional interest that they were written by Jews. They are therefore the earliest Jewish texts we possess, with the exception of the Siloam inscription and the ostraka from Samaria, and (with those exceptions) the only Jewish literature of so early a date, outside the Old Testament. The literary pieces, it is true, are evidently of non-Jewish origin, but they show nevertheless the kind of literature which was current in the community. And their interest consists not only in what they say but in what they omit: in

¹ 'Origine perse des monuments araméens d'Égypte', in the *Rev. Archéol.* New Series 36 (1878), p. 93, and 37 (1879), p. 21.

the light they give and in the darkness in which they leave us (see below).

The language in which they are written is Aramaic, the same (with some reservations) as that of parts of the book of Ezra. Though there are Hebraisms in it and the names are Hebrew, there is no document in Hebrew, nor any direct evidence that Hebrew was used by the community for any purpose. (But see p. 119). As long as the Oriental empires continued to dominate the civilized world, Aramaic was the language of commerce and diplomacy, succeeded in Ptolemaic times by Greek. We have proof of its use in Assyria in the 'dockets' written in ink on the edge of cuneiform tablets as early as the seventh century B.C.¹ It was no doubt used even earlier, since Babylonian sculptures show scribes writing on scrolls, which would not be used for cuneiform, and it was not used only by Jews, nor (in this community) because it was in any sense a Jewish language. Assurbanipal had Aramaean scribes in his employ, Darius apparently sent abroad an Aramaic version of his great inscription at Behistun, and (in no. 26) a Persian satrap sends his orders to an Egyptian boat-builder in Aramaic.² It was evidently also an official language in the law-courts. It was only in Egypt, however, that papyrus could survive. Early documents on any such material inevitably perished in the climate of Mesopotamia or Palestine. In Egypt Aramaic probably gave way to Greek by about 300 B.C. In the East it continued, gradually becoming more corrupt, among the Jewish schools down to mediaeval times, and in some Christian communities to the present day.

The authors of most of these texts were Jews if names mean anything — not Samaritans, as argued by Hoonacker³ — nor Israelites. They call themselves יהודיא 'the Jews', and their community הילא יהודיא 'the Jewish force'. Sometimes the term ארמי is used, but no other designation is found, and the name

¹ See Clay, 'Aramaic Indorsements', in *O. T. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (1908), p. 285, and Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméens*, 1912, &c.

² In Ezra 6² the official record of the decree of Cyrus was on a מגלה (a scroll) which probably implies Aramaic writing.

³ In his Schweich Lectures for 1914 (*Une Communauté Judéo-Araméenne . . .*, London, 1915).

x Israel does not occur. These Jews seem to have been domiciled specially in Elephantine. Other western Asiatics were settled in Syene under the general name Aramaean. But 'Aramaean' might also include Jews,¹ so that we sometimes find a man described in one place (correctly) as a Jew of Elephantine, and in another (more loosely) as an Aramaean of Syene when he had in some way become connected with that station. Three times (25², &c.) we find an 'Aramaean of Elephantine', where the man is evidently a Jew, but the description may be due to mere carelessness. See on 5².

How did they get there? The Jewish force, or garrison, can only have been a military settlement, and there was no doubt likewise an Aramaean garrison at Syene. They were therefore mercenaries in the employment of the Persian king. This is corroborated by several indications. They were divided into רגל 'companies' or 'regiments', each bearing a name, Babylonian or Persian, probably that of the commander.² Another division was מאתא 'centuria' (22^{19.20}), but whether larger or, more probably, smaller than the *degel* is not clear. They were under the supreme command of the רבחילא 'commander of the garrison', and they received rations (פתפא, see e.g. 24³⁹) and pay (פרס 11⁶, &c.) from the government.

The writer of the Letter of Aristeas mentions (§ 13) that Psammetichus used Jewish mercenaries in his campaign against Ethiopia. If this means Psammetichus ii (cf. Herodotus ii, 30) their employment would have begun between 595 and 590 B.C.—therefore just before the fall of Jerusalem and the beginning of the Exile. They were afterwards apparently put in charge of the fortresses of Elephantine and Syene as a defence of the southern frontier of Egypt against Ethiopia, for when Cambyses came into Egypt, in 525, they were already settled in Elephantine (30¹³). With the passing of the government of Egypt, these mercenaries must also have passed under Persian control.

When these papyri begin, early in the fifth century, the colony, while retaining its military organization, had become a settled community. Its members could buy and sell land and houses,

¹ Cf. Deut. 26⁶ ארמי אבר אבי.

² But see note on רגל[ית] 28², and on רגל, 5².

they engaged in trade, they could go to law before the civil courts and they held civil posts under government. Moreover they had their wives and families, and the women could hold property and take legal action in their own right, and were even reckoned as belonging to the *degel*, whether through their relation to the men, or independently, does not appear. We have thus the outline of a picture of a Jewish community, its life and manners, in the fifth (and sixth) century B.C., which is the more valuable because it is not an intentional description, and therefore need not be discounted as *tendencieux*. *who were they? what?*

They lived on equal terms with the Egyptians, transacted business with people of various races, intermarried,¹ and sometimes bore alien names (cf. OT names in -baal). But they aroused anti-Jewish feeling, and suffered violence which they ascribed, as always, and probably with as little reason then as now, to hatred of their religion. No doubt their animal sacrifices offended Egyptian susceptibilities, but much is also to be ascribed to natural suspicion of a community with customs differing from those of its neighbours, holding aloof from the common pursuits of its fellow-citizens, and showing contempt or hostility to everything outside itself. The great pogrom described in nos. 27, 30-34 may have brought the colony to an end.

The internal affairs of the community were directed by a head-man with 'his colleagues the priests', very much as at the present day by the chief rabbi and his beth-din. In the latter part of the fifth century the chief man was Yedoniah b. Gemariah. It was to him that the edict of Darius (no. 21) was addressed in 419; it was he who received the contributions to the temple funds (22^{120.121}) in the same year; it was he who drew up the petition to the governor of Judaea (no. 30) in 408, and a similar petition (no. 33) about the same time, and he was one of the notable prisoners mentioned in no. 34 about 407 B.C. Whether he was a priest is not certain, but it is probable on general grounds, and also from his connexion with religious affairs (21, 22). At any rate he was politically recognized by the Persian government.

¹ But cf. introduction to no. 14.

But to most students of this dark period the papyri will be chiefly valuable for the indications they give as to the state of Jewish religion in the colony. It would no doubt be still more interesting to have similar documents relating to Jerusalem in the fifth century, or indeed any early century, but the state of things in the colony may to some extent be taken to represent what had been in Judaea before the days of Ezra. The colonists were not better than their fathers—nor perhaps much worse. To begin with, they regarded themselves as specially devoted to the worship of the national God, whom they call יהו. This name, as I have argued elsewhere,¹ is not an abbreviation of יהוה, but an earlier form, and only another way of writing the earliest form יו. As the ה seems to be a mere vowel-sign, or perhaps *hamza*, I have adopted here the transliteration *Ya'u*, as an approximate pronunciation, rather than the customary *Yahu* or *Yeho*, which are no forms. He is generally called, between Jews, simply 'Ya'u the God' (13¹⁴, 22¹, 25⁶); in dealings with Persians, 'the God of heaven' or 'Ya'u the God of heaven' (30^{2.15.27} [but cf. 30^{6.24.26}], 32³ [but cf. 33⁸]), and often in letters. Yet we also find other gods mentioned besides Ya'u. The most explicit case of this is in 22¹²³⁻¹²⁵ where the temple-fund is to be divided between Ya'u and 'Anathbethel in nearly equal shares, and Ishumbethel who receives much less. In the law-courts they swear usually by Ya'u, but in 44³ an oath is recorded 'by the temple and by 'Anathya'u', and in 7⁷ a man is challenged to swear 'by Herembethel the god'. There are also personal names like Heremnathan and Bethelnathan (18⁴), formed like the orthodox Jonathan and Elnathan. Whether other gods were recognized besides these, whether these were all distinct or e.g. 'Anathbethel was the same as 'Anathya'u, what was the meaning of the various compounds, and what relation the different divinities bore to one another, the evidence does not show. It would seem that besides Ya'u they recognized 'Anath, Bethel, Ishum and Herem. There may have been others, but it is at least a coincidence that we have the names of five gods and that there were five gates to the temple (30⁶).

¹ *JRAS* 1920, p. 175.

Of these names 'Anath is known as that of a goddess in Syria and elsewhere, so that it has been suggested that 'Anathya'u was intended as a consort of Ya'u—the Queen of heaven (Jer. 44¹⁷), as He was the God of heaven. Bethel has long been recognized as an early Canaanite god (cf. Gen. 31¹³). These two therefore may well have been brought by the colonists with them from Judaea. It was not a case of falling away from a monotheistic ideal, but a continuation of the pre-exilic popular beliefs. Ishum (if that is the pronunciation of אִשׁוּם) may be the Babylonian demon of that name, but it is also worth while to remember the persistent tradition that the Samaritans worshipped a divinity called Ashima, to whom it has been thought reference is made in Amos 8¹⁴ by a play on the word אִשְׁמָה. If this was true in the time of Amos, the tradition continued long after it had ceased to be so, perhaps encouraged by the later Samaritan pronunciation of שְׁמָה 'the name' (which they still read instead of יְהוָה) as *ashma*.¹ Lidzbarski also cites² from a late Syrian-Greek inscription a god *Συμβέτυλος*, whose name looks very like Ishumbethel. Thus it seems probable that a god אִשׁוּם was worshipped in Syria and was brought by the colonists to Egypt with the others.

As to Herem I have no suggestion to make.

Since these five gods are mentioned by name, there can be no question that the word אֱלֹהִים used in these texts, and sometimes as subject to a verb in the plural, is to be taken as 'gods' and not as God (אֱלֹהִים) on the analogy of Hebrew. It is most often found in the beginnings of letters: note especially 39¹, and oddly enough 21² in the edict about the Passover, from one Jew to another. Further, in one place (14⁵) a Jewess swears by Sati the Egyptian goddess, in a transaction with an Egyptian.

It is thus evident that the description in Jeremiah (44^{5,8} &c.) of the religious practices of the Jews in Egypt in his time is in the main corroborated by what we find in these texts a century later, and the explanation is supplied by Jeremiah himself (44¹⁷). It was no new heresy that they invented for themselves—people do not invent much—but they did 'as we have done, we and our fathers . . . in the cities of Judah.' They took with them in all

¹ See Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy* (1909), p. xli.

² *Ephemeris* iii (1912), p. 247.

sincerity the old religion of pre-exilic Judah, and continued to practise it after the exile (and Ezra) had made it impossible in the mother-country. Thus, as a picture not only of their own time but also of pre-exilic Judaism—the religion against which all the prophets protested—these papyri are specially instructive.

Yet the national God was Ya'u. Whatever may have been their doctrine as to his relation to the other gods, there is no sort of doubt that he was pre-eminent. It was to him that the temple belonged, although it seems that other gods were also worshipped there. The temple of Elephantine was not a mere synagogue, but a considerable building, with an altar and all the appurtenances of sacrifice (30⁹⁻¹²). It is called אגרתא (meeting-place?) and מטרתא (place of worship), and is first mentioned (13¹⁴) in 447. But it had been in existence at least as early as 525 (30¹³⁻¹⁴). This is a very surprising fact, quite contrary to the law of Deuteronomy (12^{5,6} &c.). The case of the Onias-temple, built at Leontopolis about 154 B.C., was on an altogether different footing. That was definitely schismatic, and in whatever way the supporters of it might defend their action, they knew at least that it required defence. The colonists of Elephantine had no such misgivings. After their temple was destroyed in a riot of the Egyptians (in 411), they sent a petition to the High Priest at Jerusalem, asking for help to rebuild it. When this was disregarded (30^{18,19}), they appealed to the Persian governor at Jerusalem. There is no hint of any suspicion that the temple could be considered heretical, and they would surely not have appealed to the High Priest at Jerusalem if they had felt any doubt about it. On the contrary they give the impression of being proud of having a temple of their own, and as pious devotees of Ya'u (no other god is mentioned in the petition) seriously distressed at the loss of religious opportunities caused by its destruction.

The explanation seems to be that in this respect, as in the worship of strange gods, their practice was a continuation of that of pre-exilic Judaism. It is now generally held that the book of Deuteronomy was first promulgated under Josiah (about 621 B.C.). Previously, as we learn from e. g. the books of Samuel,

sacrifice was habitually offered at various places, and indeed until the reign of Solomon no temple existed at Jerusalem¹ to mark it out as the place which the Lord had chosen. It cannot be supposed that the book of Deuteronomy was at once accepted everywhere, even in Judaea, or that it at once put a stop to popular practices which it condemned. Still less should we expect these colonists if they left the country soon afterwards, or perhaps were already abroad, to feel bound by the new and stricter enactments. The exile followed in 588, breaking all continuity, and Judaea was left without religious direction. We need not wonder then that in the complete collapse of religious institutions, the colonists, deprived of any central authority and despairing of its restoration, decided to work out their own salvation and naturally on the lines with which they were familiar. What was their attitude towards the changes in Judaea, or whether they knew of them, we cannot tell. They may even have taken the view of Rabshakeh (2 Ki. 18²²; cf. Elijah in 1 Ki. 19¹⁰), regarding the abolition of local sanctuaries as an act of disrespect to Ya'u. But it is quite intelligible that the High Priest took no notice of their appeal. We can also understand why they afterwards wrote to the Persian governor, who had no interest in Deuteronomy, and to the Samaritans, who interpreted it in their own way, and that they received a reply.

On the persons concerned with the petition, and the difficulty of reconciling various accounts of the history, see the introduction to no. 30.

Before leaving the subject of the temple a word must be said about the difficult passage in Isaiah 19¹⁹⁺, 'In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar (מַצֵּבָה) at the border thereof to the Lord', &c. This has generally been taken as a prophecy, before or after the event, of the Onias temple, that having been hitherto the only foreign temple known. It is dangerous to argue as if we knew all the facts, for the passage might equally well refer to the temple at Elephantine—on the border of Egypt. Then the date of the prophecy may be put considerably earlier than has been supposed. It is in fact not unreasonable to suggest that it was

¹ It must be remembered that the name does not even occur in the Pentateuch.

written before the promulgation of Deuteronomy. If there was, say just before 621, any considerable migration of Jews to Egypt, the prophecy may have been intended as an encouragement to the emigrants. 'Though you are leaving your native land, you shall make a new home in Egypt and follow there the faith of your fathers (Is. 19²¹). It is a great opportunity for you'. Note also another strange coincidence, five gods, five gates of the temple, and five cities speaking the language of Canaan.

Thus there are several indications that the colonists in the fifth century B.C. remained at the same stage of religious development (if that is what we ought to call it) as their fathers in Judaea in the seventh century. It is consequently of particular interest to collect from these papyri all possible evidence as to their beliefs and practice, always remembering that in the course of two centuries some things may have changed for better or worse. Unfortunately the inquiry depends largely on an *argumentum e silentio*, which must not be unduly pressed, since we cannot be sure that what is not mentioned did not exist. Two thousand years hence if a part of English literature exists, it might well be a considerable part and yet contain no reference to King Alfred, or the Norman conquest, or the Reformation, or the doctrines of the Church, or to a number of questions which agitate us at the present day.

We have positive evidence that sacrifices, including animal sacrifices (מנחה ולבונה ועלוח) were offered (30^{21.25.28}). This indeed was the express purpose of the temple with its altar (מזבחה), for when the temple was destroyed their chief complaint is that they can no longer offer sacrifice. One would suppose that such offerings would be the duty of the priests, the sons of Aaron, or at any rate of Levites. But although priests¹ are frequently mentioned, they are nowhere called sons of Aaron, nor does the name Aaron ever occur, nor that of Levi or the levitical order. It seems difficult to explain away this omission and at the same time to maintain that the 'house of Aaron' and the levites were recognized in the seventh century in Judaea as they were later. The question is too large to be discussed here. I will only call

¹ כהניא. For the priests of the Egyptians they use כמריא, as in the OT and elsewhere.

attention to the fact that apart from the Hexateuch (*de quo videant critici!*) the name Aaron occurs only in Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and once in Judges, twice (really once) in Samuel, and once in Micah. The passage in Micah (6⁴) is probably an addition, in 1 Sam. 12⁶⁻⁸ the name is certainly added as the natural accompaniment of Moses,¹ and in Judges (20²⁸) it is a gloss to complete the genealogy. That is to say, it does not occur for certain in any undoubtedly early writer, not even in Ezekiel! There is an explanation of this, which I leave the reader to discover. It certainly looks as if the house of Aaron were a late post-exilic invention, and if so, the colonists would naturally know nothing of it.

What precisely constituted a *kahen* at Elephantine does not appear. One of their prerogatives, we might suppose, would be to possess the Law of Moses and to administer it. Yet there is no hint of its existence. We should expect that in 30²⁵ they would say 'offer sacrifice according to our law', and that in other places they would make some allusion to it. But there is none. So far as we learn from these texts Moses might never have existed, there might have been no bondage in Egypt, no exodus, no monarchy, no prophets. There is no mention of other tribes and no claim to any heritage in the land of Judah. Among the numerous names of colonists, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, so common in later times, never occur (nor in Nehemiah), nor any other name derived from their past history as recorded in the Pentateuch and early literature. It is almost incredible, but it is true.

Again, that essentially Jewish (though also Babylonian) institution, the Sabbath, is nowhere noticed. Even if there were no occasion for mentioning it explicitly, we should expect that it would sometimes interfere with the transaction of business when that involved the drawing up of a document. At the present day no practising orthodox Jew would write on the Sabbath. Dr. Fotheringham, in a note on the subject in *JTS* 14 (1913), p. 574, concludes from a calculation of the dates that 'they do not

¹ The LXX in v. 8 has *κατώκισεν*, 'He (i.e. God) made to dwell', rightly, for Moses and Aaron did not go into the land. For 'brought forth' Cod. A has the singular (*ἐξήγαγεν*) as if of Moses alone.

prove the existence of such a scruple, nor indeed the absence of it, for no document between Jews seems to be *certainly* dated on the Sabbath. There is in fact a complete silence on the subject.

Another of these negative instances concerns the festivals. None of them is mentioned except, in one papyrus, the feast of Unleavened Bread and possibly the Passover. Even in the case of these it is difficult to explain the fact. No. 21 is an edict of Darius ordering¹ an observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread, and, if the proposed restoration is right, the Passover. This can only mean either that the festivals in question were unknown in the colony, or that they had fallen into desuetude. It might even be taken as an argument that Josiah's great celebration of the Passover ('Surely there was not kept such a passover from the days of the Judges' 2 Ki. 23²²) was the first institution of it, and that the colonists, having left their country before 621, knew no more of it than they knew of Deuteronomy. That, however, is not proved and is hardly probable. It is more likely that the Passover in early times was irregularly observed, that Josiah really revived it after a period of neglect, and that its yearly celebration was only established, like so much else, under Ezra. This would equally well account for the edict (no. 21). Though the colonists would have vaguely known of the institution, they would have been accustomed to neglect it, as their fathers did before Josiah's time. The issue of the edict thus again suggests that they may have already left Judaea before 621. The important thing however, about which there is no doubt, is that the order came from the Persian king. It was a curt command (if my restoration is approximately correct): 'In the month of Tybi (?) let there be a Passover for the Jewish garrison'. That is the whole of it—from the king to Arsames the governor of the province. The details are added by the messenger, who was clearly a Jew—'your brother Hananiah'. Various reasons may have induced the Great King to intervene in the religious affairs of an obscure settlement, but whatever they were, the case is exactly parallel to that of the letter of

¹ Blau, in *Magyar-zsidó Szemle* 1921, p. 44, argues that it was only permissive, granting exemption from military duties during the festival.

Artaxerxes in Ezra 7¹²⁺, and shows that we need not doubt the authenticity of the latter document. The similarity of the style of the letter in Ezra to that of texts in this collection is striking. No doubt in both cases the king was only responsible for the general order or permission. The details are due to his Jewish protégés. See further in the introduction to no. 21. Apparently they did keep the Passover on this occasion, as directed, for it is mentioned at least on two ostraca¹ (not included in this volume), of about the same date as no. 21, though of course these may refer to another celebration of it. It is worth noting also that the great list (no. 22) of subscriptions to the temple funds was drawn up in the same year (419) as the Passover edict, and it is difficult to believe that they are not connected. This again would seem to indicate that the Passover was an exceptional event. On the other hand, in no. 21 there cannot have been any directions for the ceremony, for there is no room on the papyrus, whereas the rules for the feast of Unleavened Bread occupy half the document. Did they know all about the one (choosing the lamb, bitter herbs, eating in haste, &c.) and not about the other? It will be seen that the conclusions to be drawn from no. 21 are not all certain. What is certain is that the celebration of the (Passover and) feast of Unleavened Bread was ordered by the Persian king, and that these are the only festivals² mentioned (and that exceptionally) in these papyri.

If the arguments here adduced are at all well-founded, it follows that the religious condition of Judaism before the exile, so far as we can draw deductions about it from these papyri, was very different from what has been usually assumed. To sum it up, we may picture the historical development somewhat as follows. From early times documents³ which eventually formed part of the Tora, no doubt existed. They were partly historical, partly legal and theological, and were composed at various dates. But they were the possession of a priestly or learned class.

¹ Ungnad no. 77 A 5 and *PSBA* 1915, p. 222, perhaps both by the same hand.

² In Ungnad no. 77 A 3 even if סביא = סבות, I cannot think that it refers to the feast of Tabernacles. In Neh. 8¹⁷ we are practically told that the feast had never been kept before.

³ I think there is no doubt that they were written in cuneiform and probably in the Babylonian language, though this is not necessary to the argument.

necessarily limited in number. In the earliest times, down to, say, the reign of Solomon, owing to the disunion of the inhabitants, the unsettled state of the country and the difficulty of communication, the possessors of these documents can have had little influence on the mass of the people, who lived in isolated groups, without knowledge of any Law, following the religious customs and beliefs with which they happened to be in contact. Later on we find the prophetic class becoming important and using its influence to promote the exclusive worship of Ya'u among the people, though still with little reference to a written Law or to the early history. Then came the exile, and we cannot know what ferment of mind and spirit took place in Babylon or in Judaea. No sooner is the exile ended and order to some extent restored in Jerusalem, than we find in Nehemiah frequent insistence on the Law of Moses, in striking contrast to the earlier literature, which ignores it. It had suddenly sprung into full existence, and a definite effort was made to spread among the people the knowledge of it, which had previously belonged to the few, by reading¹ it in public (Neh. 8^{8.13} &c.). Apparently such readings were made a regular institution, for we find them mentioned again in Neh. 9³, 13¹. What was it they read? I believe it was the Tora very much as we have it to-day. The constant insistence, especially in the latter part of Nehemiah, on details required by the Pentateuch, seems certainly to point to this. Moreover, the existence of the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch, practically identical with the Masoretic, can hardly be explained in any other way. If the Samaritan schism occurred, as tradition states, somewhere about 430 B. C. (Josephus makes it a century later), the hostile community was not likely to adopt a body of Jewish law compiled after that date. We can only suppose that, at the time, the Pentateuch was already in existence, and had gained such general acceptance that the deserting priest Menasseh felt it advisable to carry the Law with him. Who then was responsible for this fruitful innovation? I think the answer is given by the

¹ The much-quoted passage, Neh. 8⁸, is generally taken to mean that they translated it extempore into Aramaic—the beginning of Targum. There is no reason why it should not mean that they read a Hebrew translation from cuneiform Babylonian.

persistent rabbinical tradition¹ that the Law was lost and Ezra restored it. Only it would be more correct to say that the Law did not exist in its present form until Ezra drew it up, compiling it from existing separate sources, and completing it. He is described specially (Ezra 7⁶) as 'a ready scribe in the law of Moses', who 'had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord . . . and to teach' it (7¹⁰). Having been educated in Babylonia he must have been familiar with the difficult cuneiform writing, as well as with the Babylonian language, with Aramaic and, no doubt, with Hebrew. He was therefore able, with the help of 'his colleagues the priests' to put in order the [cuneiform] tablets containing the various sources of the Pentateuch, to translate them into Hebrew, to weld them together into a more or less consistent whole, and to write down the result in the simple Aramaic alphabet which he had learned in Assyria (אֲשׁוּרִית). This would account alike for the general uniformity of language and for the idiosyncrasies of various parts, which were due partly to the diverse characteristics of the original documents, and partly to differences in the style of the various collaborators. In enforcing the Law, Ezra was helped by the powerful support of the Persian king (7²⁶), without which it could never have obtained general and immediate acceptance.²

It may be objected that the above account is merely imaginary. It is true that many of the details of it are nowhere explicitly recorded. Nor should we expect that even the central fact of Ezra's redaction of the Law would be described. It was necessary to his success that the newly promulgated code should be represented as that which was originally revealed to Israel by the hand of Moses—which, in its essence, it may have been. The strength of Ezra's moral appeal (apart from the political support of the Persian king) lay in his insistence that the Law had hitherto been neglected, that this neglect was the cause of the national misfortunes, and that the only hope for the future was to be found in a return to the supposed faith of an ideal past. To have admitted that the Law was a new thing, invented even with the best objects, would have defeated his whole purpose.

¹ c. g. in B. T. Sanhedrin, f. 21^b and Sukka, f. 20^a.

² So too Ed. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, 1896.

And perhaps it was not new. Various documents, of different dates, must or may have been in existence, from which the complete work was produced very much in the manner on which modern criticism insists—only that previously the documents had not been generally accessible, and that the final redaction took place at one definite time, and not as a gradual and rather undefined process. This view, though many difficulties still remain, and though its details may require modification, does on the whole provide an intelligible explanation of the facts.

I have digressed at some length upon it, because the problems which it seeks to explain are the most important arising from a study of these papyri. Regarded without prejudice, these texts lead to the conclusion that the Pentateuch, both in its historical and legal aspects, was unknown in the fifth century to the Jews of Elephantine, and it is probable that the populace in Judaea in the seventh century was no better informed. But in the book of Nehemiah we find the Pentateuch being made known and accepted—and we are bound to seek an explanation. The importance of the new revelation is that in it we see the birth of modern Judaism, which could never have developed by natural process from pre-exilic Judaism. The subsequent development of it down to the present day is easily traced, in the gradual elaboration of halakha and the exaltation of it by the suppression of all else—its systematization in the Mishna—its discussion in the Talmud—its codification again by Maimonides—its extension by Jacob b. Asher and Joseph Karo—with its final reduction *ad impossibile* in the *pilpul* of the eighteenth century—the moderation of it by Moses Mendelssohn—and the revolt against it by the modern ‘reformed’ Jews. All this is the natural growth of the system born under Ezra: it could not have grown out of a religious system such as that of the colonists of Elephantine.

Now to return to our texts. The internal affairs of the colony, as mentioned above, were directed by the head man of the community, who was Yedoniah in 419. No reports of his court are preserved and no mention is made of his administering the Mosaic law. Even when both parties were Jews

they appeared before the Persian-Egyptian court (1³, 25²) though the composition of the court is usually not stated. Perhaps the head of the *degel* exercised magisterial functions, and this would account for the mention of the *degel* of the parties at issue; see on no. 25². As a military body they were under the רבחילא 'the commander of the garrison', who was in turn subordinate to the פרתרך, a Persian title. That the latter was superior to the former appears from 20^{4,5}, where Waidrang is רבחילא, compared with 30⁵, where he has become (twelve years later) *fratarak*, and his son (30⁷) is רבחילא. The *fratarak* was no doubt governor of the province (of Tšṭrs). The governor-general of the country is usually called simply מראן 'our lord', without any more specific title. In the latter part of the period he was named ארשם, O P Aršâma, Bab. Aršam (Ungnad), Arsames. He was directly responsible to the king.

Several minor officials are mentioned, as ספרי מדינתא (16^{4,5}), תיפתיא גושכיא (26^{4,8}), פרמנבריא (26^{4,23}), אודכריא (17^{5,7}), אודכריא (17^{1,6}), (27⁹), on whom see the notes on the passages.

The courts over which the רבחילא and the פרתרך presided, with their assessors (ריניא), administered no doubt the law of the Persian empire, but this law, like so much else, was evidently taken over by the conquerors from the Babylonians, or was based on their system. Thus we find the enumeration of relatives of the parties, the fine for breach of contract (יתן כסף, *kaspi iddin*), the definition of the boundaries of property: special phrases like רין ורבב (*dênu dabâbu*), טב לבב, באבני מלכא, with their variants: particular words, like גרי (Bab. *garu*) 'to bring an action' and many more. See e.g. Meissner, *Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht* (1893). The method of preparing a document may be compared with that described by Jeremiah (32⁹⁺) drawn up in 586. The money was weighed on the scales (pap. 15²⁴), the deed was written, signed by (or for) the witnesses, and sealed. One deed (no. 5) was actually found rolled up, tied with string and with the clay seal still intact. But Jeremiah's document was evidently on a clay tablet, placed in an envelope, and an 'open' duplicate was also made. The same practice may have been followed at Elephantine, and this would account for the duplicate of no. 2. The deed was then delivered to the interested party (ספר זי כתב) (פלוגי לאלמוני) in the presence of the witnesses, and was stored in

a clay pot (Jer. 32¹⁴) or in a box (as some of the papyri were found) 'that it might last many days'.

In general the connexion with Babylonian law is well worthy of a thorough study, as is also the question of the double dating of documents and the chronology generally. This has not been attempted here, partly because of the necessity of restricting the limits of this volume, and partly because it would require special knowledge which I do not claim to possess.

Finally a word must be added as to the money. The most important text in this connexion is no. 15, a marriage contract in which the value of various items of the gift to the bride is stated and the total given at the end. The items are valued as follows:

In line	5,		5 shekels	
..	6,	1 karash,	2	„
..	8,	2 „	8	„
„	10,		8	„
„	11,		7	„
„	12,		1	„ 2 R
„	12,		1	„ 2 R
„	13.		2	„
„	13.			2 R

Total. 3 kerashin 34 shekels 6 R

In line 14 the total is given as 6 kerashin, 5 shekels, 20 ḥallurin. Now the standard (see below) of the silver is given sometimes as לעשרתא ר || and sometimes as לכרשׁ א ר || (cf. e.g. 15^{7.14} with 20¹⁵). Hence it seems probable that 1 karash = עשרתא 'the ten-piece' or presumably the piece of 10 shekels. If so, then 30 shekels = 3 kerashin. Applying this to our first total we have 3 kerashin 34 shekels 6 R = 6 kerashin 4 shekels 6 R, which should be equal to 6 kerashin 5 shekels 20 ḥallurin. The next question is, what is the value of R? It might of course also be a D, and it has been taken to stand for דרנמן drachma, but this would hardly be found in the earlier texts. Taken as R, it might stand for רעי, which seems to be a money term in 73⁶, &c., of unknown value. The simplest explanation, however, is to take it for רבע(א) 'a quarter' sc. of a shekel. (A corroboration of this may be

found in 15²⁴. If the wife divorces her husband, she is to pay back 7 shekels 2 R, i. e. $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, which are equal to the price he originally paid for her (15⁵) plus 50 per cent.) Then in the above equation (4 sh. 6 R = 5 sh. 20 ḥal.) since 4 R = 1 shekel, it follows that 2 R = 20 ḥallurin, and we have the following table :

1 karash	= 10 shekels.
1 shekel	= 4 quarters
1 quarter	= 10 ḥallurin.

As to the names, *karash* is Persian, no doubt the same as *karša* on a trilingual weight in the British Museum. In the Babylonian inscription the 2 *karša* are given as $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mina, see Weissbach, *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (1911), p. 105, so that 6 *kerašin* = 60 shekels = 1 mina. (The reading כבש in Sayce and Cowley is wrong, and the conclusions drawn from it need not be considered.)

No satisfactory derivation of the name *karša* has been proposed.

Shekel and *rebhā'* (*ribh'a*) are both common Semitic.

Hallūru is a small Babylonian money term (see the Lexicon), not previously found in Western Semitic. Cf. *PSBA* 25 (1903), p. 206.

The larger amounts are generally reckoned by royal weight (באבני מלכה, cf. 2 Sam. 14²⁶), as also in Assyria (Köberle, *NKZ* 1908, p. 178), and are further defined as לעשרתה ר || or לכרשׂא ר ||. If the above calculations are correct, this would imply an alloy of 2 quarters, or $\frac{1}{2}$ a shekel, in 10, that is 5 per cent. Money is also sometimes described as כסף צרף (5⁷, 28^{11,12}), where it is likewise paid באבני מלכה. This must mean pure silver as distinguished from silver with 5 per cent. alloy, and 'royal weight' must refer to weight only and not to standard. Specimens of certified weights with Aramaic inscriptions¹ are known, e. g. *CIS* ii, 1, no. 108 (from Abydos) and no. 1 (from Nineveh). The higher sums (or weights) מנן 'minae' and כנכרן 'talents' are rarely found. The business transactions are as a rule not on that scale. Also gold was apparently not used as currency.

In the later documents (35^{4,7}, 37¹²) we find another term used,

¹ Where the כ cannot mean 'double', but is to be taken as in באבני מלכה, so that באבני מלכה is 'according to (the weight) of the country' and כבני מלך 'according to the weight' of the king'.

סֶתְתָרִי, which is no doubt the Greek *στατήρ*, and is given as the equivalent of two shekels (35⁴).

On the literary pieces reference may be made to the special introductions to the *Aḥiḳar* fragments and the version of the Behistun inscription.

For the grammar, see the introduction to the edition of Sayce and Cowley, supplemented by the *Anhang über den aramäischen Dialect* in Sachau (p. 261). I hope to publish a detailed treatment of the grammar in comparison with biblical Aramaic at a future date.

My main object in this volume has been to contribute something to the establishment of the text and translation, as the only sure basis for future investigation, rather than to attempt a discussion of all the questions involved.

To avoid complication, letters which are broken in the text but are nevertheless certain are not marked. Doubtful letters are overlined. Letters restored are enclosed between square brackets. The readings have been tested over and over again with the facsimiles. In the translation, restorations are indicated as far as possible by italics. Such restorations were necessary in order to show the connexion of the sentences. They have been made with great care and after much thought, and are in many cases certain. Others of course represent only my personal view and are open to question. I have tried in the notes to distinguish between what is certain and what is conjectural.

Where the restored letters or words are not my own, I have tried in the notes to ascribe them to their originators, but I fear that I have not always succeeded in doing so. The literature dealing with these papyri is large and scattered, so that some proposals may have escaped me, or been adopted unconsciously, while some readings have been suggested by more than one scholar.

Words inserted for clearness, owing to the difference of idiom between the two languages, are put in parentheses.

Proper names found in the O.T. have been spelt as in the R.V., though this causes some inconsistencies.

Where the vocalization of a name is unknown, its consonants only are printed, in capitals.

Unknown words, introduced to show the form of the sentence, are transliterated (consonants only) in small capitals.

ARAMAIC PAPYRI

No. I.

Agreement dated 495 B.C.

The numeral after שנת in line 1 is a very carelessly written 𐤆 (= 20). It cannot be 𐤅 (= 10). The year is therefore the 27th of Darius, and since Darius II reigned only twenty years, the king must be Darius I and the date 495 B.C. The papyrus is thus the earliest in the collection. This conclusion is supported by the style of the writing, with which cf. that of no. 2 (484 B.C.). Sachau also compares no. 3, which is less like. Note also the spelling דריוש, as in O. T., which seems to be earlier than דריהוש and דריוהוש as in the later papyri, under Darius II. This is the only place in these papyri where it has this form. A characteristic of the early writing seems to be the pronounced difference between thick and thin strokes. The formulae also differ from those of later documents.

This is a contract or agreement arising out of a previous decision of the court, of which no. 67, 3 is perhaps a fragment. Certain property had been divided between two parties (cf. no. 28) who now agree to an exchange of half of their respective shares. The names of the parties are all feminine, Selua and Yethoma of the one part and Ya'a'or of the other part, showing that in 495 B.C. in this colony women could hold property in their own right, and could go to law about it.

Sachau, plate 30. Ungnad, no. 31.

- 1 בני]ם II ל]י רת אפף שנת 𐤆 III III I לדריוש מלכא אמרת סלואה ברת
 2 קניה ויתומה אחתה ליההאור ברת שלומם אנחן יהבן לכי פלג
 3 מנ]ת]א זי יהבו לן דיני מלכא ורוך רבחילא חלף פלג מנתא זי
 4 מטתכי עם נאהבת למחר יום אחרן לא נכל ננרכי במנתא זכי
 5 [ו]ג]מ]ר] לא אנחן יהבנה לכי לא יכל אח ואחה בר וברה קרב
 6 זרחיק יגרוככי וזי יגנרכי במנתא זכי זי יהבן לכי ינתן לכי
 7 כסף כרשן III II ומנתא זילכי תוב
 8 שהדיא
 9 [ה]ישע בר הודיה
 10 שלומם בר עזר]יה
 11 צפניה בר מכי

¹ On the 2nd day of the month Epiphi of the 27th year of King Darius, said Selua daughter of ² Kenaya and Yethoma her sister to Ya'a'or daughter of Shelomim, We have given to you half ³ the share which was granted to us by the king's judges and Ravaka the commander, in exchange for half the share which ⁴ accrued to you with Ne'ehebeth. Hereafter, on a future day, we shall not be able to sue you in the matter of this your share, ⁵ and say, We did not give it to you; nor shall a brother or sister (of ours), son or daughter, relative ⁶ or alien be able to sue you; and whoever shall sue you in the matter of this your share which we have given you, shall pay to you ⁷ the sum of 5 karash and the share is yours: and ⁸ the witnesses (are) ⁹ Hosea b. Hodaviah, ¹⁰ Shelomim b. Azariah, ¹¹ Zephaniah b. Machi.

Line 1. Usually the equivalent day of the Jewish month is also given. Its omission here and in no. 2 may be merely accidental. In no. 5 (471 B.C.) it is added, but in no. 7 (461 B.C.) it is omitted. סלואה (elsewhere סלוא, סלוה) as a fem. name, is only known from these papyri. Masc. סלוא, סלו in O.T.

Line 2. קניה, only here. It may be קנייה (so Sachau), cf. אלקנה, or for קוניה as in ⁴2. יתומה only here and in 67, 3 (with סלואה). The masc. יתום and יתמא also occur. יההאור only here. No doubt to be divided יהה = יהו and אור 'light' (so G. B. Gray). On יהה = יהו see ¹³14 note. Before אנהן it would be usual to have לאמר.

Line 3. מנ[ת]א something allotted. In Hebrew cf. Pss. 111⁶, 16⁵. In Talmud it is a common legal term for 'share' (= חלק in 28³) assigned by the court. There is nothing to show the nature of the property. דיני מלכא. The previous action was taken before the royal (i. e. Persian) court, not the *beth din* of the colony. ורוך. In this alphabet there is no certain distinction between ר and ד, except that ד seems generally to have a shorter down-stroke. The first ו is unusual in form, but probable. The word can only be a preposition 'by order of' &c. or a proper name with 'and'. The latter is more probable, but the name is unknown. Justi gives Rawai. Cf. perhaps Zend *rava*, 'pleasant' with the OP termination -ka. This is another argument for the early date, since in 408-7 (the alternative date) the רבחילא was נפין (30⁷). רבחילא one word, as usually. He sat with the (civil?) court. Cf. also 16⁷.

Line 4. נאהבת, elsewhere נהבת. It seems to be a Hebrew Niphal form, 'beloved'. The meaning of עם is not clear. It may mean that N was co-partner with Ya'a'or, when it would be equivalent to 'and' (so Sachau), or N was a slave and part of the property divided (cf. no. 28). The former is the more probable, but her father ought to be named. למחר. There is a trace of ל and a down-stroke after it. Sachau disregards both, and reads וחר 'and one other day'. So Torczyner, 'one day hereafter'. We should expect או before יום as elsewhere.

It must mean 'hereafter, on some later day', a variant of the usual 'to-morrow or another day'. For ל cf. Aḥikar, l. 39. נבל usually taken as נבל with first radical assimilated, from יבל. More probably from a stem כול (כל), of which כהל is only another spelling. ננרבי ought to be (Sachau says a mistake for) ננרנבי. Note the construction, which is usual. The root נרה, cf. Hebrew (Piel) and Aramaic, means to 'stir up', hence to institute legal proceedings against, with an accusative of the person. It is a Babylonian legal term. זבי 'this of thine', speaking to a woman, as זך to a man.

Line 5. [ו]נמ[ר], so Epstein. Sachau's ומה (for ווי) gives no satisfactory sense. נמר for נאמר is not wholly convincing, since the form does not occur elsewhere (but cf. לממר in 32²). A נ alone does not quite fit the space, for the lines begin very evenly, but there is a trace of the tail of a נ. Therefore not נאמר. We should expect לאמר, but that cannot be read. יהבנה. The ה is a suffix, 'we have given it'. קרב defectively for קריב 'related or not related' (רהיק), the regular formula, and similarly in Babylonian law.

Line 7. כרשן. The karash was worth 10 shekels (see p. xxii). This is not an unusually high penalty, as Sachau suggests. As a rule the money is defined as being באבני מלכא טוב. The reading is clear, but it looks as though added as an afterthought. Elsewhere we have ולא דין ולא דבב. In later Aramaic טוב or תו means 'again', 'further'. I doubt if it can mean here 'nevertheless'. More likely it introduces שהריא, 'moreover the witnesses are'.

Lines 9-11. The witnesses' names here, as in no. 11, were written by the scribe. הודויה הושע בר הודויה occurs almost certainly in no. 2. הודויה is fairly certain, not ירחיה (as Sachau), an unknown name. The pronunciation Hodaviah is attested by the Masoretes.

Line 10. שלומם possibly the same as in l. 2, witnessing on behalf of his daughter. [עזר]יה uncertain, but probable. Hardly the same as in 20⁶ (420 B.C.), but perhaps his grandfather. There is some evidence of the practice of calling a child after his grandfather.

Line 11. מכי only here (and in Num. 13¹⁵).

No. 2.

Contract for supplying Corn to the Garrison 484 B.C.

There is a slight uncertainty as to the number of the year, owing to a break in the papyrus. It must be either 2 (as Sachau) or 3. There is hardly room for 11, since in this papyrus the 11 is made rather large, cf. l. 4 and l. 6. Year 22 is impossible, because Xerxes reigned only 20 or 21 years. On the whole 2 is the more probable, and the date is

therefore 484 B.C. The style of the writing in general resembles that of no. 1.

This is a contract, of which the precise terms are obscure owing to the loss of the ends of all the lines (about 18 letters missing in each line). The main points are that Hosea and Aḥiab received from Espemet a consignment of barley and lentils which they undertake to deliver (at Syene) to the government officials for the use of a section of the garrison.

The similar document, no. 3, may be a duplicate, but it differs in form and thus throws little light on the details of the transaction. Epstein has endeavoured to combine the two, and on the assumption of their identity has restored the ends of most of the lines, but he is not convincing. It seems best not to attempt the restoration of most of the lines.

Sachau, plates 25, 26. Ungnad, no. 27.

- 1 ב ד ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ לירח פאפי שנת ׀ חשירש [מל]כ[א] ביב בירתא אמר הושע
 2 בר הודויה וְאֶחְיָאֵב בר נְמֻרְיָה לאס[פמט] בר פפטעונית מלחא
 3 זי [חנני נגרא לאמר יהבת על ידן שע[ר];
 4 ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ וטלפחן ארדב ל[ש]ער[ן] ארדבן [ד ד ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀
 5 כל שערן וטלפחן מערב ארדבן ד ד ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀
 6 שֶׁ־דָּ [גבר] זי מאתה זי ביתאלתקם ל[ל ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ארדבן לסכול
 7 גברן ׀ לגבר לגבר ׀ שערן ארדבן ׀ ג ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ גברן ל
 8 זי מאת גבושלו גברן ׀ לשערן ארדבן [׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀
 9 וְסִיבֵי לבנן בנו אנחנה נבל עבורא [זנה זי אנת יהבת על ידן
 10 לחי]לא זנה זי מאתה זי ביתאלתקם וזי מ[אתה זי נבושלו זי
 11 כתיבן בספרא זנה אנחנה ננתן די[ן] קדם רב מאתא ורביני
 12 בית מלכא וקדם ספרי אוצרא ינ[תנו עבורא זי אנת יהבת
 13 עלידן למובל לגבריא אלה זי כתיבן [מנעלא והן לא ננתן כל עבורא זי
 14 לך במנין בבית מלכא וקדם ספרי א]וצרא
 15 אנחנה נחוב לך כסף כרשן ו[כסף צ]ריף
 16 אלהא ואנת שלט בפרסן זי בית מלכא [ובי זי לבנן ובל זי
 17 לן אנת שלט למאחד עד תתמלא בעבורא [זי כתיב מנעלא ולא דין
 18 כתב הושע על פס אחיאב
 19 שהדיא כיא בר אסכישו נשכעדרי בר [בן
 20 דוכל בר אביהו שורי בר כדו אתעדרי בר]
 21 אסורת בר יהנתן שבתי בר נבדא
 22 ספרא זי] כתב הושע וא[חיאב] לאספ[מט]

Endorsement.

22 ספרא זי] כתב הושע וא[חיאב] לאספ[מט]

¹ On the 28th of the month Paophi in the 2nd year of King Xerxes in the city of Yeb, said Hosea ² b. Hodaviah and Aḥiab b. Gemariah to

Espemet b. Pefl'onith the sailor . . . ³ of Hanani, the carpenter, saying, You have delivered to us barley ⁴ 8 (?) and beans, 11 ardabs to 44 (?) ardabs of barley ⁵ total barley and beans together 55 ardabs ⁶ . . . 11 men of the company of Betheltaķem every 5 ardabs for the ration of ⁷ 2 men, to each man 2 ardabs of barley and 2 G . . . also 11 men ⁸ of the company of Nabushalliv, 2 men to 5 ardabs of barley; we have accepted it ⁹ and our heart is content therewith. We will convey this corn which you have delivered to us ¹⁰ to these troops of the company of Betheltaķem and of the company of Nabushalliv as ¹¹ written in this document. We will render an account before the company commander and the authorities of ¹² Government House and before the clerks of the treasury (and) they shall give out the corn which you have delivered ¹³ to us to be conveyed to those men who are described above; and if we do not deliver all the corn that is ¹⁴ yours in full at Government House and before the clerks of the treasury, as aforesaid, ¹⁵ we shall be liable to you in the sum of 100 karash, pure (?) silver as we swear by Ya'u ¹⁶ the God, and you have a right to our payment from Government House and the counting-house; and all that is ¹⁷ ours you have a right to seize until you are indemnified in full for the corn as aforesaid, and no suit shall lie.
¹⁸ Written by Hosea at the dictation of Aħiab. ¹⁹ Witnesses: Ki' b. Iskishu; Nushku-idri b. N . . . ²⁰ Dukal b. Abijah; Shuri b. Kadu; Ata-idri b. . . . ²¹ Asvadata b. Jonathan; Shabbethai b. Nabda.
²² (Endorsement.) *Deed which Hosea and Aħiab wrote for Espemet.*

Line 1. Date, see on 1¹. חשירש, in no. 5 (thirteen years later) חשיארש, OP Khshayârshâ. The place, יב or סון, was probably mentioned in the lost part of the line. הושע must be the name of the first party. Cf. l. 18 and l. 22, and 3². He is perhaps the same as in 1⁹.

Line 2. [לאס]פמט, in 3³. . לאספ. In 4⁷ (a similar document) אספמט is mentioned, and in 6¹⁰ אספמת is son of פפסעונית (see 5¹³).

Line 3. As Epstein points out, there is not room for בר (as Sachau) at the beginning. He suggests וי, which requires some word like 'servant' at the end of l. 2. Also יהבת (sing.) shows that only one person is addressed. נגרא, cf. 26⁹ נגריא, 'ship's carpenters'. Espemet in 6¹⁰ is a sailor. However the ר has a short tail and should be a ד. ש[ערן] cf. 3⁴.

Line 4. It does not seem possible to read anything but III at the beginning. Can the numeral be divided between the two lines? I do not remember any other case. The connexion is obscure.

Line 5. מערב, though singular, must mean 'taken together'. The barley and beans being regarded as a quantity, not as plural. זכרון ון The first figure is badly made or defaced, but ז is the only possibility. I (as Sachau) is out of the question. The numeral might be 54 to 59, but see on l. 7.

Line 6. שֶׁ is very uncertain. If right, is it the price per ardab (10 shekels)? קֶ is very uncertain. The first letter may be א. [גבר] only the tail of a letter remains. מאתה 'centuria' (with suffix).

Probably a subdivision of the דגל. ביתאלתקם, as in l. 10, the name of the centurion. The numeral refers to the preceding גברן. The trace of the next letter suggests a כ, which again suggests the words restored.

Line 7. לגבר לגבר, cf. 22¹. ג is a subdivision of the ardab, probably a quarter. The trace at the end may belong to a ג. We want גברן somewhere here, but it is difficult to see how to complete the line. If the number of men is the same as in the other company, with the same allowance, they would account for the 55 ardabs in l. 5. Then, since there are, in all, 11 ardabs of beans in l. 4 for 22 men, the half ardab (ג) would be the allowance of beans per man.

Line 8. [זי] hardly room for anything else. גבושלו, cf. CIS. ii. 25 גבושלו = ו in Babylonian. The construction here (2 men to [5] ardabs) differs from that in l. 7 (2½ ardabs to 1 man). At the end something must be supplied like 'we have received the goods'.

Line 9. בנו as frequently, without a suffix, in these papyri. Bab. *ina libbi*. At the end Epstein restores [זנה סון] עבורא from 3⁹, but whatever the construction may be there, סון can hardly mean 'to Syene' here.

Line 10. At the end there is a trace of מ. As only two companies have been mentioned the restoration is fairly certain.

Line 11, end. Epstein proposes [גין] די. There is no other word beginning with די. He completes the line from 3¹¹. My translation of דינתן דינ by 'render an account' (or 'give instructions'?) is only a guess.

Line 12. בית מלכא must be 'Government House', since the king did not live at Elephantine or Syene. ינתנו, asyndeton, as in l. 11, or final, 'that they should give'. The restoration (from 3¹²) is Epstein's. It must be nearly right, though rather confused.

Line 13. למובל 'give it (to some one) to convey', i. e. send it. At the end something of the kind is required to introduce the penalty in l. 15.

Line 14. במנין 'according to number', i. e. exactly, in full. It cannot be 'in minae' (as Sachau alternatively) which would be במנן and meaningless. At the end Epstein proposes זי לא חלקה (cf. 3¹⁵), but his meaning is not clear.

Line 15. נחוב is unusual, but quite certain. † the sign for 100 has an unusual (perhaps early) form. The penalty is very heavy. If 10 shekels per ardab (l. 6) was really the cost of the goods, this is nearly double the total value. The end should define the standard of the money. Epstein restores [שג לר באבני פתח] אלהא, cf. 11² and the demotic deed of 493/2 B.C. cited by Staerk (*Die Jüd. Aram. Papyri* . . . p. 26). But זי is not used in this formula, nor is אלהא added to Ptah in no. 11. For כסף צריף cf. 5⁷, 28¹¹, but there is not sufficient ground for restoration.

Line 16. אלהא the connexion is obscure. Sachau thinks it may belong to an oath: 'we swear by the god X'. בפרסן 'our share' or 'payment'. Possibly a percentage on the deal—or as in no. 11, their military pay. The construction with זי is awkward. The restoration is Epstein's, from 3¹⁸, where see note.

Line 17. תתמלא, i. e. you receive in full the value of the corn. The end is restored from 3²⁰.

Line 18. על פם 'at the dictation or direction of' is a common expression, cf. 11¹⁶, but it is unusual to find a man writing for his partner. הושע no doubt the partner whose name is lost in line 1. He acts as scribe. If he were a new person he would be further described here. So also in l. 22.

Line 19. The witnesses' names are not written by the scribe, and are very difficult to read. כיא or ביא, cf. פיא in 14¹. Egyptian? as his father's name.

Line 20. רובל is more probable than רובל. Otherwise the reading is certain. Neither name is known. שורי Sachau cites CIS. ii. 1, 154². כרו (or כרו) probable. Unknown.

Line 21. אסורה (or ירה). Sachau אמורת. Cf. Persian Aspadata? יהנתן a mistake? for יהנתן. כברא or נברא.

Line 22 is incomplete at both ends. It is the endorsement written on the outside after the document had been rolled up, tied, and sealed. This is the usual formula, sometimes with a word added to indicate the nature of the transaction (קפך מרחק &c.). Being outside, the endorsements are generally much defaced.

No. 3.

A Duplicate (?) of No. 2.

Beginnings of lines of a document very similar to no. 2, but perhaps relating to a different transaction. Much of what is missing could evidently be restored from no. 2, though the details remain obscure in both. As so much is lost, it seemed best not to attempt restoration.

Sachau, plate 27. Ungnad, no. 29.

ב ד ו ו ו ו ו ו	1
ב[ר הו]דויה ואה[יאב]	2
מה[חסנן ביב] לאספ[מט]	3
על ידן שערן]	4

- 5 טלפחן ארדבן ז]
 6 כל [שער]ן וטלפחן]
 7 לנברן] וו וו. א. ד.]
 8 טלפחן ארדב א]
 9 עבון[רא] זנה סון]
 10 בספר[א] זנה וי.]
 11 מאתא ורבני]
 12 עבורא זי. נתנת]
 13 במנין] בב[ית מל]כא
 14 זי יהבת על יד[ן]
 15 זי לא זילן]
 16 אוצ[רא]
 17 אלהא כסף . . .]
 18 ובי זי לבנן ו]
 19 לי [ואנת של]ט למן[אחד]
 20 זי כתב מנעלא ון]
 21 כתב ה[ושע] בכפי א]
 22 שהריא שורי בר]כרו
 23 נשכעד[ר]י בר נבני. . .]
 24 בנוד[ת בר] אַסמשוד]

¹ On the 28th of ² b. Hodaviah and Ahiab ³ *property-holders in Yeb to Espemet* ⁴ to us barley ⁵ lentils, 20 ardabs ⁶ total *barley* and lentils ⁷ to 5 (?) men ⁸ lentils, 1 (?) ardab ⁹ this *corn* Syene ¹⁰ in this deed and shall ¹¹ the company, and the officers ¹² the corn which you gave ¹³ in full *at Government House* ¹⁴ which you delivered to us ¹⁵ which does not belong to us ¹⁶ *treasury* ¹⁷ the god, silver ¹⁸ and the counting-house and ¹⁹ mine *and you have a right to seize* ²⁰ as aforesaid, and ²¹ Written by Hosea at the hands (?) of Ahiab. ²² Witnesses: Shuri b. Kadu ²³ Nushku-idri b. Nabnitu ²⁴ Bagadata b. ISMSHD

Line 1. The day of the month is the same as in no. 2. Perhaps the two documents were drawn up on the same day.

Line 2. The form differs from that of no. 2. This line probably contained a description of the parties, e. g. 'both Jews of the regiment of X', which is continued in l. 3.

Line 5. Ardabs 20 +, a quantity not mentioned in the extant part of no 2

Line 7. The numeral can hardly be 𐤇 𐤇 (as Sachau), since that would be 1 III. It must be 5 or 6 or 8 (cf. 2⁴) or 9. If it is 5 the ration is the same as in no. 2.

Line 8. The 𐤀 is very uncertain. Perhaps 𐤁𐤀 as in 2⁴?

Line 9. 𐤍𐤏 seems certain, but construction?

Line 15. 𐤀 is doubtful. After it Sachau reads חלק, but only 𐤀 is certain.

Line 17. After כסף the definition of standard is quite uncertain (צריה?). The fact that this follows אלהא no doubt supports Epstein's restoration באבני פתח in 2¹⁵.

Line 18, as in 10⁹. The reading in both places is clear. 𐤁 is absolute form of בית is found several times. We should not expect 𐤁𐤀, cf. בית מלכא in l. 13. Sachau takes לבנן as 'tiles', but there is not much point in that as a description. From its association with the treasury it must be some sort of bank or counting-house. In Ezra 6¹ there is a בית ספריא, a record office to which the treasury was attached, and this must be something of the same sort. There is no word in O.T. specially denoting a cuneiform clay tablet (לוח has various meanings). In Ezek. 4¹ לבנה may be such a tablet, on which a plan of the city was drawn. Probably here לבן means a tablet, and the 'house of tablets' was the place where records of payments were stored—even though they may have come to be written on papyrus. This would suit 10⁹ also.

Line 19. 𐤀 by an oversight for 𐤁.

Line 21. 𐤁𐤁 instead of על פם as in 2¹⁸. Sachau 'by the hands of', i.e. Aḥiab wrote it. It is not in the same hand as no. 2, written by Hosea. Seidel thinks it is for כפי = כפם, the כ having become otiose, and 𐤁 being added. But פי is never found (as a Hebraism) for פם in these texts.

Lines 22, 23. These two witnesses also appear in no. 2. . . 𐤁𐤁. Ungnad suggests Bab. Nabnîtu.

Line 24. [ת]בנר (probably) = Persian Bagadata. His father's name (Egyptian?) is unknown.

No. 4.

*A small Fragment, apparently connected with
Nos. 2 and 3.*

Written on both sides. Fragment probably of a letter. It is not dated, but seems to relate to the transactions recorded in nos. 2 and 3. Beginnings and ends of lines lost.

Sachau, plate 36. Ungnad, no. 42.

Obverse.	] עברו לי נָ	1
	] שין ואף ל	2
	] הקשט אף]	3
	] זי צבית בנו	4
Reverse.	] ה[שכחו שערן	5
	] תנה כענת]	6
	] אספמט הל	7
	] לין מן זי נָ .]	8

1 they made for me 2 s, and also for
 3 he prepared, also 4 what you wish with it
 5 we have found barley 6 here. Now
 7 Espemet 8 since we

Line 2. Sachau suggests שין[כר], but this would surely require a numeral after it.

Line 3. הקשט Haphel, 'make ready' (Sachau). Only here.

Line 4. זי is almost certain. Not א, as Sachau. בנו, cf. on 2⁹.

Line 5. ה[שכחו] 'we have found', not אנהן as Sachau. שערן as in nos. 2 and 3.

Line 7. אספמט, cf. 2², 3³.

Line 8. לין. Ungnad טין which Seidel restores to חנ[טין], but the ל is almost certain.

No. 5.

Grant of Building Rights. 471 B. C.

The date is quite certain, 471 B. C. When found it was still rolled up, tied and sealed.

This is an agreement between Koniya and Mahseiah, allowing the former to build some kind of structure (אגר or אגר, see note) between his house and Mahseiah's, which are adjacent.

It is the first of a series of documents in which Mahseiah and his family are concerned. It is perfectly preserved.

Sayce and Cowley, pap. A.

1 בר /// לאלול הו יום 3 /// לפחנס שנת 7 /// חשיארש
 מלכא אמר

2 קוניה בר צדק ארמי זי סון לרגל וריות למחסיה בר ינדיה ארמי זי סון

ידין י
 ט

- 3 דגל וריות לאמר אנה אחית עליך ויהבת לי תרע ביתא זילך למבנה
 4 אנר | תמה אנרא זך זילך הי זי דבקה לביתא זילי לזויתת זי לעליה
 5 אנרא זך תדבק לשטר ביתי מן ארעא ועד עלא מן זוית ביתי זי לעליה ועד
 בית זכריה
- 6 מחר או יום אחרן לא אבהל אכלאנך למבנה עלוי אנרא זך זילך
 7 הן כליתך אנתן לך כסף ברשן // II באבני מלכא כסף צריף ואנרא זך =
 8 אפם והן מית קוניה מחר או יום אחרן לא יבהל בר וברה אח ואחה
 9 קריב ורחיק בעל דגל וקריה יכלא למחסה או לבר לה למבנה עלוי
 10 אנרא זך זילה זי יכלא מנהם ינתן לה כספא זי כתיב מן עלא ואנרא
 11 זילך אפם ואנת שליט למבנה עלויה עד עלא ואנה קוניה לא אבהל
 12 אמר למחסה לאמר תרעא זך לא זילך הו ולא תנפק בשוקא זי
 13 בנין ובין בית פפטעונית מלחא הן כליתך אנתן לך כספא זי כתיב מן עלא
 14 ואנת שליט למפתח תרעא זך ולמנפק בשוקא זי בנין
 15 כתב פלטיה בר אחיו ספרא זנה כפם קוניה שהדיא בנו
 16 שהד מחסה בר ישעיה. שהד שתברון בר אהרלי
 17 שהד שמעיה בר הושע שהד פרתפון בר ארתפרן
 18 שהד בגדת בר נבוכדרי. נבולי בר דרנא
 19 שהד בנתרש בר רחמיע שהד שלם בר הושעיה
- 20 ספר אנרא זי בנה זי כתב קוניה למחסה Endorsement.

¹ On the 18th of Elul, that is the 28th day of Paḥons, year 15 of King Xerxes, said ² Kōniya b. Zadok, an Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, to Maḥseiah b. Yedoniah, an Aramaean of Syene, ³ of the detachment of Warizath, saying: I came to you and you have given to me the gateway of your house to build ⁴ 1 portico (?) there. This portico is yours. It adjoins my house at its upper corner. ⁵ This portico shall adjoin the side of my house from the ground upwards, from the corner of my house at the upper end to the house of Zechariah. ⁶ To-morrow or on any later day I have no power to restrain you from building above (or upon) this portico of yours. ⁷ If I restrain you, I will pay you the sum of 5 karash, royal weight, pure silver, and the portico is yours ⁸ assuredly. If Kōniya dies to-morrow or on a later day no son or daughter, brother or sister, ⁹ relative or stranger, soldier or citizen, shall have power to restrain Maḥseh or his son from building above ¹⁰ this portico of his. Whoever restrains one of them shall pay him the sum aforesaid, and the portico ¹¹ is yours assuredly, and you have the right to build above it upwards, and I Kōniya have no power ¹² to speak to Maḥseh saying: This gateway is not yours, and you shall not go out (by it) into the street which ¹³ is between us and the house of Peft'onith, the boatman. If I restrain you, I will pay you the sum aforesaid. ¹⁴ And you have the right to open this gate and go out into the street which

This or the
 epistola
 on #13

is between us. ¹⁵ Pelatiah b. Ahio wrote this document at the dictation of Kōniya. Witnesses thereto: ¹⁶ Witness Maḥseh b. Isaiah. Witness Satibarzanes b. Atharli. ¹⁷ Witness Shemaiah b. Hosea. Witness Phrataphernes b. Artaphernes. ¹⁸ Witness Bagadata b. Nabukudurri. Nabuli b. Darga. ¹⁹ Witness Bentirash b. Raḥamrea' (?) Witness Shallum b. Hoshaiah. ²⁰ (Endorsement.) Deed (relating to) the portico which he built, which Kōniya wrote for Maḥseh.

Line 1. Elul = Paḥons. The equation of the Jewish and Egyptian dates is usual. See Introduction, p. vi. חשירש¹ in חשיארש.

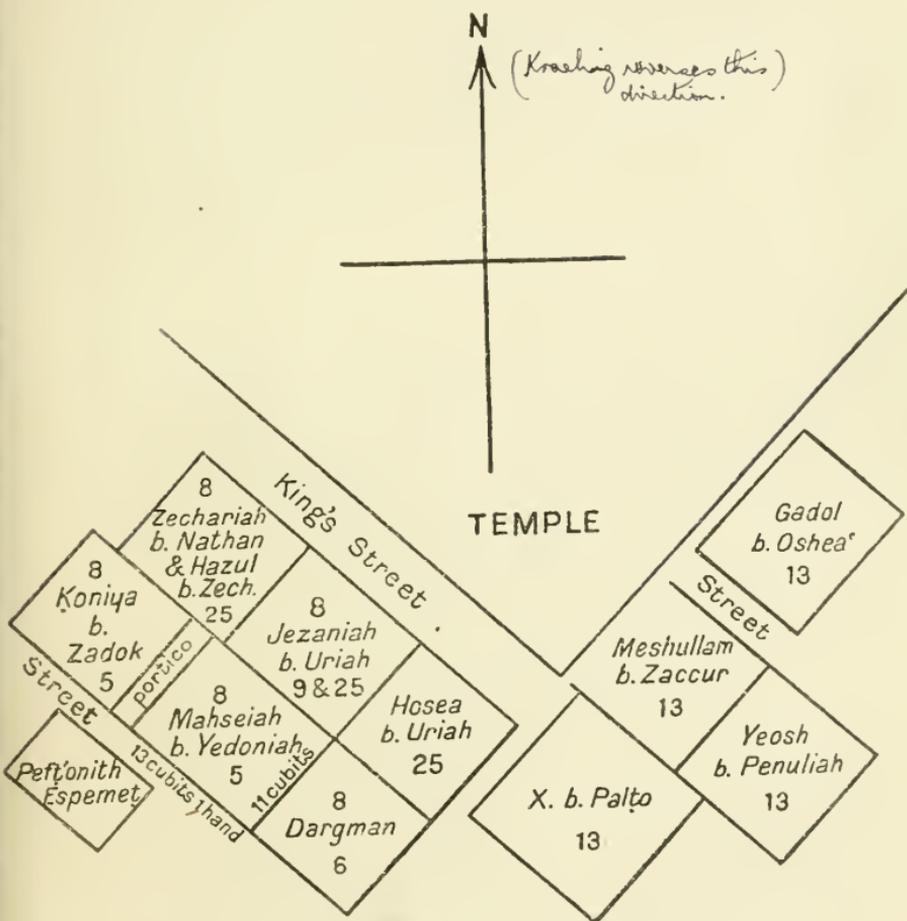
Line 2. The parties are both described as Aramaeans of Syene. In 6³ &c. Maḥseiah is called a 'Jew in Elephantine', and in 6⁸ Kōniya is also called a Jew. The terms seem to be used almost indiscriminately, but it is noticeable that, although we have six instances of יהודי זי ביב, we never find סון זי סון, and though there are ten cases of ארמי זי סון, there are only three of ארמי זי ביב. This can hardly be accidental, and points to Elephantine as the specially Jewish settlement. לדגל, a frequent term. S-C לרגל in the sense of 'depending on', in which case the רגל בעל (l. 9) was a *cliens* depending on a *patronus*. Cf. Exod. 11⁸. Though this view might be defended, it is perhaps better to read, as is now generally agreed, לדגל, cf. G. B. Gray in *J. Q. R.*, II, p. 92+. It is then a military term (1) 'standard', (2) 'detachment',¹ commanded by the man whose name (always Persian or Babylonian) follows it. Cf. the *σημέα* (*σημαία*, *σημεῖον*) in Ptolemaic Greek papyri. The explanation is not without difficulty, for the *degel* of Warizath here (in 471) appears also in 15³ (441), and perhaps in 28² (410), in each case relating to Aramaeans of Syene. We can hardly suppose that any one man could command it for sixty-one years. Several men are described in different documents as belonging to two *degalin*, which may mean that they were transferred from one detachment to another. The persons belonging to a *degel* nearly all have Jewish (or other foreign) names, but see 7³ (reading not certain). Native Egyptians are never so described. This may be accidental, but it may also be that Egyptians were not employed as soldiers in the garrison. The *degalin* (composed of Jews) formed the garrison (חילא), or an important part of it, in Elephantine-Syene. They were settled there with their families, and were capable of holding property (*κάτοικοι*). Their military duties seem to have been secondary and slight, though they received rations and pay, as a retaining fee. The native population seems to have been purely civil. See further in the Introduction, p. viii, and for *σημέα*, see Lesquier, *Les Institutions militaires de l'Égypte* (1911), p. 103, &c. וריזת, a Persian name. The parties

¹ This vague term is used because there is no indication of its number.

belonged to the same detachment. ינדיה a mistake for ידניה, one of the many mis-spellings in these texts. Stenning compares בלגרי for ברנלי in Sinjirli, P 16.

Line 3. לאמר. A Hebraism, commonly used to introduce the business.

Line 4. אנר or אנר is feminine. The word has been much discussed, but no convincing explanation has yet been found. As אנר it has been compared with Bab. *agurru* 'brickwork', or איגר 'roof'. As אנר, Barth (*Rev. Sémi.*, 1909, p. 149) compares اجاد, and אנרתו (Amos 9⁶), a lower building contrasted with כעלותו. Lidzbarski thinks it was possibly a *succa* (in Elul), but it seems to be something more permanent. From the description it must be some sort of archway or covered passage on or over which the lessor has the right to build. The following plan of the buildings has been made by Hoonacker (*Schweich Lectures*, p. 14):



The passage between the houses is called *תרע* in l. 3, meaning the gate and the way to it. The lessor Mahseiah grants the right to build there, but the building, as a fixture, is to be his property as ground landlord (or tenant-in-chief?). *לעליה*. The 'upper part' is the end remote from the house of Zechariah, i. e. at the South.

Line 5 was inserted after l. 6 was written, because l. 4 was not sufficiently definite. Hence it is partly a repetition. *מן ארעא וכ'*. The posts or pillars supporting the *אנר* were to be fixed against the side of the house (*רבק* 'attached' to it). *זכריה* was son of Nathan (87). The house afterwards passed to his son *הצול* (25⁵).

Line 6. The usual formula. *אבהל*. Only the imperfect occurs in these texts, and in the forms *יבהל* and *יכל* (cf. 14), which are probably only varieties of spelling. In BA the participle alone has the fuller form (*בהל*): the other parts have been influenced by the Hebrew *יכל*. See further *JRAS*, 1920, p. 182. In these texts it is always followed by an imperfect. *עלוי* either 'upon' or 'above'.

Line 7. On the money see Introduction, p. xxii. A penalty is part of the common form. *זך* a mistake for *זילך*, cf. ll. 10, 11.

Line 8. *אפם* a strengthened form of *אף*, as *זכם* (9²) of *זך*. *בר וברה וכ'* is again common form.

Line 9. *וקריה* for *קריה* and *ובעל קריה*, a full citizen as distinguished from *בעל דגל* *למחסה* (*αλγοροῦχος* (here translated 'soldier' for convenience). The use of *ל* to mark the object is not common in these texts. It is probably inserted here for greater clearness, and then repeated in *לבר*. Note the change to the third person. The name is shortened (familiarly) from Mahseiah.

Line 10. *זי . . . מנהם* 'whoever of them' restrains? or 'whoever (restrains one) of them'?

Line 11. *עד עלא* repeated for greater precision. Mahseiah was free to build on top of the portico, but not under it.

Line 12. *אמר*, 1st pers. sing. imperf. The right to build above it being settled, the next clause deals with the right to use the gate and passage under it.

Line 13. *פפטעונית*, an Egyptian name. The Jews were not restricted to a particular quarter or ghetto. *מלהא*. He was a Nile boatman. His son (6^{10.11}) followed the same calling.

Line 14. *זי בינין* is used inaccurately. The *street* was not between the houses of *Ḳoniya* and Mahseiah, but only a passage (with the *אנר*), unless that is now called a *שוק*. The phrase no doubt means (as in l. 13) the street 'between our houses and that of Pefṭonith'.

Line 15. The deed is drawn up at the direction of the lessee. בר אחיו. The family may have been professional scribes, since no. 11 was written by Gemariah b. Ahio. In 10²² Ahio b. Petaḥiah, a witness, is probably a son of the present scribe. על פם or כפם the regular phrases, 'at the dictation of'. בנו cf. on 2⁹.

Lines 16-19. The names are signed by the witnesses themselves, and are therefore difficult to read. Note the mixture of Jewish, Persian, Babylonian, and perhaps other names.

Line 16. שת-בזוני a Persian name, of which שת-בזוני (Ezra 5⁶, &c.) is no doubt a corruption. אַתְרְלִי (though בַּתְרְלִי is possible), as in 13¹⁸. Halévy, however, points out that if it is Assyrian it should be אִישְׁתְרְלִי, if Aramaic or Arabic, עתרלי. Peiser suggests Atarlfu. Cf. נבולי, l. 18.

Line 17. פרתפון is no doubt intended, but it is written פרתפון.

Line 18. נבול Persian. His father's name is Babylonian. נבולי 'Nabu is my god' or 'is mighty'. The mark before it may be a false start, or a mark of division. Stenning suggests that it is a bad ש, for שהר which stands before the other names. דרגא. Lidzbarski thinks a short form of Dargman (6²), cf. 13¹⁹. It may be דרגא Δαδάκας, Persian.

Line 19. בנתרש a strange name. There seems to be no other way of reading it. רַחֲמֵרַע uncertain. The papyrus is broken. Cf. CIS. ii. i. 154⁷.

No. 6.

Conveyance. 465 B.C.

The date is the 21st year of Xerxes, which is stated to be the 1st year of Artaxerxes (i), i. e. 465 B.C.

It is an agreement between Dargman and Mahseiah (cf. 5²) concerning the right to certain property. Dargman claimed a piece of land which Mahseiah also claimed. The matter being brought before the court, Mahseiah was required to take an oath in support of his claim, presumably because there was no evidence. Dargman now submits to the ruling of the court against him, and this deed is drawn up at his direction. Reference is made to it in 8²³, when the property passed to Mibṭaḥiah. Such an oath was a common form of legal procedure, see nos. 7, 44, 45. It was used in Babylonian law, see the Code of Ḥammurabi (ed. Winckler) §§ 20, 249, &c. Clermont-Ganneau compares also 'ankh (*sankh*) in Egyptian law.

The writing is not very skilful. Note too the great variation in the number of letters in a line. The papyrus is almost perfect. (Some LETTERS INCORRECTLY TRANSLITERATED)

Sayce and Cowley, pap. B.

- 1 בר /// III II לכסלו הו [יום III] לתחות שנת ד ראש מלכותא כזי
 2 ארתחשסט מלכא יתב בכרסאה אמר דרגמן בר חרשין חרומי זי אתרה
 3 ביב בירתא טביד לדגל ארתבנו למחסיה בר ידניה יהודי זי בבירת יב
 4 לדגל וריות לאמר [מא]ת לי ביהו אלהא ביב בירתא אנת ואנתתך
 5 וכרך כל III על ארקא זילי זי אנה קבלת עליך עלדברה קדם
 6 דמירת וכנותה דיניא וטענוך לי מומאה למומא ביהו עלדבר ארקא
 7 זך כזי לא הות ארק דרגמן זילי הא אנה אף הא תחומי ארקא זך
 8 זי ימאת לי עלדברה בית^{אנה} דרגמן למוע שמש מנ[ה] ובית קוניה בר צדק
 9 יהודי לדגל אתרופרן למערב שמש לה ובית [יז]ניה בר אוריה
 10 יהודי לדגל וריות לתחתיה לה ובית אספמת בר פפטעונית
 11 מלח זי מיא קשיא לעליה לה ימאת לי ביהו והוטבת
 12 לבבי על ארקא זך לא אכהל אנרנך דין ודבב אנה וברלי וברה
 13 לי על ארקא זך אנת וברלך וברה לך אח ואחה לך קריב ורחיק
 14 זי יגרנך בשמי ארקא זך ינתן לך כסף ברשן ד הו עשרן באבני
 15 מלכא כסף ר II לעשרתא וארקא אפם זילך ואנת רחיק מן
 16 כל דין זי יקבלון עליך עלדבר ארעא זך כתב איתן בר אבה ספרא 16
 17 זנה בסון בירתא כפם דרגמן שהד הושע בר פטחנום שהד
 18 גדול בר יגדל שהד גמריה בר אחיו משלם בר הושע
 19 סינכשד בר נבוסמסכן שהד הדדגורי בבליא
 20 שהד גדליה בר ענניה
 21 שהד אריישא בר ארוסתמר
 22 ספר מרחק זי כתב [דרגמן] בר חרשין ל מחסיה Endorsement.

¹ On the 18th of Chisleu, that is the 7th day of Thoth, in year 21, the beginning of the reign when ²King Artaxerxes sat on his throne, said Dargman b. Harshin the Khorasmian, whose station ³ is fixed in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Artabanu, to Mahseiah b. Yedoniah a Jew who (lives) in the fortress of Yeb, ⁴ of the detachment of Warizath, saying: You have *sworn* to me by the God Ya'u in Yeb the fortress, you and your wife ⁵ and your son, three in all, about my land in regard to which I lodged a complaint against you before ⁶ Damidata and his colleagues the judges, and they imposed upon you an oath to me, to swear by Ya'u in regard to this land, ⁷ that it was no longer the land of Dargman, mine, that is (belonging to) me. Now these are the boundaries of this land ⁸ in regard to which you swore to me: My house, of me Dargman, is to

the east of *iz*, and the house of Kōniya b. Zadok, ⁹ Jew, of the detachment of Athropan, to the west of it, and the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah, ¹⁰ Jew, of the detachment of Warizath, at the lower end of it, and the house of Espemet b. Pest'onith, ¹¹ boatman of the cataract, at the upper end of it. You have sworn to me by Ya'u, and have satisfied ¹² my mind about this land. I shall have no power to institute suit or process against you, I and my son and my daughter, ^{12a} brother and sister of mine, relative and stranger, ¹³ concerning this land, (against) you and your son and your daughter, brother and sister of yours, relative and stranger. ¹⁴ Whoever sues you in my name concerning this land, shall pay you the sum of 20 (twenty) karash royal weight, ¹⁵ at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and the land is assuredly yours, and you are quit of ¹⁶ all claim that they may bring against you in regard to this land. Ethan b. Aba wrote this deed ¹⁷ in Syene the fortress, at the dictation of Dargman. Witness, Hosea b. Petekhnun. Witness, ¹⁸ Gadol b. Yigdal. Witness, Gemariah b. Ahio. Meshullam b. Hosēa. ¹⁹ Sinkashid b. Nabusumiskun. Witness, Hadadnuri the Babylonian. ²⁰ Witness, Gedaliah b. Ananiah. ²¹ Witness, Aryisha b. Arusathmar. ²² (Endorsement.) Deed of renunciation written by *Dargman* b. Hārshin for Mahseiah.

Line 1. The number in the Egyptian month is broken, and the space requires something before $\backslash III$, most probably III, but it might be \neg (making 14). Gutesmann and Hontheim calculate that it should be 17, but there is hardly room for III \neg .

Line 2. דרגמן בר הרשין apparently Persian names. חרומי if it means 'of Khwarizm' is a strangely modern form, for خو in the Persian of to-day is pronounced kh . אתרה . Nöldeke is probably right in taking this as 'place', i.e. 'his station'. So I. Lévi and Clermont-Ganneau. Halévy, 'whose land is cultivated in Yeb'. Cf. 13¹⁹, where see note.

Line 3. עביר must then be 'made', 'fixed', as Nöldeke. But the expression is strange. מחסי in 5² was an Aramaean of Syene, but in both places he belongs to the *degel* of Warizath. The property was evidently in Elephantine.

Line 4. י[מא]ה . Traces of מא make this certain. Mahseiah, as a Jew, swears by Ya'u before a Persian court, and his oath is accepted by the court and by his opponent, who was not a Jew. On the name, see Introduction, p. x. בירתא is probably right. It looks like בארקי , but the tail is too long for ק , and the preposition would then be על . Moreover, l. 5 makes it superfluous.

Line 5. ברך probably Gemariah, 9¹⁸.

Line 6. Damidata, a Persian, was president of the court. כנותה

are his assessors, cf. Ezra 5⁶, &c. דיניא as Ezra 4⁹. טענוך 'they laid upon you', i. e. required you to take.

Line 8. ביתי אנה ר'. The scribe originally wrote בית ר', and altered it for greater clearness, since Dargman retained the adjoining house. He forgot at first that he was writing in Dargman's name. The boundaries of the property, to be consistent with no. 5, must include Mahseiah's house, which may have been the cause of the action. As the properties are in the same group as in no. 5, it is probable that Darga there (5¹⁸) is a short form of Dargman. קוניה in 5² is an Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath.

Line 10. לתחתיה, the lower side is the north, as לעליה (l. 11) is the south. בפמטעונית, not פומ' as S-C, is no doubt the same as in 5¹³. His son Espemet carried on the same business, cf. 2², 3³, 4⁷.

Line 11. מיא קשיא 'the difficult waters', no doubt the cataract of Assuan. On the navigation of it, see Hdt. 2²⁹.

Line 12. אנרנך, cf. on 1⁴. Here with double accusative. ברלי as one word, so עלרברה l. 8, and often.

Line 12^a inserted as an afterthought.

Line 13. אנת &c. resuming the pronoun in אנרנך. The construction is clumsy but clear.

Line 14. בשמי i. e. acting for me. אנתן ינתן as S-C. 3 is badly made. It is like that in 1¹, and confirms the reading there.

Line 15. ר. || לעשרתא. See Introduction, p. ~~102~~ רחיק 'removed from', i. e. quit of, or guaranteed against. ~~102~~ ~~102~~.

Line 16. יקבלן, cf. l. 5, a technical term, 'lodge a complaint', 'bring an action'. Here with a cognate accusative. ארעא as in no. 5, though ארקא is used in l. 15 &c. איתן probably, cf. 1 Kings 4³¹. Not איתו, which is not a known name.

Line 17. בסון. The court was held in Syene, though the parties both belonged to Elephantine, and the property was also there. The names are written by the witnesses themselves. הושע בר פטחנום a Jew whose father has an Egyptian name. Was he a proselyte? Or did a Jewess marry an Egyptian and give her son a Jewish name? In later times Jews had no objection to using foreign (even theophoric) names, as Isidore, sometimes as alternatives to their Hebrew names, so that Petekhnun may have been a Jew. Cf. 15², and note on 25³.

Line 18. נמריה בר אחיו, the scribe of no. 11.

Line 21. The names are unknown.

Line 22. מרחק 'withdrawal' or 'renunciation' of claim.

No. 7.

A Case of Burglary. 461 B.C.

The date is the fourth year of Artaxerxes. Sachau takes this to be Artaxerxes I, on the ground that in the time of Artaxerxes II (404-358) Egypt was in revolt and therefore documents would not be dated by Persian regnal years. Cf. no. 35, dated in the fifth year of Amyrtaeus, about 400. The argument is not conclusive, because the history of the revolt is obscure and we do not know how far the Persians may have retained a hold on the country, e.g. in the south at Elephantine, or whether some sections of the people (e.g. the Jews) may have remained faithful to Persia. On the whole, however, the earlier date (461 B.C.) is more probable than the later (401). The name of the defendant, Phrataphernes b. Artaphernes (l. 3), about which there can be little doubt, occurs also in 5¹⁷ as a witness in 471 B.C. (The Malchiah, whose son is a witness in nos. 8 and 9, in 460, may or may not be the same as the plaintiff here). The style of the writing, though at first sight it appears to be late, is not decisive. On the other hand the *degel* of Nabukudurri occurs elsewhere only in 29² (about 409 B.C.) and 35² (about 400 B.C.). It seems, however, that the name of a *degel* could go on for a long time, whatever the explanation, since that of Warizath is mentioned in nos. 5, 6, 14, 15, 28, i.e. from 471 to 410 B.C. It is therefore more probable that the *degel* of Nabukudurri should have lasted for sixty years than that there should have been two men of the name of Phrataphernes b. Artaphernes (if that is right) with an interval of seventy years between them. Still it must be admitted that the date is not certain.

The precise form of procedure here is not clear, owing to the broken state of the papyrus. It is usually taken as a case of an oath of exculpation, where, if evidence was not obtainable, the defendant was required to swear that he had not committed the offence alleged against him. Cf. no. 6. If, however, the restorations proposed here are correct, the case is rather thus: Phrataphernes had boasted that he had trespassed on Malchiah's property, &c. Malchiah now requires him to retract his statements on oath, and will then have the right to take further proceedings, the nature of which is unknown owing to the loss of part of the papyrus.

In general compare nos. 6, 16, 44, 45.

Sachau, plate 26. Ungnad, no. 28.

1 בִּרְתָא אֲמַר מַלְכִּיָּה בִּרְ יִשְׁבִּיָּה אֲרָמִי מֵהֶסֶן בִּיב

2 בִּרְתָא אֲמַר מַלְכִּיָּה בִּרְ יִשְׁבִּיָּה אֲרָמִי מֵהֶסֶן בִּיב

- 3 ב[ירתא לד]גל נבוכד[רי לפר]תפרן [בר ארתפ]רן לדנ[ל]
 4 נב[כדרי לא]מר [א]נת קר[ית עלי] בנפא [הָן על]ת [בבית]י
 5 כחסן וכתשת לאנתתי ונכסן כחסן הנפקת מן ביתי
 6 ולקחת לנפש[ך] עבֶדֶת שאיל[א] ומקריא על אלהן
 7 מטא עלי בדינא אנה מלכיה אקרא לך על הרמביתאל
 8 אלהא בין [נק]מן $\sqrt{\text{III}}$ לא[מר] כחסן בביתך [לא] עלת
 9 ולאנתתא [זילך] לא כתשת ונכסן מן ביתך כ[חסן] לא לקחת
 10 והן [אנה] קרית לך בין [נ]קמיא אלה [אכה]ל אף אק[רא]

¹ On the 18th of Paophi, in the 4th year of Artaxerxes the king, in Yeb ² the fortress, said Malchiah b. Joshibiah, Aramaean, holding property in Yeb ³ the fortress, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, to Phurataphernes b. Artaphernes of the detachment ⁴ of Nabukudurri, saying: You declared concerning me in Nepha that you entered my house ⁵ by force, and struck my wife, and removed goods from my house by force, ⁶ and took them for yourself. I have made a petition and the appeal to our god ⁷ has been laid upon me by the court, on me Malchiah, that I should challenge you by Herembethel ⁸ the god, before ⁴ judges (?), thus: 'I did not enter your house by force, ⁹ and did not strike your wife, and did not take goods from your house by force.' ¹⁰ And if I challenge you before these judges (?) I am entitled also to challenge . . . *a. untr. in 8 + 9.*

Line 2. מהחסן, the regular word for 'holding property'.

Line 3. The beginning is certain. In the defendant's name the letters תפרן are certain. Of his father's name only רן remains. It is not מ, as Sachau and Ungnad read, and what they take as י after it is an accidental mark, of which there are several in this papyrus. Also their proposed מי[אר] would not fill the space, nor would there be room for anything between it and the name. A name ending in תפרן must belong to a Persian, who would not be described as an Aramaean. Hence רן . . . בר . . . תפרן בר . . . ל seems certain, and the restoration highly probable.

Line 4. [נבוכדרי]. Sachau and Ungnad read . . . מר. In this hand נב are very like מ, but נבו is more probable, though it need not necessarily be completed as in l. 3. If it is Nabukudurri, both parties belonged to the same *degel*. This is expressed in 20⁴ by לזכום דנלא, cf. 9². [לאמר]. The tails of מר are clear. [קרית עלי] or [קרית לי]. The restoration is quite conjectural. The preceding [אנת] can hardly be anything else. Then these words must introduce the accusation, and the introduction is put into the mouth of the accused. Since he is afterwards required to deny the charge, it should be introduced here by something like 'you stated' or 'you did'. But of course it might be another clause in the charge, which is not recited in ll. 8, 9. It might, however, be [קרם],

or 'you attacked me' (or something similar) in N. and entered. בנפא is fairly certain. Traces of פ are visible. In 20⁴ there is נפא בדין. Here it seems to be a place-name. הן is quite conjectural. The traces of letters make nothing. The fragment of papyrus here and in l. 3 seems to be out of place as the traces are not in the line. ח[על] [על] is required by l. 8. So Sachau. Ungnad reads . . . ב . ב . (i. e. [ב]ב[ית]), but the mark is merely accidental.

Line 5. כחסן cf. כעשק in 16⁵⁻⁸⁻⁹, where Seidel takes the כ as otiose. It seems here to be like a *kaph veritatis* (perhaps כחוסן) 'as (with) violence', i. e. violently.

Line 6. עבדח. So Sachau and Ungnad. The בר are badly written, but nothing else seems probable. וּמְקַרְיָא שְׂאִיל[א] evidently technical terms. They belong to different clauses. אלהן 'our god' (as Sachau). Not אלהיא 'the gods'. It can hardly be a Hebraism, like אלהים used as a proper name.

Line 7. אנה, asyndeton, 'so I M. challenge'. חרמביתחאל. On this and other gods, see Introduction, p. x.

Line 8. [נק]מן 'avengers', i. e. judges, is Sachau's suggestion, and so in l. 10. It is not very satisfactory. Ungnad points out that one would expect קרם before it, but בין is not impossible.

Line 10. After והן Ungnad suggests לֵא, but the apodosis with אף makes this impossible 'if I do not challenge, then I shall also challenge'. Sachau suggests לֵא or אנה. I thought of לו והן as in Aḥiḳar, l. 81, &c., but there seem to be faint traces of אנה. It is much to be regretted that the rest is lost, so that we do not know the subsequent procedure.

No. 8.

Conveyance. 460 B.C.

The papyrus is almost perfectly preserved, except for a crease in the last third of the breadth which causes a doubt as to a few letters.

The date is the 6th (Gutesmann and Hontheim 5th) year of Artaxerxes I = 460 B.C. Artaxerxes I (not II) is certain because it relates to the same persons who appear in no. 6, of the first year of Artaxerxes I = 465.

The sentences are sometimes divided by extra space.

Mibṭaḥiah, daughter of Mahseiah, was about to be married, or had just been married (l. 7), to Jezaniah b. Uriah. Her father gives her as dowry a property in Elephantine, with full powers to dispose of it. The

property is carefully described, and Mibṭaḥiah's rights are elaborately safeguarded. It is the same estate to which Dargman had laid claim in no. 6. That document is now handed over to Mibṭaḥiah as part of the title-deeds.

Sayce and Cowley, D.

- 1 בָּרָא לְכַסְלוֹ הוּ יוֹם אֶלְמְסוּרַע שְׁנַת // אֶרְתַּחְשֶׁשׁ מְלֵכָא אִמְרַ מַּחְסִיָּה
- 2 בַּר יַדְנִיָּה יְהוּדִי [מַהְחֶסֶן בֵּיב בִּירְתָא לְדַגְל הוֹמְדַת לְנִשְׁן מְבַטְחִיָּה
- 3 בִּרְתָה לְאִמְרַ אַנְה יְהַבַּת לְכִי בַחְיִי וּבְמוֹתֵי בֵיתָ אַרְק זִילֵי הוּ
- 4 מְשַׁחְתָּה אַרְבַּה מִן תַּחְתִּיָּה לְעַלְיָה אִמְן דְּ // וּפְשַׁךְ אֶלְמְסוּרַע מוֹעַא
- 5 לְמַעַרְבֵי אִמְן דְּ אֶלְמְסוּרַע תַּחְמוּמֵי עַלְיָה לְהַ בֵּית דַּרְגְּמָן בַּר חַרְשִׁין
- 6 דְּבַק [תַּחְתִּיָּה לְהַ בֵּית קוֹנִיָּה בַּר צַדִּק מוֹעַא שְׁמֵשׁ לְהַ בֵּית יוֹן בַּר
- 7 אֹוּרִיָּה בַּעֲלֵכִי וּבֵית זְכַרְיָה בַּר נַחַן מַעַרְבֵי לְהַ בֵּית אֶסְפַּמַּת בַּר פַּפְטְעוֹנִית
- 8 מְלַח זִי מוּיָא קֶשִׁיָּא בֵּיתָּ וְנַךְ אַרְק אַנְה יְהַבַּתָּ לְכִי בַחְיִי וּבְמוֹתֵי
- 9 אַנְתִּי שְׁלִיטָה בַּה מִן יוֹמָא זֶנָּה וְעַד עַלְמַּ וּבְנִיכֵי אַחַרְיִכֵי לְמִן זִי
- 10 דְּחַמְטֵי תְנַחְנַן לֹא אֵיִתִּי לִי בַר וּבִרְה אַחַרְנָן אַח וְאֵהָה וְאַנְתָּה
- 11 וְאִישׁ אַחַרְנָן שְׁלִיטָה בְּאַרְקָא זָךְ לְהַן אַנְתִּי וּבְנִיכֵי עַד עַלְמַּ זִי
- 12 יִרְשַׁנְכִי דִין וּדְבַ [ב] אַנְתִּי וּבַר וּבִרְה לְכִי וְאִישׁ זִילְכִי בְּשֵׁם אַרְקָא
- 13 זָךְ זִי יְהַבַּת לְכִי וּקְבַל עַלְיִכִי סַגְן וּדִין יִתַּן לְכִי וּלְבְנֵיכִי
- 14 כֶּסֶף כַּרְשֵׁן דְּ הוּ עֶשְׂרָה בְּאַבְנֵי מְלֵכָא כֶּסֶף ר' // לְעֶשְׂרֵתָא וְלֹא דִין וְלֹא דְבַב
- 15 וּבֵיתָא בֵּיתְכִי אַפְסַּ וּלְבְנֵיכִי אַחַרְיִכֵי / וְלֹא יִפְהַלְקוּ יְהַנְפַּקוּ עַלְיִכִי
- 16 סַפְרַ חַדַּת וְעַתִּיק בְּשֵׁמֵי עַל אַרְקָא זָךְ לְמִנְתָּן לְאִישׁ אַחַרְנָן זָךְ סַפְרָא
- 17 זִי יְהַנְפַּקוּ עַלְיִכִי כַּדָּב יְהוּהָ לֹא אַנְה כְּתַבְתָּה וְלֹא יִתְלַקָּה בְּדִין
- 18 וּסַפְרָא זֶנָּה בִּירְכִי וְאַף אַנְה מַחְסִיָּה מַחַר אֹו יוֹם אַחַרְנָן לֹא אַהַנְעַל
- 19 מוֹנְכִי לְמִנְתָּן לְאַחַרְנָן אַרְקָא זָךְ זִילְכִי [בְּנֵי וְהָבִי לְמִן זִי דְּחַמְטֵי
- 20 הַן מַחַר אֹו יוֹם אַחַרְנָן אֶרְשַׁנְכִי דִין וּדְבַב וְאִמְרַ לֹא יְהַבַּת לְכִי
- 21 אַנְה אַנְתָּן לְכִי כֶּסֶף כַּרְשֵׁן דְּ בְּאַבְנֵי מְלֵכָא כֶּסֶף ר' // לְעֶשְׂרֵתָא וְלֹא דִין
- 22 וְלֹא דְבַב וּבֵיתָא בֵּיתְכִי אַפְסַּ וְאַהַךְ וְאַהַךְ בְּדִין וְלֹא אֶפְדֶּק וּסַפְרָא זֶנָּה בְּנִיכֵי
- 23 אַף אֵיִתִּי סַפְרַ מְרַחֵק אֶלְמְסוּרַע בַּר חַרְשִׁין חַרְזוּמִיָּא כְּתַבְלֵי עַל
- 24 אַרְקָא זָךְ כּוּי רֶשָׁה עַלְיָה קֶדֶם דִּינִיָּא וּמוּמָא טַעִינְתְּלָה וְיִמְאַתְלָה
- 25 כּוּי זִילְהִי וּסַפְרַ מְרַחֵק כְּתַב וְיַהֲבֵלִי סַפְרָא זָךְ אַנְה יְהַבַּתָּ לְכִי
- 26 אַנְתִּי חַסְפֵּנְהִי הַן מַחַר אֹו יוֹם אַחַרְנָן דַּרְגְּמָן אֹו בַּר זִילְהַ יִרְשָׁה
- 27 עַל בֵּיתָא זָךְ סַפְרָא זָךְ הַנְפַּקִּי וּלְקַבְלָה דִין עַדְרֵי עַמָּה כְּתַב עַתְרֶשׁוּרִי
- 28 בַּר נְבוּזְרַאבָּן סַפְרָא זֶנָּה בְּסוֹן בִּירְתָא כַּפְסַּ מַחְסִיָּה שְׁהַדִּיא בְּגוּ
- 29 שְׁהַד גַּמְרִיָּה בַּר מַחְסִיָּה שְׁהַד זְכַרְיָה בַּר נַחַן

30 שהד הושע בר פלליה שהד זכריה בר משלם שהד מעויה בר

31 מלכיה שהד שמעיה בר ידניה שהד ידניה בר מחסה

32 שהד נתן בר ענניה זכור בר צפניה

33 שהד הושע בר רעויה שהד מחסה בר ישעיה

34 שהד הושע בר יגדל

Endorsement. 35 ספר ב[ן] זי יהב[] מחסה בר ידנ[]יה

36 לְמִבְּתַח בְּרַת מַחְסֵיהָ

¹ On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st day of Mesore, the 6th year of Artaxerxes, the king, said Mahseiah ² b. Yedoniah, a Jew holding property in Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Haumadata, to Mibtahiah, spinster (?), ³ his daughter, as follows: I give to you for my lifetime and after my death a house and land of mine. ⁴ Its measurement is: its length from the lower to the upper end 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth; width from east ⁵ to west 11 cubits by the measuring-rod; its boundaries, at the upper end of it the house of Dargman b. Harshin ⁶ adjoins it; at the lower end of it the house of Koniya b. Zadok; east of it the house of Jezan b. ⁷ Uriah, your husband, and the house of Zechariah b. Nathan; west of it the house of Espemet b. Peft'onith ⁸ boatman of the cataract. This house and land I give to you for my lifetime and after my death; ⁹ you have full rights over it from this day for ever, and your children after you. To whom ¹⁰ you wish you may give it. There is no other son or daughter of mine, brother or sister, or other ¹¹ woman or man who has rights over this land, except you and your children for ever. Whoever ¹² shall institute against you suit or process, against you or son or daughter of yours or any one belonging to you on account of this land ¹³ which I give to you, and shall appeal against you to governor or judge, shall pay to you or to your children ¹⁴ the sum of 10 (that is, ten) kerashin, royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie), ¹⁵ and the house is your house assuredly and your children's after you; and they shall have no power to produce against you ¹⁶ any deed new or old in my name concerning this land to give it to any one else. Any deed ¹⁷ which they produce against you will be forged. I shall not have written it and it shall not be accepted by the court ¹⁸ while this deed is in your hand. And further, I, Mahseiah will not to-morrow or on any other day take it away ¹⁹ from you to give it to others. This land is yours. Build (on it) or give it to whom you will. ²⁰ If to-morrow or on any other day I institute against you suit or process, and say I did not give it to you, ²¹ I will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit ²² or process (shall lie), but the house is your house assuredly, and (if) I go into court I shall not win my case while this deed is in your hand. ²³ There is also a deed of renunciation which Dargman b. Harshin the Khorazmian wrote for me concerning ²⁴ this land, when he laid claim to it before the judges and I took an oath to him and swore to him ²⁵ that it was mine, and he wrote and gave me a deed of renunciation. This

How
of the
Khorazmian

deed I give to you. ²⁶ You are to take charge of it. If to-morrow or another day Dargman or his son should lay claim ²⁷ to this house, produce this deed and in accordance with it contest the case with him. 'Atharshuri ²⁸ b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses hereto: ²⁹ Witness, Gemariah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah b. Nathan. ³⁰ Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b. Meshullam. Witness, Ma'uziah b. ³¹ Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah. Witness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah. ³² Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Zaccur b. Zephaniah. ³³ Witness, Hosea b. Re'uah. Witness, Maḥseh b. Isaiah. ³⁴ Witness, Hosea b. Yigdal. (Endorsement.) ³⁵ Deed of a house *which* Maḥseh b. Yedoniah gave ³⁶ to Mibṭaḥ daughter of Maḥseh. }

Line 2. Mahseiah here belongs to the *degel* of Haumadata. In nos. 5 and 6 he is of the *degel* of Warizath. נשן applied to Mibṭaḥiah on her first marriage must be equivalent to Heb. בחולה. Elsewhere only in 10². S-C suggested a connexion with Arab. ناشى 'a young grown-up person'.

Line 3. ביה ארק. In 9³ ארק ביה. S-C read ביה here also, but there is an additional stroke, which seems to be part of a ת lost in the crease. The word is apparently used almost as a measure 'one house of land', i. e. the amount of land sufficient for one house, including the house upon it, and hence much the same as 'a house and land'. It was a freehold house, as no ground-rent is mentioned. בחיי ובמותי. Epstein compares B. T. Baba B. 153^a.

Line 4. ארביה 'its length', though פתי has no pronoun. Cf. תחומיה, l. 5. מן תחתיה לעליה, cf. 6¹⁰. The ground was higher on the south. Abd
Samm
alpe

Line 5. בעשתא is not very distinct, but certain from 9⁵. It must be some sort of measuring rod, though the Hebrew עשת means rather a lump or plate of metal. Perhaps it was originally a plumb-line, and then any sort of measuring line. Or it may be from the root עשת ('think', 'calculate') if that ever meant to 'measure' (so Nöldeke). Jampel proposes 'singly', 'each' (cf. עשתי עשר), which does not seem to give much sense. Clermont-Ganneau thinks it may mean 'eleven', repeating the numeral, as in 9⁵, but the ב would be difficult.

Line 6. יין a short form of יזניה, as Maḥseh for Mahseiah in 5⁹ &c.

Line 7. אספמת cf. 6¹⁰.

Line 8. מיא קשיא cf. 6¹¹. ביתא זנך ארק. S-C 'this house (*istam domum*) as an estate', but cf. l. 3. It probably is used loosely to mean house and land. זנך is not זך with נ inserted (as Staerk), but זנה with ך added, 'this of yours', though, speaking to a woman, it should be זכי.

Line 10. תנתנן has been taken (by Staerk and others) as a mistake for התנתנה. But see note on אשבקן Aḥīkar 82.

Line 11. ארקא = ארקא בִּי in l. 3. The land was the important part. The house went with it. Note that land could be conveyed.

Line 13. סנן a Babylonian term (*šaknu*), properly 'deputy' or 'representative' of the king. If דין means 'judge', the two words indicate two different authorities, the high court (of the רב־חילא, cf. 20⁴), and the local court. But it may mean 'magistrate and (his) court'. יקבל, lit. 'complain against you [to] governor or judge'. It is used like אנרנך 6¹². In 6¹⁶ it is connected with דין 'law-suit'.

Line 17. ברין, in a court, i. e. in any court.

Line 18. וספרא as in l. 22, 'while you hold this'.

Line 19. The space before ארקא shows that it begins a new sentence. בני 'build (upon it)', i. e. lay it out.

Line 23. ספר מרחק, i. e. no. 6, which is so called in the endorsement. כתבלי as one word, and so in ll. 24, 25.

Line 27. עָרִי probably so. The ו is in the crease. From ערר in the same sense as גרה or רשה.

Line 28. Nöldeke גבורארן, but cf. on 9¹⁶.

Lines 29-34. The names are signed by the witnesses themselves.

Lines 35, 36. The endorsement is much broken. There is a trace of ב before מחסה. Note the forms Maḥseh and Mibṭah, which are certain. Was the divine name avoided on the exposed part of the document? Of the witnesses Gemariah (l. 29) and Yedoniah (l. 31) were the sons of Mahseiah, the donor, and Shemaiah (l. 31) his grandson. Shemaiah's writing is that of a young man. Yedoniah has the same name as his grandfather.

No. 9.

Deed relating to the Reversion of the Property in

No. 8. 460 B.C.

The papyrus is unusual in being written on both sides.

The year is the same as in no. 8, namely 460 B. C., and probably the rest of the date, which is broken, also corresponds.

This is the complement of no. 8, dealing with the position of Jezaniah with regard to the property settled on his wife by no. 8. By that deed Mibṭahiah was to have full rights to dispose of the property as she wished. This is modified here by the provision that such rights only held good so long as she remained the wife of Jezaniah. If Jezaniah improved the property and Mibṭahiah subsequently divorced him, the property was to go to the children. If he divorced her, she was to take one half (of the house) absolutely, and he was to have rights over the other half with remainder to the children. In no case had Jezaniah

power to dispose of the property. As no provision is made for Jezaniah in the event of Mibṭahiah's dying while in possession of the property, it would apparently go to the children. On the legal points as compared with later Jewish practice, cf. Epstein, *Jahrb. d. jüdisch-lit. Gesellschaft*, 1909, p. 359. The document does not seem to intend a distinction between the house and the land, since the property is described first as one and then as the other. This is intelligible if the explanation of אַרְק בֵּית in 8³ is correct. The land was the important thing. Or does l. 11 imply that the *house* could be divided but not the *land*? The precise nature of land-tenure, whether freehold or some sort of copyhold, is not stated. At any rate there is no mention of a ground-rent or of a ground-landlord (the State?).

Sayce and Cowley, C.

- 1 אִמְרָא בֵּיתָא [לְכַסְמָא] לְיוֹם יוֹם אֶרְחֵשְׁשָׁא מְלַכְא אִמְרָא
מַחְסִיָּה
- 2 בְּרִי יְדִנְיָה [יְהוּדִי זִי בֵּיתָא] לְדִנְגְלָא הוּמְדַת לְיוֹנִיָּה בְּרִי אֹרִיָּה בּוֹכְסָא דְגֻלְא
- 3 לְאִמְרָא אִתִּי אַרְקָא בֵּיתָא זִילִי מְעַרְבָא לְבֵיתָא זִילְךָ זִי אִנְהָ יִהְיֶה לְמִבְטַחְיָה
- 4 בְּרִיתִי אֲנִתְךָ וְסַפְרָא כְּתִבְתְּךָ אַחְרֵיהּ מִשְׁחַת בֵּיתָא זְךָ אֲמֵן לְ אִמְרָא וּפְשִׁיךָ
- 5 בְּרִי אֲנִי בְּעִשְׂתָּא כְּעֵן אִנְהָ מַחְסִיָּה אֲמַרְתְּךָ אַרְקָא זְךָ בְּנִי וְעַתָּה בְּהִמִּיתָהּ
- 6 וְחַבְּ בְּנֵי עִם אֲנִתְךָ לְהֵן בֵּיתָא זְךָ לֹא שְׁלִיטָא אֲנִתְךָ לְיוֹנִיָּה וְלִמְנַתְךָ
- 7 רַחֲמֵת לְאַחֲרֵיךָ לְהֵן בְּנִיךָ מִן מִבְטַחְיָה בְּרִיתִי הִמּוֹ שְׁלִיטָא בְּהָ
- 8 אַחֲרֵיכֶם הֵן מַחֲרָא אִם יוֹם אַחֲרֵן אַרְקָא זְךָ תְּבַנְנָה אַחֲרֵן בְּרִיתִי תִשְׁנַאנְךָ
- 9 וְתִנְפַק מִנְךָ לֹא שְׁלִיטָה הִי לְמַלְקָחָה וְלִמְנַתְנָה לְאַחֲרֵיךָ לְהֵן בְּנִיךָ מִן
- 10 מִבְטַחְיָה הִמּוֹ שְׁלִיטָא בְּהָ תִלְךָ עֲבִירְתָּא זִי אֲנִתְךָ עֲבִירְתָּהּ הֵן תְּהַנְעֵל - *ep note.*
- 11 מִנְךָ פְּלַג בֵּיתָא [יְהוּדִי] לְהָ לְמַלְקָחָה וּפְלַגְתָּ אַחֲרֵיךָ [נָא] אֲנִתְךָ שְׁלִיטָה בְּהָ חִלְףָהּ
- 12 בְּנוּיָא זִי אֲנִתְךָ בְּנִית בְּבֵיתָא זְךָ וְתוֹב פְּלַגְתָּ הוּ בְּנִיךָ מִן מִבְטַחְיָה
- 13 הִמּוֹ שְׁלִיטָא בְּהָ אַחֲרֵיךָ הֵן מַחֲרָא אִם יוֹם אַחֲרֵן אַרְשִׁיךָ דִּין וְדַבְּבָהּ
- 14 וְאִמְרָא לֹא יִהְיֶה לְךָ אַרְקָא זְךָ לְמַבְנָה וְלֹא כְּתִבְתְּךָ סַפְרָא זְנָה אִנְהָ
- 15 אֲנִתְךָ לְךָ כֶּסֶף כְּרִשְׁנָךָ בְּאֲבֵי מְלַכְא כֶּסֶף ר' // לְעִשְׂרֵתָא וְלֹא דִין וְלֹא דַבְּבָהּ
- 16 כְּתִבְתָּ עֲתִישׁוּרִי בְּרִי נְבוֹרָאבְּן סַפְרָא זְנָה בְּסוֹן בִּירְתָּא כֶּפֶס מַחְסִיָּה שְׁהִרְיָא
- 17 בְּנֵי יִשְׁהָ הוֹשַׁע בְּרִי פְּלַלְיָה שְׁהָ זְכִרְיָה בְּרִי נִתְן
- 18 שְׁהָ גְמִרְיָה [בֵּיתָא] מַחְסִיָּה שְׁהָ זְכִרְיָה בְּרִי מִשְׁלָם
- 19 שְׁהָ מְעוּזָה בְּרִי מְלִכְיָה שְׁהָ שְׁמַעְיָה בְּרִי יְדִנְיָה
- 20 שְׁהָ יְדִנְיָה בְּרִי מַחְסִיָּה שְׁהָ נִתְן בְּרִי עֲנַנְיָה שְׁהָ זְכוּר בְּרִי צַפְנִיָּה
- 21 שְׁהָ הוֹשַׁע [בְּרִי] רַעוּיָה שְׁהָ מַחְסִיָּה בְּרִי יִשְׁעִיָּה
- 22 שְׁהָ הוֹשַׁע בְּרִי יְגִדְלָהּ

Note the absence full endorsement in this document.

¹ On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st of Mesore, the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah ² b. Yedoniah Jew, of Yeb, of the detachment of Haumatatá, to Jezaniah b. Uriah, of the same detachment ³ as follows: There is the land of 1 house belonging to me, west of your house, which I have given to Mibtaḥiah ⁴ my daughter, your wife, and I have written for her a deed concerning it. The measurement of this house is 13 cubits and a hand-breadth ⁵ by 11, by the measuring rod. Now I, Mahseiah, say to you, lay out this land and rear cattle on it (?), ⁶ and dwell on it with your wife, but you have no power to sell this house, or to give it ⁷ as a present to others; but your children by Mibtaḥiah my daughter have power over it ⁸ after you. If to-morrow or another day you lay out this land and then my daughter divorces you ⁹ and goes away from you, she has no power to take it or give it to others, but your children by ¹⁰ Mibtaḥiah have power over it in return for the work which you have done. If you put her away ¹¹ from you, half the house shall be hers to take, and as to the other half you have power over it in return for ¹² the improvements which you have made in this house. And again as to that half, your children by Mibtaḥiah ¹³ have power over it after you. If to-morrow or another day I should institute suit or process against you ¹⁴ and say I did not give you this land to develop, and did not draw up this deed for you, I ¹⁵ will pay you the sum of 10 kerashin by royal weight, at the rate of 2 R to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie). ¹⁶ Atharshuri b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses ¹⁷ hereto: Witness, Hosea b. Pelaliah. Witness, Zechariah b. Nathan. ¹⁸ Witness, Gemariah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Zechariah b. Meshullam. ¹⁹ Witness, Ma'uziah b. Malchiah. Witness, Shemaiah b. Yedoniah. ²⁰ Witness, Yedoniah b. Mahseiah. Witness, Nathan b. Ananiah. Witness, Zaccur b. Zephaniah. ²¹ Witness, Hosea b. Re'uiah. Witness, Maḥseh b. Isaiah. ²² Witness, Hosea b. Ygdal.

Line 1. [ל] [כס] [ל], the tops of the ל's make this certain. The other restorations are from no. 8.

Line 2. אב [ב] for בּיב only here. The א is probable. זכם 'that very' = 'the same'. The same intensive suffix as in אבם 5⁸.

Line 3. ארק בי, cf. 8³. The בי is certain here.

Line 4. כתבתלה one word, as often in these two deeds. אחרודי 'after it', i. e. in consequence, or respecting it.

Line 5. בּר. The second dimension is introduced by בּ of which the precise meaning is not clear. כען as frequently in letters, introduces the business after preliminaries. ועתר. Probably ר. S-C read ועתר and translate (from the context) 'stock (it) with', cf. Prov. 24²⁷. So Halévy 'multiply'. Nöldeke reads עַפֵּר but does not explain the connexion. He thinks the site was too small to support cattle, but the dimensions of the house only are given. There may have been plenty

of land attached to it. We may perhaps compare the root of Hebrew עתודים (Ass. *atûdu*, Arab. عتود) 'he-goats', a good Semitic word, which can be only artificially explained from עתר 'to be ready'. In Ps. 50⁹ it is parallel to פר and in 50¹³ to אבירים, in both cases implying animals that are *strong*, i. e. well-fed or fattened. So also in explaining عتود and عتد ('a well-bred horse') the Arab lexicographers (see Lane) lay stress on the quality of strength. Hence we may assume an extension of the meaning of $\sqrt{\text{עתר}}$, or a separate root meaning 'to feed', 'make strong', 'rear (cattle)'. Cf. perhaps the various senses of $\sqrt{\text{זון}}$. [Also perhaps Sumerian *tud* 'beget' or 'bring forth', *utud* 'offspring', *udu* 'sheep'.] In general cf. Prov. 27²³⁻²⁷. בהמיתה is very difficult. In the first place בהמה is not used in Aramaic. If it is a Hebraism, which is possible, the form is strange. The י is clear. It may be a false start in making a ת, or the scribe may have been going to write an א to mark the long vowel of the plural (בהמה). Then the final ה cannot mark the emph. st., which always ends in א. It can only be 'its cattle' referring to ארקא if that be possible, for 'rear cattle on it'. Nöldeke alternatively suggests מיתה מיתה but does not explain. Or is it a Persian compound of *ham-*, with the preposition כ? Then we should have to find another meaning for עתר (עתר), such as 'be happy in unity', but that is hardly probable.

Line 6. לובנה. Staerk's note here is very bad. לובנה is an impossible form. Only the Peal happens to occur in BA, of course in the sense of 'buy'. This is Pael, which quite naturally means to 'sell'. It is to be pointed לובנה. The ה is part of the form, not the pronominal suffix. For the omission of the suffix cf. e. g. 8¹⁹ למנתן.

Line 7. רחמת 'as a gift', cf. 24¹¹⁻¹⁴ ברחמן 'in friendship'.

Line 8. תשנאנך 'shall express her dislike for you' and separate from you. If it was her act, she was to have none of the property, but it was to go to the children. No provision is made for the case of there being no issue, nor for a trust if they were infants. שנא, as in 15²³, is a legal term for 'divorce'. Staerk quotes an Egyptian document of the fourth century B. C. in which 'hate' is similarly used. In Hebrew cf. Deut. 21¹⁵, &c. In Ecclesi. 42⁹ *μὴ ποτε μισθῆ* where the Heb. (margin) has תשנא. On the legal form, cf. Epstein, *Jahrbuch d. jüdisch-lit. Gesellschaft*, 1908, p. 368.

Line 10. תהנצל. Haphel as in 8¹⁸. It should mean here, as there, 'take away', and Epstein and Nöldeke translate 'if she takes away from you' half the house, she has a right to do so. This seems very unlikely, for the circumstances are not described under which she might take half

the house. The verbal form may be either 2nd or 3rd (fem.) person. In BA, as in Hebrew, its natural meaning is to 'set free'. Provision has already been made for the case of her divorcing him, and we want a clause providing for the case of his divorcing her. In no. 15 there is provision for three cases; if she divorces him, she loses everything; if he divorces her, she gets compensation; if he violently ejects her, she gets a larger compensation. The two cases here must be the same as the first two in no. 15. Then we must take תְּהַנִּיל as another term for divorce, and translate 'if you set (her) free (i. e. put her away) from you'. (For the idea of 'freedom' cf. the phrase in 15²⁵⁻²⁸ 'she shall go away whither she will'.) The suffix is omitted as in 8¹⁸, though one would expect it in both places.

Line 12. ותוב as in Syriac and late Hebrew, cf. 1⁷. פלגא הו = Heb. הפלג ההוא. Only here and in 22¹²⁰. Epstein thinks the insistence on children by *Mibṭaḥiah* shows that Jezebel had another wife and perhaps children.

Line 16 sqq. The scribe and witnesses are the same as in no. 8. נבזראבן. The אבן is certain here and hence to be so read in 8²⁸.

No. 10.

Contract for a Loan. 456 B.C.

A long document almost perfectly preserved. It was found (like no. 5) still folded, tied and sealed. The writing is coarse, and several characters (ק, ס, ה, &c.) are badly formed, so that there would be a difficulty in reading some passages if the text were at all obscure or unusual.

The date is the 9th year of Artaxerxes I = 456 B. C. The document is a contract for a loan to Ya'uḥan, daughter of MŠLK, from Meshullam b. Zaccur (cf. 13³ in 447 B. C.) and the conditions are set out with the utmost care. They resemble those of no. 11. If the interest was not paid (by the end of the year?) it was to be added to the capital and to pay interest in the same way. If interest was outstanding at the end of the second year, Meshullam could distraint on Ya'uḥan's property. The sum is only 4 shekels and the interest is 8 hallurin per month—as in no. 11. If the relative values are rightly determined (see Introduction, p. xxiii), this would be 60 per cent. per annum, a high but not unusual rate at that date.

Sachau, plates 28, 29. Ungnad, no. 30.

1 ב III א א | לכסלו הו יום א א | לירח תחות שנת א א א א א ארתחשמש
2 מלכא אמרת יהוחן ברת משלך נשן זי יב בירתא למשלם בר

rohi a few names here

you before governor or judge on the ground that you have taken from me any security while this deed ¹⁴ is in your hand. If I die without paying you this money and interest thereon, ¹⁵ my children are to pay you this money and interest thereon. If ¹⁶ they do not pay you this money and interest thereon, you Meshullam have a right ¹⁷ to take for yourself any food or security that you may find of theirs until you have full payment ¹⁸ of your money and interest thereon, and they shall have no power to lodge a complaint against you before governor ¹⁹ or judge while this deed is in your hand. Even if they go to law they shall not win their case ²⁰ while this deed is in your hand. Nathan b. 'Anani wrote this deed ²¹ at the dictation of Ya'uḥan. Witnesses hereto: Witness, Osbea' b. Gilgul. ²² Hodaviah b. Gedaliah. Ahio b. Pelatiah. Agur b. Ahio. (Endorsement.) ²³ Deed of money lent (?), which Ya'uḥan daughter of Meshullak wrote ²⁴ for Meshullam b. Zaccur.

Line 2. יהוהן fem. occurs several times. Cf. יהוהנן masc. מישלך occurs several times, but its meaning and vocalization are unknown. Sachau compares Phoenician or Punic בעלשלך, and Ungnad שמשלך in 26⁸. If it is formed from a √ שלך (Meshullakh) that can hardly have the meaning of the Hebrew שלך. נשן as in 8². She could do business in her own right.

Line 3. זפת from √ זף, only in these papyri. Cf. Aḥīḳar 130, &c.

Line 4. במרביתה 'as *its* interest'.

Line 5. לתקל the proper Aramaic form, cf. Dan. 5²⁵. In l. 3 and elsewhere שקל is always used = Bab. *šiklu*. הוה. The reading is clear, but the asyndeton is strange. We should expect הו. Perhaps a mistake.

Line 6. הן מטא, pregnant, if ית (is not paid and therefore) is added. In 11⁵ more explicitly יהוה ראש. No doubt this was the usual practice and is here taken for granted. רישא i.e. רשא. ירבה attracted to the gender of רשא, cf. on 11⁵.

Line 7. תד כהר 'one like one', i.e. both alike. תנין שנה. The construction is strange for 'a second year'. Sachau and Ungnad say 'ת means repetition'. For the first year unpaid interest (96 ḥallurin) added to the principal would amount to a total of 6 sh. 16 ḥal.

Line 9. ערבן, Heb. ערבון, 'pledge', anything which represents money. תשבת, cf. ll. 10, 17. No doubt to be so pointed, since it is always used in Haphel. The ה is frequently not written. Cf. 37¹⁰, 13¹² (ינפק) and Aḥīḳar 96 (תחזה), &c. לי, i.e. 'belonging to me'. בני זילבנן as in 3¹⁸. Note no preposition.

Line 10. זון apparently for מוזון, but not known elsewhere as a noun.

Line 11. תתמלא as in 2¹⁷. כספך is 'capital'. לם is added above the line as an afterthought.

Line 14. ומרביתה. The ה is added above the line for want of space.

Line 17. תשכח no doubt to be so read, as in ll. 9, 10. There is a mark before the ת which might be י if the form יתשכח were possible. It is like that in בהמיתה 9⁵, so that both may be unintentional.

Lines 19, 20. Cf. 8²².

Line 20. The same scribe as in 13¹⁷, &c.

Line 23. דנה (not רבה). Ungnad says = ונה, but this is impossible. In CIS ii, 1, 17 + דנה is explained as = Bab. dannitu = dappu 'document'. Perhaps דנה is the abs. st. of this, in the special sense of 'contract' (loan or sale), and was borrowed by Greek as δάνος (for which there is no satisfactory etymology); cf. ἀράβων from ערבון.

is possibly in 'endorsement' 708 is followed by a word indicating the nature of the document. But of the endorsement # 2.

No. 11.

Contract for a Loan. About 455 B.C.

This was the first of the papyri brought from Elephantine and was published in 1903 (see the account of it in *PSBA* 1903, p. 205) just after no. 27 (ed. by Euting).

The writing is good, but the papyrus is badly broken, especially at the beginning (the outside of the roll) so that some details are uncertain. Several points, however, are cleared up by comparison with similar documents in this collection. In general cf. no. 10. The date is lost at the beginning, but there can be little doubt that it was written about 460-450 B.C. At that time Egypt was in revolt against the Persians, and this may be the reason why the money is described as 'of the weight of Ptaḥ' (l. 2) instead of 'royal weight' as usually. The phrase would equally well suit the time of the revolt about 400 B.C., but the earlier date is required by the names. The scribe Gemariah b. Ahio is a witness in 6¹⁸ (465 B.C.) but is not mentioned in later dated documents, and one of the witnesses here, Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, is a party to no. 5 (471 B.C.) and no. 15, but must have died soon after that (441 B.C.). In 25¹⁸ the witness Mahseiah b. Yedoniah is probably the grandson (416 B.C.). The deed must have been dated somehow. In the present first line there is just room for אלמוני בללנוי בר אלמוני בללנוי and no more. Hence it seems that there must originally have been a line before it containing the date. [The small fragments at the top are merely loose scraps which were put together there because they could not be fitted in anywhere. They do not belong there and are not consecutive, so that it is useless to try to make anything out of them.] In l. 8 the debt is to be paid by the 9th year (probably). As M. Clermont-Ganneau points out, this can hardly be the year of a king, because he might die in the meantime. It

might be the 9th year 'of the freedom of Egypt', or the 9th year after the deed was written. In the last case it implies a date at the beginning.

M. Clermont-Ganneau, who makes the shekel = 192 ḥallurin, remarks that the interest would be $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and would therefore in eight years amount to as much as the original capital. This would give a meaning to the number 9, and to יעקף (l. 8), and it is possible that the values here differ from those in the other documents. Comparing no. 10, however, it is unlikely that the creditor would allow outstanding interest to accumulate for eight years without distraining. See note on יעקף (l. 8). If the values are the same as elsewhere and are rightly ascertained in the Introduction (p. xxiii) the interest would be 60 per cent. per annum, and the above argument does not hold.

Sayce and Cowley, L. Ungnad, no. 88.

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1 ר בר יתמא [לאמר] נתנת לי כסף

2 [שקלן III] א [בא] בני פתח כסף ש א ל ו ירבה עלי כסף חלרן II

3 לכסף ש א לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל [ך] ותהוה מרבית

4 כספך חלרן III [III III] לירח א וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה

5 מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה] לך ירה בירח

6 מן פרסי זי ינ[ת]נון לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבו על כל

7 כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והוה לא שלמת לך כל

8 כספך ומרביתך עד ירח תחות שנת [III] III III יעקף כספך

9 ומרביתך זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח

10 עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך

11 שהדיא

12 עקבן בר שמישנורי

13 קצרי בר יההרדי

14 מחסיה בר ידניה

15 מלכיה בר זכריה

16 כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו עלפם שהדיא זי על ספרא זנה

¹ Said X b. Y to Z b. Yathma as follows: You have given me the sum of ² 4 shekels by the weight of Ptaḥ, at the rate of 1 shekel to 10, and interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 ḥallurin ³ for the sum of 1 shekel per month, till the day when I repay it to you, so that the interest on ⁴ your money shall be 8 ḥallurin each month. Any month in which I do not give you ⁵ interest, it shall be (added to the) capital and shall bear interest. I will pay it to you month by month ⁶ out of my

salary which they give me from the treasury, and you shall write me a receipt for all ⁷ money and interest which I pay to you. If I do not pay you all ⁸ your money and the interest thereon by the month of Thoth in the 9th year, your money shall be doubled (?) ⁹ and the interest on it which is outstanding against me, and interest shall be due from me month by month ¹⁰ until the day when I repay it to you. Witnesses: ¹¹ 'Ukban b. Shemesh-nuri. ¹² Kozri b. Ya'hadari. ¹³ Mahseiah b. Yedoniah. ¹⁴ Malchiah b. Zechariah. ¹⁵ Gemariah b. Ahio wrote the deed before the witnesses who(se names) are upon this deed.

Line 1. [לאמר] can be restored with certainty from other deeds. There is perhaps a slight trace of ל.

Line 2. [שקלן] must be restored, since the interest is in ḥallurin, but the number of them is less certain. Four is most likely. When the text was first published this seemed too small a sum for so formal a document, but no. 10 now removes that objection. [בא] בני פתח is right. Elsewhere always מלכא באבני מלכא. The 'weight of Ptaḥ' would be that used in his temple at Memphis and no doubt represents the Egyptian scale (of the revolt) as distinguished from the Royal (Persian) weight. (So in demotic documents frequently 'of the double house of Ptaḥ.'). The standard is here described as 1 shekel to 10, whereas the ordinary standard is 2 R to 10. If this means the proportion of alloy, the standard of the revolt had twice as much alloy as before. ש is not found in legal documents usually for 1 shekel.

Line 3. וההוה i. e. 'so that it shall be'.

Line 4. The numeral must be under 10 and must be divisible by 2. Therefore either 4 or 6 or 8. The space best suits 8. Therefore the shekels in l. 2 must be 4.

Line 5. יהוה ראש. The grammar is inaccurate. It ought to be (ה) מרביתא and תהוה as in l. 3. The verb is no doubt attracted to the gender of ראש (cf. ירבה in 10⁶). ראש is the Hebrew form.

Line 6. פרסי 'share' 'portion', i. e. wages. The debtor was still in the employment of the provisional government, as he had been under the Persian régime, and the same terms are used. Cf. 2¹⁶, but there is no mention here of בית מלכא or בי זי לבנן. נבו must mean a 'note', i. e. a receipt. As an Aramaic word it occurs in the Samaritan Targum Lev. 16⁸⁻¹⁰ for Heb. נורל, and is no doubt there a loan-word from Arab. نِبْذ. The meaning is hardly the same here, and I am still inclined to take it (against Halévy) as a Persian form from نوشتن (see *PSBA* 1903, p. 207), a 'written' receipt. Johns (*PSBA* 1905, p. 187) cites an Assyrian word *nibzu* in this sense, but with no Semitic etymology.

Line 7. מרבי should be מרביתה as in ll. 8, 9 and in no. 10.

משלם not common in this Aramaic (as later) for אשלם. Cf. l. 9 ירבה יהוה for רבה.

Line 8. The numeral is certain since units are always grouped in threes as far as they go. But the point of naming the 9th-year is not clear. The 9th year from the date of writing is a long time for so small a loan. If the deed was dated in the n th year of the freedom of Egypt (cf. the Jewish coins of the revolt) the loan would only be for $9-n$ years. The nature of the penalty is not clear enough to help. It can hardly be the 9th year of a king, though the 9th year of Artaxerxes I (456 B. C.) would be a suitable date. יעקה is very difficult. In ll. 4, 5 the outstanding interest is to be added to capital. Ll. 8, 9 are therefore unnecessary unless יעקה adds a further penalty. In no. 10 the outstanding interest in the first year is to be added to capital, but in the second year the creditor might distrain. Here distraint is not mentioned, but one would expect something corresponding. Perhaps עקה = عُقِف in the sense of 'be doubled'.

Lines 11-16 are not arranged in the usual manner. L. 16 should complete l. 10, and the witnesses' names be written continuously. Cf. no. 1 and frequently.

Line 13. יההררי. Probably for יהו הררי 'Ya'u is my glory'.

Line 16. ספרא is 'document' not 'scribe' in both places. עלבם שהדיא is unusual. It is generally עלבם or כבם of one of the parties 'according to (instructions from)'. The interested party said what he wanted written, and the scribe put it into formal language. The witnesses would hardly give such instructions, so that here perhaps עלבם means rather 'in presence of'. Why the name of the debtor is not given (as in no. 10), is not evident.

No. 12.

List of Names, undated.

There are several lists of names in the collection, but the purpose of them is not always apparent. Some are connected with accounts. In mediaeval Jewish communities lists of this kind were often drawn up to commemorate members of the congregation who had suffered for their religion.

It is undated. If it is a memorial list it may be related to no. 34 (about 407 B. C.), which is probably connected with no. 30. Sachau, however, points out that the sons of Menahem b. Posai (l. 7) are mentioned in 22⁷⁸⁻⁷⁹. As the name Posai occurs only in these two

Conveyance of a House. 447 B.C.

The end is somewhat broken.

Its date is the 19th year of Artaxerxes (I) = 447 B. C.

It is a deed of gift of a house from Mahseiah to his daughter Mibṭāḥiah, in return for value received from her. As the parties are known from previous documents, there can be no doubt that the year is that of Artaxerxes I, not II.

It is another proof that a woman could hold property and transact business independently of her father or (since Mibṭāḥiah was married in no. 8) her husband. *Her husband was dead as shown in the previous document.*

A peculiarity of this text is the number of mistakes in spelling, though the scribe, Nathan b. Ananiah, must have been a professional notary, since he also wrote nos. 10 and 15. The following are probably such slips: l. 2 מפטחיה (also elsewhere), l. 4 בכירת?, l. 7, &c. דילכי, l. 10 ובב, קרב, l. 11 אם, l. 12 ועתק, ונפק?, l. 14 יהה, ושקא, *pho*

Sayce and Cowley, E.

- 1 בִּאֵל לְכַסְלוֹ הוּ יוֹם לִירַח מְסוּרַע שְׁנַת ד' לִירַח מְסוּרַע שְׁנַת ד' לִירַח מְסוּרַע שְׁנַת ד' אֲרַתְחַשְׁשִׁי מְלַכָּא
אֲמַר מַחְסִיָּה בֵּר
- 2 יְדִנְיָה אֲרַמִּי זִי סוֹן לְדַגְל וְרִיזוֹת לְמַפְטַחִיָּה בְּרַתָּה לְאֲמַר אֲנִי יִהְבַּת לְכִי לְבֵיתָא
3 זִי יִהְבֵּ לִי מְשַׁלֵּם בֵּר זְכוּר בֵּר אֲטַר אֲרַמִּי זִי סוֹן בְּדַמּוּהִי [י] וּסְפָר כְּתַב לִי עֵלָא
4 וְיִהְבַּתָּה לְמַפְטַחִיָּה בְּרַתִּי חֶלֶף נִכְסִיָּא זִי יִהְבַּת לִי כֹזִי הִנְזוֹ הוּיַת בְּבִירַת אֶפְלַח
5 הַמּוֹ וְלֹא הִשְׁכַּחַת כֶּסֶף וְנִכְסָן לְשַׁלְמָה לְכִי אַחַר אֲנִי יִהְבַּת לְכִי לְבֵיתָא זִנָּה
6 חֶלֶף נִכְסִיָּבִי אֶלְכִי דְמוֹ כֶּסֶף כְּרֶשֶׁן // לְכִי וְיִהְבַּת לְכִי סְפָרָא עֵתִיקָא זִי [כְּתַב]
7 לִי מְשַׁלֵּם וְךָ אַחֲרוּהִי זִנָּה בֵּיתָא יִהְבַּתָּה לְכִי וְרַחַקַת מִנָּה דִּילְכִי הוּ וְלְבִנְיָכִי [י] *prod #9*
8 מִן אַחֲרִיכִי וְךָ [מִן זִי רַחַמַּי] תִּי תִנְתְּנִנָּה לֹא אֶבֶל אֲנִי וּבְנֵי זִרְעִי וְזִילִי וְגַבְר *ep #8*
9 אַחֲרִין יִרְשְׁנֵי דִין וְדַבְבֵּ בִשְׁם בֵּיתָא וְךָ זִי אֲנִי יִהְבַּת לְכִי [י] וּסְפָרָא כְּתַבַּת לְכִי
10 עֵלָא זִי יִנְדְּנִי דִין וְכִי אֲנִי וְאֵחָא וְאֵחָא קֶרֶב וְרַחֲמִי [קְ] בַעַל דְּגַל וְבַעַל קְרִיָּה *#1*
11 יִנְתַן לְכִי כֶּסֶף כְּרֶשֶׁן ד' וּבֵיתָא אֶם דִּילְכִי אֶפְלָא יִכַּל גַּבְר אַחֲרִין יִתְנַפֵּק עֲלֵיכִי סְפָר
12 חֲדַת וְעֵתֶק לְהֵן זִנָּה סְפָרָא זִי אֲנִי כְּתַבַּת וְיִהְבַּת לְכִי [י] זִי יִנְפֵק עֲלֵיכִי סֵפֶּ לֹא
אֲנִי כ[תבתה]
- 13 אֶף הָא אֵלֵה תַחּוּמֵי בֵּיתָא וְךָ עֲלִיהֵלֵה בֵּית יִאֲזִ [ש בֵּר פ] נִוְלִיָּה תַחְתִּיאֵלֵה
14 אֲגֻרָא זִי יִהֵה אֵלֵה מוֹעֲאֵלֵה בֵּית גְּדוּל בֵּר אוּשַׁע וְשַׁקָּא בְּנֵיהֶם
15 מְעַרְבֵי שְׁמוּשׁ לֵה [אֲר] קֶּ אֶסְרֹרְךָ בֵּר פְּלֹטוֹ כְּמַר זִי הִנְזוֹ [וּם וּס] תִּי א[ל] הִיא וְךָ בֵּיתָא

- 16 יהבתה לך ורחקת מנה דילכי הו עד עלם ולמן [זי] תצבין הבהי כתב
 17 נתן בר ענניה ספרא זנה כפם מחסיה ושהדיא בנו כתב מחסיה בכי
 18 נפשה מתרסרה בר מתרסרה ו[שתברון] בר אתרלי כספי
 19 שהד ברברי בר דרני כספי זי אתרא [שהד . . .] בר שמעיה
 20 זכור בר שלם

21 ספר במחסיה בר ידניה [ומפטחי]ה בריתה Endorsement.

¹ On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, year 19 of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah b. ² Yedoniah, Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, to Miphṭaḥiah his daughter, as follows: I give you the house ³ which Meshullam b. Zaccur b. Atar, Aramaean of Syene, gave me for its price, and wrote a document for me about it, ⁴ and I give it to Miphṭaḥiah my daughter in return for the goods which she gave me when I was inspector (?) in the fortress. I acknowledged (?) ⁵ them but did not find money and goods to pay you. Consequently I give you this house ⁶ in return for those your goods of the value of 5 kerashin, and I give you the original document which ⁷ the said Meshullam *wrote* for me about it. This house I give to you and I resign all claim to it. It belongs to you and to your children ⁸ after you and to *whomsoever you please* you may give it. I have no power, I or my children or my descendants or any ⁹ other man, to bring against you suit or process in the matter of this house which I give you, and have written the document for you ¹⁰ about it. Whoever raises against you suit or process, (whether it be) I or a brother or sister, relative or stranger, *soldier* or citizen, ¹¹ shall pay you the sum of 10 kerashin, and the house is assuredly yours. Moreover no other man shall produce against you a document ¹² new or old, other than this document which I have written and given to you: *whoever* produces against you such document, I have not *written it*. ¹³ Moreover note, these are the boundaries of this house. At the upper end of it is the house of Yeosh b. Penuliah, at the lower end of it is ¹⁴ the temple of the God Ya'u, at the east of it is the house of Gadol b. Oshea' and the street between them, ¹⁵ on the west of it is the *land* of . . . b. Palto, priest of the gods Khnum and Sati (?). This house ¹⁶ I give you and resign all claim to it. It is yours for ever. To *whomsoever* you wish, give it. ¹⁷ Nathan b. Ananiah wrote this document at the direction of Mahseiah and the witnesses hereto. Mahseiah signed for ¹⁸ himself (?). Mithrasari (?) b. Mithrasari (?), and ^{17 5:16} *Satibarzanes* b. Atharli, silversmith. #5
¹³ Witness, Barbari b. Dargi, silversmith of the place (?). *Witness*, . . . b. Shemaiah. ²⁰ Zaccur b. Shallum. (Endorsement.) ²¹ Document concerning Mahseiah b. Yedoniah *and Miphṭaḥiah* his daughter.

Line 1. ^{#5:18} III ב̄ is probable. According to Gutesmann it should be Chisleu 2 = Mesore 10, or Chisleu 3 = Mesore 11. Hontheim reads 2.

Line 2. In nos. 8, 9 Mahseiah is a Jew of Yeb, of the *degel* of Haumadata. לביחא. The ל marks the accusative, as occasionally in these texts. The house was at Elephantine, since it adjoins the temple (l. 14), though the owner and former owner are both 'of Syene'.

Line 3. Meshullam is a party to no. 10. עלא adverbially 'concerning (it)', cf. בנו. אטר as Ezra 2¹⁶.

Line 4. הנרו has been much discussed, but nothing has yet been suggested which seems better than the original explanation in S-C. A word הנרו or הנרם is fairly common in late Hebrew, and in Arabic (هندس) in the sense of 'measuring'. It is clearly not Semitic, and it seems an impossible coincidence that there should be two loan-words identical in form, but differing in meaning and origin, even if they are found 1000 years apart. Other words in these documents occur elsewhere not earlier than the Talmud. The common ground is to be found in the Persian انداختن. A Persian loan-word is as natural here as in modern Arabic, where هندس is explained as being from the Persian انداز (from انداختن). The precise meaning here, however, is still not clear. The modern Arabic هندسة (and so modern Hebrew) means 'geometry' or 'measurement' as applied to various arts, such as drawing, engineering, architecture, astronomy. In the Talmud the verb is used of the marks on measures of liquid &c. Hence it ought to mean here something like 'inspector of weights and measures' or 'controller of the water supply' for drinking or irrigation. In 27⁷ הנרו is apparently a verb. Andreas takes it to mean 'heap', i. e. 'many' in 27⁷, but that is unsuitable here. Clermont-Ganneau doubtfully suggests 'crowd'. Nöldeke rejects this and proposes ^{summarized (to read) as einberufen} 'einberufen' (so Smend) or 'answered'. Lagrange, 'chargé des rations'. בבירת either a mistake for בבירתא, or a name (יב?) has been omitted. אפלת Lagrange, 'in the fortress of Apalt'. Nöldeke also takes it as a name, and makes המו (l. 5) refer back to זי יהבת. This is impossible. It must be a verb governing המו. Bab. apālu means 'answer', 'announce'. Can it mean 'I acknowledged them'? It might possibly be אנכלת ('I consumed'), but the tail is hardly straight enough for ב.

Line 5. המו the separate pronoun as accusative, cf. 15³⁵ &c. אחר, commonly in Aḥiḳar and Behistun, 'and then'.

Line 6. הלק restored from l. 4, but very uncertain. There seems to be something (א or י) after the פ, but it is difficult to guess what other word would suit the passage. נכסינ (S-C נכסינ) is correct and fairly certain. אלכי is correct and probable, as in 14⁸. There is a slight trace of י. [כתב] a trace of ה.

Line 7. אהרוהי 'about it', as in 9⁴. דילבי as in ll. 11, 16, for the usual די. There is no evident reason for די. Both forms must have been in use, and די is not necessarily later or popular, since די is used in the Ptolemaic papyrus no. 81, which is not formal.

Line 10. ובב a mistake for ורבב, as קרב for קריב.

Line 11. אמ a mistake for אפם, as in 6¹⁵.

Line 12. ינפק is practically certain. This spelling (as against יהנפק in l. 11) is due to carelessness rather than error. The usual ה is merely a vowel-letter indicating the pronunciation ינפק as distinguished from ינפק. There was no reason why it should not be omitted from a word which was *always* used in the (H)aphel (as תשבה 10^{9,10}), or was evidently causal since it has an object, as here. ספ for ספר, another mistake.

Line 13. יאון[ש] is probable, as there is a slight trace of ש, and the name occurs several times. S-C יאור which does not occur, though יההאור is found in 1². The house was near that conveyed to Mibtahiah in no. 8. See the plan in no. 5.

Line 14. אנורא is the temple, cf. no. 30, and notes there. It was not merely a chapel or shrine, as conjectured by S-C before the discovery of Sachau's papyri. Other speculations as to its character may now be disregarded. יהה for יהו only here (and in יההאור, 1²?). The form, which is certain, has been much discussed, but it is probably a mere slip, considering the many errors in this document. מועאלה, in 8⁶ more fully מועא שמש לה. ושקא for ושוקא by a mistake? בניהם a mistake for ביניהם? There may be something after it, but nothing is wanted.

Line 15. אר[ק]. The ק is probable. It seems not to be בית. ׀... The reading מרדוך (S-C) is hardly probable. The papyrus is slightly out of position. ברוך is unlikely. We should expect an Egyptian name (אסרוך?) though the father's name is Jewish. פלמו, cf. late Hebrew פלמו and O.T. פלמי, &c. ה[נ]ום[ו]ם[ת]י are not quite certain as the space is barely sufficient even if the papyrus is re-adjusted. But the reading is probable, because Khnum and Sati were associated as the divinities of the cataract, there must be two names since אלהיא is fairly certain (not אלהא), and כמר is correctly used in these texts (cf. 30⁵, כמרוא זי הנוב), as later, of the priest of a foreign god. ׀ is probable (not as S-C). It might be זילחנום or ח[ז]ם or הנוב (as in 30⁵).

Line 16. לכ another mistake for לבי. להבי defectively, or a mistake, for הביהי.

Line 17. The sentence ends with בנו, unless כתב מח'ונ' is an intrusion. As it stands, we must translate 'at the direction of M. and the witnesses hereto'. But the formula is unusual. בכי נפשה. It must be a ב, ב

not ר (as S-C), cf. the כ in כתב just before. It cannot then be for [בר י'רניה]. The meaning is quite obscure. It looks as if Mahseiah had become impatient, seized a pen and written something hastily. If so, he probably meant (as S-C) 'M. wrote for himself', but it is not clear how the words can mean that.

Line 18. מחרסרה. The רס are run together, and might be חס as in מחסיה. Hence S-C מתחסרה. It may be the Persian name Mithrasari. [שתברון] is restored from 5¹⁶. There is perhaps a trace of ת. אתרלי is certain here. The name is no doubt the same as in 5¹⁶, where see note. כספי. Lagrange suggests 'Caspian', but if such a gentile name were found it would be כספיא, as בבליא in 6¹⁹.

Line 19. ברברי. Unknown as a name. דרגי, cf. דרנא 5¹⁸ (for דרגמן), or it may be דרגי, cf. Δάδαγος, Δαδάκης. אתרה. 'Silversmith of the place' is a strange expression, cf. אתרה 6², of Dargman. Lagrange, 'Caspian de Athra' (as in 6²), cf. Atropatene. He also compares Ezra 8¹⁷, which, however, does not help. The very slight traces remaining do not fit any of the known names of sons of Shemaiah.

Line 21. במחסיה. The formula is unusual.

No. 14.

Settlement of Claim. 441 B.C.

The date is 441 B.C., probably the year before, and in view of, Mibṭahiah's third (?) marriage (in no. 15).

Halévy thinks that Mibṭahiah had married Pi', an Egyptian, and adopted his religion. She swears by Sati in l. 5. Among the witnesses here there is no one with a Jewish name, because the community refused to recognize her. On her divorce she would return to the Jewish faith. This document is the act of separation following on the divorce pronounced by the court, cf. l. 3. If ספר אנתו is right in l. 4, she must have been married to him, and Halévy's explanation must be in the main correct. They now have to divide their possessions and she is required to take an oath, the object of which is not clear. It would seem to relate to the amount of stock in her hands or to their joint credit, she having carried on the business of ארדיכל with Pi'. He declares himself satisfied with her statement, and the division of property is completed. The terms had evidently been settled in the previous suit (l. 3).

The papyrus is in an excellent state of preservation.

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- 1 ב ר ל אב הו יום ר ל ל ל ל ל לפחנס שנת ג ל ל ל ארתחשש
מלכא אמר פיא
- 2 בר פחי ארדיכל לסון בירתא למבטחיה ברת מחסיה בר ידניא
- 3 ארמיא זי סון לדגל וריות על דינא זי עבדן בסון נפרת על כסף
- 4 ועבור ולבוש ונחש ופרזל כל נָכְסָן וְנָכְסָן וספר^{אנתו} ארין מומאה
- 5 מטאה עליכי וימאתי לי עליהם בסתי אלהתה וטיב לבבי
- 6 במומאה דבא זי עבדתי לי על נכסיא אלכר ורחקת מנכי מן
- 7 יומא זנה ועד עלם לא אכהל אגרנכי דין ודבכ אנתי ובר
- 8 וברה לכי בשם נכסיא אלכר זי ימאתי לי עליהם הן גריתכי
- 9 דין ודבכ וגרנכי ברלי ובראלי בשם מומאה דכי אנה פיא ובני
- 10 אנתן למטחיה כסף כרשן ל ל ל // באבני מלכא ולא דין ולא דבכ
- 11 ואנה רחיק מן כלדין ודבכ כתב פטאסי בר נבונתן ספרא זנה
- 12 בסון בירתא כפם פיא בר פחי שהדיא בנו נבורעי בר נבונתן
- 13 לחוי בר מנכי עֹדְנָהָר בר דֹמָא נבורעי בר ושתן
- 14 ספר מרחק זי כתב פיא למבט[חיה]
- Endorsement.

¹ On the 14th of Ab, that is the 19th day of Paḥons, year 25 of Artaxerxes the king, said Pi' ² b. Paḥi, builder, of Syene the fortress, to Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah ³ Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath (as follows): In accordance with the action which we took at Syene, let us make a division concerning the money ⁴ and corn and garments and bronze and iron, all goods and possessions, and the marriage-document. Then an oath ⁵ was imposed on you and you swore to me concerning them by the goddess Sati and my heart was content ⁶ with that oath which you took to me concerning those your goods and I renounce all claim on you from ⁷ this day for ever. I have no power to institute against you suit or process, you or son ⁸ or daughter of yours in the matter of those your goods concerning which you have sworn to me. If I institute against you ⁹ suit or process, or my son or daughter sue you in the matter of that your oath, I, Pi', or my son ¹⁰ will pay to Mibṭaḥiah the sum of 5 kerashin, royal weight, without suit or process, ¹¹ and I renounce all suit and process. Petisi b. Nabunathan wrote this document ¹² in Syene the fortress, at the direction of Pi' b. Paḥi. Witnesses hereto: Nabure'i b. Nabunathan. ¹³ Luḥi b. Mannuki. 'Odnahar b. Duma. Nabure'i b. Vashtan. (Endorsement.) ¹⁴ Deed of quittance which Pi' wrote for Mibṭaḥiah.

Line 1. פּיָא בַר פּחִי. Probably Egyptian, but the meaning of the names is obscure. Note that he does not belong to a *degel*.

Line 2. ארדיכל. Bab. *arad-ekalli*, 'servant of the palace'. In later Aramaic it means 'architect' or 'builder'. In 15² אֶשְׁחֹר is ארדיכל זי מלכא. Halévy compares Persian *ardikar*, 'wall-maker'. ידניה for ידניה.

Line 3. על 'in accordance with'? We should expect לאמר before it. עברן not עברן as S-C, but the phrase is strange. The last letter is really a ה, or ו with the top broken. על after נפרת is also strange, but the meaning of נפרת is certain. Nöldeke says 'let us separate', and supplies לאמר before it. Halévy compares نفر 'I withdrew' (unsuitable).

Line 4. ספר אנתו (not אנתן as S-C), a 'deed of marriage', cf. 15³. He gave up the deed on his divorce, showing that he had no longer any rights over her. She re-married in the next year.

Line 5. מטאה 'came upon you', i. e. was imposed upon you. בסתי. There is no question of the reading or meaning. She was required to swear by the Egyptian goddess because her opponent was an Egyptian. (I. Lévi compares B. T. Sanhedrin 63^b, אמר אביה דשמואל אסור לאדם, שיעלה שותפות עם ע"כ שמא יתחייב לו שבועה ונשבוע בע"כ שלו Samuel belonged to the third century A. D.). The case is different from that in which other divinities are mentioned in connexion with Ya'u and the temple. This concerns a definitely foreign deity (cf. the 'queen of heaven' in Jer. 44), not one who had been accepted or imagined as Jewish.

Line 6. דכא. Note ד again sporadically for ז. It is perhaps a mistake for דכי as in l. 9, elsewhere זכי, which would be correct in speaking to a woman. אלכי would be correct, as in l. 8. There is room for י, and possibly some trace of it.

Line 9. וגרכי perfect, as גריתכי (l. 8), depending on הן. There is a mark above the י, which seems to be unintentional. ובראלי, cf. ידניה, l. 2. Here the א is for ה of the feminine. ובני added parenthetically without affecting the construction.

Line 10. למטחיה a mere mistake.

Line 11. פטאסי וכ', a man bearing a pure Egyptian name whose father has a Babylonian name.

Lines 12, 13. The witnesses' names are in their own writing.

Line 13. מנכי, shortened from Bab. *Mannuakiilani* = מיכאל עוֹדְנֶהָר נבורעי. 'וכ' can hardly be read otherwise, but the names are unknown. is Babylonian, while his father's name is Persian.

Line 14. מרחק 'withdrawal' or renunciation of claim. It was not the actual divorce, but the sequel to it.

No. 15.

Marriage Contract. About 441 B.C.

The number of the year is lost, line 1 being much broken. There are, however, reasons for putting the document at about the same date as no. 14, or soon after. The scribe Nathan was a witness to nos. 8 and 9 in 459 B.C. and wrote no. 10 in 456 and no. 13 in 447. In 459 Mibṭaḥiah was the wife of Yezaniah, her first marriage. In no. 13 (447) he is not mentioned, and was therefore probably dead or divorced. In no. 20 (420) Aṣḥor, the present bridegroom, was apparently also dead, leaving two sons old enough to act as principals in an action at law. Supposing them to be then about 18 years of age, the present marriage cannot have taken place much after 440. If the interpretation of no. 14 is right and Mibṭaḥiah was then (in 441) just divorced from her second husband, we are forced to date this document in or after 441. At any rate Aṣḥor is not mentioned in no. 14. [Gutesmann calculates the date as 447-449.]

One of the witnesses here is Penuliah b. Yezaniah, and in no. 20 (420) a witness is Yezaniah b. Penuliah, probably his son, as a child was often named after his grandfather.

This is a כתובה or marriage settlement (cf. demotic marriage contracts in *Journal Asiatique* 1906, p. 351), giving lists of the mutual gifts with their values, very important for determining the relative values of the money terms. See Introduction, p. xxii. It then states the terms of succession in case the marriage is dissolved. Cf. no. 9. Unfortunately the text is very difficult, partly owing to its broken condition, and partly to the many unknown words.

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cp Document 36.

1 בִּרְיָ // לְתִשְׁרֵי [הוּ יוֹם] ||| ||| לִירַח אַפֶּף שְׁנַת . . . אֶרְתַּחֲשַׁם־שׁ
מֶלֶךְ [א]

2 אִמְרָ אֶסְחֹר בֵּר [צַחָא] אֶרְדַּכְל זִי מֶלֶכָא לְמַת[סִיָּה א]רְמִי זִי סוֹן לְדַגְל

3 וְרִיזוֹת לְאִמְרָ אֵנָה [א]תִּית בִּיתְךָ לְמִנְתַּן לִי [ל]בְּרַתְךָ מִפְּטִיָּה לְאַנְתוֹ

4 הִי אֲנַתִּי וְאֵנָה בַעֲלָה מִן יוֹמָא זֵנָה וְעַד עַלְמִּי יִהְבַּת לְךָ מֹהַר

5 בְּרַתְךָ מִפְּטִיָּה [כַּסְפָּ] שְׁקֶלֶן ||| ||| בְּאַבְנֵי מֶלֶךְ [א] עַל עֵלִיד וְטַב לְבַבְךָ

6 בְּנֵי הַנְּעֻלַת לְב[רַתְךָ] מִפְּטִיָּה בִידָה כַּסְפָּ [פָּ] תְּכֻנְגָה כְּרֶשׁ 1 בְּאַבְנֵי

7 מֶלֶכָא כַּסְפָּ ר || ל־ הַנְּעֻלַת לָהּ בִידָה לְבֶשׁ 1 זִי עֹמֵר חֲדַת חֲטַב

8 צַבַּע זֵיִן הוּוֹ אֶרְךָ אִמֵּן ||| ||| ב ||| ||| [ש]וֹה־כַּסְפָּ כְּרֶשֶׁן || שְׁקֶלֶן

cp Synæ $\text{šw}^{\text{a}} = \text{wroci}$

Amphel

- 9 באבני מלכא שבית א חרת הוה ארך אמן III III III ב III ון שוה
 10 כסף שקלן III III III באבני מלכא לבש אחרן זי עמר נשחט הוה
 11 ארך אמן III III III ב III שוה כסף שקלן III III III מחזי I זי נחש שוה
 12 כסף שקל א ר II תמי[חיי] א זי נחש שויה כסף שקל א ר II כסן זי נחש II
 13 שוין כסף שקלן א [I] זלוע א זי נחש שוה כסף ר II כל כספא
 14 ודמי נכסיא כסף כרשן III III שקלן III חלרן ד כסף ר II ל ד באבני
 15 מלכא על עלי [וט] יב לבבי בנו שוי I זי גמא בה נעבצן
 16 זי אבן III פק א זי סלק כפן II פרבס I זי חצן חרת
 17 מחר או יום א[חר] ימות אסחור ובר דכר ונקבה לא
 18 איתי לה מן מ[פטח]יה אנתתה מפטחיה הי שליטה בביתה
 19 זי אסחור ונכס[והי] וקנינה וכל זי איתי לה על אנפי ארעא
 20 בלה מחר או יום תמות מפטחיה ובר דכר ונקבה לא
 21 איתי לה מן אסחור בעלה אסחור הו ירתנה בנכסיה
 22 וקנינה מחר [או י]ום אחרן תקום [מפ]טחיה בעדה
 23 ותאמר שנאת לאסחור בעלי כסף שנאה בראשה תתב על
 24 מוזנא ותתקל ל[אס]חור כסף שקלן III III III ר II וכל זי הנעלת
 25 בידה תהנפק מן הם עד חוט ותהך [ל]האן זי צבית ולא
 26 ידין ולא דבב מחר או יום אחרן יקום אסחור בעדה
 27 ויאמר שנאת [לאנ]תתי מפטחיה מהרה [י]אבד וכל זי הנעלת
 28 בידה תהנפק מן חם עד חוט ביום חד בכף חדה ותהך
 29 לה אן זי צבית מן לא דין ולא דבב ו[הן] יקום על מפטחיה
 30 לתרכותה מן ביתה זי אסחור ונכסויה וקנינה ינתן לה
 31 כסף כרשן ד ויע[די] לה דין ספרא זנה ולא אכל אמר
 32 איתי לי אנתה אחרה להן מפטחיה ובנן אחרנן להן בנן זי
 33 תלד לי מפטחיה הן אמר איתי לי ב[נן] ואנתה אחרן להן
 34 מפטחיה ובניה אנתן למפטחיה כסף [ר] כרשן ד באבני
 35 מלכא ולא אכל [אהנ]תר נכסי וקניני מן מפ[טח]יה והן העדת המו
 36 מנה [קבל ס]פר אחרן זי אנתן למפטחיה [כסף] כרשן ד באבני מל[כא]
 37 כתב נתן בר ענניה [ספרא זנה כפס אסחור] ושהדיא בנו
 38 פטליה בר יזניה [. .]יה בר אודיה מנחם בר [ז]בור
 39 שהד רעיבל ב[ר] . . .

¹ On the 25th (?) of Tishri that is the 6th day of the month Epiphi, year . . . of Artaxerxes the king, ² said Ashor b. Zepo, builder to the king, to Mahseiah Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of ³ Warizath, as

follows: I came to your house that you might give me your daughter Miphtāḥiah in marriage. ⁴ She is my wife and I her husband from this day for ever. I have given you as the price ⁵ of your daughter Miphtāḥiah *the sum* of 5 shekels, royal weight. It has been received by you and your heart is content ⁶ therewith. I have delivered to your daughter Miphtāḥiah into her hand for the cost of furniture 1 karash 2 shekels royal ⁷ weight, of the standard of 2 R to 10. I have delivered to her into her hand 1 woollen robe, new, striped, ⁸ dyed on both sides, (whose) length was 8 cubits by 5, worth the sum of 2 kerashin 8 shekels, ⁹ royal weight; 1 closely-woven (shawl) new, (whose) length was 8 cubits by 5, worth ¹⁰ the sum of 8 shekels royal weight; another woollen robe, finely woven, (whose) length was ¹¹ 6 cubits by 4, worth the sum of 7 shekels; 1 mirror of bronze, worth ¹² the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 1 tray of bronze, worth the sum of 1 shekel 2 R; 2 cups of bronze, ¹³ worth the sum of 2 shekels; 1 bowl of bronze, worth the sum of 2 R; total money ¹⁴ and value of goods being the sum of 6 kerashin 5 shekels 20 ḥallurin, of the standard of 2 R to 10, royal weight. ¹⁵ I have received, and my heart is content therewith, 1 couch of reeds with 4 supports (?) ¹⁶ of stone; 1 PK of SLK; 2 ladles, holding (?) 8 H; 1 mš'n knife (?); 1 cosmetic box of ivory, new. ¹⁷ To-morrow or another day (if) Ashor should die and there is no child male or female ¹⁸ belonging to him by Miphtāḥiah his wife, Miphtāḥiah has a right to the house ¹⁹ of Ashor, his goods and his chattels and all that he has on the face of the earth, ²⁰ all of it. To-morrow or (another) day (if) Miphtāḥiah should die and there is no child male or female ²¹ belonging to her by Ashor her husband, Ashor shall inherit her goods ²² and her chattels. To-morrow or another day (if) Miphtāḥiah should stand up in the congregation ²³ and say, I divorce Ashor my husband, the price of divorce (shall be) on her head; she shall return to ²⁴ the scales and weigh out to Ashor the sum of 7 shekels 2 R and all that I have put ²⁵ into her hand she shall give up, both shred (?) and thread, and she shall go away whither she will, without ²⁶ suit or process. To-morrow or another day (if) Ashor should stand up in the congregation ²⁷ and say, I divorce my wife Miphtāḥiah, her price shall be forfeited, but all that I have put ²⁸ into her hand, she shall give up, both shred (?) and thread, on one day at one time, and she shall go ²⁹ away whither she will, without suit or process. But if he should rise up against Miphtāḥiah ³⁰ to drive her out from his, Ashor's, house and his goods and chattels, he shall give her ³¹ the sum of 20 kerashin, and the provisions of this deed shall be annulled, as far as she is concerned. And I shall have no right to say ³² I have another wife besides Miphtāḥiah and other children than the children whom ³³ Miphtāḥiah shall bear to me. If I say I have children and wife other than ³⁴ Miphtāḥiah and her children, I will pay to Miphtāḥiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight, ³⁵ and I shall have no right to take away my goods and chattels from Miphtāḥiah; and if I remove them ³⁶ from her [erasure] I will pay to Miphtāḥiah the sum of 20 kerashin, royal weight. ³⁷ Nathan b. Ananiah wrote this deed at the direction of Ashor and the witnesses hereto: ³⁸ Penuliah b. Jezaniah. . . . iah b. Uriah (?). Menahem b. Zaccur. ³⁹ Witness, Re'ibel (?) b. . . .

Line 1 can now be restored with some certainty, except the number of the year. [// ///] בִּזְ. The lower part of ז is visible and is fairly certain. It might be ז, less probably. There is then room for about five units. חֲשֵׁרִי. There is enough remaining of the lower parts of letters to make this certain now that the rest is explained. S-C marked it as doubtful because the facsimile shows traces of letters after it which were read זִי מִלֵּא, and it was thought that this was part of some new formula. The remnants, however, are certainly to be read [ארתחשס]ט [מלכא]א, and the loose fragment on which they are written should be transferred to the end of the line. שְׁנַת. There are again traces which fit this, and room for about // /// ז after it.

Line 2. אֲחֹזֵר seems to have afterwards taken the name of Nathan, but whether as a proselyte or not, does not appear. Cf. 25³, 28² with 20³. This name and his father's are pure Egyptian. אֲרֻדְכַל זִי מ', see on 14². He was a government contractor like Pi' b. Paḥi.

Line 3. The constructions are curious, though the sense is clear. אֲתִית with an accusative. לִי לְמִנְתָּן לִי 'to (ask you to) give me'. לְבִרְתָּךְ accusative as in 13², with another ל marking the dative. מִפְּטִיָּה a mere mistake, cf. 14¹⁰. לְאִנְתּוֹ 'for wife-hood', i. e. in marriage. Not as S-C.

Line 4. מִהֵר the 'dowry' is properly the price paid for a wife (cf. Gen. 34¹² and often), here 5 shekels, no doubt the legal sum required to make the marriage valid. It was paid to the father, showing that he still had at least a legal *patria potestas*, although Mibṭaḥiah had been already married at least once (probably twice), must have been well over 30 years of age, and was able to conduct business in her own right. Anything given over and above the legal price was a present to the bride.

Line 5. עַל עֲלִיךְ 'it has come (עָלָל) to you', i. e. you have accepted the payment. וְטַב usually טַיִב, as in l. 15.

Line 6. הִנְעֵלָה. Unfortunately there is no distinction in writing between the 1st and the 2nd persons. Freund and Jampel take it as the 2nd person, the father's present to the bride, not the bridegroom's gift. But the sum total in l. 14 shows that the presents were given by the same person who paid the 5 shekels, i. e. Ašhor. תְּכֻנָּה properly 'arrangement' or outfit, i. e. perhaps, to furnish the house. Cf. Nah. 2¹⁰. וְשָׁקְלֵן above the line, as often in this deed.

Line 7. חֲטָב. In Prov. 7¹⁶ חֲטָבוֹת is translated by RV as 'striped cloths' (of the yarn of Egypt). In Talmud חוּטְבִין are garments with a pattern or embroidered. Perhaps 'striped' is most likely here, but the meaning is uncertain.

Line 8. ירין dual of יר, Bab. *idu*, 'on both sides'. [ש]וה 'equal to', i. e. worth. It was a costly garment.

Line 9. שביט. A weaver's rod is שבט, whence the verb means to keep the rod closely pressed against the work, so that this should be 'closely-woven' stuff. It must have been specialized as a trade-term, and from its size can only have been some kind of shawl, as also לבש above. This was a cheaper article. ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ is probable here, as in l. 8, a stock size. The last unit is a long way from the rest, and one unit seems to be covered by a crease in the papyrus.

Line 10. נשחט. Cf. Jer. 9⁸, שחוט (Kere for שוחט) explained by the Jewish commentators as = נמשך 'drawn out' (K̄imḥi 'affilé'), and 2 Chron. 9¹⁵ זהב שחוט 'gold drawn out', i. e. beaten thin. Similarly in Talmud. Lagrange suggests 'avec franges'. The form is Niphal, therefore not Aramaic, but probably a trade-term derived from the language of Phoenician merchants (so Lidzbarski).

Line 12. [ח]י, though it was difficult to guess, is not really doubtful. There are slight traces of חי. The papyrus is crushed here. It is no doubt a variant of Talm. תמחוי. There is no room for ׀. ׀ ׀. The ׀ is badly made, like a כ. ׀ . . . כסן or possibly ׀, but as the price is 2 shekels, it was probably 1 shekel per cup. The prices are arranged in a descending scale.

Line 14. שקל a mistake for שקלן. חלרן. There is a faint stroke after ׀ which might be a unit, but it is no doubt unintentional, as 21 ḥ. would not fit the sum on any reckoning. On the conclusions to be drawn from the sum of the items, see Introduction, p. xxii. In order to make up the total we must include the 5 shekels paid by Ashor to Mahseiah. But the total must represent the whole of the payments in money (5 shekels) and goods (כל כספא ודמי נכסיה) made by one and the same person. Hence in ll. 6, 7 הנעלת must be 1st person 'I (Ashor) gave'.

Line 15. The deed was drawn up in Ashor's name. He therefore states the value of his own gifts, to make the most of them. He does not think it necessary to state the value of what he receives. נעבצן is quite unknown. Apparently a Niphal form, and so not Aramaic. If שוי is a 'bed' (cf. Arukh s.v. שוי i), the four נעבצן are very likely 4 feet.

Line 16. פק. Meaning unknown. The root פקק means either to 'split' or to 'stop up'. A 'hatchet'? Epstein suggests that it is for בק = בוקא or Persian بک 'pitcher', cf. Heb. פך. He might compare בקבק, 'a flask'. סלק must be a noun describing the material, not as S-C. There is a slightly larger space than usual after it, which seems to

indicate separation from what follows. But its meaning as a noun is unknown. כפן probably 'ladles' or 'bowls', not 'handles' as S-C. הצן, cf. חוצן 20⁶ where it is associated with wood. I have translated it by 'ivory', cf. חצן. Nöldeke rejects this, and proposes 'palm-leaves', taking פרנס as a 'tray' or 'basket'. חקם, &c., above the line, being singular, must refer to פרנס (feminine?) and mean 'containing'. Then ח is not for חלרן, since this series is not valued, nor a cipher for 8 (as Döllner, Staerk) since letters are never so used in these texts, but must be a measure, as in 24³⁸. שן משאן, meaning quite unknown. The translation of שן (root, 'to be sharp') as 'knife', is a mere guess of no value.

Line 20. יום אחרן has been accidentally omitted.

Line 22. בערה, Hebrew. Borrowed as a technical term.

Line 23. שנאת, as in 9⁸. בראשה, 'is on her head', i. e. apparently 'she is responsible' for it. תוב from תוב, she shall return to the scales, or Haphel, she shall put back in its entirety. Not from יתב, as Nöldeke, 'sie setzt sich', and Jampel who compares Lev. 5²⁴ and translates 'sie soll als Hauptsumme das Scheidungsgeld auf die Wage legen'.

Line 24. וואו is more probable than וואו because of the space. רור not for רור, as Staerk. Since רור = $\frac{1}{2}$ a shekel she had to pay back the original מהר with 50 per cent. added. תהנפק and הנעלת (l. 25) are opposed. Freund and Jampel take הנעלת here and in l. 27 as 3rd person 'what she has received'. But it must refer to the same person as in l. 7, 'what I delivered to her she shall give up'.

Line 25. הם is certain from l. 28, but the precise meaning is unknown. Cf. Gen. 14²³. Lidzbarski suggests 'radish' as something of small value. One would expect the meaning to be akin to that of חוט. The phrase means 'to the last shred'. להאן probably two words, as in l. 29.

Line 26. ירין is clear. Probably a mere mistake.

Line 27. [יאבר]. If he divorced her, he forfeited the five shekels paid for her, but got back the presents. הנעלת is difficult. The writer seems to be confused about the persons. He is writing in Ashor's name, but speaks of him in the 3rd person in l. 26. Here he seems to revert to the 1st person, as above. Or can this be 3rd fem., 'she put (i. e. received) into her hand'?

Line 28. 'ביום חד וב', a legal formula for 'all together'.

Line 29. לה is a sort of reflexive with תהך, cf. לך. לא seems the only possible reading—for בלא = the usual ולא.

Line 30. לתרכותה. This is a third case. She might divorce him, or he might divorce her in legal form, or he might eject her forcibly and

illegally, in which case he would have to pay a heavy fine. Epstein thinks that תרך = נרש, the later term for divorce by a נט, but it surely implies an aggravation of what precedes. מן ביתה זי א' perhaps not merely a case of the anticipatory pronoun, but זי א' is added because ביתה might be *his* or *her* house, to make it quite clear.

Line 31. ויע[ר] is better than ויע[מר] (as S-C) which is not found in these texts. דין must mean the legal obligation or provisions of the deed. As she is evidently regarded in this case as wrongly treated, it is reasonable to suppose that she would be freed from any further obligations. אבל. He reverts to the 1st person, though he has just used the 3rd (ינתן) in l. 30.

Line 32. Cf. Greek Pap. Tebtunis i, no. 104, l. 18: *καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω Φιλίσκω γυναιῖκα ἄλλην ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἀλλὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν . . . μηδὲ τεκνοποιεῖσθαι ἐξ ἄλλης γυναικός . . . ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων ἐπιδειχθῆ ποιῶν . . . ἀποτισάτω . . . τὴν φερνήν.*

Line 33. אחרן, probably a mistake for אחרנן (so Nöldeke). We might read ואנתה [ב]ר, or אחרן may be plural of אחר as אחרה (l. 32) is its feminine (so Nöldeke) instead of אחרנה.

Line 35. אהנ[תר] is not very certain. It does not seem quite the suitable word, but an equivalent of הערת is wanted, and nothing else suggests itself. המ. It may perhaps be הערתהם, but the מ is made as in מלכא just below, and the following stroke should be י.

Line 36. קבל ס[פר אחר] 'in accordance with any other deed', is erased, and has therefore been omitted in the translation.

Line 37. The scribe is the same as in nos. 10 and 13.

Line 38. פנוליה. Lagrange thinks this is the son of her former husband, who was probably dead. The next pair of names is very uncertain. S-C read Yezaniah b. Uriah, and Lagrange thinks this may be her former husband, which is very unlikely. Possibly ירניה or מוחסיה for the first name.

Line 39. רעיבל 5 very uncertain. For the form cf. רעויה and נבורעי. The endorsement is lost. One would like to know what they called the document (?ספר אנתו).

No. 16.

An Appeal to a Higher Court. About 435 B.C.

The papyrus is so much broken that very little can be made out of it. The mention of year 31 requires a date in the reign of Artaxerxes I, since of the only three kings who reigned so long, Darius I is too early

and Artaxerxes II is too late. A Nephayan (if that is the pronunciation) was רבחילא in 411 (see 30⁷), but his father Waidrang was רבחילא in 416 (see 25²) and was promoted to *fratarak* before 411. Nephayan here must therefore be a different person from Nephayan in no. 30: perhaps his grandfather. The 31st year of Artaxerxes I was 435 B.C. and the deed must have been drawn up then or soon after. It seems to be an appeal from the decision of a lower court to a higher authority, but all the details are obscure.

Sachau, plate 7. Ungnad, no. 7.

1 ע]ל א ׀ [ועל בנ]פרן בר [ושחי 1
 2 זנה ח]קלא [דנ]לן מהחסן לה מן שנת ד' ׀ ׀ ׀ [עד ש]נת ד' ר ׀ [ארדתחשמי 2
 3 אף] שאילת [קר]ם תר]וה ו]דינא ואמרת קדם דינ]א 3
 4 חק]לא רדית ׀ [אנב]א מנהן [לא] לקחת אלך דינ]א 4
 5 וכעשק עביר ואמרת קדם תרוח ודי]נא 5
 6 מ]ן שנת ד' ׀ ׀ ׀ עד שנת ד' ר ׀ ובנפרן ונפין עלו לסון ולק 6
 7 דתכיא זי נפין רב חילא זי סון ודיני מונתא איך ל 7
 8 א]נה קדם מראי שלחת לאמר בעשק עביר לי וכע]נת 8
 9 שאל להרוח ודינא ע]ל [ל] דנה בעשק אל יתעבר לי ׀ 9

¹ to Arsames (?) and to Megaphernes b. WŠHI
² this field our detachment owned from the 24th year to the 31st year of Artaxerxes
³ also I was examined before TRWH and the court, and I stated before the court
⁴ the field I ploughed but the produce I did not receive from them. These judges
⁵ . . . and a wrong was done to me, and I stated before TRWH and the court
⁶ . . . from the year 24 to the year 31, and Megaphernes and Nephayan and Mannuki, the 3 judges, went up to Syene and took with them (?). . . .
⁷ . . . the assessors (?) of Nephayan, commander of the garrison of Syene, and the judges of the province, how
⁸ I (?) before my lord have sent saying, 'A wrong was done to me,' and now
⁹ ask TRWH and the court about this, (and) let wrong not be done to me, and

Line 1. Some lines necessary to explain the case are lost at the beginning. ׀ . . . א, perhaps ארשם. ׀ פרן is clear. As it must be a name (since בר follows), and as בנפרן occurs in l. 6, the restoration is probable. [ושחי] restored from 22¹³³, dated 419. The beginning was perhaps to this effect: 'I brought an action before the ordinary court about a field to which I laid claim. Having failed to obtain justice, I now appeal to the highest authorities, to Arsames(?) and Megaphernes.'

Line 2. קלא is certain. As מהחסן is used elsewhere of holding property in land, חקלא is a probable restoration. רנ[לן] is only a conjecture, but it fits the space. If it is right, it is interesting as showing that the רנל could hold property as a corporation. א צ ר א as in l. 6.

Line 3. שאלת is no doubt a passive form. In later Aramaic אשתאל means to 'undergo examination' before a court, and hence to 'bring an action'. The meaning seems to be the same here. Cf. שאלא, 7⁶. [תר] as l. 5. Either a title or (more probably) a name—but it is not found elsewhere.

Line 4. ררית, not דאת. If the dispute is about a field, it may mean 'plough', and the word before be חקלא. א[אנב]א, a word for 'produce' is required. מנהן is the only possible reading. 'From them' (fem.) i.e. the other party. They must have been women. [לא]. There is a slight trace of ל. לקחת. The last letter is a badly made ת. אלך is certain. Ungnad's אית is impossible. [דיני]א might be דינא, but אלך requires the plural.

Line 5. וכעשק. The proper meaning of עשק is 'unfairness' in withholding from a person his due. It therefore suits the restoration proposed in l. 4. The word occurs in ll. 8, 9 also. The כ is difficult. It might be for כי (cf. Phoenician ז for וי), 'and that a wrong was done'. But Seidel is probably right in taking it as otiose, cf. כעמלא, 40², כחסן, 7^{5.8.9}. It would then be originally a modifying particle (like *que non* for *je crois que non*) which afterwards lost its force. No doubt a popular idiom.

Line 6. [א]דיני very doubtful. The first stroke is too long, and there is hardly room for דיני. ולק[חו עמהם] ולק. . .

Line 7. דתכיא from דת (OP *dāta*), 'lawyers', 'assessors'? There is a slight trace of something before it—פ or ב or מ. איך. It is difficult to see what the construction can be.

Line 8. [א]נה or זנה or דנה (cf. l. 9). מראי is the high official addressed. Elsewhere it generally means Arsames. [וכען] or וכען or וכעת.

Line 9. Perhaps 'and to my companions' (in the *degel*). This is the end of the text.

No. 17.

Relating to Supplies for the Garrison (?). 428 B. C.

A strip of papyrus written on both sides. Lines 1-4 are on the recto, 5-7 on the verso. It is so much injured that parts of the facsimile are illegible, and I have accordingly adopted in most cases the reading of

Sachau and Ungnad, who had the original before them. The date is certain. The king is Artaxerxes I (since II would be too late), and his 37th year is 428 B. C.

It is a letter addressed to a high official (no doubt Arsames) and perhaps relates to the accounts for the collection and distribution of corn (as rations) cf. no. 24.

Sachau, plate 5. Ungnad, no. 5.

1 [אל מראן] ארש]ם עבדיך אהמנש וכנותה בננן וכנותה וספרי מדינתא שלם מראן
אלהיא]ישאלו
2 שניא ב]כל עדן וכעת לן שלמת על כל מנתא לם זי יהבנה במדינתא אתר
זי ב
3 . . . מפרש זן זן ירה בירח הוו שלחן עלי אף נשתונא כתיב יהיב לן כעה
4 . . . דנשתח
5 מראן ארשם [עבר]ך אהמנש וכנותה
אזרכיא ב
6 זי נפרע חרוין וכנותה ספרי מדינ]תא
ל לחיא
7 . . . עלים סינעבש אזרכיא כנתהם ב // // // למרחשון שנת
ז // // // ארתחשם]ש
לותהם

¹ *To our lord Arsames, your servants Achaemenes (?) and his colleagues, Bigdan (?) and his colleagues, and the notaries of the province; the welfare of our lord may the gods seek ² abundantly at all times. And now you have paid us for all the contribution assuredly which we gave in the province at (?) the place which is . . . ³ . . . plainly set forth, each item month by month they were sending to me. Also a written document was given to us. Now . . . ⁴ and we will . . . ⁵ our lord Arsames your servants Achaemenes (?) and his colleagues the recorders in . . . ⁶ which we pay. Haruz and his colleagues the notaries of the province, all 3 villains (?), ⁷ . . . the servant (?) of SYN'BS the recorder, their colleague, on the 19th of Marheshwan in the 37th year of Artaxerxes, to them.*

Line 1. Probably the words אל מראן stood above this, cf. 21¹. ארש]ם is likely. It occurs in l. 5 (Ungnad, doubtfully). אהמנש here and in l. 5 is very uncertain. כנותה as in Ezra 5⁶ (RV 'companions'), and frequently in these texts. בננן very uncertain. There is a stroke which would fit a נ, but Ungnad does not print it. Cf. בנתן, Esther 2²¹. Compounded with OP *baga*, 'god'? 'ישאלו וב' the regular formula in letters, but sometimes in the singular. 'May (the) god(s) inquire after

your health', i. e. be careful of it, on the analogy of the ordinary greeting of one man to another (מה שלמד).

Line 2. על כל מנתא 'for every piece'? or perhaps = Heb. על מנה כל 'in every respect'. יהבנה is Sachau's reading. אתר זי 'the place in which', i. e. 'where'?

Line 3. מפרש, cf. Ezra 4¹⁸ &c. 'Exactly'? as Sachau, or 'separately'. זן 'thing by thing', i. e. each several thing. נשחונא, Ezra 4¹⁸ &c., cf. Pers. نوشتن.

Line 4. ונשתח (my reading) not ונשחונא apparently.

Line 5. אורכריא. A Persian compound of אורא 'information', and kar, 'making'.

Line 6. וי נפדע (my reading). The ר is more like ס. It cannot govern חרוין. כל וון להיא (my reading), is very doubtful. Added as an afterthought below the line. Cf. 30⁷. חרוין = חרוט is Egyptian, which may account for the abusive epithet.

Line 7. עלים 'servant'? or part of a longer word. סינעבש very doubtful. A name is wanted, but a compound of Sin is unlikely (6¹⁹!) because of the י (Ungnad). למרחשון probably so. Ungnad reads למחרשון as a scribal error. לותהם = להם seems to be the only way of reading it, but the sense is not clear, and לות does not occur in these texts. In Ezra there is מן-לות-

No. 18.

End of a Marriage Contract. About 425 B. C.

As to the date there is very little evidence. If Ya'uḥan here is the same person as in no. 10, she was a נשן (unmarried girl?) in 456 B. C. She now appears to have been married and to have a marriageable daughter, so that the date of this deed cannot be much earlier than 430 or 425 B. C. The scribe here is the son of the man who wrote nos. 10, 13, 15 (456-441), and therefore presumably rather later. The document appears to be part of a marriage contract, like no. 15, with provision for the case of a divorce (שנאה in l. 1), though the precise terms are not clear. It seems that Ya'uḥan (a widow?) had made over to her daughter Sallua, on the latter's marriage (with Hoshaiah?) certain money and effects as dowry, and Ya'uḥan here renounces all right to reclaim them in case of Sallua's divorce. But other combinations are possible.

Sachau, plate 33. Ungnad, no. 36.

1 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܢܗܘܢ ܠܝܘܗܢ ܒܪܗ
 [משלך תאמר לה]
 2 ולסלוא ברתה כזי נכסיא וכספא זי כתיבין בספרא ברחמן יהבת לכם כען צבית
 3 אהנצל הם הן תאמר בִּזְת חִיבָה הִי לֹא יִשְׁתַּמַּע לָהּ כִּתְבַּב מְעוּזִיָּה בֵּר נַתָּן בֵּר עֲנִיָּה
 4 ספרא זנה כפם הושעיה [וי]הוחן ושהדייא בנו שהר חרמנתן בר ביתאלנתן
 בר צחא
 5 שהר חגי בר פנוליה שהר יאוש בר [אז]ניה שהר ביתאלנתן בר יהונתן

¹ Meshullak b. Uri a deed of divorce. And Ya'uḥan daughter of Meshullak shall have no right to say to him ² and to Sallua her daughter, As I gave these goods and the money which are set forth in this deed, as a free gift to you, now I desire ³ to take them away. If she says so, she is liable, no heed shall be paid to her. Ma'uziah b. Nathan b. Ananiah wrote ⁴ this deed at the direction of Hoshaiiah and Ya'uḥan, and the witnesses hereto: Witness, Heremnathan b. Bethelnathan b. Zeḥo. ⁵ Witness, Haggai b. Penuliah. Witness, Yeosh b. Azaniah. Witness, Bethelnathan b. Jonathan.

Line 1. Ungnad reads the marks at the beginning as numerals. לך is fairly certain. The downward stroke from the ל is accidental. The restoration is from 22⁶⁸. In 10² Ya'uḥan is daughter of Meshullak, but how he comes in at this point is not evident. דין is certain, not כסף (as Sachau). The tail of the י is an accidental mark in the papyrus, and the head of it is broken. It must mean a sentence or act of divorce. ולא תבהל certain, though only the lower parts of the letters remain. [משלך] restored from 10². [תאמר] is restored to correspond to l. 3, the usual formula being 'she shall not say . . . if she says so . . .' [לה] 'to him' or 'to X' is wanted since 'and to S' follows. There does not seem to be room for a name. I take 'him' to be the husband of Sallua.

Line 2. ולסלוא. Other forms of the name are סלוא and סלואה. ברתה. If לה is the husband of S, this must be 'her (Ya'uḥan's) daughter'. If it is 'his daughter' לה must be S's father. ברחמן as in 43³, 'as a free gift', 'out of the affection which I bear to her'. לכם, i. e. to S and her husband.

Line 3. כִּזְת. The ז is badly formed, and זת (= זאת) does not occur elsewhere in these texts, but it can hardly be anything else. חִיבָה not the usual formula. יִשְׁתַּמַּע impersonally. 'It (the claim) shall not be heard as regards her'.

Line 4. הושעיה. It is difficult to see how he is concerned, unless

he is the husband of S, and this is their marriage deed. Then he and Ya'uḥan would be the parties to the deed, as in no. 15 Ašor and Mahseiah negotiate the marriage of Mibṭaḥiah. (But no. 15 is written at the direction of Ašor only.) Since it is the mother who gives away her daughter, she must be a widow, otherwise the father would have done it. If Hoshaiāh were the father, there would be no need to say so much of Ya'uḥan the mother. Heremnathan and Bethelnathan are compounded with the god-names חרם and ביתאל, just as יהונתן with יהו in l. 5. See Introduction, p. x. These names only occur here. The grandfather has an Egyptian name.

Line 5. א[ז]ניה ב' יאוש as in 12⁸.

No. 19.

List of Names. About 420 B. C.

A Meshullam b. Shemaiah (l. 5) is mentioned in 22¹¹⁹, and a son of Nathan b. Hodaviah (l. 10) in 22¹²⁷. Possibly l. 4 is the same as in 22¹¹⁶. It seems therefore as if the two lists have some connexion. No. 22 is dated 419 B. C. In 20² there is a Menahem b. Meshullam (as in l. 7) under date 420 B. C. This list may therefore probably be dated 420 ±.

Sachau, plate 23. Ungnad, no. 23.

• • • • •	1
• • • בר א	2
אושע בר א[וריה?]	3
• • • בר שלם	4
מש[ל]ם בר שמעי[ה]	5
שמעיה בר שלם	6
מנחם בר משל[ם]	7
חני בר יוני[ה]	8
• • • בר איש	9
נתן בר הודויה	10

¹ ² Ba'adiah b. A ³ Oshea' b. Uriah (?). ⁴ WKYN b. Shallum b. . . . ⁵ Meshullam b. Shemaiah. ⁶ Shemaiah b. Shallum. ⁷ Menahem b. Meshullam. ⁸ Haggai b. Jezaniah. ⁹ Agiri b. Ash . . . ¹⁰ Nathan b. Hodaviah.

Line 1. Only slight traces remain.

Line 3. [• • •]א. Only אוריה and אושע are possible. The former is more likely, as father and son rarely bear the same name in these texts.

Line 4. וְכַסֵּן very uncertain. It might be וכסן , but neither is known to me as a name. Ungnad and Sachau מתן.

Line 9. אגרי . Ungnad compares Bab. *Agiri*. Sachau compares *Agur*. For the father's name Sachau suggests אשכל . A כ would be possible.

No. 20.

Settlement of a Claim. 420 B. C.

The papyrus has a bad break where it was bent at one third of its breadth, and the latter part is not very easy to read. On the whole, however, the text is fairly certain.

Menahem and Ananiah, sons of Meshullam (cf. 19⁷), had sued Yedoniah and Mahseiah (cf. 25³, 28²), sons of Ashor and Mibṭahiah (cf. no. 15), concerning certain property which had been deposited (as a pledge or loan?) with Ashor by their grandfather, Shelomem, and which had not been restored. They have now been satisfied (by payment?) and hereby resign all further claim on the sons of Ashor.

The date is the 4th year of Darius, who must be Darius II, and the year is therefore 420 B. C. Mibṭahiah was married to Ashor in no. 15, which was dated, partly on the evidence of this deed, about 440 B. C. Her elder son can hardly have been much under 20 years of age when he became a party to this action. Ashor had evidently died in the meantime, otherwise the action would have been taken against him, not against his sons. So too Shelomem and Meshullam must have died, otherwise one or other of them would have brought the action. This corroborates the date of no. 1 (494 B. C.), where Shelomem b. Azariah is a witness. He must have been a young man then, since he lived to transact business with Ashor, and the interval of seventy-four years between no. 1 and this deed is not too long for three generations.

The death of Ashor probably took place just before this action, which was necessary to settle up his affairs. Similarly the division of slaves in no. 28 was no doubt consequent on the death of Mibṭahiah.

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|---|--|
| 1 | בִּירְחָ אֱלוֹל הוּ פֶּא [נִי] שְׁנַת $\sqrt{\text{///}}$ דְּרִוּוּהִישׁ מִלְכָּא אֲדִין בִּיב בִּירְתָּא אֲמַר |
| 2 | מִנְחָם וְעֻנְנִיָּה כָּל [11] בְּנֵי [נִי] מִשְׁלָם בְּרִי שְׁלוֹמָם יְהוּדִין זִי יִב בִּירְתָּא לְדָגֵל אֲרַנְנָב |
| 3 | לִירְדִיָּה וּמַחְסִיָּה כָּל [11] בְּנֵי אֲסַחֹר בְּרִי צַחַא מִן מִבְטַחִיָּה בְּרַת מַחְסִיָּה יְהוּדִין |
| 4 | לֹכְם דְּגֵלָא לְאֲמַר [אֲנַחְנָ] הִ רְשִׁינְכֶם בְּדִין נֶפֶא קְדָם דְּמַנְדִּין פְּרַתְרַךְ וִוִּירְנָנ |
| 5 | רַב חֵילָא לְאֲמַר אִי [תִי] נְכַסִּיָּא לְבַשִּׁי קִמְר דְּכַתָּן מֵאֲנִי נַחֲשׁ וּפְרֹזֵל מֵאֲנִי עַק |

$\text{נֶפֶא קְדָם דְּמַנְדִּין}$ - $\text{נֶפֶא קְדָם דְּמַנְדִּין}$

- 6 וחוצן עבור ואחרן דרשין לאמר אסחור אבוכם לקח מן שלומם בר עזריה אף
 7 אמר איתי זי בפק[דון] הֶפְקְדוּ וְהוּוּ הַחֶסֶן וְלֹא הַתִּיב לָהּ וּמִנְכֵן רְשִׁינְכֵם
 8 אחר שאילתם ואנת ידניה ומחסיה בני אסחור הוטבתם לבבן באלך נכסיא
 9 וטיב לבבן בנו מן [יומ]א זנה עד עלם אנה מנחם וענניה רחיקן אנחנה מנך
 10 מן יומא זנה עד עלם ל[א] נכהל אנחנה ובנין ובנתן ואחין ואיש זילן קריב ובעל
 11 קריה לא יכהלון ירשון[נכ]ם אנת ידניה ומחסיה דין ודבב ולא יכהלון ירשון
 לבניכם -
 12 ואחיכם ואיש לכם [בש]ם נכסן וכסף עבור ואחרן זי שלומם בר עזריה
 והן אנחנה
 13 ובנין ובנתן ואיש זילן] ובני שלומם בר עזריה ירשונכם וירשון לבניכם
 ובנתכם
 14 ואיש זילכם זון] ירש[ון] דין עלא ינתן לכם או לבניכם ולמן זי ירשון אביגרנא
 15 זי כסף כרשן עשרה ב[אבנ]י מלכא כסף ר // לכרש ׀ והו אפם רחיק מן
 אלה נכסיא זי
 16 רשין עליהם ולא דין ולא ד[בב] כתב מעוהיה בר נתן ספרא זנה כפם
 מנחם וענניה כל ׀
 17 בני משלם בר שלומם שה[דר]מנחם בר גדול גדול בר ברכיה מנחם בר עזריה
 18 שהר הודויה בר זכור [בר] אושעיה

Endorsement.

- 19 ספר זי כתב מנחם וענניה כל [׀] בני מנחם בר שלומם
 20 [לירני]ה ומחסיה כל ׀ בני אסחור בר צחא

¹ In the month of Elul, that is *Payni*, 4th year of Darius the king at that time in Yeb the fortress, said ² Menahem and Ananiah both sons of Meshullam b. Shelomem, Jews of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Iddinnabu, ³ to Yedoniah and Mahseiah, both sons of Ašhor b. Zəḥo by Mibṭahiah daughter of Mahseiah, Jews ⁴ of the same detachment, as follows: *We* -sued you in the court of NPA before Damandin the governor (and) Waidrang ⁵ the commander of the garrison, saying: There *are* goods, garments of wool and cotton, vessels of bronze and iron, vessels of wood ⁶ and ivory, corn, &c., and we pleaded saying: Ašhor your father received (these) from Shelomem b. Azariah, and also ⁷ said, 'They are on deposit'. They were deposited, but he kept possession and did not return (them) to him, and therefore we sue you. ⁸ Then you were examined, and you Yedoniah and Mahseiah, sons of Ašhor, satisfied us concerning these goods, ⁹ and we were satisfied therewith. From this *day* for ever I Menahem and Ananiah, we renounce all claim on you. ¹⁰ From this day for ever we shall have no power, and our sons and our daughters and our brothers and any man related to us or a freeman of ¹¹ the city shall have no power to bring *against* you, Yedoniah and Mahseiah, suit or process, nor shall they have the power