

- 6 וחוצן עבור ואחרן דרשין לאמר אסחור אבוכם לקח מן שלומם בר עזריה אף
 7 אמר איתי זי בפק[דון] הֶפְקְדוּ וְהוּוּ הַחֶסֶן וְלֹא הִתִּיב לָהּ וּמִנְכֵן רְשִׁינְכֵם
 8 אחר שאילתם ואנת ידניה ומחסיה בני אסחור הוטבתם לבבן באלך נכסאי
 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 ואחיקם 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 נכסאי 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 Ašor 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: Ašor 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 Ašor, 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

to sue your sons¹² or your brothers or any one of yours *on account* of goods and money, corn, &c., belonging to Shelomem b. Azariah. If we¹³ or our sons or our daughters or any one of *ours*, or the sons of Shelomem b. Azariah, sue you or sue your sons or your daughters¹⁴ or any one of yours, or whoever shall sue about it, he shall pay you or your sons, or whomsoever they sue, a fine¹⁵ of the sum of ten kerashin, royal *weight*, at the rate of 2 R to 1 karash, and he assuredly has no claim on these goods¹⁶ about which we sued, and no suit or *process* (can lie). Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote this deed at the direction of Menahem and Ananiah both¹⁷ sons of Meshullam b. Shelomem. Witness, Menahem b. Gadol. Gadol b. Berechiah. Menahem b. Azariah.¹⁸ Witness, Hodaviah b. Zaccur *b.* Oshaiiah. (Endorsement.)¹⁹ Deed which Menahem and Ananiah both sons of Menahem b. Shelomem wrote²⁰ for Yedoniah and Mahseiah both sons of Ashor b. Zeho.

Line 1. The day of the month is not given, which is unusual. The Egyptian month may be פא[ני] or פא[פי]. From the calculations of Mr. Knobel and Dr. Fotheringham it seems that Payni suits the chronology best. So also Gutesmann.

Line 2. [בני 11] restored from l. 3. ארננבו is Babylonian.

Line 4. זכס as in 9². The sons of Ashor here belong to the *degel* of Iddinnabu, but in no. 28 to that of Warizath(?). In no. 15 Ashor himself (as an Egyptian?) is not assigned to any *degel*. Mibṭahiah, one would suppose, belonged to her father's *degel*, i. e. either Warizath or Haumadata. נפא, cf. 7⁴ where it seems to be a place-name. Not נף Memphis, see Nöldeke, Clermont-Ganneau, Pritsch. Nor can it be OP *napā*, even if that could have the meaning of 'family', as has been suggested. The רבחילא seems to have held his court (and had his headquarters) at Syene. The רין נפא was a superior court since the *fratarak* presided over it. רמנרין must be a name (so Pritsch, Andreas), not as S-C. Clermont-Ganneau suggests 'tribunal' or 'judge', &c. Lagrange thinks the phrase = מן קרם רין. פרתרך as in 30⁵, &c. From OP *fratarā* = 'prior', 'superior', and so 'governor'. It cannot be dependent on וידרננ (quasi 'lieutenant' of W), because that would imply a lower rank than W, whereas in 30⁵ W has become *fratarak*, and his son is רבחילא (30⁷). Hence *fratarak* is not followed by ביב or בסון. He governed the district or province, while the רבחילא commanded only the garrison of Syene (including Elephantine). A ו has been omitted before וידרננ. So Pritsch; Lagrange doubtfully.

Line 5. "ו. . . איתי 'there are goods and we sued', i. e. concerning certain goods we sued. Cf. 14⁴, also a builder's stock.

Line 6. וחוצין, Nöldeke 'palm-leaves'. Jampel compares Ps. 129⁷, Neh. 5¹³, and takes it as clothing. Cf. on 15¹⁰. ורשין is on the

broken place, but is fairly certain. לקח. The omission of the object is awkward.

Line 7. The construction is very awkward. וי איתי seems to mean 'they are things which are . . .' The following ב requires a noun, and בקרון is most likely. ופק' is Lidzbarski's suggestion. S-C read ופק'. If a Hophal is admissible it gives a sense, but the form is not found, I believe, elsewhere in these texts.

Line 8. שאילתם passive as in 16³.

Line 9. רחיקן 'we withdraw from you', i.e. renounce all claims. מנכם an oversight for מנכם.

Line 13. After ובנתכם there is a faint א which has been erased. If the document were a forgery this would be evidence that it was written by an Arab who used the dual suffix כ—referring to two persons.

Line 14. ווי as elsewhere for וי ומן זי. Probably subject, not object, of ירש[ן], which I restore as plural, as at the end of the line, in spite of יתן singular. The writer is confused by his own verbiage. עלא adverbially, cf. בנו. אביגרנא or דנא. A Persian term for 'fine', as in 25¹⁵, 28¹⁰, but the etymology is not clear.

Line 15. אפם, not אחר as S-C. רהיק' too much obscured to read, but it is the word required. אלה is more probable than אלך (S-C).

Line 16. The same scribe as in no. 25.

Line 19. The second מנחם is a mistake for משלם.

No. 21. ^{Read}_{25. 28.}

Order to keep the (Passover and) Feast of Unleavened Bread. 419 B. C.

See Barth in *OLZ* 1912, 10, and Ed. Meyer in *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1911, p. 1026.

This is one of the most interesting and important of these texts. See Introduction, p. xvi.

The date is the 5th year of Darius. This must be Darius II, since Yedoniah, who is addressed evidently as head of the community, holds the same position in no. 30 (408 B. C.). The year is therefore 419 B. C.

It is a letter from Hananiah, whose mission must have been official and important, since his arrival in Egypt is mentioned as a well-known event in 387. Unfortunately the papyrus is very imperfect, half of the lines 4-10 being lost, but enough remains to show that it contains a direction to keep the festival of (Passover? and) Unleavened bread, and gives instructions for doing so. What is still more remarkable is that this direction is

based on the authority of Darius himself. The question then arises, was this community, which possessed a temple and offered sacrifice to Ya'u, ignorant of the greatest of Jewish national festivals? Had they never celebrated it before? Was it a new institution? What had the Persian king to do with it? Something has already been said on these points in the Introduction, p. xvi+. A few remarks may be added here.

In the first place, we have no evidence that the Passover before this date was a regular annual ceremony. In the earliest documents (as estimated by the majority of critics) it is the seven days of Unleavened bread on which stress is laid. A national Passover-feast is unknown to J and E. The earliest mention of it is in Deut. 16, where it is closely related to the feast of Unleavened bread. Moreover in 2 Kings 23²² it is expressly stated of Josiah's Passover (which is usually believed to be closely connected with the ordinance in Deut.) that such a celebration had never been held 'ובל ימי מלכי ישראל וג' . . . מימי השפטים' *'in the days of the Judges . . . and all the days of the kings'*. If then the Passover, as a national (but not necessarily an annual) institution, was introduced only in 622 B. C., it is not surprising that this colony, which was probably (already or) soon afterwards established in Egypt, should either know nothing of it, or should regard it as intended only for residents in Palestine, to be celebrated at Jerusalem, which indeed is the natural meaning of Deut. 16⁶. No doubt the national festival was founded on primitive practices of some kind, but that is a totally different question. It is true that in the present broken condition of the papyrus the word Passover does not occur, but I think there is reason to believe that it was originally mentioned (see note below) and that the directions given here agree with Deut. 16 in connecting the Passover and Unleavened bread. If not, and if the papyrus refers only to the feast of Unleavened bread, then it is still remarkable that directions were necessary for the keeping of so old and, one would think, so well-established a festival.

In either case the explanation may be found perhaps in the rabbinical saying quoted in the Introduction, p. xix. That 'Ezra gave the Law a second time' is not a paradox but a statement of historical fact. Whatever parts of the Pentateuch were in existence before the fifth century B. C., it cannot be held that its provisions had any great influence on the people in general. The earlier parts of the O. T. and the prophets, if read without prejudice, seem to me to show quite the reverse. In fact the kings were too much occupied with politics and other mundane matters to enforce a ceremonial law, even if they had the desire to do so, and the times of the Judges were too anarchic to admit of it. Josiah's great

- 7 ביום ר' /// ו' וביום ד' אף שכר א' ל תשתו וכל מנדעם זי חמיר א' יתי בה
 8 אלתאכלו מן יום ר' /// ו' מן [מערב שמשא עד יום ד' לניס]ן שבעת
 9 יומן אל יתחוזי בכם אל תהנ[עלו בתוניכם והתמו. בין יומי]א אלה
 10 כן יתעבד כוי אמר דריוהוש מל[כא

Address. [אל] 11 אחי ידניה וכנותה חילא יהודיא אחוכם חנניה

[¹ To my brethren, ² Yedoniah and his colleagues the Jewish garrison, your brother Hananiah.] The welfare of my brethren may the gods seek. ³ Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsames, saying: ⁴ In the month of Tybi (?) let there be a Passover for the Jewish garrison. Now you accordingly count fourteen ⁵ days of the month Nisan and keep the Passover, and from the 15th day to the 21st day of Nisan ⁶ (are) seven days of Unleavened bread. Be clean and take heed. Do no work on the 15th day and on the 21st day. Also drink no beer, and anything at all in which there is leaven ⁸ do not eat, from the 15th day from sunset till the 21st day of Nisan, seven ⁹ days, let it not be seen among you; do not bring (it) into your dwellings, but seal (it) up during those days. ¹⁰ Let this be done as Darius the king commanded. (Address.) ¹¹ To my brethren Yedoniah and his colleagues the Jewish garrison, your brother Hananiah.]

Line 1. There are traces of letters which may be restored from l. 11.

Line 2 is also made more certain by l. 11. כנותה are generally mentioned by name. To put חילא יהודיא in apposition to it strikes me as slightly contemptuous or condescending on the part of the great man. Another mark of his importance perhaps is that he calls himself simply Hananiah, without further description, just as Arsames does in 26¹. אלהיא is plural, though used by a Jew to Jews. It had perhaps become stereotyped in use, and had ceased to be consciously regarded as plural, as was the case with Hebrew אלהים. Not a pl. majestatis. At the end we must restore, according to the regular formula, either ישאלו or ישאלו בכל עדן. The length of the lines can only be determined by the amount required to complete the sense.

Line 3. זא fem. as in 30¹⁷. The following date is parenthetical. It is not 'this year is the 5th year', but 'this year (viz. the 5th year)'. דריוהוש. The later spelling. שליה. Arnold takes this as 'I being sent', and thinks the instructions are all given on Hananiah's own authority. He compares Ezra 7¹⁴. This is not so. שליה is impersonal, 'orders were sent', as in 26⁶, 'about which orders were sent from me', cf. 26⁴ ישתלח in the same sense. Ezra 7¹⁴ is to be taken in the same way, 'orders were sent from the King' (not as RV), otherwise both there and here a pronoun would be required. Then if an order was

sent it must be recited in what immediately follows, i.e. it was the Persian king who decreed (without specifying details) that the festival should take place in due form, and words to that effect must have stood in the lost part of l. 4. [לאמר] or לם is needed after שליה to introduce the decree in l. 4.

Line 4. If the above view is right, the first half of the line contained the king's decree. It may be objected that there is not room, but cf. Waidrang's order for the destruction of the temple in 30⁷⁻⁸, consisting of only five words. There is no need for anything more than such a short and peremptory command: 'in the month Tybi let there be a Passover (or a festival) for the Jewish garrison'. תעובי. Dr. Fotheringham tells me that in this year Tybi 1 = Nisan 10. יא[חילא יהודיא]. There is a trace of ד, and the restoration (so Sachau; Ungnad יהודיא) is probable. This cannot be part of Hananiah's own words. He has already used חילא יהודיא in l. 2. He would not have repeated it, but would have said 'you'. It must therefore be part of the king's message. כעת evidently begins Hananiah's own comment or addition, and (like בן) is explanatory of something which preceded. The king's message would not plunge thus *in medias res* without saying what it was all about, and if it were an *oratio obliqua* אנתם would not be used. כן 'therefore', 'in accordance with this command just stated'.

Line 5. [עב]רו. If right, this suggests פסחא before it, as on the ostrakon in *PSBA* 1915, p. 222, תעברן פסחא 'that she may prepare the Passover'. This is of course a conjecture, but it is probable, and makes the text consistent. The word פסחא could not occur anywhere after this point. [ל]ניסן. The mention of the month is necessary. Probably not [ל]ירה ניסן, which would be too long.

Line 6. In the first half of the line something is wanted to explain the significance of the seven days. The proposed restoration is merely conjectural. The prohibition of leaven cannot have occurred here, since it appears in l. 7. רבין is a complete word, as there is no sign of any letter before it, therefore not שרבין, as Perles. The ין shows that it comes from a ל"ה (ל"י) stem. Hence I take it as = זבין 'clean'. [א]לתעברו is necessary.

Line 7. The beginning ought to mention the first and last days, since work was never forbidden on all the seven days (Barth). [א]לתעברו cannot refer to wine, which was ordered to be drunk at the Passover, and was never forbidden during the days of Unleavened bread. Barth (with others) is certainly right in taking it to refer to beer, a specially Egyptian drink, which in Mishna Pesahim 3¹ is forbidden, because it

was made of fermented grain, and so partook of the nature of leaven. This is therefore a special prohibition necessary for Jews living in Egypt, and there is nothing corresponding to it in Exod. or Deut. The word used for beer in the Mishna is זיתום (ζῆθος). A Greek word is unlikely here, and nothing else is obvious. I have supplied שכר because that is used in the Talmud of a drink not classed as wine, but it may have been an Egyptian word. א[לתהבלי] is Sachau's restoration. א[לתהבלי] would be better, but then it would be difficult to restore the next line.

Line 8. [מן יום 7 111 א] is required by ער יום 3 |.

Line 9. [אל יתחזי] I have restored from Deut. 16⁴. The mention of dwellings implies the later בדיקה, the searching out and removal of leaven. עלו[אלתהנ]. There is a trace of נ, not ועלו as Ungnad, who evidently thinks of Deut. 16⁷, 'go into your dwellings'. But that was *after* eating the Passover, and is unsuitable here. They were to go into their dwellings and put blood on the door-posts as a protection against the destroying angel (in Egypt). It had nothing to do with the feast of Unleavened bread with which this part of the document is especially concerned. The Passover is treated (in l. 5) only as a preliminary to it. Reading תהנעלו, the absence of a pronoun in the accusative is admissible in a series of prohibitions like this. Barth would restore זי מנרעם זי ובל מנרעם זי, but these words would hardly be repeated from l. 7. . . . אל. החמיר, but these words would hardly be repeated from l. 7. והחמיר. The ח is uncertain. It might almost be a ס. The sense would be the same, 'seal it up', i. e. put it away out of sight.

Line 10 ends in the middle. A possible א remains and a trace of כ. Something of the kind restored is wanted to wind up the message.

No. 22.

Names of Contributors to Temple Funds.

419 B. C.

A very broad sheet of papyrus, containing now 7 columns of Aramaic and the longitudinal half of a column of Demotic. On the reverse are 3 lines.

It is very much damaged, especially col. 1 and the lower parts of the other columns.

It contains a list of names of persons who contributed 2 shekels each to the God Ya'u, as stated in l. 1. The purpose of the subscription is not further explained, but clearly it must have been for the expenses of the temple. Col. 7 begins with a statement of the total so far, and its apportionment, on which see note.

As to the date: no king is named, and Epstein therefore takes the 5th year to be the 5th year of the revolt from Persia, which would be about 400 B. C., and believes the money to be intended for the temple at Jerusalem. But we have no evidence that during the revolt dates were expressed in this way. In the only dated document of that period (no. 35) the year of Amyrtaeus is given. As to no. 11, see notes. Nor do we know (and it is not probable after the events of no. 30) that the Jewish colony ever identified themselves so completely with the inimical Egyptians as against the friendly Persian government, that they would have adopted almost at once an era of 'freedom' (cf. the Bar Kokhba coins) or whatever it may have been called. As to the money being destined for Jerusalem there is again no evidence, and the allocation of it in col. 7 makes this highly improbable.

It is more likely that the 5th year here is the same as the 5th year in no. 21, and that the list belongs, like many other of these texts, to the reign of Darius II (so Seidel). Its date will then be 419 B. C. The reason of the omission of the king's name perhaps is that the document is not of an official or legal character, but contains merely internal accounts of Yedoniah's office. Up to the end of col. 6 the subscriptions are for the month Phamenoth, and the list was no doubt kept in the office to receive additions as the money was paid. The style of the writing, which is rather cursive and hasty, agrees with this view. In such a document it is natural that the name of the king should be taken for granted. It was a temporary record, not for permanent use, nor intended for reference in the far future.

The contributions are probably connected with Hananiah's mission in some way. Perhaps his (re-)institution of (Passover and) Unleavened bread was part of a religious revival, and the money was wanted for sacrifices. It may in that case have led to the hostility which caused the destruction of the temple. Or of course it may have been a customary contribution, like the half-shekel at Jerusalem. The suggestion that the money was for re-building the temple (cf. nos. 32, 33), and that the date is therefore after 408 B. C., carries no weight. You cannot build a temple on a half-crown subscription.

There are several traces of palimpsest, as though the papyrus had been cleaned and used again at intervals.

Sachau, plates 17-20. Ungnad, no 19.

ב // לַפְּמִנְחֹתָף שְׁנַת // זְנָה שְׁמֹהַת הִילָא יְהוּדִיָא וְיִיְהִב כֶּסֶף לִיהוּ
 אֱלֹהָא לְגַבְרָא לְ[נִ]בְרָא כֶּסֶף [ש //]

Col. 1.

- 2 מִשְׁ[לַמ]ת[ב]ר[ת] גַּמְר[י]ה בַר מַחְסִיָּה כִסְפָּ שׁ //
- 3 זְכוּר [בַר הוֹדוּי]ה בַר זְכוּר כִסְפָּ שׁ //
- 4 שְׂדֵי[ה] בַר[ת] הוֹשַׁע בַר חֶרְמָן כִסְפָּ שׁ //
- 5 כַּל // [/ . . .]
- 6 הוֹשַׁע [בַר בֵּית] אֶלְנוּרִי הוּ כִסְפָּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 7 הוֹשַׁע[עִיָּה בַר נַתָּן] בַר הוֹשַׁעִיָּה בַר אֲנַנְיָ[ה] כִסְפָּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 8 נְבֹאָ [/] הַ כִסְפָּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 9 נְנִי [בַר] כַּחַל כִסְפָּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 10 בַר יְהוֹ[/] כִסְפָּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 11 בַר נְה[בַת בֵּרַת מַח] סָה [כִסְפָּ שׁ /] ל[ה]
- 12 נ[תָן] בַר עֲנַנְיָ [ב]ר[/]
- 13 רַת [ב]רַת זְבוּרִי[ה]
- 14
- 15 רַת פִּלּוּל[יָה]
- 16 בֵּרַת
- 17 רַת [ב]ר[/]
- 18 בֵּרַת
- 19 כַּל מֵאֵת שְׁנַדָּן
- 20 מֵאֵת נְבוּעֻקַּב / שְׁלוֹם בַר מִנְחָ[ם]

Col. 2.

- 21 מִשְׁלָם בַר שְׁמוּחַ כִּ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 22 פִּלְטִי בַר מְיִכָּה כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 23 מַלְכִיָּה בַר יְחוּם בַר הֶרְדֵּנוּרִי [ב] שׁ // ל[ה]
- 24 שְׁלַמְיָה בַר יִשְׁעָב כִ שׁ / [/] ל[ה]
- 25 גְּדוּל בַר מִשְׁלָם בַר מְבַטְחִי[ה] כִ שׁ / [/] ל[ה]
- 26 מִנְחָם בַר הַצּוּל הוּ בַר שְׁמַעְיָה כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 27 סִימָךְ בַר מִשְׁלָם הוּ כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 28 גְּדוּל בַר שְׁמוּחַ הוּ כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 29 מִשְׁלָם בַר אֲנִי בַר הַצּוּל כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 30 הַצּוּל בַר אֲנִי בַר הַצּוּל כִ שׁ // ל[ה]
- 31 כַּל [מֵאֵת]
- 32 שׁ //
- 33 כִ שׁ //
- 34
- 35 . /

	. . . . .	36
	// ש'	37
	. . . . .	38
Col. 3.	שלם בר הודו [כ ש'] //	39
	ח'ר'י בר ונה [כ ש'] //	40
	שמוע בר שלם [כ ש'] //	41
	מתן בר ידנ[יה כ ש'] //	42
	א[ר]יה בר [כ ש'] //	43
	עננ[י] בר	44
	זכ[.] ש' //	45
	ענני [.]	46
	הוש[ע] בר נתון [כ ש'] //	47
	ד' [.] בר [.] כ ש' //	48
	[.] בר נ[.] כ ש' //	49
	[.] ב ש' //	50
	[.] בר [.] בר ישביה . . .	51
	[.] כ ש' //	52
	[.] ב ש' //	53
	. . . . .	54
	[.] ש' //	55
	[.] הושע כ ש' //	56
	[.] יהוטל כ ש' //	57
	[.] ענני כ ש' //	58
	[.] ישביה . . .	59
	. . . . .	60
Col. 4.	ה'ושע בר סגרי כ ש' //	61
	מנחם בר מתן כ ש' //	62
	נתון בר חגי כ ש' //	63
	חגי בר מיכא כ ש' //	64
	מחסה בר אורי כ ש' //	65
	שלום בר זכריא כ ש' //	66
	מנחם בר זכריא כ ש' //	67
	ד' מושלך בר אורי כ ש' //	68
	פ'מת בר סגרי כ ש' //	69

	ענני בר מעוזי כ ש //	70
	[הו]שע בר מנחם כ ש //	71
	הגני בר הוריא כ ש //	72
	[מנ]חם בר אורי בר משלך כ ש //	73
	. . . . .	74
	// כ ש	75
	// מתן כ ש	76
	[.] ר מתן כ ש //	77
	פ[נול]יא בר מנחם בר פוסי כ ש //	78
	חז[רי] בר מנחם [בר] פוסי כ ש //	79
	פלוליה בר [הו]שע כ ש //	80
	מנחמת ברת ע[נני] בר אסתח כ ש //	81
	משלמת ברת [. . .] ה כ ש //	82
Col. 5.	מפתח ברת טסהו כ ש //	83
	יהושמע ברת נתן כ ש //	84
	שבית ברת חורי בר שלם כ ש //	85
	רעיא ברת נדי כ ש //	86
	יהושמע ברת משלם כ ש //	87
	מפתח ברת שלם כ ש //	88
	יחמול ברת פלטי בר יאוש כ ש //	89
	אביהו ברת אושע כ ש //	90
	נהבת ברת מחסה כ ש //	91
	יהוחן ברת יגדל כ ש //	92
	משלמת ברת צפליא כ ש //	93
	. . . . .	94
	מנ[ח]מת ברת [. . .] כ ש //	95
	נהבת ברת [כ] ש //	96
	יחמול ברת [של]ם כ ש //	97
	יהושמע ברת הושע בר זכור כ ש //	98
	יהושמע ברת חני כ ש //	99
	אב[יה]י ברת נתון כ ש //	100
Col. 6.	יהוחן ברת גדליה כ ש //	101
	סלוה ברת נרי כ ש //	102
	יהוטל ברת יסלח כ ש //	103

אבעשר ברת הושע כ ש //	104
יהועלי ברת עמניה כ ש //	105
מפתח ברת צפליה כ ש //	106
נהבת ברת זכור כ ש //	107
מנחמת ברת ידניה בר ענתי כ ש //	108
משלם בר מעוזי כ ש //	109
משלמת ברת פנוליה כ ש //	110
נתון בר פלליה בר נתון כ ש //	111
הצול ברת הודויה כ ש //	112
[ש //] נתון כ	113
[בדיה] ש //	114
. בר נתון בר כ ש //	115
. בר שלם בר [.] ה כ ש //	116
[יה] ושמע ברת קון כ ש //	117
רעויה בר אורי כ ש //	118
משלם בר שמעיה כ ש //	119

Col. 7.

כספא זי קם יומא הו ביר	120
ידניה בר גמריה בירח פמנחתך	121
כסף כרשן די שקלן // // //	122
בנו ליהו כ די ש // // //	123
לאשמביתאל כרשן // // //	124
לענתביתאל כסף כרשן די //	125
מיכיה בר יהוישמע כ ש //	126
אושע בר נתן בר הודויה כ ש //	127
אחיו בר נתן בר ענני כ ש //	128
עזריה בר הצול כ ש //	129
ישביה בר בדכי[ה כ ש] //	130
. //	131
. בר כ כ ש //	132

Reverse.

בגפרן בר ושחי כ ש // לאנדם	133
ושחי בר זדמר כ ש // לה	134
חני בר מפטחיה כ ש // לטב //	135

Col. i.

¹ On the 3rd of Phamenoth, 5th year. This is (a list of) the names of the Jewish garrison who gave money for Ya'u the God, man by man the sum of 2 *shekels*: ²—Meshullemeth daughter of Gemari'ah b. Mahseiah, the sum of 2 sh. ³—Zaccur b. Hodavi'ah b. Zaccur, the sum of 2 sh. ⁴—Seraiah daughter of Hoshea b. Harman, the sum of 2 sh. ⁵—All ³ ⁶—Hoshea b. Bethelnuri, he (gave (?)) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ⁷—Hoshaiah b. Nathan b. Hoshaiah b. Hananiah the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ⁸—Nabu b. . . . ah, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ⁹ nani b. KTL, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ¹⁰ b. Ya'u the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ¹¹ b. Nehebeth daughter of Maḥseh, the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ¹² Nathan b. Anani b. ¹³ i daughter of Zebadi'ah ¹⁴ ¹⁵ daughter of Peluliah ¹⁶ daughter of ¹⁷ i b. . . . ¹⁸ daughter of ¹⁹ All of the company of Siniddin. ²⁰ The company of Nabu'aqab:—Shallum b. Menahem

Col. ii.

²¹—Meshullam b. Samuah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²²—Palṭi b. Michah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²³—Malchiah b. Yathom b. Hadad-nuri, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁴ 20—Shelemiah b. Jashub, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁵—Gadol b. Meshullam b. Mibṭaḥiah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁶—Menahem b. Hazul, that (is) the son of Shemaiah, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁷—Simak b. Meshullam, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁸—Gadol b. Samuah, he (gave) the sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ²⁹—Meshullam b. Haggai b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ³⁰—Hazul b. Haggai b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ³¹ All of the company of u. ³² 2 sh. ³³ sum of 2 sh. ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ sum of 2 sh. ³⁸

Col. iii.

³⁹—Shillem b. Hodav sum of 2 sh. ⁴⁰—Hori b. VNH sum of 2 sh. ⁴¹—Shamua' b. Shillem sum of 2 sh. ⁴²—Mattan b. Yedoniah, sum of 2 sh. ⁴³—Uriah b., sum of 2 sh. ⁴⁴—Anani b. ⁴⁵—Zac 2 ⁴⁶—Anani ⁴⁷—Hoshea b. Nathun sum of 2 sh. ⁴⁸ 20— b. N 2 sh. ⁵⁰ 2 sh. ⁵¹ b b. Joshibiah 2 sh. ⁵³ 2 sh. ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ 2 sh. ⁵⁶ Hoshea, sum of 2 sh. ⁵⁷ Ya'uta', sum of 2 sh. ⁵⁸ Anani, sum of 2 sh. ⁵⁹ Joshibiah ⁶⁰

Col. iv.

⁶¹—Hoshea b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh. ⁶²—Menahem b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh. ⁶³—Nathun b. Haggai, sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁴—Haggai b. Micha, sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁵—Maḥseh b. Uri, sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁶—Shallum b. Zecharia,

sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁷—Menahem b. Zecharia, sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁸ 40—Meshullak b. Uri, sum of 2 sh. ⁶⁹—Pamut b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁰—Anani b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh. ⁷¹—Hoshea b. Menahem, sum of 2 sh. ⁷²—Haggai b. Huria, sum of 2 sh. ⁷³—Menahem b. Uri b. Meshullak, sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁶ Mattan, sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁷ b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁸ Penuliah b. Menahem b. Posai, sum of 2 sh. ⁷⁹—Hori b. Menahem b. Posai, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁰—Peluliah b. Hoshea, sum of 2 sh. ⁸¹—Menahemeth daughter of Anani b. 'STH, sum of 2 sh. ⁸²—Meshullemeth daughter of . . . ah, sum of 2 sh. Sister of Mahath and S . . . (?).

Col. v.

⁸³—Mephatteah daughter of TSTZ, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁴—Ya'ushama' daughter of Nathan, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁵—Shabith daughter of Hori b. Shillem, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁶—Re'ia daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁷—Ya'ushama' daughter of Meshullam, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁸ 60—Mephatteah daughter of Shillem, sum of 2 sh. ⁸⁹—Yahmol daughter of Palti b. Yeosh, sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁰—Abihi daughter of Oshea, sum of 2 sh. ⁹¹—Nehebeth daughter of Maḥseh, sum of 2 sh. ⁹²—Ya'uḥan daughter of Yigdal, sum of 2 sh. ⁹³—Meshullemeth daughter of Zephalia, sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ Menahemeth daughter of sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁶ Nehebeth daughter of Z sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁷ Yahmol daughter of Shillem, sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁸ 70—Ya'ushama' daughter of Hoshea b. Zaccur, sum of 2 sh. ⁹⁹—Ya'ushama' daughter of Haggai, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁰ Abihi daughter of Nathun, sum of 2 sh.

Col. vi.

¹⁰¹—Ya'uḥan daughter of Gedaliah, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰²—Salluah daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰³—Ya'uṭal daughter of Yislah, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁴—Ab'osher daughter of Hoshea, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁵—Ya'u'alai daughter of Immanuah, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁶—Mephatteah daughter of Zephaliah, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁷—Nehebeth daughter of Zaccur, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁸ 80—Menahemeth daughter of Yedoniah b. 'Anathi, sum of 2 sh. ¹⁰⁹—Meshullam b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁰—Meshullemeth daughter of Penuliah, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹¹—Nathun b. Pelaliah b. Nathun, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹²—Hazul daughter of Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹³— Nathan, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁴ Zebadiah 2 sh. ¹¹⁵— b. Nathan b. h, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁶— b. Shillem b. h, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁷—Ya'ushama' daughter of Kon, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁸—Re'uiah b. Uri, sum of 2 sh. ¹¹⁹ 90—Meshullam b. Shemaiah, sum of 2 sh.

Col. vii.

¹²⁰ The money which was paid on that day into the hand of ¹²¹ Yedoniah b. Gemariah in the month of Phamenoth, (was) ¹²² the sum of 31 kerashin 8 shekels, ¹²³ of which 12 k 6 sh. for Ya'u, ¹²⁴ 7 kerashin for Ishumbethel, ¹²⁵ the sum of 12 kerashin for 'Anathbethel. ¹²⁶—Micaiah b. Ya'uyishma', sum of 2 sh. ¹²⁷—Oshea' b. Nathan b. Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh. ¹²⁸—Ahio b. Nathan b. Anani, sum of 2 sh. ¹²⁹—Azariah

b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. ¹³⁰—Joshihiah b. Berechiah, sum of 2 sh.
¹³¹ 2 . . . ¹³²— . . . h daughter of Ki . . . , sum
of 2 sh.

(Reverse.)

¹³³—Megaphernes b. VŠHI, sum of 2 sh. for 'NDM (?). ¹³⁴—VŠHI
b. ZDMR, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?). ¹³⁵—Haggai b. Miphṭahiah, sum
of 2 sh. for . . . (?).

Line 1 extends across the top of cols. 1 and 2. זנה שמהת, a careless
construction, literally 'this (document) is (a list of) the names'. חילא.
The garrison was co-extensive with the colony. Many of the names are
feminine. הב זי loosely used for 'quorum quisque dedit'. Gram-
matically the antecedent is חילא. ליהו, but see below on ll. 123+.
// ש restored from what follows. There is perhaps a trace of ש.

Line 2. The stroke at the beginning marks off the separate items, as
frequently in accounts, cf. no. 81.

Line 3. [הורוי]ה, cf. 20¹⁸ (420 B.C.). A man was often named after
his grandfather.

Line 4. [י]ה is hardly enough to fill the space. The name (as
masc.) is biblical.

Line 5. [//] כל, so Ungnad, but it might be a ש (e. g. /// /// כל שקלן),
or even a מ (. . . מאת), cf. l. 9.

Line 6. הו and לה (restored from l. 8+) must denote some special
modification of the entry. For הו cf. ll. 26-8, not in any other complete
line. This line begins a new section which is distinguished by the
use of לה in ll. 6-11, the other lines being incomplete. The next section
(ll. 20-30) also has לה, otherwise only l. 134. It may mean 'for him',
i. e. for Ya'u, or 'for himself', cf. /// לטב in l. 135, which is equally
obscure, or it may be some note that the money has been paid or has not
been paid. It is always at the end of the line.

Line 7. [נה]ה is supplied from 40⁵. הושעה alone would not
fill the space, and another short name is required. [נה]ה doubtful.
צפניה.

Line 8 and the following lines are too much broken for restoration.
נב (Ungnad) is very doubtful. There seems to be a space after it,
which excludes [נה]נה or [נה]נה.

Line 9. כהל doubtful. An impossible name.

Line 11. Cf. l. 91. In l. 25 a man is distinguished by his mother's
name.

Line 12. There are traces of [נה]ה. Cf. 8³², and below, l. 128.

Line 14. Perhaps there was no name here—which would make the
total right in l. 24.

Line 19. מאת apparently = *centuria*, a subdivision(?) of the *degel*. שנרן = Sin-iddin is probably right. We should expect ס, but cf. שנחאריב Aḥīkar 3, &c., and שנורבן Nerab 1¹. The line below marks the close of the section.

Line 20 the beginning of a new section, continued in the next column.

Line 21. From this point כ is written for כסף.

Line 22. כַיִכָה, a badly written מ, which looks like two letters.

Line 24. ישׁוב (Ungnad) rather than ישׁוב (Sachau, for ישׁוביה). The 3 in the margin gives the total number of persons up to this point.

Line 27. סימך an unknown name. Ungnad suggests a mistake for יסמך; cf. סמכיהו, 1 Chron. 26⁷.

Line 31 another summation, like l. 19, closing the section.

Line 38. Faint traces of a line.

Line 39. ישׁלם (Ungnad), not ישׁלם, which would be written plene. הורו shortened from הורויה, for which there is not room.

Line 40. חֹרִי, cf. l. 85. Egyptian? The ו is badly written, and ר may be ד. וניה, Ungnad compares וניה, Ezra 10³⁶.

Line 42. מתן for מתניה, Ezra 10³⁷.

Line 43. Ungnad reads אק, but there is no name beginning so.

Line 45. Either זכור or זכריה—probably the latter, as there is a faint trace of a possible ר. There were three names in this line.

Line 47. Cf. 33⁵.

Line 48. The 20 in the margin is difficult. There is a 3 at l. 24. If this were a continuation of the same reckoning it ought to be 33, and some of the broken lines must have had no names. It is more probably a new total of a list beginning at l. 32 (since l. 31 ends a section). In that case three lines are lost at the end of col. 2. No line is lost at the top of col. 3. Then col. 2 was one line longer than col. 1, and the detached fragment should be moved lower down. Without seeing the original papyrus it is impossible to know whether this can have been so.

Line 57. יהוטל not necessarily masc. as Ungnad says. He compares אביטל, חמיטל in O.T. In l. 103 it is fem. See note on l. 11. The name means 'Ya'u is a protection', cf. בטלה זי אהורמוד often in Behistun.

Line 61. הֹושע. The ה like that in l. 84. It might possibly be אושע.

Line 68. The total 33 here and afterwards is correct.

Line 69. פֵמת, Egyptian = Παμθησ, is Ungnad's suggestion. Cf. 72⁴.

Line 72. חֵי. The name must be short. The י is probable, and there are traces of חנ. אוריה carelessly for אוריה.

Line 73. משלך, cf. l. 68.

Line 78. פ[נול]יא or פ[לול]יא, cf. l. 80. Ungnad suggests פלטיא. For the other names cf. 127.

Line 79. הו[רי]. Ungnad's חני is hardly possible. Cf. l. 40.

Line 81. ע[נני] a conjecture to fit the space. אסחה Egyptian, compound of Isis?

Line 82. אחת וכ'. Sachau takes this as a new entry, and reads אחת // מחת כש'. But as Ungnad remarks, the name would not be omitted, and this would make the total (in l. 88) wrong. Seidel compares Phoenician למחת in an inscription in the Louvre, of which the meaning is obscure. [Usually taken as 'exact' or 'standard' money, but that is a mere guess. It might go with the clause following and be = למען, cf. perhaps (?) Assyr. *ana muhhi*.] אחת here can only be 'sister', and מחת can only be a proper name. The next letter looks as though it were joined on (מחתו). The two strokes may be a ש, as Sachau and Ungnad ('sister of M and S'), or the numeral //. Perhaps the former is better.

Line 83. מפתח very strange, but supported by ll. 88, 106. טכחז. The חז is written over an erasure.

Line 85. שביה, cf. שבתיח fem. and שבתי masc. in no. 81.

Line 86. נדי for נריה—but the ר is like a ו.

Line 88. מפתח, cf. l. 83. The scribe wrote מתח, then rubbed out the מ and wrote a פ, adding a מ in the margin. This shows that the oblique initial stroke was added after the line was written—perhaps as the entries were checked off, or to show that the money was paid.

Line 89. יחמול, cf. l. 97.

Line 93. צפליא, cf. l. 106. Seidel and Lidzbarski think = צפניה.

Line 96. . . . ך might be part of e. g. a ג. In l. 107 נהבת ברת זכור occurs. The same person would hardly be named twice.

Line 98. The marginal number (70) was added after the line was written. It overlaps into the text and covers the oblique stroke. Note that from l. 81 to l. 108 the contributors are all women.

Line 103. יסלה over an erasure.

Line 114. [ו]בדיה. Ungnad פניה[צ].

Line 117. קון short for קוניה.

Line 120. Here begins the total of receipts so far. קם 'stood', i. e. was received. הו, i. e. the 3rd of Phamenoth, cf. l. 1.

Line 121. Yedoniah the head of the community, as in no. 30.

Line 122. The arithmetic is not very satisfactory. Since 1 karash = 10 shekels (Introduction, p. xxiii), 31 k. 8 sh. = 318 sh. representing the contributions of 159 persons at 2 sh. each. As the list now stands,

the first numeration (to l. 30) makes 26 persons, the second (to l. 119) makes 91: total 117 persons. We thus require 42 more persons (or 42 lines at least), making two more columns. These can only have stood at the beginning. Further the total of 31 k. 8 sh. does not agree with the sums allocated, which amount to 31 k. 6 sh. only. Two shekels are therefore not accounted for.

Line 123. בננ as often in accounts. Lit. 'in it are 12 k.' &c., i. e. it is divided into 12 k. &c. The most difficult point about the document is the allocation of the money. The heading says it was for Ya'u, but here only 12 k. 6 sh. are assigned to Ya'u out of 31 k. 8 sh. The rest is divided between what seem to be two other deities. Were they then regarded as other manifestations of Ya'u? See Introduction, p. x.

Line 126 after a blank space, begins a supplementary list.

Line 129. עזריה over an erasure, and uncertain.

Line 130. ישביה rather than ישעיה (Ungnad). [ברכי] doubtful. Ungnad בניא, which is no name. There is a trace of ה.

Reverse, three lines.

Line 133. בנפרן. Why was a Persian contributing? ושהי probably also Persian. לאנרם. The א is strangely formed and uncertain. The word is unintelligible. It would seem to indicate the destination of the money, cf. לה above.

Line 134. זרער. The ז is badly formed, like ננ. The name should be Persian, or Babylonian (Zeri-Nannar?).

Line 135. לטב // probable, but inexplicable. Ungnad's לטביה is impossible.

No. 23.

List of Names. Probably about 420 B. C.

Another list of names, for what purpose is unknown.

It is undated, but put here because the writing is very like that of no. 22 (and no. 19), and some of the names appear in both. See notes below. Its date is therefore probably about 420 B. C.

As l. 8 is marked 10 in the margin, two lines must be lost at the top. There is nothing to show whether anything is lost at the end. Another 10 on the left-hand side belongs to another column, now lost.

Sachau, plate 23. Ungnad, no. 22.

אחיו בר נתן	1
נתן בר מעווייה	2

חור בר בְּנִיָּה	3
מחסה בר יהוטל	4
חנן בר פחנם	5
שלום בר ה . . .	6
פלטי בר מֶתָן	7
כשי בר עזור	8
פטחנם בר חורי	9
רעויה בר זכריה	10
מנחם בר מתן	11
פחנם בר זכור	12
חני בר מויכיה	13
דִּירִי בר אורי בר מחסה	14
שוא בר זכריה	15

¹ Ahio b. Nathan. ² Nathan b. Ma'uziah. ³ Hur b. Benaiah (?).
⁴ Maḥseh b. Ya'utal. ⁵ Ḥanan b. Pekhnum. ⁶ Shallum b. H
⁷ Palṭi b. Mattan (?). ⁸ io Kushi b. Azzur. ⁹ Petekhnum b. Ḥori.
¹⁰ Re'uiyah b. Zechariah. ¹¹ Menahem b. Mattan. ¹² Pekhnum b. Zaccur.
¹³ Haggai b. Micaiah. ¹⁴ Didi (?) b. Uri b. Maḥseh. ¹⁵ Sheva b. Zechariah.

Line 1. Cf. 22¹²⁸ (419 B. C.), and 25¹⁰ (416 B. C.).

Line 2. On the principle that a man often bears the name of his grandfather, this may be the son (or father) of Ma'uziah b. Nathan in 20¹⁶ (420 B. C.), cf. also 33² (407 B. C.).

Line 3. בְּנִיָּה, so Ungnad. Seidel compares 22⁴⁰ ונה = וניה = בניה (?). The name בניה is possible, or פריה, and there is a mark above the line which suggests פנוליה, with the letters written close together.

Line 5. פחנם, Egyptian, as in l. 12, but the other name in each case is Jewish.

Line 7. מֶתָן. The מ is very uncertain. Sachau reads נבתן, and it is certainly more like נב, but no such name exists. His suggestion that it is for נבנתן is not very probable. Even the ת is doubtful. It looks more like a י with an accidental stroke below.

Line 11. Cf. 22⁶².

Line 13. Cf. 22⁶⁴.

Line 14. דִּירִי. The first letter seems to be a correction. There is no name רירי (or רירי). Sachau suggests that it is for ירדיה.

Line 15. שוא, cf. 1 Chron. 2⁴⁹.

No. 24.

Account of Corn supplied. Probably 419 B. C.

Fragments of a document in three columns, containing a list of names of persons in receipt of rations as members of the garrison of Syene, with a note of the amount received by each. It is related to no. 2 in character, though not of the same date (see below), and may indeed be a report like that promised in 2¹¹ (ננתן דין, see note there). Cf. also no. 17 (ten years earlier) which refers to some such statement of accounts. It thus differs entirely from no. 22. As Sachau points out, there is nothing specially Jewish about it. It is another proof that Aramaic was used not only in dealing with Jews, but was the official language of the provincial governments in the Persian empire. The decipherment is very difficult as the names are mostly foreign, and the papyrus is much torn.

As to the date: l. 34 mentions the 4th year, and if the restoration of l. 35 is accepted, we may conclude that the list was drawn up in the 5th year. From the resemblance to no. 2 it is tempting to take these as years of Xerxes, which would make the date 481 B. C., but the writing (especially of col. 1) is so much later in style than that of no. 2, that it seems necessary to put it, with the majority of these texts, in the reign of Darius II. It will then belong to the same year as no. 22, viz. 419 B. C.

Sachau, plates 21, 22. Ungnad, no. 20.

Col. 1.	ש [ט] [ט] [ת בר א] שמן שא	1
	ש זביס . בר נבושלך שא	2
	ש חני בר שמעי [ה] שא	3
	ש אשמ[ן בר א] [ע שא]	4
	ש פטסי בר זפרות [שא]	5
	ש צחא [בר] צפר . לה שא הו	6
	ש כ ש שמו[ח] שא ר	7
	ש חור	8
	ש	9
	ש // שה	10
	ש נתן ש [א]	11
	ש אהלבני [שא]	12
	ש ה [ור ב] ר נורשוש שא	13
	ש ש [מש] גרי בר בלבן שא	14

ווי] י[היב פתָה לחילא] מן	42
חש[טרם א א] לקָ // // // לָ	43
מחיר שנת	44
א ומן א	45
לָ // // // לָ	46
. . . לחילא ה . . .	
. . . היתי . . .	

Col. i.

¹ Ration of Peṭemut(?) b. IŠMN, barley ardab 1. ² Ration of ZBIS. b. Nebushalliv, barley ardab 1. ³ Ration of Haggai b. Shemaijah, barley ardab 1. ⁴ Ration of IŠMN b. Ap', barley ardab 1. ⁵ Ration of Peṭisi b. Zaphruth, barley ardab 1. ⁶ Ration of —Zehō b. ZPHR . . for him barley ardab 1 . . . (?). ⁷ K. Ration of Samuah barley ardab 1 and 2 quarters. ⁸ Ration of Ḥor ⁹ Ration of ¹⁰ Ration of — 2 (?). ¹¹ Ration of Nathan, barley ardab 1. ¹² Ration of AḤLBNI, barley ardab 1. ¹³ Ration of Hur b. Nurshavash, barley ardab 1. ¹⁴ Ration of Shamashgiriya b. Belbani, barley ardab 1. ¹⁵ Ration of VRD b. Zuthi. ¹⁶ K. Ration of Hur. b. Y'ULU, barley ardab 1 and 2 quarters. ¹⁷ Ration of b. Abihu, barley ardab 1. ¹⁸ Ration of PHRI, barley ardab 1.

Col. ii.

¹⁹ barley ardab 1 . . . (?). ²⁰
²¹ 100. ²² barley ardab 1. ²³
 barley ardab. ²⁴ ²⁵ b. PṬNTU, barley
 ardab 1. ²⁶ . . . nkl b. Uri, barley ardab 1.

²⁷ . . . Total persons 54, including ²⁸ total persons 2 at $1\frac{1}{2}$ ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 3. ²⁹ total persons 22 at 1 ardab of barley each, = barley ardabs 22. ³⁰ total persons 30 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 75. ³¹ . . . total output amounting to ³² . . . barley ardabs 100.

Col. iii.

³³ Total output of what was delivered to the garrison of Syene from the . . . ³⁴ that is the 20th day of the month Mehir in the 4th year, to the ³⁵ 20th of Mehir in the 5th year. What was delivered as food . . . which ³⁶ brought from the district of Thebes by the hand of Onophris, ³⁷ b. BR'VH, and 'Edri b. A . . . ³⁸ Barley ardabs 1446, G 2, H 4.

³⁹ And of corn(?) of TŠTRS, the ration which was given out to the garrison ⁴⁰ from(?) 1019. ⁴¹ 1252, G I, H . . .

⁴² And what was given as a ration to the garrison from ⁴³ TŠTRS, ardabs 1690.

⁴⁴ Mehir, year ⁴⁵ and from . . . ⁴⁶
 xx76

Line 1. The ψ at the beginning is restored because it stands before each line of this column. Sachau suggests that it is for שקל, as elsewhere, but then what is its meaning? It is more likely to be some word for 'portion', 'ration', like שיעור. [ט]מ[ח], cf. פמת 22⁶⁹. Egyptian. [א]שמן last letter very doubtful, as in l. 4. Hardly אשמט. אשא. Judging from no. 2 this must be for שערן אררב, the allowance of the man named, for how long? Sachau and Ungnad take it for $\zeta e'u$ ($\frac{1}{180}$ of a shekel), which is unlikely.

Line 2. נבושלן, cf. 2⁸.

Line 3. חני is certain. Not חפי as Sachau. It is a narrow נ as in l. 14.

Line 4. [א]פ[ע] quite uncertain. It must be a very short name, cf. 53⁶.

Line 5. זפרוה uncertain. Sachau חרוין, but ח is impossible.

Line 6. The oblique stroke as in l. 10. Cf. no. 22. . . צפר uncertain. Sachau . . חור which is possible. לה and הו as in no. 22.

Line 7. The כ is taken by Sachau for כסף, but the list has nothing to do with payments in money. Here and in l. 16 are the only two cases in which the ration is שאא ר, which may be a mere coincidence, but in any case the meaning of כ is obscure.

Line 12. אהלבני uncertain. Sachau reads א חלקי[ה], but it is difficult to see what א can belong to, since the preceding word ought to be בר. What Sachau reads as ק is the same combination as in בלבן, l. 14.

Line 13. [ח]ור or . . ה. It must be a short name.

Line 14. ש[מש]גרי is Ungnad's suggestion, but the second ש is hardly possible.

Line 16. יעולן or יעולו (Sachau).

Line 17. אביהו more probably than אבי הו, since this הו (l. 6) comes at the end of the line.

Col. ii.

Lines 19-26 are too much broken to be restored.

Line 25. פטנתן. The last letter may be anything. Egyptian.

Lines 27-32 sum up the account so far. As the total number of persons to this point is 54, about half the names are lost. This cannot be the whole חילא, cf. no. 22.

Line 28. One would naturally restore נברן ||, but that the strange expression כל נפש followed by a numeral is used in l. 30. The two persons are those marked with כ in lines 7 and 16. I take ר as רבעחא. Therefore 2 persons at $1\frac{1}{2}$ each = 3.

Line 30. If 30 persons get 75, each must have $2\frac{1}{2}$. Hence we may restore [שא || ר ||]. Cf. 2⁷ where נ || = ר || here.

Line 31. . . . ה must be some word for 'amount to'. Thus:

	2	at	$1\frac{1}{2}$	=	3
	22	at	1	=	22
	30	at	$2\frac{1}{2}$	=	75
Total	54	get			100

Col. iii.

The left-hand fragment seems to have been set too much to the left. Probably l. 40 reads continuously, and if so there is less to be supplied in the other lines than Sachau shows.

Line 33. נפקתא זי יהיב if right, is a clumsy expression for 'expenses, namely, what was paid'. סונכניא, cf. סונכנן 33⁶, 'Syenians'. Sachau explains it as a Persian formation in *-kan*, which is then inflected as Aramaic. The form שושנכיא 'of Susa', in Ezra 4⁹, is scarcely parallel, unless that be a mistake for שושנכניא. At the end something is missing, for there is a faint trace of a letter, and some words are wanted to connect with the next line. Judging from the ordinary formula in contracts, [ים] הו in l. 34 implies a parallel date here containing the name of the Jewish month. This makes the line rather long, for in l. 34 there seems to be nothing after ער יום. However, the lines vary very much in length in this document. If the Jewish month was mentioned here, it points to the conclusion that the 'Syenian garrison' was the same as, or part of, the חילא יהודיא, and that these accounts relate to the Jewish colony. The ער in l. 34 implies a מן somewhere before, and it can only come here. As to the Jewish month, Dr. Fotheringham tells me that in year 4 of Darius the 20th of Mehir would coincide with the 19th of Iyyar, and in year 5 with the 30th of Iyyar.

Line 34. [ום ז] is restored from l. 35 for reasons given in the note there. ער יום. The line might end with זר לאיר הו יום, but probably the date was expressed singly the second time. Similarly ירה is omitted before מחיר in l. 35.

Line 35. √ /// שנה is restored here for several reasons. The two broken names of months, one ending in חיר and the other beginning with מ, seem likely to be both מחיר, which could only recur at an interval of a year (or years). The mention of 'year 4' in l. 34 suggests that the account ran into another year. The large, though uncertain, totals imply a long period. In Greek papyri of the second century B.C. the ration (στροφιον) of corn seems to have been 1 artaba of corn per man per month, together with a cash payment in lieu of more corn. See e.g. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 55. Probably it was about the same at the date of this papyrus. It appears, therefore, that

down to l. 26 we have a list of men receiving the monthly ration, some getting the minimum of 1 ardab (שאב), others more. Ll. 27-32 then give the summary for the month. Col. 3 gives the totals for the year. י begins a fresh entry. There is a space before it. The preceding lines were the heading. במבל. Sachau is no doubt right in taking this for במאבל, cf. לממר 32². Epstein cft. מכילתא, &c. and translates 'by measure'. Some words are wanted after it to connect with the next line. Does it mean σιτώσιον as distinct from ὀψώνσιον, the money payment?

Line 36. היתי. If I am right in bringing the fragments closer together, there is room for about 7 letters in the gap, i. e. a name of five letters and מן. נא No, i. e. Thebes.

Line 37. בר is written twice, so that one of them must be part of the name. אה. The name is improbable, as also בראוה would be.

Line 38. [שׁ[ערן] is most likely from the slight traces remaining. It cannot be שקלן. The ף may be part of כסף or אלף. We then require either אררבן or שקלן. If ה at the end is for חלרן, the line should refer to money and we might restore שׁ[ערי ש אלף]. If it is a measure we may read שׁ[ערן א ל]ף. In either case אלף, which is unfortunately less likely than כסף. I do not feel satisfied about the line. ן/נ as in 27 = ןן. Epstein suggests Talm. גרייא = סאה. ן/ן. The ן is not well formed, but can hardly be anything else. Cf. l. 41. Epstein suggests חלק.

Line 39. [ע]בֹור very uncertain. [ת]שטרס as in 27⁹, the Egyptian name of the 'southern province'. פתפא must be a popular word for 'ration' (so Lidzbarski), formed from פת? יהב probably only a mistake for יהיב.

Line 40. Ungnad reads מן אלון, but cannot explain it. אלוק = Ass. alluku 'palace' is improbable. ן אלף is the most likely. Then there are no hundreds, and the other fragment must join on here, the line reading continuously, but the meaning is obscure.

Line 41. [גו]רנא perhaps, as in 27⁵, but the ו is doubtful. A letter is wanted before it, perhaps ל, hardly ן. [ל]ף as in the Behistun text for אלף. Cf. 30²³ ולף = 31²⁷ אלף.

Line 42. At the end מן is wanted to govern חשטרס in l. 43.

Lines 44-46 are too much broken to be restored. They apparently state a total for the year—from Mehîr in one year to Mehîr in the next.

No. 25.

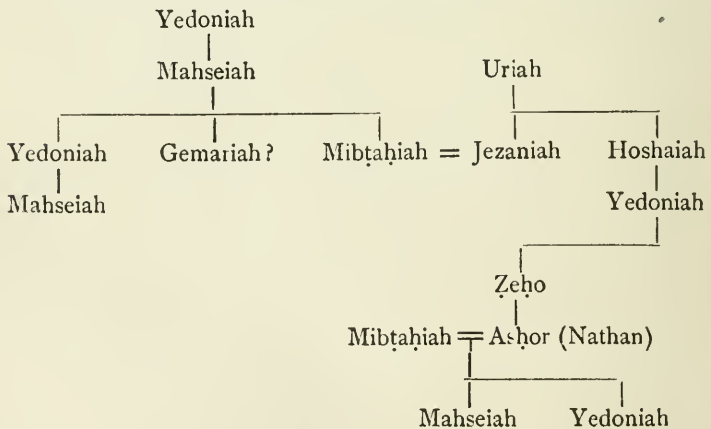
Renunciation of Claim. 416 B. C.

The papyrus is in an almost perfect state of preservation.

The date, which is given twice, is the 8th (Egyptian 9th) year of Darius (II) = 416 B. C.

The document is a deed of renunciation or conveyance, similar to several others, no. 6, no. 8, no. 13. The parties are connected through Mibṭaḥiah. Yedoniah b. Hoshaiiah was the nephew of Jezaniah, her first husband (see no. 9), whose house is the matter in dispute. Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah are her sons by her third marriage. They have already appeared in 20³ as her sons by Aṣḥor, so that either he bore both names, or he had changed his name from Aṣḥor to Nathan between 421 and 416. As to the claim of Yedoniah and Mahseiah on the house, if it was not by purchase or arrangement, it probably came about as follows: Mibṭaḥiah had no children by her first marriage, since by 9⁷ they would have inherited the property. She was divorced and afterwards married Aṣḥor-Nathan (see no. 15) about 440 B. C. and her property was united to his. When Jezaniah died, his house should have gone to his children by Mibṭaḥiah, but as there were no children and as no provision was made for that event in no. 9, her two sons by Aṣḥor now claim this house after her death. On the other hand, since Jezaniah died without issue, his brother Hoshaiiah may have had or thought he had (we do not know what the law may have been) some title to the property, perhaps under some provision of the will of their father Uriah, and after Hoshaiiah's death his son would claim. Much of course remains obscure. We do not know for instance what was the rule of inheritance in case of a provision becoming void, or in case of intestacy—nor whether real property passed in a special way.

The following table shows the relations of the people concerned :



b. Nathan, his brother, their mother being Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, before ⁴Widrang commander of the garrison of Syene, as follows: I withdraw (my claim) against you on the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah. These are its boundaries: ⁵at the upper end, the house of Hosea b. Uriah adjoins it; at the lower end of it, the house of Hazul b. Zechariah adjoins it; ⁶at the lower end and above, there are open windows; on the east of it, is^{*} the temple of the God Ya'u, and the highway ⁷of the king between them; on the west of it, the house of Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah, which Mahseiah her father gave her, ⁸adjoins it. This house, whose boundaries are described above, is yours, Yedoniah and Mahseiah both ⁹sons of Nathan, for ever, and your children's after you. To whom you will, you may give it. I shall have no power, I Yedoniah, or my sons ¹⁰or female or male dependant of mine, I shall have no power to set in motion suit or process against you, nor shall we have power to sue son or daughter of yours, ¹¹brother or sister, female or male dependant of yours, or any man to whom you may sell this house, or to whom you may give it as a gift, ¹²on behalf of myself, Yedoniah, or on behalf of my sons or dependants female or male. If I, Yedoniah, sue you, or you are sued by ¹³a son of mine or daughter or female or male dependant, on my behalf or on behalf of my sons, (or any one) except a son or daughter of Jezaniah b. Uriah, ¹⁴or (if) they sue son or daughter, or female or male dependant of yours, or a man to whom you may sell or to whom you may give as a gift ¹⁵this house, or whoever shall bring a claim against you, shall pay you a fine of the sum of ten kerashin, that is 10 kerashin at the rate of ¹⁶2 R to 1 karash by royal weight, and the house is assured to you for ever and to your sons after you, failing ¹⁷any sons of Jeza b. Uriah, without question. Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote (this deed) at the direction of Yedoniah b. Hosea and the witnesses, ¹⁸including Menahem b. Shallum: Mahseiah b. Yedoniah: Menahem b. Gadoḷ b. Ba'adiah: Yedoniah b. Meshullam: ¹⁹Yislaḥ b. Gadol: Gadol b. Berechiah: Jezaniah b. Penuliah: Ahio b. Nathan. (Endorsement.) ²⁰Deed of renunciation, which Yedoniah b. Hosea wrote concerning the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah, ²¹for Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah his brother, both of them.

Line 1. The year is given first as 8, then as 9. The second numeral is certainly 9, for the units are always arranged in threes, so that the faint trace in the middle is to be read as a unit obscured by a crease in the papyrus. The Egyptian year began with Thoth, and did not coincide with the Jewish year beginning with Nisan. This synchronism is important.

Line 2. וידרננ as in 20⁴⁻⁵ (420 B. C.). Here it is the lower court over which he presides. In no. 20 he sat with the *fratarak* in the higher court of Nepha. Note that he was commander in Syene, and held a court in Yeb. No *degel* is mentioned, perhaps because the case was taken before the commander and not before the head of the *degel*.

Line 3. אחוה a mistake for אחוהי. אמם an unusual addition, no doubt because it was really Mibṭaḥiah's property. If Aṣḥor-Nathan was dead, there would be an additional reason for giving her name as a further means of identification.

Line 4. וורננ, &c. repeated by mistake (?). רחקת lit. 'I withdrew from you (and) from the house', cf. 6²² and often. יזניה called יזן in 8⁶ and below, l. 17.

Line 5. עליה 'at the south end', as elsewhere, see the plan in note on 5⁴. הצול (S-C הפנול) is now certain, as the name occurs elsewhere. His father owned the house in 5⁵.

Line 6. כוין פתיחן. It is difficult to see how there could be 'ancient lights' if רבק has its usual meaning to 'adjoin'. They must have looked on to the high road at either end of the frontage. אנרא as in 13¹⁴. It was the temple, see no. 30. ארח מלכא. Cf. Révillout, *La propriété*, pp. 168, 322, &c.

Line 7. בנייהם a mistake for בנייהם. יהב לה in no. 8.

Line 8. מנעל a mistake for מנעלא as in l. 6.

Line 9. בניך a mistake for בניכם.

Line 10. ואנתה ואיש, cf. 8¹⁰⁻¹¹. The formula differs slightly from that used in other (and earlier) deeds. The persons are named in a receding scale of contiguity, and in pairs; son and daughter, brother and sister (l. 11), so that אנתה can hardly be 'wife' (as S-C). She would naturally come after her husband and before the children. The words are again a pair, and איש 'husband' is impossible, as a man is speaking. Translate therefore '(any) woman or man depending on me'.

Line 11. ברמין 'in friendship', not רמין as Staerk. תנתון a mistake for תנתון cf. תנתנו in l. 14.

Line 13. שטר מן as in l. 16. It corresponds to לה elsewhere, e.g. in 8¹¹, and should mean 'except' as commonly in Syriac. The proviso is not very clear however. Jezaniah must have been dead by now, perhaps recently deceased, and hence the action. He cannot have had children by Mibṭaḥiah, because they would surely have had a prior claim to their cousin Yedoniah. (This was not the house which Mahseiah gave her in no. 8.) If he had been divorced from Mibṭaḥiah, that would account for his being alive at the time of her subsequent marriage (15³⁸ ?), and might also be a reason for presuming (in law) a doubt whether he had other issue. In that case the clause would mean 'if any representative of mine, except my cousin (if any), should sue you'. Yedoniah b. Hoshaiah then admits the claim of Jezaniah's children (if any), who could not be liable to a fine for trying to establish it, if they came forward. There

may of course have been a son of Jezaniah who had gone away and not been heard of.

Line 14. נברן a mistake for נבר. תנתנו should be תנתנו.

Line 15. ירשנכם a mistake(?) for ירשנכם. ינתן not אנתן as S-C. אבינרנא as in 20¹⁴.

Lines 16, 17. שטר מן as in l. 13 'unless any sons of J. come forward'. Note בני זין indefinite 'any sons' not בני זין 'the (known) sons' as e. g. in l. 9 בני נתן.

Line 17. מעויה also wrote nos. 18, 20. His father wrote nos. 10, 13.

Line 18. גדול ב' מנחם and l. 19 ב' ברכיה גדול as in 20⁷.

Line 19. נתן אחיו ב' נתן brother of the scribe?

No. 26.

Order to Repair a Boat. 412 B. C.

A large sheet of papyrus, extra broad, as befitted its official character. Lines 17-28 are on the reverse.

It is dated in the 12th year of Darius (see note on l. 28) = 412 B. C. This is one of the most difficult of the texts, partly owing to the broken condition of ll. 1-6, which makes the precise nature of the orders uncertain, but still more because of the many technical terms and foreign words of which the meaning is unknown. It relates to the repairing (not building, see note on l. 1) of a Nile-boat used by certain boatmen in Government employment, and full details are given as to the work to be done on it. The procedure seems to be as follows: the men in charge of the boat reported to Mithradates (their foreman?) through Psamsineith, one of their number, that the boat was in need of repair. Mithradates reported to Arsames, who sent an order to Wahprimahi, an Egyptian apparently holding some local office. This is the purport of ll. 1-3. The order (ll. 3-6) is that whereas a specification of the necessary repairs had been required (from Psamsineith?) and sent to the Treasury officials, these should now inspect the boat and do the repairs if necessary. Ll. 6-9 state that they did inspect it, found the specification correct, and that the chief of the ship's carpenters considered the repairs necessary. The specification is then recited (ll. 10-22). This part is full of technical terms. In ll. 22, 23 Arsames orders Wahprimahi to have the work carried out accordingly. Much is obscure, but this seems on the whole to make the text consistent.

All the persons mentioned bear non-Jewish names, except 'Anani l. 23.

Aramaic is thus used in a communication from the Persian governor to an Egyptian official.

For special treatment of the text see Torczyner in *OLZ* 1912, p. 397, and Holma in *Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar* 1915, B, no. 5.

Sachau, plates 8 and 9. Ungnad, no. 8.

- 1 מן ארשם על וחפרעמחי וכעת בלא]ה ספינתא זי פסמסנית וכנותה נופתיא
זי כרכיא כזי שלח]
- 2 עלין מתרדת נופתא לם כן אמר פסמסנ]ית נופתיא זי]
- 3 כרכיא כן אמרו ספינתא זי מהחסנ א]נח]נה עדן הוה אופשרה למע]בר על
זנה שלחת לם אשרנ
- 4 יתנגד ע]לת]בלא וישתלח על המדכריא זי נגזא המו עם פרמנכר]יא שמשלך
וכנותה ספינתא זך]
- 5 י]חוו ואופכרתה יעברו וישתלח זרניך זי . זה אשרנא הנדונה זאחרן]והמדכריא
אשרנא כלא]
- 6 ינתנו ולעבק אופשרה יתעבד ואחרן זי מני שליח עליהם עלזנה שלחו ז]כן
אמרו עבדיהם על]
- 7 חלא זי לקבל בירתא ב]גו כרכ]יה מתרדת נופתא החוין ספינתא נחוי זי ביד
פסמסנית ו . . .
- 8 בלחרין נופתא זי כרכיא נגידה עלתבלא ואנחנה החוין לשמשלך וכנותה
פרמנכריא שמו]בר]
- 9 כנופי סנן נגריא ספיתכן וכן אמרו עדן הוה אופ]שרה]ל]מע]בר זנה אשרנא
זי אפיתי אופשרה
- 10 למעבד עקי ארו ואר חדתן טף אמן עשרה שים]ל]כטק אמן תמנין בפשכן
תלתה בנו סננן אמן עשרה
- 11 ותרין שף עשרה וחמשה]חד לא]מן עשרן סעבל אמן שבען חנן לבטנא תלתה
קלעס לקומתא חד
- 12 עקי חלא אמן שתן פחטמוני לפערער חד לאמן חרין אפסי תחת חלא
חמישה מסמרי נחש ופרזל
- 13 מאתין עקי ארו לובר חסין תמיס אמן עשרן כלא יהיתה חליפתהם לובר
ותבירן עלנגזא עזלי
- 14 כתן עבין כרשן מאה ותמנין רקען כרשן מאתין וחמשן עקי ארו חדתן חנן
תרין לחד אמן חמישה
- 15 פשכן תלתה בפשכן תלתה לח]ל]א מסמרי נחש מאה וחמשן לחד פשכן
תלתה מאתין שבען וחמישה

16 לחד צבען עשרה כל מסמרין ארבעמאה עשרן וחמשה טסן זי נחש אמן
עשרן מסמריהם מאתינ

Reverse.

17 עקי ארוז לובר רשות מצן כנכר חד מנן עשרה כלא הוספה כברי כרשין
עשרה ולהנדונה זרניך כרשן מאה

18 ויהוספון על עקיא זי יתיהב על טף בארכא לחד פשכנ תלתה חפוש ועל
פתיא ועביא צבען תרין ועל

19 שים בארכא לחד פשכנ תלתה חפוש ועל פתיא צבען תרין ועל שף וחנניא
בארכא לחד פשך חד ועל

20 סעבל עקי חלא דרי תמים בארכא לחד פשכנ תלתה חפוש ועל פתיא צבע
חד עזלי כתנא רקעתא

21 זרניכא כבריתא במתקלת פרס יתיהב ישתלח לם אשרנא זנה יתיהב עליד
שמו בר כנופי סנן

22 ננריא ספיכתן לעינין אופשר ספינתא זך ולעבק יעבר כזי שים טעם כעת
ארשם כן אמר אנת עבר

23 לקבל זנה זי המורכריא אמרן כזי שים טעם ענני ספרא בעל [טע]ם
נבועקב כתב

24 וחפרימחי ית. ה. לחוֹבֶה בל. ל. תה
. ח

25 כזי שים טעם ל כתב (blank)

(Demotic) 26

Address. ארשם זי ב. מֶן 27

28 נבועקב ספרא בר אלל [ל]טבת שנת ר' אן דריון[הוש מלכא]

¹ From Arsames to Wahprimahi: Now the boat of Psamsineith and his colleagues the boatmen of the fortifications is worn out as reported ² to us by Mithradates the boatman as follows: Thus says Psamsineith the boatmen of ³ the fortifications say thus: The boat of which we have charge, it is time to do its repairs. Thereupon I sent word as follows: Let the specification ⁴ be drawn up accurately and sent to the accountants of the treasury. They with the commanders Shemsillek and his colleagues are to inspect this boat ⁵ and make a report on it (?), and let the arsenic (?) which is required (?) by the specification, paint (?) and the rest be sent, and let the accountants give all the materials ⁶ and let its repairs be done immediately, and the rest about which word was sent to them from me. Thereupon they sent and thus said their messengers: On ⁷ the beach which is in front of the fortress, between its fortifications Mithradates the boatman showed us the boat. We report that by Psamsineith and , ⁸ both boatmen of the fortifications, it is described accurately, and we have reported to Shemsillek and his colleagues the commanders, (and) Shemau b. ⁹ Kenufi, head of the carpenters, of SPYT, and they said

thus: It is time to *make its repairs*. This is the specification which [is required (?)] immediately to do its repairs: ¹⁰ Cedar and cypress (?) wood, new, (each) plank 10 cubits 80 cubits by 3 hand-breadths, among them ribs (?) of 12 cubits; ¹¹ yards (?) 15, each of 20 cubits; a s'BL, 70 cubits; cabins (?) for the hold (?) 3; a sail (?) for the mast (?), 1; ¹² planks for the HL of 60 cubits; a PHTMUNI for the P'R'R, 1 of 2 cubits; APSI under the HL, 5; nails of bronze and iron, ¹³ 200; planks of cedar, seasoned (?), strong, TMS, 20 cubits; the equivalent of all of it, both sound (?) and broken, he is to bring to the treasury; sails (?) of ¹⁴ cotton, thick, 180 kerashin; awnings (?), 250 kerashin; planks of cedar, new; 2 HNN, each 5 cubits ¹⁵ 3 hands by 3 hands; for the HL, nails of bronze, 150, each 3 hands, 275, ¹⁶ each 10 finger-breadths; total nails, 425; plates of bronze, 20 cubits; nails for them, 200; ¹⁷ planks of cedar, seasoned (?), Egyptian (?) government, 1 talent 10 minae in all; add (?) sulphur, 10 kerashin, and arsenic for the painting (?), 100 kerashin; ¹⁸ and they shall add to the planks which are (?) supplied, to the boards in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth and thickness 2 fingers; and to ¹⁹ the SIM, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth 2 fingers; and to the planed boards (?) and HNN in length each 1 hand; and to ²⁰ the s'BL, the wood for the HL, the rows of TMS, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth 1 finger. The sails (?) of cotton, the awning (?), ²¹ the arsenic, the sulphur, are to be supplied by Persian weight. Let word be sent that these materials are to be delivered to Shemau b. Kenufi, head of ²² the carpenters, of SPYT, for the purpose of the repair of this boat, and let him do (it) at once, according to the order issued. Now Arsames says as follows: You are to act ²³ in accordance with this which the accountants say, according to the order issued. 'Anani, the secretary, drafted the order. Nabu'aqab wrote (it). ²⁴ Wahprimahi ²⁵ according to the order issued wrote . . . ²⁶ ²⁷ From Arsames, which he

²⁸ Nabu'aqab wrote the document on the 13th of Tebeth, in the 12th year of Darius the king

Line 1. A curt beginning, as from a great man to a subordinate.]בלא, Epstein cft. Dan. 6¹⁵, and reads [שים] בלא, but the phrase there is שם בל (not בלא). The lost words must have stated the case. This word is more probably the verb בלא 'to be worn out', generally used of clothes and such like, but also applicable to a boat. The boat was in charge of the נופתיה זי כרכינא (l. 3), and Psamsineith was one of them (ll. 7, 8). As he makes the report in l. 2, it is probable that he was mentioned here. For the name cf. Lieblein, *Dict. des noms propres hiérog.*, no. 1216. נופתיה זי כרכינא from l. 8, where see note.

Line 2. לם must introduce a report of Mithradates: 'M. sent saying, thus says P.'. It cannot be 'for thus says M., P. . . .' Psamsineith alone speaks, since אמר is singular, and he does not include himself with the other boatmen (so that we cannot continue with אנחנה) because אמרו

(l. 3) is in the 3rd person. Hence some phrase must have followed such as 'the boat service is interrupted, for'. **וַיִּנְפְּתִיא זֵי** from l. 8, is necessary.

Line 3. **כַּרְכִּיָּא**, see on l. 8. **מֵהַחֲסָנָן** 'having charge of' under Government, not 'owning', since it was to be repaired by Government. Elsewhere the word is used of holding land, and perhaps means to hold on lease, or by a grant, not as freehold. **עֵרֵן הוּהוּ** is abrupt and strange, but can only mean 'it is time to'. No doubt a translation of the Egyptian idiom *sp pw*, introducing a request &c. **אוּפְשֵׁרָה** an unknown word. From the context it can only mean 'its repairs'. In line 22 the construct form **אוּפְשֵׁר** occurs, so that **־הָ** must be the pronominal affix. It has been assumed that the word is Persian, but no satisfactory explanation of it as such has been given. I cannot help feeling that it is connected with the Talmudic **אִפְשֵׁר**, the origin of which is also obscure. [**לְמַעַן בָּרַךְ**] as in l. 10. The missing words must have stated that Arsames gave an order (as in l. 4). He is not giving it here, because in l. 6 (**שִׁלְחוּ**) he says that it was carried out. Hence some such words as here supplied are necessary. [**אִשְׁרֵנָא**], see on l. 5.

Line 4. **יִתְנַנֵּר**. The subject cannot be the boat, which is always **סַפִּינְתָא** feminine. Therefore not 'let it be towed', nor 'let it be carpentered' (**יִתְנַנֵּר**). Whatever it was, it had to be sent to the Treasury. They would hardly send the boat bodily. We should expect 'a statement of the cost', and hence I have ventured to supply **אִשְׁרֵנָא** in the sense of 'specification', taking **יִתְנַנֵּר** in the sense of the passive of Hebrew **הִגִּיד** 'declare', 'state'. **עַל־לְתָא בְּלָא**, so Perles, as in l. 8, and Epstein, in the sense of '(towed) by a rope'. This is unlikely, as noted above. If **בְּלָא** here and in l. 8 can mean a 'measuring line' (Heb. **הַקָּל**) the phrase would mean 'according to measure', i. e. 'accurately'. Ungnad's **בְּלָא** 'עִם] **בְּלָא** 'with care' is unlikely. **הַמְרָא**, or **הַמְרָא**. Perles thinks = **אִמְרָא** (Targums). It must be one of the many Persian titles, compounded with *-kar*, 'make', and treated as Aramaic. The meaning of **הַמְרָא** is unknown. Cf. **הַדְּבָרִיא** in Daniel, where the **מ** has been assimilated (hence **הַמְרָא** not **הַמְדָא** here), and the second part is *-bar*, 'bearing', or the **ב** is a corruption of **כ** (due to the similarity of Heb. **דָּבָר**), and the word is the same as here. In connexion with the Treasury it must mean the men who do the accounts, 'clerks'. **הַמְרָא** begins a new sentence, without a conjunction. **פַּרְמָנְכֵרִיא** as in l. 8. From Persian *farmān* and *kar*, 'those who make (or give) orders'. The words supplied are from l. 8.

Line 5. **יַחוּ** (Epstein **יַחוּן**) is probably right. **אַחֲרָן**. The

Haphel of הוה, and the Pael (or Haphel with ה dropped) are common in the sense of 'cause to see', 'show'. The Peal, which should mean 'see', is not found in BA, but perhaps occurs in these papyri. Here 'inspect'. אופכרתה another unknown word. זי. י. very uncertain. The first letter is like a badly made *y*, the second is obliterated, the rest is probable (not *מך* as Ungnad). I have restored it because in l. 17 it occurs, as here, in connexion with הנרונה. See notes there. זי. י. Ungnad הוה, but this is doubtful, and gives no sense, unless we could translate 'which was (mentioned in) the specification'. אשרנא as in ll. 9, 21 and 30¹¹. Cf. Ezra 5³⁻⁹. The meaning of the word in all these places is as uncertain as its origin. In Ezra 5³⁻⁹ the LXX have χορηγία, but in the parallel passage (1 Esdr. 6⁴) στέγην καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, and in verse 10 + ἐθεμελιώθητε, which represents the Masoretic tradition אֲשֶׁרנא. In 30¹¹ 'outfit', 'decoration', 'detail' would be suitable. Here it seems to mean the description of the outfit, so that I have ventured to use the word 'specification'. But the meaning of this much-discussed term is not settled. הנרונה as in l. 17. No doubt a Persian word, perhaps compounded with *han-* = *ham-*. The 'caulking'? In modern Persian اندودن means 'to plaster'. 'Painting'? Holma compares Persian اندام (Arab. هندام) a 'limb', but also a 'fitting together', and so 'decoration'. Cf. הדָּמִין in Daniel 2⁵ &c. The addition of ואחרן shows that we have here an enumeration of materials. זי (Ungnad) following it, is not probable. Torczyner reads באחרן, which he takes as beginning a new sentence (like אחר) 'then', and compares Dan. 4⁵. [אשרנא] is doubtful. Something is wanted like 'all the materials'.

Line 6. לעבק as in l. 22 and 42⁷⁻⁸⁻¹³, in all which places the meaning 'at once', 'speedily' is suitable. In Aḥiḳar 103 עבק is perhaps a verb, see note there. זי ואחרן, Torczyner 'und nachdem'. על זנה, Heb. על-זה 'thereupon', continues the narrative by explaining that the preliminary order was carried out by the officials. שלחו is therefore a narrative perfect, not imperative. [כנ] seems best to fit the remaining traces of letters. Hence אמרו is probable, and serves to introduce the 1st persons in l. 7. About nine more letters are wanting, which should contain something to govern הלא in l. 7.

Line 7. הלא can hardly be anything else. In l. 12 it denotes some part of the boat. The ordinary meaning 'sand' is suitable enough here. It was outside the town, and must mean the sand on the river-bank, on which the boat was moored. They sent to inspect it. [נן] looks more likely than בין or ביד. [כרב]יה, doubtful, but there is a trace of the tail of the second כ. If it is right, כרך will mean the outer

fortifications of the town, running down to the river. נחוי asyndeton, as often, especially in official style. The form is Pacl, or contracted Haphel, 'we report'. . . .ו. The lower parts of the letters are left, but I cannot identify the name, which was probably Egyptian.

Line 8. כרכיא זי נופתיא not 'boatmen of the towns', which would be pointless. נופת is Persian, 'boatman'. If כרך is rightly explained above as 'fort', i. e. the outer fortifications of the בירחא of Syene (but Epstein thinks 'rafts'), then these men were employed by the Government to convey things by river from one point of the fortifications to another, or to bring supplies from elsewhere to the forts. They were therefore important, as an Army Service Corps, for maintaining communications. In no. 2 (and no. 3) it was Espemet (elsewhere described as a 'sailor of the difficult waters') who brought the corn &c. (to Syene? by river?) and delivered it to Hosea and his partner, who distributed it to the garrison. He no doubt belonged to this service. ננידה must refer back to יתננדר (l. 4), and if the explanation there is right, this will be a passive participle agreeing with ספינתא, 'it is described'. החוין 'we showed' or 'reported', not as in l. 7, 'he showed us'. שמו, see Spiegelberg, Hauswaldt Papyri. כנופי, Lieblein, *op. cit.* no. 770.

Line 9. ספיתכן, explained by Sachau as a derivative of ספינה, with נ assimilated, and the Persian suffix *-k*, afterwards inflected as Aramaic, hence 'belonging to ships'. Cf. שושנכיא in Ezra, 'belonging to Susa'. But this would require the emphatic form ספיתכיא, for 'ship's carpenters'. Epstein suggests that it is formed from the name of the nome Sape, like סוכנ, 67, 3¹, cf. 33⁶, 24³³, but in the singular. In his later article, however, he gives this up, and proposes ספינתכן 'your ship'. As ספינתא is used so often in this text, it is unlikely that we should have the form ספית- (which is not a mistake, cf. l. 22), and as the only other use of כן is with a place-name, it is better to take ספית- as a place-name. It will then refer to Shemau, 'the chief of the carpenters, a man of SPYT', a place otherwise unknown (Egyptian *spt* = nome). זנה אשרנא. The account of the inspection being finished, this begins the specification of the repairs as stated by Arsames (i. e. from his office), down to l. 22. 'This is what is to be done . . . now (l. 22) do it'. אפית. The Ass. *appiti*, 'immediately', naturally suggests itself, cf. לעבק, ll. 6, 22. So Torczyner. (Seidel אפי איתי, meaning?). But the construction is difficult if אופשרה has the same meaning as before. If it could mean 'it is fitting' (Talm. אפשר), then אשרנא would be governed by למעבר, which is not very probable.

Line 10. Here begins the specification as sanctioned by Arsames.

אר (or אר) must be some kind of wood. Ungnad suggests Bab. *eru*, a kind of cedar (cf. *erinu*). טף, Bab. *ṭappu*, a 'plank'. (Perles says *duppu*, 'tablet', cf. טפסר.) The Coptic του is 'keel'. [ל]בטק. The tail of ב remains. There is room for one letter before it, and only ל is possible. Bab. *batku* means 'injury', 'broken part', cf. Ezek. 27⁹⁻²⁷, ברק. If בטק can be connected with these, שים might be 'put', but in l. 19 it must be a noun. The 80 cubits 3 hand-breadths must be the measurement of the broken part (?). The planks were to be 10 cubits long, and sufficient in number to cover 80 cubits. בנו, as often, 'among (them)'. סנן, if it has anything to do with סנן might mean beams to keep the planks in place, but 12 cubits seems rather long for 'ribs'. Holma suggests 'rudders'.

Line 11. שף would naturally be taken as part of שוף, but in l. 19 it is a noun. Holma thinks it is אסקופא 'threshold', then 'yard' of a ship. [חד ל]אמן. There are traces of ח and room for ל. For the construction, cf. 2⁸, . . . לשערן // גברן. סעבל, not בעבל (as Ungnad). Egyptian? חנן. Ungnad quotes Bab. *ḥinnu*, part of a ship. It must be plural here (חננן for חנן). In l. 19 we have חנניא with the נ resolved, as in עממיא. Holma proposes 'cabins', and compares Jonah 1⁵, Krauss. *Talm. Archäologie* ii, p. 341. But this would be unsuitable in a specification. You would have to state the materials required to make them. Egyptian *ḥn* means 'rowing' &c., which again does not suit the context. בטנא, the 'belly' of the boat, i. e. the 'hold'. קלעס another unknown word. קומתא the 'upright', i. e. the mast? Ungnad an 'erection'. Holma a 'cabin' on deck.

Line 12. חלא must be some part of the boat, since something is to be under it, therefore not as in l. 7, nor the name of a wood (as Ungnad). עקי חלא perhaps 'planks for the 'ח'. פחטמוני and פערער, Egyptian; פח is 'deck', and פח is 'hinder part'. אפסי is plural. Holma cft. Heb. אפסין (Ass. *apšū*, 'rope'), but why construct state?

Line 13. לובר as compared with חרתן (l. 10) suggests Bab. *labiru* 'old', i. e. seasoned, but the ו is difficult. תמים unknown. יהיתה. Haphel of אתה 'bring'. The subject is 'one', 'they', indefinite. חליפתה. Perles cft. Bab. *ḥalāpu*, to 'cover with metal', to 'plate'. This does not suit the context. Can it mean 'the exchange' of it, its equivalent or value? Holma 'what is left over'. Sprengling 'calkage', suggesting that it is the origin of *calafatare*, *calfutrer*. תבירן the 'broken pieces'. עולי, the root means to 'spin'. The phrase should mean 'spun cotton'. It was a very large quantity. Sails? or nets?

Line 14. ברשן apparently the value. רקען something spread out, 'awnings'. Holma cft. Heb. ריקוע 'plating' (or 'awnings'). Cf. l. 20.

Line 15. לח[ל]א again a part of the boat, as in l. 12, not a wood.

Line 16. טסן copper-plates for the bottom or other parts of the boat.

Line 17. רשות (or דשות) can only mean 'authority' &c. in Aramaic. (Holma, 'strong'.) Is מצן a mistake for מצרן? The two words might then conceivably mean 'government of Egypt', i.e. from Egyptian stores. Holma cites Bab. *mišsu*, a kind of wood. כנכר וכ' 1 talent 10 minae is apparently the cost of materials mentioned so far, to which is to be added the cost of the sulphur and arsenic. כלא in apposition to עקי ארוכ' ends the clause. הוספה imperative with יה cohortative? This suffix, common in Hebrew, does not occur in BA, nor in these papyri (?) elsewhere. כברי. What was it for? הנדונה, as in l. 5, is probably 'painting', for which arsenic would be used. זרניך 'arsenic' in Talmud and Syriac, is usually taken as a loan-word from Greek (so Ungnad), and this has been used as an argument against the authenticity of these papyri, since a Greek word would hardly be found in Egypt so early as 412 B.C. (The objection is not convincing, since trade with Greece flourished long before this, and the material was very commonly used. Cf. סתתר = *στάτηρ*.) But the reverse is probably the case. There is no apparent reason why yellow orpiment (*auripigmentum*) should be called the 'masculine' substance, *ἀρσενικόν*, in Greek. (First in Aristotle. Note, not *ἀρρενικόν*, except by a scribal correction in Theophrastus.) The Greek is more likely to be due to a popular etymology of a foreign trade-word. In Arabic it is زرنیخ. (In a late Coptic papyrus Mr. Winstedt has pointed out to me πασσαρηνιζυ *παλλασαρη* = الزرنیخ الاصفر = 'yellow-arsenic', and πασσαρηνιζυ *πικροκος* = 'red arsenic'.) It is not found, I think, in old Egyptian. In Persian it is زرني or, influenced by Arabic, زرنیخ. From its occurrence here זרניך may well be a Persian word from زر 'gold', the -n- being formative ('golden' substance), and the -k the suffix common later in Pahlavi. On the other hand, Dr. Langdon quotes Sumerian *urudu za-ri-in* = Bab. *zarinnu*, a colouring (copper-like) substance used to dye wool. The form *zariniku* does not occur, but would be correct, with -k-, as a loan-word from Sumerian. *Za-ri-in* is found as early as 2500 B.C., and is, he considers, a good Sumerian compound.

Line 18. יהוספון i. e. something extra is to be allowed on the measurements. חפוט should mean 'freed', 'exempt'. Construction? The translation 'clear', 'fully' is only a guess.

Line 19. שים must be a noun here, governed by על, and similarly

in l. 10. Meaning? שֶׁף must have some special meaning, not merely, 'smoothed plank'. Cf. l. 11. אַחַנְיָא a plural from חָן. Cf. עַמְמִיָּא from עָם.

Line 20. רְרִי 'rows', i. e. 'boards'? of תַּמִּים. Holma thinks 'old', Ass. *dūru*. רַקְעָתָא, st. emph. Hence רַקְעָן, l. 14, is feminine.

Line 22. לְעֵינֵין seems to be לְעֵינֵין. The first י may be a mistake. אַנְתָּ עֹבֵד is addressed to Wahprimahī, who was to see that the orders were transmitted to Shemau, and that he carried them out.

Line 23. הַמְדַרְכִּיָּא. It was therefore the Treasury officials who drew up the order ending with כֹּזִי שִׁים ט' in l. 22. עֲנִי was apparently chief secretary to Arsames. Perhaps the same as in 38⁴⁻¹⁰⁻¹¹, who was a great person, since he is not further described. Hardly the same as in 30¹⁹ = 31¹³, nor the father of the scribe in 10²⁰ &c. בַּעַל [טַעַם] 'author of the order'. He drew it up for approval by Arsames, and it was copied by a clerk. The words טַעַם . . . עֲנִי seem to be in a different hand, therefore a signature. נְבוּעֶקֶב כְּתָב. If this means that he was the copying clerk, it is strange, as the hand is again different. Perhaps it means 'countersigned by N.' as Arnold, *Journ. Bib. Lit.* 1912, p. 25. Hardly the same man as in 22²⁰ (or 12¹¹?).

Line 24 is evidently written by Wahprimahī himself. He was an Egyptian, and wrote Aramaic so badly that no single word, except his name, is certain. The latter part of the line too is faded. As the letter was addressed to him, this line and the next must have been added after receipt.

Line 26, after a blank space, contains remnants of demotic writing. Sprengling reads Sobk . . . (part of a name) and *baris* (so also Spiegelberg), which Herodotus says is the Egyptian word for a Nile-boat.

Line 27. Part of the address is lost. After ב is a stroke which looks like פ.

Line 28. סַפְרָא may be 'the scribe', but as 'Anani was so called in l. 23, perhaps it is 'the document', and כְּתָב is to be supplied in l. 27. וּלְבַר־וּגְנָד reads וּלְבַר־וּגְנָד, and takes וּגְנָד for וּגְנָד, but it is only a badly made וּגְנָד. שְׁנַת־וּגְנָד. The units are doubtful. I accept them on Ungnad's authority, as they may be clearer on the original.

No. 27.

Petition to Arsames (?). About 410 B. C.

This papyrus was first published by Euting in the *Mémoires présentés . . . à l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xi, Paris, 1903. It belongs to the

Strasbourg Library, for which it was bought in 1898-9 from a dealer at Luxor. It consists of one strip (not three fragments, as Ungnad says) 63 cm. long by 7.3 broad. The writing on the recto runs lengthwise, and is divided into two columns. On Euting's facsimile there are slight traces of another column preceding them, but this is uncertain. The upper and lower edges are broken, so that the columns are not continuous. There is writing also on the verso, beginning at the right-hand end of the strip and running across it at right angles to that on the recto. From Euting's facsimile it seems that no line is lost at the top or bottom of the verso, but all the lines are incomplete at the beginning and end. The writing on the verso differs in character from that on the recto, but this may be only because it is written the wrong way of the papyrus—not necessarily by a different hand. The document refers to events in the 14th year of Darius (II), i. e. 411 B. C., and one may reasonably assume that it was written in that year or shortly after. In the light of texts discovered since, these events appear to be connected with the troubles narrated in no. 30, and the papyrus is a (draft of a) letter (to the satrap Bigvai? or Arsames?) complaining of the action of the Egyptian priests and the governor Waidrang. There can be no doubt that it emanates, like the rest of these texts, from the Jewish colony (or garrison) at Elephantine. In the lost beginning the writers must have stated their case. They then affirm their loyalty, and instance other illegal acts committed by their enemies, of which they say evidence can be obtained from the police. In spite of their good behaviour, their enemies have prevented them from offering sacrifices to Ya'u, and have plundered (or destroyed) their temple. They end by petitioning for protection, and that the damage may be made good. This seems to make the document consistent and intelligible. Unfortunately a line, or more, is lost at the beginning and therefore also at the top of column 2. Nothing, however, seems to be lost at the lower edge, so that the text was originally continuous from l. 10 to the verso. It ought not to be difficult to restore the verso, but as we do not know the original width of the strip, and as the reading of the verso is in parts uncertain, we cannot determine the length of the lines on the verso. It is therefore not claimed that the restorations are anything more than a rough approximation, or that they do more than indicate the connexion of the text. On the whole, while this petition is clearly connected with no. 30 and several phrases are common to both, I have placed it earlier because no. 30 (written in 408) received an answer (no. 32), so that another petition in these terms would be unnecessary. This may

indeed have been the earlier letter mentioned in 30¹⁸. It is strange that so important an event as the destruction of the temple should not have been more explicitly described. There may, however, have been another column, in which it was narrated. At any rate the temple was destroyed in 411, and this petition cannot have been written except in or after that year—therefore between 411 and 408. It does not appear to have met with any success, and in 408 consequently another attempt (no. 30) was made.

The person addressed is called מראן, a high title applied to Bigvai in no. 30. Ungnad suggests that it here denotes Arsames, the governor of Egypt. The fact that he is named in l. 2 is not a serious objection. The use of the 3rd person is merely due to formality.

The facsimile in Euting's original publication is not very legible, but is helpful in some points. That of Sachau is excellent.

Sachau, plate 75. Ungnad, no. 2^a.

1 [נ]תנגן אֲנַחְנָה . בין דג[ל]ן זי מצריא מרדו אנחנה מנטרתן לא שבקן
2 ומנדעם מחבל [לא] אשתכח לן בשנת 7000 / דרוהויש [מל]כא כזי מראן
ארשם

3 אזל על מלכא זנה דושכרתא זי כמריא זי חנוב אלה[א] עבר[ו] ביב בירתא
4 המונית עם וידרנג זי פרתרך תנה הוה כסף ונכסן יהבו לה איתי קצת
5 מן גורנא זי מלכא זי ביב בירתא נרשו ושור חד בנ[ו] ב[מנציעת בירת יב
6 וכען שורא זך בנה במנציעת בירתא איתי באר חדה זי בניה
7 בנ[ו] ב[ירתא] ומין לא חסרה להשקיא חילא כזי הן הנדיו יהוון
8 בב[רא] ז[ך] מיא שתין כמריא זי חנוב אלך ברא זך סכרו הן אוד
9 יתעבר מן דיניא תיפתיא גושביא זי מטנין במדינת תשטרם
10 יתי[דע] למראן לקבל זנה זי אנחנה אמרן אף פרישן אנחנה

Reverse.

11 מן מחבל ז[ך] בחסניא זי ביב ב[ירתא] הו
12 [ב]ן אנחנה דבין א[ף] מנדעם
13 מחבל כזנה לא אשתכח לן ולא שבקן
14 לן כמר[יא] להיתיה מנ[ח]ה ולבונה
15 ועלוה[א] למעבר תמה ליהו א[לה] שמיא
16 אֵדֹּה
17 [להן] אתרודן חדה [עברו] תמה
18 ושירית[א] אשרנא לקחו לנפש[הו]ם כלא
19 וכעת ה[ן] על מראן שניא עש[קא] יזכר
טב

20 זי לן עבי[ר אנחנה מן חילא]יהוריא
 21 הן על מ[ראן טב יתשים]טעם כונה
 22 זי אמרן[אנחנה הן על מ[ראן טב ישתלח
 23 לם אל ינ[ננן למנדעמתא זי א[יתי לן
 24 ומרבח]א זי לן זי נדשו ל[מבניה

1 . . . we should be injured (?). When (?) detachments of the Egyptians rebelled, we did not leave our posts, ² and *nothing* disloyal was found in us. In the 14th year of *King Darius*, when our lord Arsames ³ went away to the king, this is the crime which the priests of the god Khnub committed in the fortress of Yeb ⁴ in concert with Waidrang who was governor here, after giving him money and valuables: there is a part ⁵ of the king's stores which is in the fortress of Yeb, (this) they wrecked, and *they* built a wall *in* the midst of the fortress of Yeb
⁶ Now this wall is built in the midst of the fortress. There is a well which is built ⁷ *within* the fortress, and it never lacks water to supply the garrison, so that (?) if it is supervised (?) they would be ⁸ (able to get) water to drink in *this* well. Those priests of Khnub stopped up this well. If inquiry ⁹ be made of the magistrates, officers (and) police who are set over the province of TŠTRS ¹⁰ it will be made *known* to your lordship in accordance with what we say. Moreover we are innocent ¹¹ of *this damage* to the stores which *were* in the fortress of Yeb ¹² thus we are free from blame, and *anything* ¹³ harmful of this kind has not been found in us, but the priests will not allow ¹⁴ us to bring meal-offering and incense ¹⁵ and sacrifice to offer there to Ya'u the God of heaven ¹⁶
¹⁷ but *they* made there a fire (?) ¹⁸ and the rest of the fittings they took for themselves, all of it. ¹⁹ *Now* if it please your lordship, let the injury be very much remembered ²⁰ which was done to us, us of the Jewish garrison. ²¹ If it please your lordship let an order be given according to ²² what we state. If it please your lordship, let word be sent ²³ that they shall not injure anything which is ours ²⁴ and to build the altar of ours which they destroyed.

Line 1. A word of three or two letters is lost at the beginning. הננן is clear. On Euting's facsimile there is a very slight trace of נ before it. If it is part of the verb נגן the tense is strange, and the usual sense of נגינה ('striking' a musical instrument) is unsuitable here. In l. 23 ננן . . seems to be part of the same verb. I suggest that the root originally had the sense of 'striking' in general (restricted in Hebrew usually to striking a musical instrument), and that this could be extended to mean 'inflicting an injury'. Cf. Ps. 77, ננינתי, 'my affliction' I remember, and try to account for it, ('song' is pointless). In the titles of Pss. 4, 6, 54, 55, 61, 67, 76, Hab. 3¹⁹, בנינינות is perhaps 'concerning (or, in) afflictions'. So Job 30⁹ &c., נגינתם, the object of their injurious

remarks, 'slander'. The word is not found in the cognate languages, but cf. the kindred roots ננה, ננע, ננה. אנהנה very doubtful. The trace of the first letter might be a ל, cf. the construction in l. 23. בין. There is the down-stroke of a letter before it which may belong to a ק or a ו(?). A conjunction 'when' is wanted. דגל[ל]. The ל is almost entirely lost. On Euting's facsimile the trace remaining looks more like ע, but בין רגענע זי for 'during the moments when' is hardly possible. If דגל is right it would appear that the Egyptians as well as the Jews were divided into companies.

Line 2. בוי מראן ארשם וכ' ומנרעם מוחבל וכ'. cf. Dan. 6²⁴. 'בוי מראן ארשם וכ' as in 30⁴⁻⁵.

Line 3. רושכרתא a Persian word.

Line 4. המונית as in 30⁵, a Persian word, probably adverbial 'in league with', not a noun governed by עברו, as Ungnad seems to take it. יורנג is here *fratarak*, as in 30⁵, where his son is רב הילא. Hence *fratarak* is the higher title. In nos. 20⁴ (420 B.C.) and 25² (416 B.C.) he was only רב הילא, and so must have been promoted in the interval. איתי seems to cause an unnecessary asyndeton, 'there is a part . . . they destroyed (it)'. The construction is probably borrowed from Persian, cf. the Behistun inscr. i. 13 end, *didā Nisāya nāma . . . avadašim avājanam*, '(there is) a province N. by name . . . there I killed him', and very frequently. איתי may therefore be neglected in translation, like ית which is perhaps derived from it.

Line 5. נורנא. Euting and Ungnad יורנא, but י is improbable, and gives no sense. It was no doubt a store of supplies for the troops. Cf. הַסְנִיָּא in l. 11. [בניו]. Ungnad [בניה]. But there is hardly room for ה, which has a long side-stroke in this hand. A ו seems most probable, but it might possibly be [בניו] 'we built', to protect the granary, which would be a meritorious act, and (l. 6) 'the wall is still to be seen'.

Line 6. בנה passive participle masculine. The feminine would be בניה. איתי begins a fresh charge.

Line 7. הסרה feminine, agreeing with באר. כזי הן הנרזי is very difficult. Ungnad takes כזי as 'so that'(?). The double conjunction is strange. At any rate הן הנרזי must form a subordinate clause by itself, since יהוון is wanted for the apodosis. Therefore הנרזי must express a verbal idea. The noun הנרזי occurs in 13⁴, where see note. Here literally 'if it was measured', i. e. if it was fairly shared. (Or is 'הנ הנר' a dittography?) Andreas takes it to mean a 'heap'—'if (there were) a heap (of them)', i. e. if they were very numerous—an odd expression. Nöldeke translates 'einberufen', and so Smend.

associated - that is "least exp" preserved
cf. Meyer - Papyrus (used) (epigraphica) p. 74

Line 8. [בב[רא] restored from ברא זך farther on. אוד Persian, as אודא, Dan. 2⁵⁻⁸, where it is taken as 'statement', 'information'. Here rather 'verification', i. e. inquiry.

Line 9. תפתיא = תפתיא, Dan. 3²⁻³ ('sheriffs'), and thus confirms the reading and vocalization there. The exact meaning of the title is uncertain. נושכיא a Persian title from *gūš*, 'to hear', *gauša*, 'ear'. Cf. τὰ βασιλέως ὄπα, Xen. Cyrop. viii. 2, 10, and Hdt. i. 114, ὀφθαλμὸς βασιλέως, the king's informers, police. תשטרם, cf. 24³⁹, and Spiegelberg in Euting's article.

Line 10. פרישן. If the sentence continues in l. 11, the meaning will be 'separated from', and so innocent of. Cf. the use of רחיק in 14¹¹, and often. Note the frequent use of אנחנה, 'they have done all this, whereas we are innocent'.

Line 11. The verso begins here. בהֶסניא. The ה has a very unusual form. Cf. גורנא, l. 5.

Line 12. [כ]. What Ungnad takes for a ל is really the tail of the ך in l. 11. דֶכֶן uncertain. The כ is short. The word occurs in 21⁶. א[ך]. The traces of א are doubtful.

Line 13. [כונ]ה. The ה cannot be the termination of a feminine noun, which would be subject to אשתכח, masculine. We may restore מחבל from l. 2, or באיש. [שבקן לן] as in 30²³.

Line 14. [כמר]יא as in l. 3. Ungnad [מנ]ריא, which may be right. [מנ]חה. The remains of ה are clear, and מנחה gives the clue to the passage. Cf. 30²¹ for the order.

Line 15. [לה]שמיא as in 30²⁷⁻²⁸, or it might be אלהא and some short word joining on the next line.

Line 16 is hopelessly lost.

Line 17. אתרוון. Perhaps a compound of Persian *atar*, 'fire'. The temple was burned, cf. 30¹², but the two statements do not agree exactly. הרה is more probable than Ungnad's חנה. It is used merely like the indefinite article.

Line 18. [ושירית] from 30¹¹. אשרנא must be taken in a wide sense. In 30¹¹ it is the woodwork of the building, which was burned. Here it must include the sacred vessels, which were stolen. [כלא] is probable. Not עבדו, as Ungnad, which is not wanted here as it is in 30¹³.

Line 19. Having finished their statement they now come to their petition. The frequent repetition of 'if it please your lordship' shows that the person addressed must have been of exalted rank. For the phrase cf. Ezra 5¹⁷, וכען הן על מלכא טב, שגיא must go with the next

clause, not with טב. It is adverbial, as in Aḥīḳar 51 &c. [עש]קא as in 16^{8.9}. But the restoration is only approximate. Ungnad's [ת]עש is not very convincing. 'Think very much' is a strange expression, and I doubt if they would use an imperative in this humble petition. But cf. 30²³.

Line 20. Euting and Ungnad read the first letter as ע, but it is more like ד, ר, or ב. אנהנה in apposition to לן as in 6⁸ &c.

Line 23. [ינ]ננן, cf. note on נחננן, l. 1.

No. 28.

Assignment of Slaves. 411 B. C.

Very well preserved. Hardly any letter is really doubtful.

The date is double (as in no. 25), the 13th year in the Jewish reckoning, the 14th in the Egyptian, of Darius II = 412-411 B. C.

Mibṭaḥiah was dead, recently no doubt, and Mahseiah and Yedoniah, her two sons by Nathan (= Ashor) now proceed to divide her slaves between them. There were two lads, brothers, one of whom went to each of the sons, and their mother and a young child, about whom they are to make an agreement later, i. e. when the boy is old enough. The child therefore was not to be separated from his mother before a certain age, though it does not appear who was to have charge of them in the meantime. As the slaves bear Egyptian names, it is evident that Jews could own Egyptian slaves.

The only difficulty in the document is as to the marking on the slaves, see note on l. 4.

Sayce and Cowley, K.

- 1 ב ד ל שבט שנת ל הו יום יום יום יום לחתחור שנת ל ד ר יוהוֹשׁ
מלכא ביב בירתא
- 2 אמר מחסיה בר נתן א ידניה בר נתן א כל א ארמין זי סון לרגל ז[רין]ת
לאמר אנהנה אשהוין
- 3 כחדה ופלגן עלין עבריה זי מבטחיה אמן. והא זנה חלקא זי מטאך בחלק
אנת ידניה
- 4 פטוסירי שמה אמה תבא עבר יוד א שנית על ידה בימן שניתת מקרא
ארמית כונה
- 5 למבטחיה והא זנה חלקא זי מטאני בחלק, אנה מחסיה בלא שמה אמה תבא
עבר יוד א

- 6 שנית על ידה, בימן שניתת מקרא ארמית כונה; למבטחיה אנת ידניה שליט
בפטוסירי
- 7 עבדא זך זי מטאך בחלק, מן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניך אחריך, ולמן זי צבית
תנתן לא אכחל ✓
- 8 אנה מחסיה בר וברה לי אח ואחה לי ואנש זילי, דינן למרשה עליך ועל
בניך עלדבר פטוסירי.
- 9 שמה עבדא זי מטאך בחלק. הן רשינך דינא עלא, אנחנה מחסיה ובני או
נרשה לבר
- 10 וברה לך ולאנש זילך עלדבר פטוסירי עבדא זך זי מטאך בחלק, אחר ננתן
לך אביגדנא בסף
- 11 צריף, כרשן עשרה במתקלת מלכא, ורחיקן אנחנה מנך ומן בניך כֹּון דינ
עלדבר פטוסירי זך
- 12 זי מטאך בחלק, לך יהוה, וזי בניך אחריך, ולמן זי צבית תנתן ולא דינ, אף
איתי תבא
- 13 שמה אממה זי עלימיא אלה, ולילו ברה זי לא עד נפלג עלין כזי [ע]דן יהוה
נפלג המו
- 14 עלין וגבר חלקה נהחסן, וספר פלגנן נכתב בינין, ולא דינ, כתב נבוחכלתי
בר נבווראבן
- 15 ספרא זנה ביב בירתא כפם מחסיה וידניה אחוהי שהדיא בנו מנתם בר גדול
- 16 שהד חנן בר חני שהד נתן בר יהואור שהד שלם בר נתן

Endorsement.

17 ספר פלגן עבד, פטוסירי, כתב מחסיה בר נתן לדיניה בר נתן אחוהי

¹ On the 24th of Shebat, year 13, that is the 9th day of Athyr, year 14 of Darius the king in the fortress of Yeb, ² said Mahseiah b. Nathan (and) Yedoniah b. Nathan, in all 2, Aramaeans of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, as follows: We have agreed ³ together and have divided between us the slaves of Mibṭaḥiah our mother, and note, this is the share which comes to you as a share—you, Yedoniah—, ⁴ Peṭosiri by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language, thus, ⁵ 'Mibṭaḥiah's'. Note also, this is the share which comes to me as a share—me, Mahseiah—, Belo by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod ⁶ is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language thus, 'Mibṭaḥiah's'. You, Yedoniah, are master of Peṭosiri, ⁷ this slave, who has come to you as a share, from this day for ever, and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him). I shall have no power, ⁸ I Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or any dependant of mine, to move the court against you or against your children in the matter of Peṭosiri ⁹ by name, the slave who has come to you as a share. If we move the court against you in the matter, we Mahseiah or my

children, or (if) we sue son¹⁰ or daughter of yours or dependant of yours in the matter of Peṭosiri this slave who has come to you as a share, then we will pay to you a fine of standard¹¹ money ten kerashin, royal weight, and we renounce all claim against you and your children as regards this Peṭosiri¹² who has come to you as a share. He belongs to you and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him) without question. Also as to Tebo¹³ by name, the mother of these lads, and Lili her son, whom we do not yet divide between us, when it is time we will divide them¹⁴ between us, and we will each take possession of his share, and we will write a deed of our partition between us, and (there shall be) no dispute. Nabutukulti b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote¹⁵ this deed in the fortress of Yeb at the direction of Mahseiah and Yedoniah his brother. Witnesses thereto: Menahem b. Gadol; ¹⁶ Witness Hanan b. Haggai; Witness Nathan b. Ya'u'or; Witness Shallum b. Nathan. (Endorsement.)¹⁷ Deed of assignment of a slave, Peṭosiri. Written by Mahseiah b. Nathan for Yedoniah b. Nathan his brother.

Line 2. Mahseiah, named after his grandfather, Mibṭaḥiah's father. נתן = Ashor, see note on 15², and cf. especially 20³ with 25³. The ׀ is not a mark of punctuation, but the cypher 'one', which may be omitted in translation. Its use here is derived from the practice of putting it after names in lists or accounts, for the purpose of adding more easily. The total in such cases is preceded by כל. So here, the precise translation would be 'Mahseiah b. N. (1 man), Yedoniah b. N. (1 man), total 2 men'. Hence no 'and'. ׀רין]ת is probable, though not certain. The restoration has been questioned because the דגל וריות occurs in no. 5, which is sixty years earlier, but as we do not know on what grounds these names were attached to the *degalin*, it is useless to speculate about possibilities. If the name is that of the commander, this must be another man of the same name.

Line 4. פטוסירי, cf. the ostrakon in CIS 138 A. 4. יוד ׀. There is no doubt as to the reading either here or in l. 5, but the meaning is very uncertain. The practice of tattooing slaves is mentioned in Ostr. M (verso), published by Sayce and Cowley, but why should these be marked with a yod? It may be assumed that it was an Aramaic yod, the smallest letter in the alphabet, not the Phoenician letter, which is larger. It was therefore not very well suited for a distinguishing mark. If the letter is meant (i.e. if they really used this name for it at this time) the only way of translating is as given above (from Clermont-Ganneau). It cannot be the initial of Yedoniah, because it is also used on Mahseiah's slave. Whatever it meant, the mark was י למבטחיה ׀. The ׀ is again a 'one', not as S-C. Stenning suggests that it is for ירה, thus changing the mark into '(belonging to) the heir of M.'

Clermont-Ganneau takes it as the initial of some verb (in the future) meaning to 'annul'. Guillaume proposes יהו (improbable) or ירת. If by any possibility יוד could be descriptive of the kind of slave, the sentence would be simple, 'י yod slave, marked &c.' But I see no hope of explaining it so. שנית, a passive participle from a root שנת (not as S-C), because of the noun שניתח. The meaning 'marked' (in Ostr. M. כחב) is required by the context, though the root is not found elsewhere. There is a late Hebrew word שנתות, for the marks on vessels for measuring, usually explained as tooth-like marks (from שן), which would not account for the ת. In Assyrian *šintu* is said to mean markings on animals. ידה, properly the arm, or rather the whole limb including both arm and hand, and so to be taken here. Similarly רגל is the whole limb, leg and foot together. If it was necessary to distinguish the hand or foot specially, a word like כף was added, cf. פס ידא, Dan. 5⁵, and in mod. Arabic كَف يد (Clermont-Ganneau orally). בימן must go with what follows (so Clermont-Ganneau). שניתח a *kaṭil*-form from שנת. מקרא is 'reading'. We should regard it from the other point of view as 'writing'.

Line 8. דינ must be 'judges'. Usually דינ, which may mean either 'judge', or 'law-suit'. איש only here and in l. 10. Usually איש.

Line 9. דינא, similarly 'the judge'. עלא adverbially for 'about him'.

Line 10. אביגדנא (or דינא) as in 20¹⁴, 25¹⁵.

Line 11. ר || לעשרתא כסף צריף probably = the usual ר || לעשרתא כסף צריף as the standard. במתקלת מ' = the usual באבני מ'. מן דינ. The מ is almost certain. It is dependent on רחיקן by a confusion of two constructions, 'we withdraw from you as regards litigation', and 'we withdraw from litigation as regards you'.

Line 12. חיי a loose parallel to לך. It should be ולבניך. איתי, cf. 27⁴, where also it is not required by the construction.

Line 13. ער = Heb. עור. ערן, cf. on 26³.

Line 16. יהואור more probably than יהואדר (as S-C). A variant of אוריה. Cf. 1², יההאור (fem.).

No. 29.

Contract for a Loan. About 409 B. C.

Fragments only.

The date is between the 15th and 19th years of Darius II, probably the 16th year, i. e. 409 B. C.

It relates to a debt, part of the price of a house (?), due from the son of Hosea to Yislah. The text is too much broken for restoration, and perhaps the pieces are not correctly put together. Hence the details are uncertain. It resembles no. 35 in some respects.

Sachau, plate 15. Ungnad, no. 15.

- 1 בִּי־רַח מְסוֹרַע שְׁנַת ־ // // // / דְּרִי־וְהוֹשׁ מִלְבָּא בִּיב בִּרְתָא [אִמְרַן נְתָן בַּר]
 הוֹשַׁע אַרְמִי זִי
- 2 סוֹן לְדַגְלָנְל נְבוּכַדְרִי לִיס־[לַח] בַּר גְּדוֹל אַרְמִי זִי סוֹן לְדַגְלָנְל [לֹא] מְר
 אִיתִי לְךָ עֲלִי
- 3 כֶּסֶף כֶּרֶשׁ הַד שְׁקֶלֶן אַרְבַּעַה [תְּרִי בַמְנִין // // // זִי הוּוֹ] עֲלִי מִן
 קֶצֶת כֶּסֶף
- 4 דְּמִי בֵּית מִנְּ. [עֲלֵם] אִמְרַן אֲנָה [נִתָּן אִשְׁלָם] לְךָ כֶּסֶפָא זִנְה
- 5 כֶּרֶשׁ חֶרֶב אַרְבַּעַה עַד גְּדוֹ יֶרַח פַּחְנַס שְׁנַת [־ // // // / דְּרִי־וְהוֹשׁ מִלְבָּא
- 6 בִּין יֶרַח־[א זְנִי] הַוְהוֹן כֶּסֶפָא זִנְה כֶּרֶשׁ הַד שְׁקֶלֶן אַרְבַּב־[עָה לֹא שִׁ] לְמַת יִהְבַת לְךָ
 מִנְּ 7

¹ In the month of Mesore, year 16 (?) of Darius the king, in Yeb the fortress *said Nathan* (?) b. Hosea, Aramaean of ² Syene, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, to Yislah b. Gadol, Aramaean of Syene, of the detachment of as follows: There is to your credit against me ³ the sum of one karash, four shekels the balance (?) of 5 (?) minae which were due from me as part of the amount ⁴ of the value of the house (?) of M I Nathan declare that I will pay you this sum, ⁵ one karash, four, by the month of Pahons, year 17 of Darius the king ⁶ and if I do not pay (and) give you this sum of one karash four shekels ⁷

The end is lost. It probably contained provisions similar to those in No. 11.

Line 1. **/// /// -** שְׁנַת. Five strokes certainly. Judging from the space required for the name יִסְלַח in l. 2, there were probably six. [נְתָן] is supplied from [נְתָן] l. 4. A יֶרֶחַ הַוְהוֹשׁ בִּי was a party to no. 25, when Yislah b. Gadol was a witness, in 416 B. C.

Line 2. נְבוּכַדְרִי as in 35² and also in 7³ (461 B. C.). Cf. note on 28². עֲלִי לְךָ אִיתִי 'you have a claim against me for', cf. 35³.

Line 3. כֶּרֶשׁ חֶרֶב וּכְ[] תְּרִי. Sachau suggests [כְּתִי] from 35⁴, but that would require a numeral after it. בַּמְנִין must be 'minae', but ב is strange. קֶצֶת as in 35⁴. Sachau takes it as 'total', and so Ungnad, who cft. Neh. 7⁷⁰—but מְקַצֵּת there means 'a part'. In 27⁴ קֶצֶת מִן must mean 'part of', as in other Aramaic. Apparently (Nathan) b. Hosea had bought a house with another person, and part

(1 karash 4 shekels) of his share (5 minae) of the price was still owing to the vendor Yislah b. Gadol.

Line 4. בית. The ת and letters after it are very uncertain. [ע]לם uncertain. Possibly the lower fragments here are not in place, and this may account for the long tail of ר in אמר. [נ]תן. There is a trace of ת, and of ס in אשלם. Cf. 35⁴.

Line 5. כ' חר ארבעה. No doubt שקלן was omitted by accident, but it may have been the popular usage '1 karash 4'. ער as in 35⁶ denotes the time limit. Then . . . נר ought to denote the day of the month, or some such detail. The letters are clear. []שנת. The number is quite uncertain—17?

Line 6. [א] בין ירח 'within this month'? It is so difficult that I think the fragment must be out of place. יהבת, no ו as one would expect, cf. 35⁷.

Line 7. . . . מנא . . . If the fragment is out of place these letters do not belong here.

No. 30.

Petition to the Governor of Judaea. 408 B. C.

This is in many ways the most important text of the series.

It is a fine papyrus, with ll. 1-17 on the recto and ll. 18-30 on the verso. It is in excellent condition, hardly a letter being really doubtful, and although there are some difficulties, the meaning is as a rule clear. The date (l. 30) is the 17th year of Darius II = 408 B. C.

It is a (draft or copy of a) letter from Yedoniah, who thus appears to be the chief priest (see below) and head of the community at Yeb, to Bigvai the Persian viceroy of Judaea. It describes a plot (to which allusion has already been made in no. 27) between the Egyptians and the Persian governor Waidrang for the destruction of the temple, which took place three years before the date of writing. Incidentally the temple is described, and some historical facts are mentioned. Finally Bigvai is asked to give orders for its re-building. Cf. no. 27.

The larger questions raised by this document have been discussed in the general introduction. It is only necessary here to say something of the persons with whom this letter is concerned. (See Sachau, p. 4+, and Ed. Meyer, *Papyrusfund*, p. 70+).

On the form of the name בגוהי, see *JRAS* 1920, p. 179. It is only a variant (and later form) of בניי (Neh. 7⁷, &c.), which is Graecized as Βαγώας. (The persons are of course not the same.) Josephus (*Ant.* xi, 7) mentions together a viceroy Bagoses and a High Priest Ἰωάννης at about

this date, and we are forced to conclude that they are the same persons as the בנהיה and יוחנן of this letter. It is true that his account lacks precision, and that his materials for the history of the period seem to have been scanty. He could no longer draw upon Nehemiah. Since Bigvai was viceroy in 408, it is evident that Nehemiah was either dead or superseded by him at that date. Hence the 'two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes' (Neh. 13⁶) must refer to Artaxerxes I and be the year 433 B. C. We thus obtain a fixed point in the history of Nehemiah.

The Bagoses of Josephus has generally been identified with the minister Bagoas under Artaxerxes III (358-337), mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (xvi, 47). But the name was common, and since Bigvai here was in office in 408, the two persons cannot be identical. Josephus describes his Bagoses as ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου, which of course might refer to any one of the three kings of that name. A various reading is τοῦ ἄλλου 'A. Whether or not that can mean 'alterius Artaxerxis' 'the 2nd A.' is not of great importance. It is evident that if Bagoses-Bigvai was governor of Judaea in 408, under Darius II, the only Artaxerxes under whom he can have served was Artaxerxes II (404-358). What is meant precisely by στρατηγός is not so clear. After being governor of Judaea under Darius II, he may have gone on active service under Artaxerxes II, but it is not impossible that Josephus confused him with the Bagoas who was a military commander under Artaxerxes III, and hence described him as στρατηγός. He was capable of such things. Bigvai was therefore a successor (immediate?) of Nehemiah as פחת יהוד.

The Johanan who was contemporary with him as High Priest, is mentioned in the list in Neh. 12²²⁻²³, a later addition to the book, hardly due to Nehemiah himself. Of this Johanan (Ἰωάννης) we have a short account in Josephus (Ant. xi, 7). He was on no good terms with Bagoas, who intended to turn him out of office and install his brother Jeshua in his stead. In consequence Johanan killed Jeshua in the Temple. It would appear from Josephus that this took place in the reign of Artaxerxes, and therefore some years after the date of this letter. If, however, Johanan and Bigvai were already on bad terms, we can understand why Johanan is not associated with Bigvai in the answer to the letter (no. 32). Moreover Bigvai would see no objection to the existence of the temple at Elephantine, while Johanan would officially condemn it.

The mention of Sanballat (l. 29) is more difficult. Nehemiah speaks of him (for no doubt he is the same person) frequently as a bitter opponent. Cf. especially Neh. 3³³⁻³⁴. Though he does not give him the title of פחת שמרין (as here) it is evident that Sanballat was in some

sort of authority in Samaria, and there is no reason why he should not have been still in office in 408. This is implied by the expression 'sons of S. governor of S.'. If he had been dead the phrase would have been 'sons of S. who was (formerly) governor of S.' (וִי פָּחַת שֵׁמֶ' הוּה), as Sachau remarks. So far this letter is not inconsistent with Nehemiah. Again, according to Neh. 13²⁸ a son of Joiada, i. e. a brother of Johanan, had married a daughter of Sanballat, and had apparently been expelled from Jerusalem. This also is not inconsistent with other facts. Now if we turn to Josephus we find that he diverges from Nehemiah, and seems to have telescoped the history. He says that Sanballat was sent to Samaria by Darius, which might be correct if he meant Darius II. But he definitely calls him 'Darius the last king' (Ant. xi, 7, 2 *τελευταίου*, not 'former'). He thus confuses Darius II with Darius III, and puts the events nearly 100 years too late. Then he makes the daughter of Sanballat marry Manasseh, a brother of Jaddua (and therefore a son, not a brother, of Johanan) and brings him into relation with Alexander the Great after the defeat of Darius III at the battle of Issus (333 B. C.). It has always been difficult to reconcile Josephus' narrative with other facts. If Sanballat was governor of Samaria in 408, and had grown-up sons then, he must have been at least 40 years old, and it is hardly possible that he should have lived 76 years longer—for Josephus makes him die in 332 (Ant. xi, 8, 4). The view that there were two Sanballats, each governor of Samaria and each with a daughter who married a brother of a High Priest at Jerusalem, is a solution too desperate to be entertained. We are therefore forced to conclude that while Nehemiah's contemporary account is consistent with other historical facts, Josephus has gone astray by confusing the two kings Darius and the two officials Bigvai, and then has filled in his history largely by imagination. Events may have happened somewhat as he says, but not when he says, and the result does not give us a high opinion of his trustworthiness as an historian.

The fact that the Jews of Elephantine applied also to Delaiah and Shelemiah at Samaria and mention this to the authorities at Jerusalem, shows that (at any rate as far as they knew) no religious schism had as yet taken place. Both names occur in Nehemiah, and it is not impossible that they denote the same persons as here. They are not said here to be resident at Samaria, and they may have been at Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah, but of this there is no evidence. After the building of the temple at Shechem it would probably have been impossible.

Yedoniah, who sends the letter, is clearly the head of the community.

Sachau thinks he was not a priest because of the phrase (l. 1) 'Y. and his assessors the priests'. To me the phrase seems to imply exactly the contrary, as if it were 'Y. and the other priests with him', i. e. כהניא is in apposition to both ידניה and כנותה. It is not 'Y. and the priests his assessors'. He is no doubt the same as Yedoniah b. Gemariah in 22¹²¹, since the money there subscribed for the temple would most naturally be paid to the representative of the congregation, and as it was for the use of the temple, he would probably be the head priest. Moreover we have no evidence in these documents that the colony was under an ethnarch (as Sachau), appointed either by themselves or by the government. Nor is it likely. They brought their actions at law before the *fratarak*, or more directly (as soldiers) before the רבחילא, in all civil matters. On the other hand for religious purposes they had priests, and must have had a chief priest, who would be the natural representative of the religious community when acting together as such. The present petition is treated as a religious matter, and Yedoniah therefore has charge of it. The priests his assessors formed with him what would have been in later times the בית דין or ecclesiastical court.

A question which naturally presents itself is, why, if this letter was sent to Jerusalem, was it found in the ruins of Elephantine 2314 years afterwards? The answer seems to be that it was not the letter actually sent, but either a draft or a copy. The former is suggested by the large number of corrections (words inserted above the line, and erasures) and by the appearance of the writing, which is hasty and uncouth, much more so than in most of the other documents. Indeed if the style were not so straightforward and the words so familiar, one would often be in doubt as to the reading. No. 31 is another draft, differing only in detail, but fragmentary, and it is probable that no. 27 is a draft of an earlier petition. No. 31 helps in the elucidation of no. 30, and also shows that the scribe was not very accurate. We may well suppose that the serious step of appealing to the governor of Jerusalem, over the head of Arsames, was not taken without careful consideration, and that a copy (or the corrected draft) of the letter would be kept as a record.

Incidentally the letter seems to show that Bigvai was superior in rank to Arsames, or that they approached him as having more sympathy with the Jews.

Sachau, plate 1, 2. Ungnad, no. 1.

1 אל מראן בננהו פחת יהוד עבדיך ידניה וכנותה כהניא זי ביב בירתא שלם
2 מראן אלה שמויא ישאל שניא בכל עדן ולרחמן ישימנך קדם דרויהוש מלכא

mont. 463 d.

3 ובני ביתא יתיר מן זי כען חד אלף וחין אריכן ינתן לך וחדה ושריר הוי
בכל עדן

4 כען עבדך ידניה וכנותה כן אמרן בירח תמוז שנת \rightarrow III דריהוש מלכא
כזי ארשם

5 נפק ואול על מלכא כמריא זי חנוב זי ביב בירתא המונית עם וידרנג זי ^{אלהא}
פרתרך תנה *altes a Waidrauf*

6 הוה לס אנורא זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא יהעדו מן תמה אחר וידרנג זך

7 לחיא אנרת שלח על נפין ברה זי רבחיל הוה בסון בירתא לאמר אנורא זי ביב

8 בירתא ינדשו אחר נפין דבר מצריא עם חילא אחרנן אתו לבירת יב עם תליהם

9 עלו באנורא זך נדשוהי עד ארעא ועמודיא זי אבנא זי הוו תמה תברו אף
הוה תרען

10 זי אבן III / בנין פסילה זי אבן זי הוו באנורא זך נדשו ודשיהם קימו וציריהם

11 זי רששיא אלף נחש ומטלל עקתן ארו כלא זי עם שירית אשרנא ואחרן זי תמה

12 הוה כלא באשה שרפו ומורקיא זי זהבא וכסף ומנדעמתא זי הוה באנורא
זך כלא לקח

13 ולנפשהום עבדו ומן יומי מלך מצרין אבהין בנו אנורא זך ביב בירתא וכזי
כנכוזי על למצר

14 אנורא זך בנה השכח ואנורי אלהי מצרין כל מנרו ואיש מנדעם באנורא זך
לא חבל

15 וכזי כזנה עביר אנחנה עם נשין ובנין שקקן לבשן הוין וצימין ומצלין ליהו
מרא שמויא

16 זי החוין בוידרנג זך כלביא הנפקו כבלא מן רנלוהי וכל נכסין זי קנה אבדו
וכל נברין

17 זי בעו באיש לאנורא זך כל קטילו וחזין בהום אף קדמת זנה בעדן זי זא באיש
^{Dan 6}

18 עביר לן אנרה שלחן מראן ועל יהותנ כהנא רבא וכנותה כהניא זי בירושלם
ועל אדסתן אחיה ^{אף סגף}

19 זי ענני וחרי יהודיא אנרה חדה לא שלחו עלין אף מן ירח תמוז שנת \rightarrow III
דריהוש מלכא

20 ועזנה יומא אנחנה שקקן לבשן וצימין נשיא זילן כארמלה עבדין משח לא
משחין ^{correctio}

21 וחמר לא שתין אף מן זכי ועד יום שנת \rightarrow III III דריהוש מלכא מנחה
ולבון[נ]ה ועלוה

22 לא עבד באנורא זך כען עבדיך ידניה וכנותה ויהודיא כל בעלי יב כן אמר

Handwritten notes and corrections at the bottom of the page, including some numbers and symbols.

23 הן על מראן טב אתעשת על אנורא זך למבנה בזילא שבקן לן למבניה הוֹי בעלי
 24 טבתך ורחמיך תנה במצריין אנרה מנך ישתלח עליהום על אנורא זי יהו אלהא
 25 למבניה ביב בירתא לקבל זי בנה הוה קרמיין ומחתא ולבונתא ועלותא יקרבו
 26 על מדבתא זי יהו אלהא בשמך ונעלה עליך בכל ערן אנחנה ונשין ובנין ויהודיא
 27 כל זי תנה הן כן עברו עד זי אנורא זך יתבנה וצדקה יהוה לך קדם יהו אלה
 28 שמיא מן גבר זי יקרבלה עלוה ודבחן רמון כרמי כסף כנכריין אלף ועל זהב
 על זנה

29 שלחן הודען אף בלא מליא באגרה חדה שלחן על דליה ושלמיה בני סנאבלט
 פת שמריין

30 אף בזנה זי עביר לן ארשם לא ידע ב דִּי למרחשון שנת רִּי רִּי רִּי
 דריהוש מלכא

¹ To our lord Bigvai, governor of Judaea, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. The health ² of your lordship may the God of Heaven seek after exceedingly at all times, and give you favour before Darius the king ³ and the princes of the palace more than now a thousand times, and may he grant you long life, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times. ⁴ Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames ⁵ departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Yeb, (were) in league with Waidrang who was governor here, ⁶ saying: The temple of Ya'u the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang, ⁷ the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan who was commander of the garrison in the fortress of Syene saying: The temple which is in Yeb ⁸ the fortress let them destroy. Then Nephayan led out the Egyptians with the other forces. (They came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons, ⁹ they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, 5 gate-ways ¹⁰ of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple they destroyed, and their doors they lifted off (?), and the hinges ¹¹ of those doors were bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there, ¹² all of it they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and silver and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took ¹³ and made their own.) Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt ¹⁴ he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all of them they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple. ¹⁵ When this was done, we with our wives and our children put on sack-cloth and fasted and prayed to Ya'u the Lord of Heaven, ¹⁶ who let us see (our desire) upon that Waidrang. The dogs tore off the anklet from his legs, and all the riches he had gained were

destroyed, and all the men ¹⁷ who had sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also before this, at the time when this evil ¹⁸ was done to us, we sent a letter to your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother ¹⁹ of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. They have not sent any letter to us. Also since the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king ²⁰ till this day we wear sack-cloth and fast. Our wives are made widow-like, we do not anoint ourselves with oil ²¹ and we drink no wine. Also from that (time) till (the present) day in the 17th year of Darius the king, neither meal-offering, incense, nor sacrifice ²² do they offer in that temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all of them inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows: ²³ If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build (it), since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your ²⁴ well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt, (and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Ya'u ²⁵ to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and incense and sacrifice ²⁶ on the altar of the God Ya'u on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Jews, ²⁷ all who are here, if they do so that that temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before Ya'u the God of ²⁸ Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sum of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this ²⁹ we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria. ³⁰ Also of all this which was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marheshwan the 17th year of Darius the king.

Line 1. There are traces of a line above, which has been washed off. מורא is the highest title (under the king) used in these texts. פחת יהוד does not occur in the O. T., but פחת יהודה in Hag. i¹, &c., and פחת יהודיא in Ezra 6⁷. יהוד = Judaea commonly in Daniel.

Line 2. אלה ש' ישאל, cf. on 17¹. אלה שמיא often in Ezra and Nehemiah.

Line 3. בני ביתא are the people of the palace, the king's entourage, which had so much influence with him. חד אלף, cf. חד שבעה Dan. 3¹⁹. חדה ושריר as in 62². הוי the imperative is awkward.

Line 4. There is an erasure (one letter) after אמרן. כזי ארשם נפק as in 27²⁻³. It was evidently an important event and his absence may have given the opportunity for this attack. He seems to have been back in Egypt when no. 32 was written.

Line 5. כמריא, cf. 27³. Correctly used as in the O. T. for priests of a foreign god. המונית as in 27⁴, which combines the readings of this passage and 31⁵. Here, as in 27⁴, it must be an adverb, and a verb is

wanted, which was probably forgotten by the writer because the sentence was long. It would be quite in order if he had written אמרו instead of לם in l. 6. In 31⁵ the word is not used, and the construction is simple.

Line 6. יהערו with indefinite subject, 'let them destroy'. אהר a mere conjunction 'then' or 'so'.

Line 7. לחיא has been much discussed. It seems to be a term of reproach, and a participle from להה a root frequent in these texts. Cf. e.g. Aḥikar 138 where נבר לחה is a man who does not honour his parents, and l. 139 לחיתי 'my misfortune'. In the inscription of Nerab 1¹⁰ לוחה is a 'miserable death' (or the 'death of a wicked man'). It is difficult to find a word to cover all the uses. Here it seems to be almost parenthetical, 'this W. (the villain)' as the later Jews would add ימח שמו. It is strange that it should be used in a formal document, and even stranger in the answer (32⁶), where there was not the same excuse for strong feeling. A title would be more in place, but the suggestion that it is for לוחיא 'tabellarius' is impossible. נפין Nepāyān (Sachau) must have succeeded his father as רבחילא after 416. His headquarters were at Syene, whereas the *fratarak* was in Yeb (תנה l. 5). אנורא a very important building 'the temple in Y.', but 31⁷ adds זי יהו אלהא.

Line 8. ינרשו corresponds to יהערו in l. 6. It occurs in 27⁵⁻²⁴ and in 31 and 32. Probably = Heb. נתש. אחרנן plural, agrees in sense with חילא, if there is no scribal error. תליהם Sachau cft. Gen. 27³ (LXX φαρέτρα, Onḡ. 'sword'). It does not occur elsewhere. No. 31⁸ has וניהם, and the meaning of both must be 'weapons' in a very general sense.

Line 9. Note the asyndeta, common in Aramaic, but perhaps also used here for greater vividness. הוה Sachau takes this as introducing the sentence, like Hebrew ויהי, and this is no doubt simplest. But cf. the use of איהי 27⁴, &c., which is perhaps similar. הרען are 'gateways' of solid stone.

Line 10. בנין may be a participle, but more probably the noun 'a construction of'. רשיהם 'doors' as in Targum. In l. 10 דששיא זוזו קימו so Hoonacker (p. 41, note e). Sachau קימן, but ן always has a projection at the top. The ן is carelessly written. The expression is strange 'they stood the doors up', i.e. leaned them against the wall to burn them, or 'lifted' them off their hinges? Barth's suggestion קיטן 'wood' is impossible. A confusion of ס with ט would be easy in some later kinds of square Hebrew, but is impossible in this writing. Moreover as קע is used in the next line, a different word would hardly be used here,

especially as it does not occur elsewhere in these texts. Finally קיסא means rough, unworked wood, sticks, &c., quite unsuitable in this context.

Line 11. דששיא (an erasure of one letter before it). The singular must have dagesh (דשא) which is resolved in the plural, as in עממיא and (l. 15) שקקן נחש, the material in apposition to ציריהם, as probably בנין in l. 10. עקהן, so Sachau, as in 31¹⁰, an impossible form. Ungnad cft. שמהן (= שמות, but שמהת 22¹) אבהן (= אבות), but these are feminine forms, whereas עק is masculine, with plural עיקן (עקיא, &c.). The ך looks like a mere blot here, and may have been erroneously copied in 31¹⁰. בלא וי. The וי is not wanted, or הוה תמה is omitted. ואחרן. Torczyner 'und zuletzt alles was dort war', but it is more probably used loosely for 'other (things)² the rest'.

Line 12. ובספא a mistake for ובספא. מנדעמתא 'anything', i. e. everything. בלא note the repetition (3 times in 2 lines) to emphasize the completeness of the destruction.

Line 13. 'beginning from' i. e. already in. מלך a mistake for מלכי (so 31¹²). אבהין a strange form, but confirmed by 31¹³. We should expect אבהתן. למצרין. The ין is added above the line because there was not room. Cf. ll. 12, 17, 18, &c. Cambyses came into Egypt in 525.

Line 14. השבח as in 31¹³. A final ה was written and erased. באגורא is the complement to הבל 'did harm to this temple' and מנדעם is adverbial 'in anything'—not 'harmed anything in this temple'.

Line 15. עביר as in 31¹⁴, not עברו as Sachau and Ungnad. צימין a mistake for צימן? So l. 20. מרא שמיא as Dan. 5²³.

Line 16. החוין Haphel (in 31¹⁵ חוינא Pael) 'caused us to see', Heb. הראנו, of seeing vengeance inflicted on an enemy. Cf. חוין l. 17. כלביא a very difficult phrase. הנפקו is 'took out', which Hoonacker explains as an inversion 'they took out the chains from his feet' for 'his feet from the chains', cf. Heb. גלף. With רגלוהי the meaning of כבלא must be a ring worn as an ornament, though its later meaning is usually 'fetter'. No. 31¹⁵ כבלוהי. It has been proposed to take כלביא as 'dog-like', a term of abuse applied to Waidrang, which is improbable. The phrase has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Line 17. בל. 31¹⁶ בלא. זא feminine as in 21³.

Line 18. עביר ought to be fem. See on ll. 24, 27. אנרה as in l. 19 for the usual אנרת, a loan-word from Bab. *egirtu*. (But cf. *ἄγγαρος*, from Persian.) It is a secondary form developed in Aramaic when the consciousness of its origin was beginning to be lost. Cf. perhaps דנה for דנת in 10²³. The letter may have been no. 27. Then מרא there is

Bigvai. מראן, cf. 31¹⁷. על is omitted by mistake. אֹסֶתֶן is confirmed by 31¹⁸.

Line 19. ענני an important person, since Ostanes is described as his brother, not as son of any one. He seems to be settled at Jerusalem, and therefore is hardly the same as the secretary Anani in 26²³. Whether he is the Anani of 1 Chron. 3²⁴ there is nothing to show. דריהוש, and in l. 21, probably only a mistake for דריהוש 31¹⁹.

Line 20. ועונה corrected by a ד above the line, suggests that in popular pronunciation the ד was assimilated to the ז. Cf. ערבר 45³ for 'על ד' and Dan. 4¹⁴ ערדברת (Epstein). בארמלה one would expect the plural. עבירין. A mistake for the feminine (due to the masc. form of נשיא?). משחין. The י is blotted. If it is to be read, it is a mistake for משחן as 31²⁰.

Line 21. זכי is certain, but must be a mistake. It is the form used in addressing a female, and in any case כן זך could not mean 'from that time'. In 31²⁰, מן זך ערנא. ועד. Note the ע, which shows how the tail developed. ועד יומא ועד יום very awkward. Either we want זי זכא זנה זי (Ungnad), or perhaps יומי ועד. ועולה (= Heb. עולה) does not occur in BA, but may be inferred from the plural עלון (sing. עלתא later) which is found in Ezra as well as מנחה.

Line 22. עברד. The ו is probable though the lower parts of the letters are effaced. The passage is defective also in 31²¹. We should expect עברן. יהודיא used like ישראל in late Hebrew for an ordinary member of the community who is not a כהן or a חכם. כל, in 31²² כלא. אמרין. The ין is blundered. 31²² אמרן correctly. It is a participle.

Line 23. למבנה probably a mistake for למבניה. שבקן. The subject is 'the Egyptians'. 'They do not leave us alone to build it', i. e. do not allow us. הוי is confirmed by 31²³. Not an interjection (as Ungnad), but 'look upon your friends', parallel to אנורא על אתעשת. Cf. e. g. ראה עניי, Ps. 25¹⁸⁻¹⁹.

Line 24. ישתלה should be fem. Cf. יהוה l. 27. Ungnad compares the old Babylonian usage.

Line 25. ומחתא a mistake for ומנחתא. יקרבו is written over an erasure of a word beginning with יה. 31²⁵ נקרבו. 'They will offer' (future) not 'let them offer', jussive, which would be יקרבו.

Line 26. There is a spot of ink after יהו, which one is tempted to take for the beginning of a ה, but it is more likely to be a false start for אלהא. With נעלה עליך cf. Ezra 6¹⁰ (Jampel).

Line 27. כל in 31²⁶ again כלא. עברו perhaps a mistake for עברת 'si ita feceris'. In 31²⁶ תעבר 'si ita facies'. עד זי 'until', i. e. so

that. וצדקה not ו of the apodosis, as Ungnad. The *if*-clause goes with what precedes, and this begins a new sentence. צדקה, a righteous or meritorious act (because conferring a benefit). One wonders what Bigvai understood by it. Cf. Deut. 24¹³.

Line 28. מן, as first shown by Bruston, is comparative, 'more than', but the sentence is clumsy in spite of Sachau's illustrations. דמן כרמי 'in value like the value of' is surely a mistake, and דמן should be omitted, as in 31²⁷. אלה = אלה as in 31²⁷, and often. ועל זהב וכ'. Epstein makes על a noun meaning a large amount, and cft. עליה, e.g. in Baba B. 133^b, but the meaning there is uncertain, and there is no evidence for על in that sense. Also 31²⁷ omits ו which makes it impossible. Clearly the reference is to the bakhshish, which they would of course expect to pay, but about which it would be polite to write as little as possible. That Bigvai was not above such considerations we see from Jos. Ant. xi, 7, 1, where he is said to have exacted 50 shekels for every lamb sacrificed. This seems to have been after the murder of Jeshua, and therefore after the date of this letter, so that there can hardly be an allusion to it here. The mention of the value of the sacrifices however is strange.

Line 29. שלהן הודענן probably asyndeton, 'we have sent, we have made known', and אף begins a new sentence. Hoonacker translates 'nous avons instruit notre envoyé'. This would be excellent, but 'messenger' would certainly be שליח. It may be a mistake for that. The parallel passage in no. 31 is lost. Cf. Ezra 4¹⁴ (Jampel). רליה ושלמיה. Both names occur in Nehemiah (6¹⁰, 13³), but there is no evidence for identifying the persons, nor for assuming that these lived at Jerusalem. A Delaiah occurs (once only) in the Samaritan list of High Priests, possibly about this date. (See Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, p. xx, note 1.) סנאבלט, in Nehemiah סנבלט. Cf. סנהאריב = סנהאריב = σατραπης, the title used by Josephus. He is never called so by Nehemiah. שמרין as in Ezra 4¹⁰⁻¹⁷, where it is the name of the city or district (Heb. שמרון), and so probably here. The Samaritans still use שמרין as a gentile name for themselves (Heb. ישמרונים).

Line 30. בלא in 30²³ comes before זי, better. עביר לן as in l. 18, 'done to us'. ארשם לא ידע because he was away at the time (ll. 4, 5). They do not wish to accuse him to his superior. It might be dangerous. ב ב though not certain, is probable.

The many mistakes, solecisms and corrections in this text, and the frequent Hebraisms here and elsewhere, give the impression that the

writer was not really at home with Aramaic as a means of expressing himself. Although no Hebrew document is found in this collection, it is not impossible that these Jews commonly spoke Hebrew among themselves. They would be compelled to use Aramaic in business transactions, as the language of the Government, and as long as composition was confined to legal documents, with their familiar set phrases, they could manage it well enough. But they came to regard it as the natural vehicle for literary expression, letters, &c., and when they went outside the legal formulae, the task was beyond their powers. They no doubt understood it, since they had Aḥiḳar and the Behistun inscription in Aramaic translations (not made by the Jews of Yeb). It may have been necessary to use Aramaic in writing to Bigvai, and of course Johanan would be quite familiar with it.

The question of the use of the two languages by the Jews is of some importance, though the conclusions reached by Naville do not seem to be justified.

No. 31.

A Duplicate of No. 30. Same date.

A fragment of a duplicate of no. 30, perhaps copied from it.

It has been torn lengthwise down the middle, so that the ends of all the lines are missing. The writing, though not good, is better than that of no. 30, and it has fewer mistakes. In some places it helps to elucidate no. 30. The lines have not been completed in the transcript here, since that would be merely repeating the other copy.

Ll. 27-29 are on the verso.

The date is the same as that of no. 30, viz. 408 B. C.

Sachau, plate 3. Ungnad, no. 3.

- | | |
|--|---|
| אל מ[ראן בנחיה פחת יהוד עבדיך ידניה וכנות]ה כה[ניא] | 1 |
|] אלה [שמיא י]שאל בכל עדן לרחמן י[שי]מ[נך קדם ד]ריוהוש | 2 |
|] אריבן ינתן לך וחדה ושריר הוי בכל עדן כעת עב[ד]ך ידניה] | 3 |
|] שנת \rightarrow דריוהוש מלכא כזי ארשם נפק ואול [על] מלכא] | 4 |
| 5 בירתא כסף ונכסין יהבו לוידרנג פרתרכא זי תנה הוה ל[ם] | 5 |
| 6 יהעדו מן תמה וידרנג זך לחיא אגרת שלח על נ[פי]ן ברה ז[ני] | 6 |
| 7 זי יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא ינרשו אחר נפין זך דבר מצר[יא] | 7 |
| 8 זניהום עלו באגורא זך נדשוהי עד ארעא ועמודיא זי א[בנא] | 8 |

- 9 תרען רברבן **///** בנין פסלה זי אבן זי הוּו בא[גו]רא זך]
 10 אלך נחש ומטלל אנורא זך כלא עקה זי ארז עם ש[ירית]
 11 באשתא שרפו ומורקיא זי זהכא וזי כספא ו[מנד]עמתא]
 12 עבדו ומן יום מלכי מצרין אבהין בנו אנורא זך ביב]
 13 זך בנה השכח ואגורי אלה[י] מצריא [ב]ל[א] מגרו] ואיש מנ[דעם]
 14 עביר אנהנה עם נשין ובנין שקקו לבשן הוין צ[ימין]
 15 חוינא בוידרנג זך כלביא הנפקו כבלוהי מן רגלוהי וכ[ל]
 16 בעה באיש לאנורא זך כלא קטילו וחזין בהום אף]
 17 לן אנרה על זנה של[.]. [שלחן על מראן א[ף] על יהוחנן]
 18 ועל אוסתן אחוהי זי ענני וחרי יהוד אנ[רה] חדה]
 19 שנת **ר** **///** דרויהוש מלכא ועד זנה יומא אנהנה שקק[ן]
 20 משח לא משחן וחמר לא שתין [אף מ]ן זך ענ[דנ]א ועד ז[נה]
 21 מנחה לבונה ועלוה לא עבד[ד] באנורא זך כען]
 22 ויהודיא כלא בעלי יב בן אמרן הן על מר[א]ן טב א[תעשת]
 23 שבקן לן למבניה חזי בעלי טבתך ורחמיך זי תנה]
 24 על אנורא זי יהו אלהא למבניה ביב בירתא לקבל]
 25 ועלותא נקרב על מדבחא זי יהו אלהא בשמך ונצ[לה]
 26 ויהודיא כלא זי תנה הן בן תעבר זי עד אנורא זך ית[בנה]
 27 שמיא מן גבר זי יקרב לה עלוה ורבחן דמי כסף כנכרן אלף על]
 28 מליא אנרה חדה בשמן שלחן על דליה ושלמיה ב[ני]
 29 כלא זי עביר לן ארשם לא ידע ב[ד] למרחשון שנת **ר** **///** **///**]

¹ To our lord *Bigvai, governor of Judaea, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues the priests* . . . ² God of *Heaven* seek after at all times. May he give you favour before *Darius* . . . ³ May he grant you long life. and may you be happy and prosperous at all times. Now your servant *Yedoniah* . . . ⁴ Year 14 of *Darius the king*, when *Arsames* departed and went to the king . . . ⁵ The fortress. They gave money and valuables to *Waidrang the governor* who was here, saying . . . ⁶ let them remove from there. Then that *Waidrang, the reprobate*, sent a letter to his son *Nephayan*, who . . . ⁷ of *Ya'u the God*, which is in the fortress of *Yeb*, let them destroy. Then that *Nephayan* led out the *Egyptians* . . . ⁸ their weapons. They went into that temple. They destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone . . . ⁹ 5 great gateways, built of hewn stone, which were in that temple . . . ¹⁰ those, of bronze, and the roof of that temple, all of it, of cedar wood, with the rest . . . ¹¹ they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and of silver and everything . . . ¹² they made. Already in the day of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in *Yeb* . . . ¹³ He found that built, and the temples of the gods of the *Egyptians* all of them they overthrew, but

no one did any . . . ¹⁴ was done, we with our wives and our children have been wearing sack-cloth, *fasting* . . . ¹⁵ let us see (our desire) on that Waidrang. The dogs tore off his anklets from his legs and *all* . . . ¹⁶ sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also . . . ¹⁷ to us, we sent a letter about this . . . to your lordship *and* to Johanan . . . ¹⁸ and to Ostances the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of Judaea. A letter . . . ¹⁹ Year 14 of King Darius till this day we wear sack-cloth . . . ²⁰ we do not anoint ourselves with oil and we drink no wine. *Also from that time till this* . . . ²¹ meal-offering, incense nor sacrifice do they offer in that temple. Now . . . ²² and the Jews all of them, citizens of Yeb, say as follows: If it seem good to your lordship, *take thought* . . . ²³ allow us to build it. Look upon your well-wishers and friends who are here . . . ²⁴ concerning the temple of the God Ya'u to build it in the fortress of Yeb as . . . ²⁵ and the sacrifice we will offer on the altar of the God Ya'u on your behalf, and we will *pray* . . . ²⁶ and all the Jews who are here, if you do so that that temple be *re-built* . . . ²⁷ Heaven, more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth the sum of a thousand talents. As to . . . ²⁸ matter, we have sent a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the *sons of* . . . ²⁹ all that was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marḥeshwan the 17th year . . .

Line 2. לרחמן. No ו before it. The text must have been shorter than in 30³, probably omitting בען חר אלף.

Line 5. The word המונית (30⁵) is not used here, and the sentence is simpler.

Line 8. זניהום = תליהם (30⁸) of which it shows the meaning.

Line 9. רברבן. 30¹⁰ has וי אבן which is not wanted, since it occurs just afterwards, and is probably a mistake. בפסלה. In 30¹⁰ פסילה is more correct.

Line 10. עקהן is quite clear here. Copied from 30¹¹ in error? The unnecessary וי before עם is omitted.

Line 11, end. וי is probable. Sachau ל, but the mark is too low, and is unintentional.

Line 12. יום. In 30¹³ better יומי. מלבי is better than מלך 30¹³.

Line 13. There is room for בלא which would be right.

Line 15. חוינא Pael = החוין 30¹⁶. After כלביא the next word begins on a slightly different level, which looks as though the writer was conscious of beginning a new clause. If so כלביא must qualify what went before. Cf. note on 30¹⁶.

Line 16. בעה shows that כל גבר preceded—a mistake, since the sentence goes on with a plural. 30¹⁶ correctly גברן and בעו.

Line 17. של perhaps שלחן repeated by mistake, but it looks more like שלנך.

Line 18. יהודיא Judaea, in 30¹⁹.

Line 19. דריוהוש correctly. 30¹⁹ דריהוש, which thus seems to be a mere mistake.

Line 20. משחן correctly, for the doubtful משהין in 30²⁰. וך עדנא better than זכי 30²¹. At the end a trace of ז probably. זנה is better than יום 30²¹.

Line 21. עברך is not more certain here than in 30²².

Line 22. אמרן correctly. 30²² אמרין is a mistake.

Line 25. נקרב, in 30²⁵ יקרבון.

Line 26. הן כן. There seems to be a slight additional space before this, as though it began a new sentence. העבר is better than עברו 30²⁷. ער זי a mistake for זי ער.

Line 27. דמי more correctly than 30²⁸.

Line 28. אנרה = באנרה 30²⁹. Perhaps the construction was different, e. g. 'concerning all this we sent a letter'.

Line 29. כלא better here than as in 30³⁰. ב ב is certain here.

No. 32.

Answer to No. 30. About 408 B. C.

Complete, but carelessly written. The lines vary in length and are irregularly spaced.

This is the answer to the petition in 30, 31. Though not dated, we may assume that it was brought back by the messenger in 408. Apparently the answer was given verbally and this is a note of it made by the messenger. The first three lines are crowded together and parts of them look as though written at a different time from the rest. Judging from this impression, one would say that the text originally began with l. 2 :

זכרן לם יהוי לך במצרין
על בית מרבחא זי אלה

i. e. with the actual message. Then the writer felt that something was wanted to show from whom the message came, and he added l. 1 with a thicker pen, and the words projecting at the end of l. 2 and beginning of l. 3. This would account for the repetition of זכרן, which is otherwise unnecessary. The report is not a formal answer, for no titles are given to Bigvai and Delaiah, and it is not addressed to any one. It is not composed by a skilled scribe, for the contents are ill-balanced: ll. 5-7 are unnecessarily full, and the really important part, rather clumsily expressed, occupies only ll. 8-11.

Sachau, plate 4. Ungnad, no. 3.

זכרן זי בנוהי ודליה אמרו	1
לי זכרן למ יהוי לך במצרין לממר	2
קדםארשם עלבית מדבחה זי אלה	3
שמיא זי ביב בירתא בנה	4
הוה מן קדמן קדם כנבוזי	5
זי וידרנג להיא זך נרש	6
בשנת ר' וריוהוש מלכא	7
למבניה באתרה כזי הוה לקדמן	8
ומנחתא ולבונתא יקרבוני על	9
מדבחה זך לקבל זי לקדמין	10
הוה מתעבר	11

- dependent מן קדם לשא

¹ Memorandum from Bigvai and Delaiah. They said ² to me: Let it be an instruction to you in Egypt to say ³ to Arsames about the altar-house of the God of ⁴ Heaven, which was built in the fortress of Yeb ⁵ formerly, before Cambyses, ⁶ which Waidrang, that reprobate, destroyed ⁷ in the 14th year of Darius the king, ⁸ to rebuild it in its place as it was before, ⁹ and they may offer the meal-offering and incense upon ¹⁰ that altar as formerly ¹¹ was done.

דכרין

Line 1. זכרן 'a record' (cf. Ezra 6²) or perhaps a 'thing to be remembered', as it seems to have meant in l. 2 if that was the original beginning. The זי is 'of', not 'which'. That would be לי זכרן זי אמרו 'בנוהי וב'.

Line 2. לי is by the thicker pen, projects beyond the line, and is smudged as though something were erased. למ here only a strengthening particle, as in Aḥiḳar 2, 13, 20 &c., not 'saying'. יהוי the jussive form, 'let it be a thing to be remembered, to say', i.e. remember to say. לממר no doubt for למאמר, for which more commonly לאמר. Something has been erased, and the unusual form is perhaps due to his having originally written למ קדם. Then he erased קדם and wrote מר. He probably intended to write לאמר.

Line 3. קדם ארשם project into the margin, and were clearly added later. There are traces of על under שם (ארשם). The order is to be given to Arsames, who thus appears to have had no power (or will) to build the temple on his own authority. He must also have been inferior in rank to Bigvai. One would have expected something more formal than this rather off-hand verbal instruction. בית מדבחה. It is not clear why he uses this expression instead of אגורא. Epstein takes it

as 'house of sacrifice'. After אלה he had begun to write שמיא and then erased it.

Line 5. מן קרמן 'from of old', i. e. long ago.

Line 6. לחיא as in 30¹⁷, an odd word to use in a document of this kind, but all the passage (ll. 5-7) seems unnecessary. Between this line and the next there is extra space, but nothing is missing.

Line 8. למבניה. The construction, depending on לממר, is very loose. He had apparently forgotten what his main verb was.

Line 9. Note that עלותא is omitted—no doubt intentionally. It is generally supposed that the animal sacrifices had offended the Egyptians, and that this was sufficient to make Bigvai discountenance them, apart from any view which the priests at Jerusalem might hold, and with which Bigvai might or might not sympathize. But as Ed. Meyer points out (*Papyrusfund*, p. 88), the Egyptians did themselves sacrifice certain animals, and he thinks that the prohibition was due to the Zoroastrian view that fire was profaned by contact with dead bodies. יקרבון i. e. so that they may offer. The word is written over an erasure. Perhaps the passive was originally written. It was a longer word, since a ; is visible at the end.

Line 11. מתעבר. I have translated 'done' for want of a better term. It is really a cult-word, עבר meaning to perform a religious act.

No. 33.

A further Petition, connected with No. 30.

About 407 B. C.

Much injured on the left-hand side, and the ends of the last four lines entirely lost.

It is a letter from five prominent men of the colony at Yeb, relating to the rebuilding of the temple, and may therefore be dated at about the same time as nos. 30-32. Like them, it is no doubt a draft, or a copy kept for reference, since there is no address or signature. The writing is excellent, and certainly not by the same hand as no. 32, as Sachau says.

The mention of the bakhshish in ll. 13, 14 suggests that it was sent to Bigvai (cf. 30²⁸), who is denoted by מראן in ll. 7, 12, 13, but it is quite possible that they had to bribe more than one official. This may have been a private letter sent (על זהב 30²⁸) with no. 30, or it may have been sent after receipt of the answer (no. 32) as Ed. Meyer thinks. Unfortunately the broken lines at the end do not show very clearly what they want to say about the question of the sacrifices.

Sachau, plate 4. Ungnad, no. 4.

- 1 עבדיך ידניה בר נ[מריה] שמה א
 2 מעוזי בר נתן שמה [א]
 3 ישמעיה בר חני שמה א
 4 הושע בר יתום שמה א
 5 הושע בר נתון שמה א כל נברן III א
 6 סונכנן זי ביב בירתא [מ]ה[חם]נן
 7 כן אמר[ן] הן מראן [ירח]מֶן
 8 ואגורא זי יהו אלהא זי [לן] יתבנה
 9 ביב בירתא כוי קד[מן] בנ[ה] הוה
 10 וקן תור ענז מקלו [ל]א יתעבר תמה
 11 להן לבונה מנחה [ונסך] . . .
 12 ומראן אודים יעב[ר] עלונה אחר
 13 ננתן על בית מראן כ[סף] . . . ואף
 14 שערן ארדבן אל[ף]

¹Your servants Yedoniah b. *Gemariah* by name, 1. ²Ma'uzi b. Nathan by name, 1. ³Shemaiah b. Haggai by name, 1. ⁴Hosea b. Yathom by name, 1. ⁵Hosea b. Nathun by name, 1: total 5 men, ⁶Syeniens who *hold property* in the fortress of Yeb, ⁷say as follows: If your lordship is *favourable* ⁸and the temple of Ya'u the God which *we had(?) be rebuilt(?)* ⁹in the fortress of Yeb as it was *formerly built*, ¹⁰and sheep, oxen (and) goats are *not* offered as burnt-sacrifice there, ¹¹but incense, meal-offering *and drink-offering only*, ¹²and (if) your lordship gives orders *to that effect, then* ¹³we will pay to your lordship's house the *sum of . . . and also* ¹⁴a thousand ardabs of barley.

Line 1. [נמריה]. There is a trace of מ. This is no doubt the same Yedoniah as in 22¹²¹ and 30¹. Cf. the names in 34⁵.

Line 2. מעוזי = מעוזיה 18³, 20¹⁶.

Line 6. סונכנן a Persian formation from סון, declined as Aramaic. They belonged to Syene, i. e. to *degalin* stationed there, but held property in Elephantine. [מ]ה[חם]נן is very probable.

Line 7. [ירח]מֶן. The מן is probable. Some word of this kind is wanted after הן מראן, cf. 27¹⁹ &c. On the form cf. אַיִשְׁבָּקִין Aḥiḡar 82 (not 'pity us').

Line 8. [לן] יתבנה perhaps. Epstein's proposal זי ישמיה יתבנה is too long, and the phrase is always אלה שמיא not 'ש' אלהא זי ש'.

Line 9. [בנ]ה is right, and קד[מן] is necessary. The stroke before הוה belongs to the line above, therefore not יהוה.

Line 10. וקן. The ו means 'on the understanding that'. קן תור. At first sight one would take these as 'birds and dove'. (So Bondi who compares the use of קן in Mishna.) But as ענו is added קן is probably for עאן = צאן, and תור is 'ox'. מוקלו. The form is strange (from קלה). It is no doubt borrowed from Bab. *maklu(tu)*, 'burnt-sacrifice'.

Line 11. Animal sacrifice was not to be offered, whether out of consideration for Persian or Egyptian feeling, but incense and meal-offerings were unobjectionable. מנחה, without ו, may imply a third term—perhaps נסך 'drink-offering' (but cf. l. 10). There is a trace possibly of the ך, and of another word.

Line 12 seems to be still part of the long protasis, introduced by הן in l. 7, 'and if you give orders accordingly'. אורים not a name (as Ungnad), which would not fit in. Ed. Meyer proposes Persian *avadaesa*, which he translates 'information'. It must be something of the kind, an official term for 'edict'. It is quite uncertain how much is lost at the end of the line, but something (אהר or אנהה) is wanted to introduce the apodosis in l. 13.

Line 13. Ungnad reads נתן, but that is only used in the future, and the ן is never assimilated. The strange character at the beginning is really ננ, rendered illegible by the crack in the papyrus. [כסף] probably. The amount is quite lost. At the end וואף is wanted as there is no conjunction with שערן (l. 14).

No. 34.

A Letter. Probably about 407 B.C.

Fragment of the end of a letter.

Though little can be made out consecutively, it certainly relates to some violence done to Yedoniah and his colleagues, some of whom are the same as in no. 33. As no mention is made of this in the preceding texts, the fragment would seem to be later than those. The statement that houses were entered and goods taken, indicates a renewal of the pogrom described in no. 30. It is perhaps not too rash to conclude that it took place after the receipt of Bigvai's answer (no. 32) and was due to some action taken by the Jews in the way of preparations for the rebuilding of the temple. The date would then be in or soon after 407 B.C. There is no evidence to show that the temple ever was re-built, and the series of documents stops very soon after this, as far as we can judge. Egypt was getting into a very unsettled state, and

apparently threw off the Persian yoke in or about 404 B. C. (cf. no. 35). It may well be that the Egyptians took the opportunity of the prevailing unrest to get rid of the Jewish garrison, and began by making away with (or killing?) the chief men of the colony.

The writing is unskillful. Perhaps it is not an official document but a private letter. It may have been sent from some other place, e.g. Thebes, to Yeb.

Sachau, plate 15. Ungnad, no. 16.

מש	1
הנום הא זנה שמהת נשיא זי א[שתכחו	2
בבבא בנא ואתחדו א[סירן רמי אתת הודו אסרשות אתת הושע פלול אתת	3
יסלח רעיא]	
זביא ברת משלם יבולא אחתה הא עמהת גבריא זי אשתכחו בבבא בנא	4
ואתחדו א[סירן]	
ידניא בר גמריה הושע בר יתום הושע בר נתום חגי אהוהי אחיו בר	5
מח[סיה]	
בתיא זי עלו בהן ביב ונכסיא זי לקחו אתבו אם על מריהם להן דברו	6
למרא]	
ברשן / ד עוד טעם לא עד יהוי להן תנה שלם ביתך ובנין עד אלהיא	7
יחוננ[א בהן]	

^{1, 2} k^hnum, now these are the names of the women who were found ³ at the gate in Thebes(?) and were taken prisoners: Rami, wife of Hodav, Asirshuth, wife of Hosea, Pelul, wife of Yislah, Re'ia ⁴ Zebia, daughter of Meshullam, Yekhola her sister. These are the names of the men who were found at the gate in Thebes(?) and were taken prisoners: ⁵ Yedonia b. Gemariah, Hosea b. Yathom, Hosea b. Nathum, Haggai his brother, Ahio b. Mahseiah(?). They have left(?) ⁶ the houses which they had entered in Yeb, and the property which they had taken they have restored indeed to the owners of it, but they mentioned(?) to his lordship the sum of ⁷ 120 kerashin. Moreover they will have no further authority here. Peace be to your house and your children till the gods let us see (our desire) upon them.

Line 1. Only the lower parts of a few letters remain, which cannot be re-constructed.

Line 2. חנום. The marks preceding it may be פט. The name Petehnum occurs in 23⁹. זנה שמהת as in 22¹. א[שתכחו] and the beginning of l. 3 may be perhaps so restored from l. 4.

Line 3. א[סירן] is more probable than to assume a name סירן (Ungnad). רמי a short form of רמיה, אה of הודו, אסרשות.

compounded with Osiris. Hosea had married an Egyptian. פלול cf. פלוליה.

Line 4. צבִיָּא very doubtful. Cf. צבי. משלם. There is very little space for ל, but we can hardly read anything else. יבולא doubtful. Ungnad קולא. Sachau ברולא. בנא 'in No', i. e. Thebes? So Epstein, but he afterwards suggests it is for בנה, and thinks it is the gate in the wall mentioned in 27⁶, but the word is too common to serve as a clue. Why were they found in (or at) the gate anywhere? בב no doubt means here the 'gateway' which served as a court of justice, and may also have contained a prison (cf. e. g. Aḥiḳar 23). But it is not evident what had happened to them. [אתהחרו, as Epstein, for אהחרו], is possible. Cf. לממר 32², במכל 24³⁵. Sachau [אתחרו] 'were killed'. Arnold [אתחרו] 'were insulted'.

Line 5. The same persons as in 33¹⁺⁴⁺⁵. נתון for נתון, influenced by יתום just before. מה[סיה] very doubtful. The second letter is unrecognizable. After the name a word is wanted to govern בתיא in l. 6, e. g. 'they left' or 'they made good'.

Line 6. זי עלו בהן. Sachau 'which they entered with them', i. e. into which they brought them (the women). This is impossible, for עלו requires ב before the place entered (cf. e. g. 30⁹). He takes בהן as being necessarily the feminine pronoun. The only possible translation is 'the houses into which they entered', and בהן must be = BA בְּהֵן, masc. (cf. מנהן 16⁴) as בהם = בהום. It is strange that both forms should occur in the same text, but the change from ם to ן, which prevailed in all branches of Aramaic, must have begun at some time. This letter shows signs of being written informally, which might account for what was perhaps at first a vulgarism. That the distinction between final ם and ן was not very clearly marked at this date is illustrated by נתון for נתון in l. 5. The ם (in the pronoun) was however the earlier, and not merely due to Hebrew influence, since it is found at Senjirli (e. g. Bar-rekub, ll. 18, 19). In 82¹¹ בהן is perhaps masculine. The feminine does not occur, I think, in these texts. אתכו can only be Aphel of תוכ, although an Aphel is not found elsewhere in these texts. (Ithpe'el for Hithp. does occur). Perhaps it is another instance of a late form in this letter. םא not as in Hebrew (as Ungnad). Others take it as a mistake for הם, which would be simplest. The reading is certain, and, if right, may be the same as the םא in 13¹¹. If so, it is probably a distinct particle, and not, as explained there, a mistake for אפם. מריהם for מראיהם = בעליהם 'the owners of them'. דברו not דברו (as Ungnad). Epstein cft. זכר ב = 'rem tribuit', and so 'paid', but I do not know this meaning.

It is strange to have ד' instead of ו', cf. זכרן 32¹⁻² יוכרני Aḥiḳar 53, but also רכר 'male' 15^{17.20} רכי &c. The sense is quite obscure—'reminded'? . . . למרא. The restoration יהם is possible, but the two spellings so near together are unlikely. Possibly למראן, another case of bribing the governor. [כסף] is wanted before ברשן, l. 7.

Line 7. עוד וכ' is very difficult. The clause seems to end with תנה, the succeeding words being the final salutation. The ער after לא is for עוד (written fully when it stands alone) and להן (like בהן l. 6) is 'to them'. טעם properly 'edict' or 'order'. Here 'authority' ? 'power to act' ? [יהוננ] Pael or syncopated Haphel, cf. החוין 30¹⁶. The suffix should be ן, but there is a slight trace of א, perhaps another approach to the forms of BA; cf. 31¹⁵ חוינא.

This is the end of the letter, as the rest of the papyrus is blank.

No. 35.

Contract for a Loan. About 400 B. C.

Very much broken. The largest fragment, containing the beginning, can be fairly well restored. The small fragments cannot be put together. The text must have been long, since the small pieces mention other matters besides the debt of 2 shekels. They must belong to the latter part of the document, after a gap.

Before ll. 1, 3, 5, 10 a thick line is drawn half across the page. The meaning of this is not evident.

This is the latest of the *dated* documents, if (as no doubt is the case) Amyrtaeus is the man who rebelled against Persia shortly before 400 B. C. There was indeed an earlier Amyrtaeus who rebelled under Artaxerxes I, but he only succeeded in establishing himself temporarily in the north, and there are perhaps other indications of the later date (see notes). The later Amyrtaeus cannot have been reigning as early as 408 (at least in Yeb) since we have documents of that year dated in the reign of Darius. Ugnad is therefore probably right in putting the 5th year at about 400 B. C.

This seems to be a case arising out of a marriage settlement, and the parties appear to have been husband and wife—perhaps divorced. The man owes the woman 2 shekels, which he promises to pay by a certain date. The large fragment seems to end with the customary promise not to make further claims, but the formulae must have differed from those used elsewhere. Hence some of the restoration is uncertain.

Sachau, plate 34. Ungnad, no. 37.

- 1 בִּדְ / [לפמנ] חתף שנת /// אמורטיס מלכא אדין
 2 אמר [מנחם] בר [של] ום ארמי זי יב ברתא לדגל נבוכדרי
 3 לסלן [אתה] ברת ס[מ] וזה לאמר איתי לכי עלי כסף ש //
 4 הו [בס] ף סתתרי / מן קצת כספא ונבסיא זי עלספר
 5 אנתותכי אנה מנחם אנתננה ואשלמון לכי עד
 6 בִּדְ לפרמתי שנת /// אמון [רט] ים מלכא [הן ל] א
 7 [שלמת] ויהבת לכי כספא זנה [ש] קלן // [הו] סתתרי /
 8 [עד יומא] זנה זי מנעל כתיב [ומ] טא ב / [לפ] חנס
 9 [יעקף] כספכי [זנה] כסף שקלן // הו כס[ף] סתתרי /
 10 [ואנתנלכי] א[נת] סלואה [כספ] כי וא . . . כס[פ] ככי
 11 . . . כל עד [הן ר] שתככי ורשת [לב] ר

f.	e.	d.	c.	b.
.. . .	. . . .	תנק	ץ	חַמָּ
ש	בְּנו	דין א	שערן	זנה כי
. . ע .		ל כל	שקלן //	שה לא
. .		א	לסגן	יד
			כספ	א
			מן	

¹ On the 21st (?) of Phamenoth, year 5 of Amyrtaeus the king at that time ² said Menahem b. Shalom, Aramaean of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Nabukudurri, ³ to Sallua daughter of Samuah, as follows: You have a claim on me for the sum of 2 shekels, ⁴ that is the sum of 1 stater, being part of the money and goods which are (prescribed) in the deed ⁵ of your marriage. I, Menahem, will give it and pay you in full by ⁶ the 30th of Pharmuthi, year 5 of King Amyrtaeus. If I have not ⁷ paid off and given to you this sum of 2 shekels, that is 1 stater ⁸ by the said day which is written above, and it come to the 1st (?) of Pahons, ⁹ this your money, the sum of 2 shekels that is the sum of 1 stater, shall be doubled (?), ¹⁰ and I will give you, Sallua, your money and your money ¹¹ if I sue you or sue your son

Line 1. בִּדְ. There may have been another unit, i. e. 22 or even 23. אדין goes with the preceding (Ungnad), not the following words.

Line 2. [מנחם] is certain from l. 5. Of his father's name ום is certain, so that we may identify him with Menahem b. Shalom in 25¹⁸ (416-7 B. C.) and 44¹ (undated). ארמי זי יב is unusual. Cf. 7², where the man also belonged to the degel of Nabukudurri, but he only held

property in Yeb, and 25², where Menahem was a witness. For whatever reason, Aramaeans are usually 'of Syene' and Jews 'of Yeb'. See Introduction, p. viii. On the persistence of the name of the degel (461 to c. 400) see note on 28². The system of the degel remained in spite of the revolt. ברתא for בירתא, a mistake?

Line 3. ס[מ]וח. The missing letter *may* be מ, from the trace remaining, but no such name is known. Cf. שמוח 22^{21,23}.

Line 4. סתתרי = στατήρ. The first occurrence of a Greek word in these texts. Due to the revolt? מן קצת as in 29³, 'part of' (Heb. מקצת). קצת does not mean 'total' (as Ungnad).

Line 5. ספר אנתוחי is her kethubha, cf. 14⁴. ואשלמן another instance of the energetic imperfect without pronominal suffix, as pointed out by Seidel, cf. 8¹⁰ and Aḥīkar 82.

Line 6. ר לפרמתי. This was the next month after Phamenoth, so that he engages to pay within five weeks.

Line 8. ב[ב] לפרחנס the next month after Pharmuthi. We might restore ב[ב] לפרחנס. The ב after מטא is strange, but it must be the preposition. Elsewhere ל or על. For the tense, cf. 10⁷.

Line 9. [יעקה] a mere guess, from 11⁸, where see note.

Lines 10, 11 are much broken and the restoration is uncertain. [ואנתנולכי] cf. ואשלמןלכי l. 5. . . .]וא. We should expect ומרבית as in no. 11, but there is no obvious word.

Line 11. ער (Ungnad). The ר is doubtful, and the connexion more so. כל might be part of יכל, but that would require an imperfect after it, not רשת, which seems to be the reading.

Of the small fragments, c refers to some transaction, later in the deed, relating to barley and a sum of 3 shekels.

In e, בננו [וישהריא] suggests the end of the deed. The lower part of the fragment is blank, so that probably this came at the end of the line and the witnesses' names were written at the side as in no. 11.

No. 36.

Part of a Marriage Contract. No date.

Fragments only. No name or date. It is not certain that the small pieces belong to the same document as the large fragment. The writing seems to be by a different hand.

This is undoubtedly part of a marriage contract like no. 15, and deals with the gifts to the bride. The mention of clothing and a bronze cup and bowl, here as in no. 15, suggests that these were customary gifts.

Sachau, plate 10. Ungnad, no. 9.

1 חרת כף
 2 אמן פשכן ב ופשכן דמי כסף שקלן כ . . . ט
 חרתה אמן
 3 ב וורת דמי כסף שקלן חלרן ד כ . . טה / חרתה
 זיקמר דמי כסף
 4 חלרן כף | זי נחש דמי חלרן זלוע | זי נחש
 c. ולה זרב
 ל א
 b. [ד]מוהי כסף כ ||
 שקלן כסף
 דמי

¹ new, 11 (?) ² 5 cubits 4 hands by 3 (cubits) and 4 hands, worth the sum of 3 shekels; 1 . . . new, 7 cubits ³ by 4 and a span, worth the sum of 4 shekels 20 hallurin; 1 . . . new, of wool, worth the sum of ⁴ 10 hallurin; 1 cup of bronze worth the sum of 15 (?) hallurin; 1 bowl of bronze

Line 2. ט . . . כ. Perhaps the same as the equally illegible word in l. 3, but written by mistake without the ה. It must be some kind of shawl, as in no. 15, but שביט cannot be read. חרתה. Ungnad and Sachau זי חרת, but it is difficult to read the marks so, and measurements are never preceded by זי. The ה is rather far from the ת—perhaps it was partly erased.

Line 3. חרת not חרת (Ungnad), which does not need to be repeated. ט . . . טה. Only the ה is certain.

Line 4. כף as 15¹⁶, or כס as 15¹² followed as here by זלוע.

Of the smaller fragments, Sachau puts together the two parts of *b* and reads them consecutively, but '2 shekels whose value is 2 k.' is impossible. He reads זי, but it is . . זל, an incomplete word, so that there was a space between the pieces. In the other line דמי is not on the same level as שקלן, so that perhaps the pieces are not consecutive. From the texture of the papyrus they seem to be so. *c* is unimportant.

No. 37.

A Letter.

A well-written piece, but the ends of all the lines are lost, and it is difficult to establish their connexion. Letters were generally written in long lines, and much may therefore be lost.

No year is mentioned. Yedoniah, to whom the letter is addressed, is no doubt the same person as in 30¹, so that the date must be not far from

410 B. C., but there is nothing to indicate it more exactly. The letter reports to the heads of the community some cause of complaint against the Egyptians, in which Arsames had given a decision. The details are quite obscure. It was sent to Yeb from some other place, possibly Thebes (see on l. 6).

Sachau, plate 11. Ungnad, no. 10.

- 1 אל מראי ידניה מעוזיה אוריה וחילא עברנ]ם שלם מראי אלהיא
 2 ישאלו בבל עדן שלם לן תנה כענת בכל יום זי]
 3 הו קבל פתיפרסן חר זיוך הו קבל פתיפרס א]חר
 4 איתי לן בזי מצריא שחד להן יהבן זמן זי]
 5 זימצריא קדם ארשם להן גנבית עברן אף]
 6 מדינת נא וכן אמרן מזדיון הו פקיד למדינא]
 7 נדחל בזי זעירן אנחנה בזו כען הא סברת]
 8 הן לו גלין אנפין על ארשם לכן לא כונה הו]ה
 9 יאמר מלין קדם ארשם פיסן מהשרך אנפין]
 10 תשכחון דבש תקם חתילן חבלן משבד צל שפ]

Reverse.

- 11 מלין לבתכם אתה פסו בר מנכי למנפי וה]
 12 ופתפרסא ויהב לי כסף סתתרון // וחדה מנה]
 13 חורי יהב לי כזי כלוהי על כדא אמר תירי בן]
 14 בצוח מלכא וכלין להן ונוק ארשם וכפר צה]א
 15 וחורי זי כלו ביום /// // לפאפי מטו אגרתא]על מדינת נא ואנחנה
 16 נעבר מלה

(Address.)

17 אל מראי יאדניה מעוזיה]אוריה

¹ To my lords Yedoniah, Ma'uziah, Uriah and the army, your servant *The welfare of my lords may the gods* ² seek at all times. It is well with us here. Now every day of ³ he received rations (?). One pay-day (?) he received an *extra* ration ⁴ is ours, because the Egyptians give them a bribe, and since ⁵ of the Egyptians before Arsames, but act dishonestly. Also ⁶ the province of Thebes, and say thus: It is a Mazdaean who is set over (the) province ⁷ we fear robbery because we are few. Now behold, I thought ⁸ if we had appeared before Arsames previously. But it was not so ⁹ He will speak words before Arsames, he pacified us, appeasing our anger ¹⁰ You will find ? ? ¹¹ full of wrath against you. Pasu b. Mannuki came to Memphis, and ¹² and the ration; and he gave

me the sum of 12 staters, and one¹³ Hori gave me, since they had withheld it on account of the pitcher. Tirib . . . said¹⁴ by order of the king, and we withheld (it) from them. So he gave damages against Arsames and pardoned Zeho¹⁵ and Hori, what they had withheld. On the 6th day of Paophi the letters came *to the province of Thebes, and we*¹⁶ will do the thing.

¹⁷ To my lords Yedoniah, Ma'uziah, *Uriah*

Line 1. The words restored are part of the usual formula. Before them the name of the writer must have stood, either X or X bar Y. The line therefore contained 44 or 53 letters approximately.

Line 2. זי the relative? or [זי] as in l. 3?

Line 3. לפרס plural, therefore not connected with חר, but the end of a clause. Zend *paitifrasa* means 'judgement', 'retribution', hence 'payment'? Lidzbarski 'rations', from פת and פרס? In 11^o פרס is 'pay'. זיוך perhaps Persian. From the context it seems to be a technical term for 'pay-day'.

Line 4. להן 'to them' as in 34^o. רמנ Ungnad אמן, but the phrase is always רמי not זי רמנ, and the letter is more like a ו. It is difficult to see how the line is to be completed. Perhaps [. . . זי ונא זנה לא . . .]

Line 5. להן 'but'. נגב adverbial from נגב, 'thievishly'.

Line 6. נא מדינת נא not 'our province', which would be מדינתנא, but the 'province of No' i. e. Thebes. מזריון is good Persian for a 'worshipper of (Auramazda)'.

Line 7. בזו goes with the preceding words, since כען always begins a new sentence. It must be object of נרחל, though the order is strange. סברה. Sachau and Ungnad כברה, but the ס is fairly certain. It must therefore be part of the common Aramaic verb סבר.

Line 8. קרמן adverbial, for לקרמן (Sachau). Then לכן may(?) be 'but'.

Line 9. פיסן in 40² seems to be a name, and so perhaps here. Asyndeton is common.

Line 10. תשכחון Haphel with ה omitted. The rest of the line is unintelligible, though the reading is certain and the words are well-known. תקם if from קום, would be singular, though a plural verb preceded. חתילן if from חתל (Heb. 'twist') suggests that חבלן are 'ropes'. משכי צל. The י may be only a false start of the צ. 'Drawing out shade' and 'extending protection' make equally little sense.

Lines 11-17 are on the reverse.

Line 11. מלין לבתכם. From Ezek. 16³⁰ and no. 41⁴ it would seem that מלין is 'full'. With לבת Baneth cft. Ass. *libbātu* 'wrath'. It can hardly be for לבית in both places.

Line 12. סתרתן as in 35^{4,7,9}, a late text. The stater was 2 shekels.

כנה וחדה not 'one mina' as Sachau, nor 'one of them', since both mina and stater are masculine. Perhaps Heb. מְנָה 'portion'.

Line 13. כלוהי from כלא, frequent in legal documents, 'to prevent someone from getting his rights'. כרא 'jug' or 'pitcher', part of the matter in dispute. Sachau prefers to read כרא (i.e. כר) and Ungnad cft. Bab. *kurru*. תירי בן]. Perhaps a name, like *Τιρίβαζος*, &c., but it is not certain that בו (not בר) belongs to it.

Line 14. בצות for the later בצואת. ונוק must begin a new sentence (not as Sachau), since there is an extra space before it. It is a strange word to be applied to so great a man as Arsames, if he is the object. 'Gave damages against' is only a conjecture. Sachau's explanation of נוק does not seem possible. צח[א]. The ח is not very certain. Zehō and Ḥor are associated as servants of 'Anani in 38⁴.

Line 15. מטו masculine, with a feminine subject.

Line 16. מלה like Heb. דבר a 'thing'.

Line 17. יארניה quite clearly, for 'יד' in l. 1.

No. 38.

A Letter of recommendation.

A letter from Ma'uziah at Abydos to the heads of the community at Yeb, stating that he had been helped by Zehō and Ḥor who are now going to Yeb and deserve to be well treated.

The papyrus is written on both sides (ll. 9-12 on the reverse) and is much broken. It is not dated, but see on l. 3.

Sachau, plate 12. Ungnad, no. 11.

אל מראי ידניה אוריה וכהניא זי יהו אלהא מֵתן בר ישביה ונריה בר] 1
 עבדך מעוזיה שלם מרא[י אלה שמיא ישאל שניא בכל עדן ו]לרחמן תהוו קֶדֶם 2
 אלה שמיא ובעת כזי וידרנג רב חילא מטא לאבוט אסרני עלדבר אבנצרף | זי 3
 השכחו נניב ביד רכליא על אחרן צחא וחור עלימי ענני אשתדרו עם וידרנג 4
 וחורנופי בטלל אלה שמיא עד שובוני בען הא אתין תמה עליכם אנתם חזו 5
 עליהם

חור
 מה צבו ומלה זי צחא יבעה מנכם אנתם קמו קבלהם כן כזי מלה באישה 6
 לא יהשכחו לכם לכם יהי . . . חנום הו עלין מן זי חנניה במצרין עד בען 7
 ומה זי תעבדון לחור[ל תריה]ם עבדו [אנ]תם חור עלים חנניה אנתם וזלו מן בתין 8

Reverse.

נכסן ולקבל זי ידכם מה ימנֶה־הבו זי לי חסרן־הֶד לכם בוך שלח אנה 9
 עליכם הו

10 אמר לי שלח אגרת קדמת [הנל] חסרן שִׁימָּ שִׁים אחרוהי בבית ענני זי
 תעברון
 11 לה לא יתכסון מן ענני
 12 אל מראי ידניה אוריה [ו]כהניא ויהודיא זי חילא [מעוויה בר צהא

¹ To my lords Yedoniah, Uriah and the priests of the God Ya'u, Mattan b. Joshibiah and Neriah b. . . . ² your servant Ma'uziah. The welfare of my lords *may the God of heaven seek abundantly at all times, and* may you be favoured before ³ the God of heaven. And now, when Waidrang, commander of the army, came to Abydos, he imprisoned me because of a precious (?) stone which ⁴ they found stolen in the hand(s) of the dealers. Afterwards Zehō and Hor, the servants of 'Anani, used their influence with Waidrang ⁵ and Hornufi, with the help of the God of heaven, until they got me freed. Now behold, they are coming there to you. Look after them ⁶ as to what they want, and in the matter which Zehō (and Hor) asks of you, help them. So when they find no fault ⁷ in you, *they will acknowledge* to you that Khnum is against us from the time that Hananiah was in Egypt till now. ⁸ And what you do for Hor, do for *both of them*. Hor is a servant of Hananiah. Sell (?) from our houses ⁹ goods, and according to your ability pay what he assesses. Whatever is lacking to me makes no difference to you. On this account I am sending word to you. He ¹⁰ said to me: Send a letter first (?). If there is anything wanting, the amount is fixed for it in the house of 'Anani. What you do ¹¹ for him will not be hidden from 'Anani. ¹² To my lords Yedoniah, Uriah *and* the priests, and the Jews of the army, Ma'uziah b. Zehō (?).

Line 1. The names are fairly certain, though only the upper half of the letters remains. The name of the father of Neriah is lost, and it does not occur elsewhere.

Line 2. עברך a slip for עברכם. He was really thinking only of Yedoniah. The restoration is the common formula. תהו. Sachau reads הו, which would be difficult. The ת is practically certain. Note the horn at the top. There is hardly room for וו, and it is possible that the scribe wrote תהו (by mistake?). It is not תהוון, being jussive. קדם very indistinct, but no doubt right.

Line 3. אלה שמיא not אלהיא as elsewhere. Because he was writing to the priests? רב חילא. Therefore before 411 B. C. when Waidrang held the higher office of *fratarak* (30⁵). לאבוט, so that the commander of Syene had jurisdiction over Abydos. אבנצרך, as one word, can hardly mean anything but a precious stone, though the expression is strange. צרך implies 'refining' and is correctly used of silver. A testing stone (lapis lydius) would hardly be valuable enough. The l is only equivalent to the indefinite article, like חר elsewhere.

Line 4. על אחרן cf. Aḥīkar 133. 'עלימי not 'slaves', since they were in a position to reason with Waidrang, but subordinate officials, 'secretaries'. 'Anani was a man of high position, since he is mentioned as well known. Perhaps the same as in 26²³, the secretary of Arsames. אישתררו cf. Dan. 6¹⁵. Properly 'wrestle', 'struggle'.

Line 5. חרנופי Egyptian. בטלה cf. ביטלה in Behistun frequently. חזו עליהם 'look upon' in a friendly sense, cf. 41⁶.

Line 6. קמו קבלהם also in a friendly sense, 'rise up before them', i. e. meet them half-way, not as Sachau 'withstand them'.

Line 7 must contain the apodosis to the sentence beginning with בניו. The second לכם is not a dittography (as Ungnad), but begins the apodosis. It must then be followed by a verb, not a title (as Ungnad). The verb is illegible and possibly something was written above the line. If לכם is 'to you' the verb should be 'they will admit' or 'ils vous donneront raison'. It is possible, however, that we should read לכמ[ריא] and supply something like 'they will attribute it to'. Evidently there was some trouble between the Jews and the priests of Hnub, as in no. 30, and Zehō and Hor were coming to inquire into it. The writer wishes to warn Yedoniah that it is important to make a good impression on them. It is tempting to read חנום [רי היכלא זי] לכמ but then there is no verb, and זי does not seem probable. As to Hananiah, cf. 21². His mission to Egypt was an important event. As suggested above (introduction to no. 21), it was perhaps his institution of animal sacrifice in connexion with the Passover, which caused trouble with the Egyptians: Hnub was hostile to the Jews from that time (419 B.C.).

Line 8. ל . . . ם. Perhaps [ל[חריה] ם עלים. If this is the same Hor, he was apparently employed both by 'Anani and Hananiah. The latter, though a Jew, was a Persian official. זולו perhaps 'remove', cf. Arab. زال. They were to hide their valuables for safety. Or 'sell' as Seidel and Barth, cf. Is. 46⁶?

The sense of the next two lines is obscure.

Line 9. The beginning is nearly obliterated. This is Sachau's reading, which is probably right. נכסן 'goods', indefinite, any there may be. ירכם 'your ability'. One would expect בירכם. ימנה is probable. Sachau's חסרן זי is impossible. הבו. Sachau's ומה is impossible. זי (Sachau) very uncertain. One would expect הן 'if'. לי is more probable than לא (Sachau). חסרן perhaps. It looks like חסרה. Can it mean 'whatever loss there is to me, does not matter to you?' חד (Sachau) very doubtful. שלה as elsewhere, 'I send word'. הו. It is not clear who is meant.

Line 10. קדמת. This seems to be the only possible reading, but the form is obscure. [הנל] is purely conjectural. Meaning 'if you cannot pay in full'? אחרוהי שימא is probable. It apparently means 'an account is kept'. אחרוהי. Sachau cft. 9⁴, 13⁷.

Line 11. לה i. e. for Hor. יתכסון. I think the meaning must be as translated, but the verb ought to be singular. Perhaps it is an error due to the preceding תעברון.

Line 12. [חי לא] and the rest is very much obliterated. The more usual phrase is זי ביב, but the ה is probable. מעוזה may be supplied from l. 2. The rest is as read by Sachau, but cf. 33², &c., which would suggest בר נתן, and perhaps this might be read here. There are traces of something above the line.

No. 39.

Two fragments of the beginning of a letter.

Only the greetings remain. The address is written on the back. There is no date.

Sachau, plate 13. Ungnad, no. 12.

1 אל מראתי שלוה עברכי הושע ש[לם] אלהיא כל ישאלו שלמכי בכל
עדן שלם

2 מראי מנחם שלם מראתי אביהי ש[לם בר]ה וברתה שלם תחנום ויהוישמע שלם

3 משלמת שלם הצול שלם זי עליכי שלם כלכליה ובעת הושרתי

4 אמר לי יאוש לאמר

הבה בזהב

5 אל מרא[תי שלוה] עברכי

¹ To my lady Selava, your servant Hosea *greeting*. May the gods all seek your welfare at all times. Greeting to ² my lord Menahem. Greeting to my lady Abihi. *Greeting to her son and her daughter.* Greeting to Tekhnum and Ya'uyishma'. Greeting to ³ Meshullemeth. Greeting to Hazul. Greeting to which are upon you. Greeting to all of them. And now, you have ratified ⁴. Ye'osh said to me as follows: Pay (?) in gold (?)

⁵ To my lady Selava, your servant Hosea

Line 1. שלוה only here. Perhaps the same as סלוה, &c., elsewhere. Feminine of שלו (סליו) 'quail'? עברכי. This is only a polite form. He was not a slave. ש[לם] is probable from the next line. There is a space after it.

Line 2. [בר]ה seems to be required by וברתה.

Line 3. *וי עליכי* is fairly certain. I cannot guess what it means, nor how the lacuna is to be filled. *כלכליה* must mean 'everybody'. The *ה* is uncertain and the form anyhow is strange, perhaps popular. *הושרתי* can only be 2nd pers. fem. Haphel of *ישר*. Cf. S-C, M a 6, 8 where it is taken in the sense of 'ratify' a document.

Line 4. The beginning is lost. *אמר לי יאוש*. Only the tops of the letters remain, but the reading is tolerably certain. *הבה בזהב* very uncertain. Cf. 42⁶.

No. 40.

Fragments of a letter.

No date. Address on the back.

Sachau, plate 13. Ungnad, no. 13.

- 1 אל אחי פלטי אחוך הושעיה[ה שלם אחי אל]ה שמיא [י]שאל בכל ערן שלם
 שוא ובנוהי שלם אב[.]
 2 שמעת כעמלא זי עמלת כזי אאלת אנה ונחא בר
 פחה אמרן לפיסן וא[
 3 ושלא אנרה עלדברכן לצא[.] ע[ל ינקיא עליך לבבי
 שריק כל זי יהבה[
 4 מעווייה מלה זילך תהשלח על
 5 אל אחי פל[טי בר יאו]ש אחוך הושעיה בר נתן

¹ To my brother Piltai, your brother Hoshaiah. *The welfare of my brother may the God of heaven seek at all times.* Greeting to Sheva and his children. Greeting to Ab . . . ² I have heard of the trouble which you took when I went. I and Zehō b. Peḥa spoke to Paisan (?) and . . . ³ and he sent a letter about it to Zehō (?) concerning the children. About you my heart is distressed (?). All that he gave . . .

⁴ Ma'uziah. Your matter you should send to

⁵ To my brother Piltai b. Yeosh, your brother Hoshaiah b. Nathan.

Line 1. . . . אב. Perhaps [יהי]אב or [א]אב.

Line 2. כעמלא. Seidel explains the כ as otiose, cf. 16⁵. If so, it may be a mark of familiar style. כזי rather than בזי as Sachau. אאלת, so Sachau. פיסן seems to be a name here, but cf. 37³. . . . וא. Sachau . . . ואמ. Seidel [שם].

Line 3. עלדברכן as one word, cf. מנכן. . . . לצא. Sachau reads ל and takes it for לעחא. לעחא with what precedes ('to you') or with what follows ('concerning you'). שריק = שריק 'empty'?

Line 4. מעוּזיה fairly certain. מלה 'matter' (דבר) as in 37¹⁶. תהישלח more probable than ק (Sachau) if על follows.

Line 5. [יאו]ש seems to be the only possible name. אחוך. Sachau thinks they were step-brothers, but אח is only a polite form of address to an equal, cf. 21²⁻¹¹ and frequently.

No. 41.

Fragments of a letter.

Chiefly containing complaints that the writer has not heard from the addressee. Undated. The beginning of every line except the first, is lost. Ll. 6-9 are on the reverse.

Sachau, plate 14. Ungnad, no. 14.

1	אל אחי צח[א] ובנוהי אחובם שלם אחי אלה[יא] כלא ישא[לן] שגני
	בב[ל] ערן
2	ות כן מטאת עלי שלמך
	שמעת שגיא חדית שמעת
3	זי הוה ז[א]תה עליך
	הוית אשלח שלמך כען
4	לא אמרו [לי] מנכן
	הוית מלא לבחך קדם דלה
5	ת מן סון אגרת חדה
	בשלמך לא שלחת עלי
	Reverse.
6	חזי על עלימיא וביתי
	כזי תעבר לביתך
7	רחיק מנה מ[ן] זי
	יעבד לעיננהי שלמך וטעמך
8	בשלם
9	אל [אחי צחא בר פחה ובנוהי] בר [א] אחובם

¹ To my brothers Zehō and his sons (?), your brother the welfare of my brother may the gods all seek abundantly at all times ² And whenever a letter came to me I heard of your welfare, I rejoiced abundantly. I heard ³ who used to come to you, I used to send a greeting to you. Now ⁴ they did not tell me. Consequently I was full of wrath against you before Dallah ⁵ after I came from Syene you did not send a letter to me about your welfare ⁶ look after the servants and my house

as you would do for your own house. ⁷ abstaining from what he would do in his presence. News of yourself, and your wishes ⁸ *send to me* in peace. ⁹ *To my brothers Zəḥo b. Peḥa and his sons* b. H your brother.

Line 1. [א]צח is probable. Since the pronouns in the following lines are always singular, it would be supposed that Zəḥo was the only person addressed, but in l. 9 we have אהובם implying more than one person. The only explanation I can suggest is to supply ובנוהי. The end of this line is lost.

Line 2. מטאת. The subject is no doubt אגרת.

Line 3. [א]חָהּ is probable from the traces remaining. The construction הוּה יאתה seems to mean كان يجي 'he used to come', and so הוּיח אישלח, but it does not occur in BA, and only rarely in the papyri. A popular use?

Line 4. מלא לבתך cf. 37¹¹. רלה a name? Cf. רלוי, ירלה. רליה.

Line 5. חָ. Part of אולת or a similar verb? חרה the indefinite article, cf. 30¹⁹.

Line 6. על חזי as in 38⁵. The meaning here is clear.

Line 7. מנה מ[ן]. For the double מן, cf. 28¹¹. If the construction is the same here, מן זי יעבר must be 'from that which he does'. מן cannot be for מה as Sachau seems to take it. The space after לעינוהי shows that it ends the sentence.

Line 9. It is difficult to reconstruct the address. פחה is only conjectured from 40². אהובם implies more than one person addressed. The name of the writer must have preceded it.

No. 42.

A Letter.

Two fragments, very much injured. Apparently a business letter, but the details are quite obscure. Perhaps connected with no. 38. It was dated (in l. 14), which is unusual in letters, but the year is lost, and there is no other indication of date. Ll. 12-15 are on the reverse.

Sachau, plate 16. Ungnad, no. 17.

1 [אל אחי . . .] אום אחוך ה[וש]ע שלם ו. ברת שניא מִדְּהָת ל[ך] בכל
עדן וכעת

2 [אנחנה קדם פּי]סֵן דינא וע[לימ]ה שלמן כסף ברשן ד וברש

3 [ב]ידי[ך] זי ה[ו]י נָתֵן [כסף צָרִיף] ברשן /// כען

.

- 4 עמך על זי [ינ]תן לך כסף [כרש]ן /// וכתב להם ספר עליהם והן לא
 [ינתנון כל] כס[פא]
- 5 ברבא ולא [יאמר]ו לך לאמ[ר] הב ערבן זבן ביתא זי זכור וביתא זי אשנ . . .
 הן לא זבנו
- 6 המו בעי א[י]ש זי יזבן ביתא [ר]בא זי הודו והבה לה בכספ[א] זי יקו[ם]
 עלוהי זבוי
- 7 אנרתא זא [ת]מטא עליך אל תקום חת מנפי לעבק הן השכחת כסף [ח]ת
 לעבק
- 8 והן לא השכחת אפם חת [לע]בק אול על ביתאלתדן וינתן לך כתון שטמן
 ואסה
- 9 כתון י.ה.ה זי קמר פעפס א סרבלק א . . . צבע ול . . . קטא
 פ.א. כ ///
- 10 כתון א [ש]חיק זבוי ינתן המו לך שלח עלי והן לא יהב המו לך [ש]לח
 עלי כען
- 11 הן נחת אנת למנפ[י] אל תשבק לאשנ . כזי זבן הב לי כנדר זך לא כ . . .
 Reverse.
- 12 כזי יהנעלך המו יהוריא קדם [ארשם] . . . ל . . . י . . . [רח]קת
 [מ]ני . . .
- 13 מליהם אל תקום חת לעבק ולעבק הנחתלי כתון א בידך על[מנפי]
 . . . 5 . . .
- 14 ל.י . נ.י ע[לוהי] כתב ב ד /// לתעובי ה[ו]ניס[ן] [ש]נה . . .
- 15 א[ל] אחי . . . וס [בר] ה[נ]י אחוך הושע[ן]

¹ *To my brother . . . us, your brother Hoshea, greeting and . . . exceedingly be . . . upon you at all times. Now* ² *we in the presence of Paisan (?) the judge and his servant have paid the sum of 10 kerashin, and a karash remains* ³ *. in your hands, that he should give (?) 5 kerashin pure silver. Now* ⁴ *with you, as to his giving you the sum of 5 kerashin; and write for them a deed concerning them; and if they do not give you all the money* ⁵ *at interest (?), and do not speak to you saying, 'Give security', buy the house of Zaccur and the house of ASN . . . If they do not sell* ⁶ *them, seek out a man who will buy the big house of Hodav and give it to him for (?) the money at which it is valued. When* ⁷ *this letter reaches you, do not delay, come down (to) Memphis at once. If you have found money, come down at once.* ⁸ *And if you have not found (it), still come down at once. Go to Betheltaddan and he will give you a striped coat of WASA,* ⁹ *a . . . coat of wool, a P'PS, a cloak of . . . dyed, and 6 kerashin.* ¹⁰ *An old coat. And when he gives them to you, send to me. And if he does not give them to you, send to me. Now* ¹¹ *if you come down*

to Memphis, do not leave (anything) to AŠN . . . when he has sold. Give me according to this . . . not . . . ¹² when the Jews bring them before *Arsames* . . . say . . . you renounce your claim on me . . . and after ¹³ their words do not delay, come down at once and at once bring down to me a coat in your hand to *Memphis* . . . as ¹⁴ he wrote to me (?) . . . about it. On the 27th of Tybi, that is *Nisan*, year . . .

¹⁵ To my brother . . . us b. Haggai, your brother *Hoshea*.

Line 1. ס is clear, and before it probably ו. After שלם is another word of greeting connected by ו. Sachau proposes והררת, Ungnad ושררת. The first letter is more like ב than anything else. Possibly ורחמת (cf. 9⁷) with a very bad מ. After שניא a verb (?) illegible. The restoration here and in l. 2 is very uncertain.

Line 2. סן is doubtful. Seidel suggests פיסן, as in 37⁹ (?) and 40². ושכר at the end, not וברשן as Ungnad.

Line 3. הו יננתן very doubtful. The connexion would be difficult. [צריף]. There are traces which may belong to צ and פ.

Line 5. Ungnad suggests 'at interest'. In no. 11 the word is מרבית לאמר seems, on the analogy of other passages, to be required by לאמר which follows. זבן. The nature of the suggested transaction is not clear. It may be Peal 'buy' or Pael 'sell'. . . . אשנ as in l. 11. An Egyptian name?

Line 6. והבה must be 'and give it'. בכספא 'for the price'. [יקו] if right (and nothing else seems probable), shows the amount missing between the two fragments. 'The price which stands (or is set) upon it', i. e. its market value.

Line 7. זא fem. as in 21³, 30¹⁷. [ת]מטא. Ungnad ימ', but there is room for the more correct ת. תקום 'stand still', i. e. delay. חת can only be the imperative of נחת, but one would expect a preposition after it. לעבק as in 26⁶ &c. Cf. note on Aḥīkar 103. הן with the perfect in the sense of a future perfect.

Line 8. אפם as in 5⁸ &c., but here retaining more of the sense of אף, 'nevertheless'. ביתאלתדן not 'the house of Ilutaddan' but 'to Bethel-taddan'. There is no division. Cf. Bethelnathan 18⁵ &c. It is formed with the god-name Bethel, but with the verb in the Babylonian form. שטמן must be descriptive of the garment, but the word is not found elsewhere. It is probably another instance of a plural with dagesh resolved, like עממיא, חנניא, שקקן. The singular would then be שט(א) 'line' &c., and the garment a coat with lines or stripes. Cf. חטב 15⁷. ואסה. So Ungnad. The meaning is unknown. The ו is part of the word, since the items here are not connected by 'and'. It is no doubt a further description of the coat.

Line 9. פּעפּס is more probable than Ungnad's פּעקס. Perhaps an Egyptian name for some sort of garment. סרבל cf. סרבל in Daniel, with the Persian final *k*. It is usually taken to mean 'trousers'. Andreas 'cloak'. צבע very uncertain. Cf. 15⁸. . . . ול or . . . פל. קטא פרא unintelligible here.

Line 10. כתן apparently the same as כתון ll. 8, 9. [ש]חיק 'rubbed' 'worn out' is better than Ungnad's סחיק. [ש]לה. Seidel [אפס ש]לה as in l. 8. But if the reading of l. 6 is right there would be room only for ש.

Line 11. נחת a participle rather than for נחתת. אנת Ungnad אנתן, but his ן is only a dark fibre in the papyrus. The reading and translation of the latter part of the line are very uncertain. כנדר. Only the tops of the letters remain, and seem to read so. It cannot be נדר a 'vow', nor can we read כנבר.

Lines 12-15 are on the reverse.

Line 12. [ארשם] possibly fits the traces remaining, but this and the rest of the line are very uncertain. [רח]קת is a likely word, if a lawsuit was in question. [מ]ני. Ungnad זי. Something must then have followed to govern מליהם l. 13.

Line 13. על[מנפי] seems to fit the traces. The addressee was urged to go there in l. 7. As the letter was found at Elephantine he probably was then there.

Line 14. Beginning very uncertain. כתב ends the sentence with a space after it. The date following is that of the letter. After לתעובי traces perhaps of ה and ן. After שנת the numeral (? 7) is obliterated, and the king's name if it was ever written.

Line 15 not being shown on the facsimile, I have restored it from Ungnad's reading.

No. 43.

A deed of gift or exchange.

Very fragmentary. Most of l. 1 is lost, and the first halves of ll. 5-12. Some of the lacunae can be filled with certainty as the formulae are known, but much is doubtful.

The date is lost.

Sachau, plate 33. Ungnad, no. 35.

1 [ביום ר] // לפא[פי] הו . . . שנת מלכא ארין ביב אמרת
מפטהיה ברת גמריה יהודי
2 זי יב בירתא לדגלה א[רמית] לאסורי ברת גמ[רי]ה אחתה דהמנה לממ[ר]
אנה מפטהיה

- 3 יהבת לכי כסף שקלן /// /// הוא שחה באבני מלכא כסף 6 // לכרש א
אנה מפטחיה יהבת לכי ברהמח
- 4 לקבל סבול [זי יהבתי לי ורח]קת מונכ[י] מן יומא זנה ועד עלם לא אבהל
ארשנכ[י] דין [ו]רב בשם
- 5 [כספא זנה זי יהבת לכי וספרא כתבת עלא ו]ל[א י]כהל בר לי וברהלי
אח ואחחלי קריב ורחיק
- 6 [ירשנכי דין ודבב זי ירשנכי בשם כספא זנה זי] יהבת לכי ינתן לכי אבינ
כסף כרשן // [כ]פם אמרת
- 7 [אנה מפטחיה אף איתי פתפא לי מן בית מלכא אנה מפ]טחיה זי הוה בידכי
יהבתחי לי וטיב לבבי
- 8 [בגו מן יומא זנה ועד עלם רהקת מנכי מן כס]פא זנה ופתפא זי הוה לי
מן בית מלכא ולא אבהל
- 9 [ארשנכי דין ודבב אנה מפטחיה בר]לי וברה לי הנגית והנבנא
זי ל[י] בש[ם] כספא זנה
- 10 [זי כתיב מנעל ופתפא זי הוה לי מן בית מלכא וכל זי] לי זי ירשנכי בשם
כספא זנה ופת[פא זי כת]יב מנעל
- 11 [ינתן לכי כסף כרשן // כתב בר] ספרא זנה כפם מפטחיה
ברת גמריה ושדהיא בנו
- 12 [שהד בר שהד בר] פדיה שהד מנכי בר ספעמרא
- 13 ספר מרחק זי כתבת מפטחיה ברת גמריה לאסורי] אחתה

¹ On the 25th day of Paophi that is year . . . of king . . . at that time in Yeb, said Miphtahia daughter of Gemariah, a Jew ² of Yeb the fortress, according to her company an Aramaean, to Asori daughter of Gemariah, her sister and partner (?), saying: I Miphtahia ³ give to you the sum of 6 (that is, six) shekels, royal weight, of the standard of 2 r to 1 karash. I, Miphtahia, give (it) to you as a gift ⁴ in consideration of the support which you gave me and I renounce all claim on you from this day for ever. I have no power to institute against you suit or process in the matter of ⁵ this money which I give you and have written a deed about it and no son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, relative or stranger, shall have power ⁶ to institute against you suit or process. Whoever shall sue you on account of this money which I give to you shall pay to you a fine of 2 kerashin, as I have said ⁷ I, Miphtahia. Also there is the allowance from the treasury to me, Miphtahia, which was in your possession. You have given it to me, and my heart is content ⁸ therewith. From this day forth for ever I renounce all claim on you regarding this money and the allowance which was (made) to me from the treasury, and I have no power ⁹ to institute against you suit or process,

I, Miphtahia or son or daughter of mine, compatriot or partner of mine concerning this money ¹⁰ *which is stated above and the allowance which was (made) to me from the treasury and all that is mine. Whoever shall sue you in the matter of this money and the allowance which is stated above* ¹¹ *shall pay you the sum of 2 kerashin. X b. Y wrote this deed at the direction of Miphtahia daughter of Gemariah and the witnesses hereto.* ¹² *Witness X b. Y; witness Z b. Pedaiah; witness Mannuki b. SP'MRA.*

Endorsement. ¹³ *Deed of renunciation which Miphtahia daughter of Gemariah wrote for Asori her sister.*

Line 1. Only // /// are certain. אַחַתָּה גַּמְרִיָּה as in l. 11. Cf. אַחַתָּה in l. 2. She was probably a niece of Mibṭahiah daughter of Mahseiah.

Line 2. לְרִגְלָהּ. Epstein takes this as a name (cf. רִגְלִיָּהּ), but such a name does not occur and would not fit the usual formula. It is probably the common word רִגְלָהּ 'her (or his?) company', but the expression is unusual. [אֶרְמִית] a doubtful conjecture. If it is right, her father was a Jew of Yeb, but she had been drafted (owing to marriage or otherwise) into a company which was reckoned as Aramaean. See Introduction, p. viii. Epstein proposes [אֶחָתָּה], but the double description is improbable apart from other objections. לְאַסּוּרִי. Epstein בְּלֶאסּוּרִי 'D. wife of Belusuri'. There is a mark (a blot?) before the לְ but it can hardly be a ב. וְהַמְנָה probable, but the word is unknown. Perhaps a compound of OP ham- 'partner'? or 'twin'? [לְמַמְרָה] as in 32², not the usual לְאַמְרָה. [אֶנְהָ]. Something more is wanted to fill the space, though the writing is large.

Line 3. // ַ. The ַ is reduced to a mere spot. It is restored here as being the usual formula. Epstein // ַ, which is not found elsewhere. From here the writing becomes smaller. בְּרַחֲמַיִם is more probable than יִמְנָה (Ungnad). Read יִמְנָה?

Line 4. סְבוּל. Seidel cft. Aḥiḡar 48, and translates 'in return for food'. Perhaps it has a more general sense 'support'.

Line 5. The restoration is common form, and so in l. 6. סְפָרָה as in 13⁹ or סְפָרָה as in 13³.

Line 6. כַּפְּסָה. The כַּ is lost, but there is room for it, and it is no doubt to be read. Seidel thinks כַּפְּסָה = אַפְּסָה, as אַמְּסָה = אַפְּסָה in 13¹¹.

Line 7. The פַּתְפָּא mentioned in l. 8 must have been introduced here, but the restoration is not certain. It is doubtful if אֶנְהָ מִפְּטַחִיָּה could stand so far from לִי.

Line 8. The restoration is not certain. Rather more is wanted. פַּתְפָּא cf. 24³⁹⁻⁴². It must be some sort of government allowance. אֶצְרָה בֵּית מַלְכָּה 'the treasury'. In 11⁶ אֶצְרָה.

Line 9. The restoration is no doubt right as far as it goes, but more

is wanted to fill the space. קריב ורחיק (Ungnad והנבאקא) = הגנית והנבא elsewhere. Probably Persian. Sachau suggests *hamgaéltha* 'fellow-countryman'. For הנבא Epstein cites Mandaic האמבאנא 'competitor', Syr. ܟܘܝܢ?

Line 10. The restoration is probable.

Line 12. ספעמרא (or ירא). There is no doubt about the reading, but a letter may be lost at the end. Egyptian?

Line 13. The endorsement is lost, except the last word.

No. 44.

An affidavit.

Fragments, recording, if the restoration is mainly correct, an oath taken in a law-court. This view depends on the restoration of [מון מאה] in l. 1 and the explanation of ימא in l. 2. Apparently Pamisi and Espemet (?) had possession of an ass. Menahem b. Shallum here declares that half (the value) of it belongs to him, that Pamisi claimed that half and asserted that he had given a he-ass for it. Menahem states that he has not received anything, money or value, for his half. The difficulty is that in l. 7 Pamisi is called 'your father', i. e. father of Meshullam, to whom the oath is addressed. But in l. 2 Meshullam is called the son of Nathan. It may be another case of a man bearing an Egyptian as well as a Jewish name. If so, it appears that Meshullam, inheriting from his father, laid claim to half the ass, and the father being dead and no evidence forthcoming of his payment, Menahem took an oath in support of his rights. Much depends on the amount of space to be allowed between the right-hand fragment and the rest. On the whole the restoration of ll. 1-3 seems probable and this would settle the position of the fragments. There is no date, and no room for one. Sachau points out that a Menahem b. Shallum is a witness in 25¹⁸ (416 B. C.).

On the margin are two transverse lines of writing, much faded, which do not belong to this document.

Sachau, plate 32. Ungnad, no. 33.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1 | מון [מאה זי] מנחם בר שלום בר |
| 2 | הו [דויה זי] ימא למשלם בר נתן |
| 3 | בז [הו אלה] א במסגרא ובענתיהו |
| 4 | ז [אמר לה] לאמר אתנא זי ביד |
| 5 | פ [מסי ואספ] מט זי אנת רשה לי |
| 6 | ע [ליה הא] פלגה זילי הו צדיק |

7 אָ [אמר לה] חסנותה פמסי אבוך
 8 לְ [ם] יהב לי חמר חלף פלגה
 9 וְלא [יהב] לי כסף ורמי כסף חלף
 10 [פלגה]

¹ Oath of Menahem b. Shallum b. ² Hodaviah which he swore to Meshullam b. Nathan ³ by Ya'u the God, by the temple and by 'Anathya'u, ⁴ and spoke to him saying: The she-ass which is in the possession of ⁵ Pamisi and Espemet, about which you sue me, ⁶ behold, the half of it which is mine is legal (ly mine). ⁷ But Pamisi your father claimed (?) to own it ⁸ saying that he gave me a he-ass in exchange for half of it. ⁹ But he did not give me either money or value in exchange for ¹⁰ the half of it.

Line 1. Epstein proposes to begin with [מ[חיר], but there is no parallel for so expressing a date. For the oath cf. 14⁴ seqq.

Line 2. [הו[רזיה], or [הו[שע], but cf. 22³⁹.

Line 3. [ב[הו]. As the grandfather is named in ll. 1, 2, we might read בר here, followed by a name, but it is difficult to see what the construction could then be. Epstein proposes בר הורז, thus making the parties cousins, and cft. 22¹²⁷, 19¹⁰. אָ [אלה]. The א is strange, but probable. במסגרא properly 'the place of worship', like مسجد a 'mosque' (used even of the temple at Jerusalem). ענתיהו cf. ענתביתאל in 22¹²⁵. The man evidently did swear by 'Anathya'u, whatever be restored before it, and this was therefore the name of a god, presumably a sort of consort of Ya'u.

Line 5. פ[מסי] is conjectured from l. 7. [ואספ]מט. The מ is fairly certain, and the termination is so uncommon that we may reasonably restore the name from 4⁷, cf. 6¹⁰, 8⁷.

Line 6. פלגה וכ' lit. 'the half of it, which is mine, is just', i. e. half of it is legally mine.

Line 7. [לה] חסנותה infin. Haphel, cf. 15³⁰ לתרכותה. Then the construction requires a verb preceding it. Perhaps אמר (?) in the sense of 'thought to' 'claimed to'. פמסי אבוך. There is no doubt about the reading, and it can only mean 'P. your father', so that Meshullam's father was named both Pamisi and Nathan (l. 2), as Ashor in 15 and 20 is Nathan in 25 and 28. It is strange to find both names used in one document.

Line 8. לְ [ם]. There is no room for more, if the space is rightly estimated.

Line 9. רמי כסף 'the equivalent of money' i. e. valuables.

Line 10. There is a trace of the first letter, but there can have been only one word, as the rest of the line is blank.