

7 אַף אמר לה] חסנותה פמסי אבוך
 8 ל]ם] יהב לי חמר חלף פלגה
 9 ולא]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]רויה], 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 הורו, thus making the parties cousins, and cft. 22¹²⁷, 19¹⁰. א]לה]. 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. [ואסף]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. ל]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.

No. 45.

A contract.

Fragment, incomplete on all sides, of an agreement concerning fish. It seems that X had accused Mahseiah of robbing or cheating him about some fish. Mahseiah was required by the court to swear (cf. no. 44) that he had not cheated. X now undertakes to pay for the fish in money or grain of the same value, under a penalty if he fails to do so. The details are not clear.

The date is lost, but the king was probably Artaxerxes, and if the scribe was the same as in 10²⁰, the deed was written about 450 B. C.

Sachau, plate 32. Ungnad, no. 34.

- 1 [ב . . . ל . . . הו נים]ן שנת[. . . ארתחשש מ]ל[כ]א בס[ון] בירתא
[אמר . . .]
- 2 [בר . . . לדגל ארתבנ]ו למחסיה בר שיבה ארמי זי סון [בירתא . . .]
- 3 [לאמר אנה רשיתך] עדבר נונין לאמר חמצת מ[נ]י ושא[ילת קדם
- 4 [דיניא וטענו מומא]ה לך ביהו אלהא כזי נונן לא חמ[צת מני
- 5 [.] אתוב או עבורא ונה דמי נוניך [. . .]
- 6 [.] לך כל נוניך או דמיהם זי תמא[. . .]
- 7 [.] לך הן לא יהבת לך בין יו[מ] . . .
- 8 [.] אנתן לך אביגדנ[א] קב^{שער} לפרס װ כל ירחן ושנן[. . .]
- 9 [.] כתב נתן בר[ענני ספרא [זנה] ב[סו]ן בירת[א] כפם
- 10

¹ On the . . . of . . . that is Nisan, year . . . of Artaxerxes the king, in Syene the fortress, said . . . ² b. . . of the company of Artabanu to Mahseiah b. ŠYBA, Aramaean of Syene the fortress, ³ as follows: I sued you concerning fish, saying, you defrauded me, and I was examined before ⁴ the judges and they imposed an oath on you by the God Ya'u, that you did not defraud me of fish. ⁵ I come back, or this corn, the value of your fish ⁶ to you all your fish, or the value of them, which you (?) ⁷ to you, if I do not pay to you within . . . days . . . ⁸ I will pay you a fine of 1 kab of barley for each portion every month and year . . . ⁹ Nathan b. 'Anani wrote this deed in Syene the fortress at the dictation of ¹⁰

Line 1 is mostly obliterated, but enough is legible to show that it contained a date in the usual form. The first legible marks are probably ין rather than יני or יפי, and the month-name is likely to be Jewish, though not necessarily Nisan. ארתחשש is required by the space.

Line 2. [. . .] suggests the *degel* of Artabanu or Iddinnabu. שיבה an unknown name. At the end it is not clear how the lacuna is to be filled.

Line 3. רשיחך. Something of the kind is wanted, and this is the natural word. ערבר if not a mistake, is a popular form of עלרבר cf. Dan. 4¹⁴. חמנת cf. Heb. חָמִין, &c., from a root meaning to 'act harshly' or 'unjustly'. If מני is right it must mean 'took away wrongfully'. כן[נ]י. There is a trace of נ. The shape of י is peculiar, but cf. the י in יהבת l. 7. . . . ושא can only be ושאילת, cf. 16³, 20⁸. Then the subsequent phrase, or something like it, is necessary.

Line 4. [מומא] a word for 'oath', or 'swear' is required by ביהו. The form of the phrase is not quite satisfactory. In 6⁶ we have לי טענוך מומא 'they imposed on you an oath to me'. Cf. 8²⁴. This can hardly be read here, because the oath seems always to be required of an accused person to substantiate his innocence, not of the accuser to support his charge. Here לך is the accused, Mahseiah, and טענוך = טענו לך. נוני. In line 3 נונין, so that both forms could be used. חמ[נת] is necessary to rebut the charge in l. 3.

Line 5. אחוב is certain, but it is difficult to restore the context. עבורא זנה. It does not seem to have been mentioned before, so that perhaps זנה implies that it was there in court.

Line 6. . . . תמא. The reading is certain. It cannot be for תמה. It looks like a verb in the 2nd person imperfect, 'which you . . .', but there is no obvious way of completing it.

Line 7. The usual formula introducing the penalty for non-payment. בין יו[מ] . . . Probably a numeral followed, 'within *x* days'.

Line 8. [אביגרנא] cf. 20¹⁴, &c. פרס 'allowance' or 'ration'? The arrangement is not clear, nor is the meaning of כל ירחן ושנן 'every month and year'.

Line 9. The name of the scribe is restored from 10²⁰, but it might be Ma'uziah b. Nathan b. 'Anani as in 18³ (about 425 B. C.).

Line 10 which should give the names of both parties, is lost, as well as the names of the witnesses.

No. 46.

A conveyance.

Fragments containing the beginnings of some lines of a conveyance of property (a house?) from Shelomem b. Hodaviah to his wife Abihi, or from some one else to Abihi wife of Shelomem.

The date is lost, and the names give no clue. The writing is unusual.

Sachau, plate 31. Ungnad, no. 32.

	וקנינה זי . . .	1
	שלומם בר שניֵה . . .	2
	אית לה עֵם . . .	3
	והי ו . . .	4
	ל . . . א . . .	5
	בעל קריה וב[על . . .	6
	לאם לא שליט . . .	7
	וזי יקום לתרכ[ותה מן ביתא זנה זי יהב שלומם	8
	לאביהי אנתתה [ינתן לה אביגדן כסף כרשן // //	9
	באבני מלכא כ[סף ר // לעשרתא וביתא אפם בית	10
	אנתתה זי שלן[מם בר הודויה זי יהב לה ולא דין	11
	שהדיא זבור ב[ר . . . שהד . . . בר . . . שהד	12
	משלך בר הושעי[ה שהד . . . בר . . . שהד . . . בר . . .	13
	שהד גדול בר הון]. . . שהד . . . בר . . . שהד . . . בר . . .	14
	כל III III // [כתב . . . בר . . . ספרא זנה כפם אביהי	15
	ושלומם בר הוד[ויה בעלה	16

¹ and his property, which . . . ² Shelomem b. ŠNYTH . . . ³ he has with . . . ⁴ . . . his . . . s, and . . . ⁵ ⁶ citizen, or . . . ⁷ but (?) he has no power . . . ⁸ and whoever shall arise to drive her away from this house which Shelomem gave ⁹ to Abihi his wife shall pay her a fine of 5 kerashin ¹⁰ by royal weight, of the standard of 2 R to the ten and the house is truly the house of Abihi ¹¹ the wife of Shelomem b. Hodaviah which he gave her, and no suit (shall lie). ¹² Witnesses: Zaccur b. . . . ¹³ Meshullak b. Hoshaiah . . . ¹⁴ Witness, Gadol b. Ho . . . ¹⁵ Total 8. X b. Y wrote this deed for Abihi ¹⁶ and Shelomem b. Hodaviah her husband.

Line 1. זי is probably the relative.

Line 2. שניֵה. Only ש is certain. The נ might be פ (as Ungnad). The י is probable. No combination makes a name. This Shelomem is apparently not one of the contracting parties, since the party Shelomem has a different father in l. 16.

Line 3. אית for איתי as also in 54⁴. עֵם. The ץ is very small and badly made, but can hardly be anything else. There is no sign of any letter immediately following ם.

Line 4. והי . . . The pronoun? (e. g. בנויה).

Line 5. The tails of other letters are visible, but the words cannot be restored.

Line 6. [על דנל] perhaps.

Line 7. לאם. Sachau suggests that it may mean 'people', which is impossible. Cf. 9⁶, a similar proviso in a similar document. It ought to mean להן. Perhaps for לם? שליט. The ט is very strange, but it cannot be anything else. A pronoun אנת or הו must have followed.

Line 8. לתרכ[ותה] or תתך, is well restored by Sachau from 15³⁰. Hence the property must have been either a house or land, and 'her' or 'you' must be the wife, Abihi.

Line 10 belongs to the clause stating the penalty.

Line 13 &c. The name-groups do not occur elsewhere.

Line 14. [הו]ר[וייה] or [הו]שעיה, and so perhaps a brother of either Meshullak or Shelomem.

Line 15. The statement of the number of witnesses is unusual.

Line 16. [הו]ד[וייה]. The ד is not clear, but it can hardly be anything else.

No. 47.

Fragments of a conveyance. No name or date.

Sachau, plate 35. Ungnad, no. 38.

- . . . זי בניך מן 1
 . . . בר וברה לך קדם סגן ומרא ל 2
 . . . יהבת לך אנתן לך כסף כרשן 3
 . . . ברין ורבב בשם בי[תא] 4
 שאלת 5
 נח 6
 אכל אקבל עליך קדם סגן ומ[רא] 7
 . . . ויהבת לך אף לא אכל אמר אנת 8

¹ of your sons by ² son or daughter of yours, before a magistrate or (my) lord to ³ I have given to you, I will pay you the sum of . . . kerashin ⁴ suit or process on account of *this house* ⁵ you (*or I*) asked (?)

⁶ ⁷ I shall have *no* power to complain against you before a magistrate or (my) lord ⁸ and have given to you. Moreover I shall have *no* power to say: You

Line 1. מן 'by' followed by the name of the mother.

Line 2. In 10¹⁸ we have סגן ודין. Elsewhere מרא, applied to Arsames, seems to be the proper title of the Persian satrap.

Line 3. יהבת. Ungnad and Sachau אמרת, but the reading is not really doubtful. The sentence originally was 'if I claim back anything which I have given you, I will pay &c.', or something similar.

Line 4. בִּרְיִן וְר'. So Ungnad. Only the tail of the ב(?) is visible. The phrase does not occur elsewhere, and the construction is not clear.

It is quite uncertain how much space is to be allowed between the two fragments, and in fact one would not take the second fragment (from its appearance) to belong to the same papyrus as the first, but for the use of the unusual phrase [סגן ומ]רא in l. 7 as in l. 2.

Line 6. . . . נַח . . . not אַנְחָן.

No. 48.

Small fragments of perhaps a marriage contract. No date.

Sachau, plate 35. Ungnad, no. 39.

1 בר זכור ס . . .
 2 מוכל כספא זי כתיב מן עלא ולא א . . .
 3 ברתך למלקחה לאנתו אנתו למחסיה . . .

¹ b. Zaccur ² of all the money (?) which is set forth above, and *I shall not be able* ³ your daughter to take her in marriage, I will pay to Mahseiah . . .

Line 1. . . . ס is doubtful. Seidel conjectures [ס]ונגן 'of Syene'.

Line 2. כספא can hardly be right, nor can Ungnad's נכסיה. A plural would not be followed so closely by כתיב singular. The rest of the line must have been ' . . . if I wish another wife than your daughter', which would make it rather long. Cf. 15³¹.

Line 3. למחסיה apparently the father of the bride, who was not old enough to act for herself as in no. 15. One wonders whether she can have been the much-married Mibṭaḥiah again, who was a daughter of Mahseiah. If so it was her first marriage, but cf. note on 8².

No. 49.

Fragment of a contract, or of a deed relating to a claim.

The beginning, containing the date, is entirely lost.

The writing is very unusual, probably by an unpractised hand. Note the badly made ט, כ, ח, ו, while י and ר are of a good, early form. There are also mis-spellings: see notes.

Sachau, plate 38. Ungnad, no. 45.

- 1 אמר סמכי בר ששי לשלמם בר נלגל לאמר . . .
 2 אמר לך אהלי עליך כסף וחטן ושערן . . .
 3 [ו]כל מדעם זי יהיה בה איש ולשל] . . .
 4 לך וברה י[ש]ל[ח] ע[ל]יכם מרעם מכל ז . . .
 5 . . . א . . . שהדיא בגו . . .

¹ Said Semaki b. Shashai to Shelomem b. Galgul as follows: . . .

² said to you, I have against you (a claim for) money and wheat and barley . . . ³ and anything whereby a man may live, and to send . . .

⁴ to you, and his son shall send to you some food . . . ⁵ the witnesses hereto . . .

Line 1. ששי ב' סמכי. Ungnad cft. סמכיהו (1 Chron. 26⁷) and ששי (Ezra 10⁴⁰). לשלמם fairly certain, for לשלום. נלגל Ungnad cft. 10²¹.

Line 2. אמר 3rd person, referring to the claim of a third party. אהלי if right, is for לי (י) אי, 'there is to me', cf. 35³. חטן for חטן, with נ assimilated as in Hebrew.

Line 3. [ו]כל. The כ is quite certain. As this writer makes his ו very large (see וברה l. 4), nothing more is required to fill the space. מדעם as in l. 4, for מרעם elsewhere. . . . ולשל. The letters missing cannot be דם. Perhaps ולשלחה.

Line 4. לך, not לכל as Ungnad. What he takes for the final ל is really the tail of כ in the line above. י[ש]ל[ח]. The ש is very uncertain, but nothing else seems likely. ע[ל]יכם is the most probable restoration. Note the plural. מכל for מאכל rather than for כל. Cf. לממר 32².

Line 5. שהדיא. The יא is very doubtful.

No. 50.

Fragments, perhaps of a legal document. The lines are here numbered consecutively, but their true position is quite uncertain. As to the general sense, nothing is clear, and there is nothing to identify the date 'year 13'.

Sachau, plate 38. Ungnad, no. 47.

- 1
 . . . כתב [בפ] חנם . . . 2
 . . . [פ] מנחתך שנת ר/11 . . . 3
 . . . בעה עליך גבריא ד . . . 4

. . . שנ]ת . . .	5
. . . יקמו באִצְרָא בית נחמ . . .	6
. . . כנופי . . . מ / . . .	7
. . . מ	8
. . . / וּלְף ש / . . .	9
. . . מוֹר . . .	10
. . . נֶאֱת חֵכ . . .	11
. . . ל ש	12
. . . וּן	13
. . . למנתן	14
. . . / / / / . . .	15

¹ ² . . . wrote in *Pahons* . . . ³ . . . *Phamenoth*, year 13 (?) . . . ⁴ . . . suborned against you the men . . . ⁵ the men who were sought out, till . . .-year . . . ⁶ they stand in the treasury. The house of N . . . ⁷ . . . 2 . . . Kenufi . . . ⁸ ⁹ . . . 1 thousand talents, . . . shekels . . . ¹⁰⁻¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ to give . . . ¹⁵ 16 . . .

Line 1. Nothing legible.

Line 2. [בפ]חנס is Ungnad's suggestion.

Line 3. // might be עד.

Line 4. 'בעה על' 'sought' i.e. incited or suborned against you.

Line 5. אתבציו if right, can only mean 'were sought out'.

Line 6. Construction not clear. . . . נחמ a name?

Line 7. כנופי as in 26⁹⁻²¹.

Line 9. כִּכְרִין not certain. Cf. 30²⁸ וּלְף כִּכְרִין. וּלְף as often, for one thousand.

The rest contains nothing worthy of note.

No. 51.

Fragment containing the right-hand side of a column of names, apparently none of them Jewish. The names of the fathers seem not to have been given.

Line 1 was the beginning of the column, since l. 10 is numbered 7 in the margin. A mark on the right, near l. 6, suggests that originally there was at least one other column.

Sachau, plate 23. Ungnad, no. 24.

. . .	1
בְּתוּהִי	2
. . בַּר .	3
פְּחִי	4
וּחִשְׁתַּב	5
אַרְתַּכְּנוּ	6
. . דְּרַגְּ	7
. . אִי־סַכְּ	8
פְּרַנְם	9
בְּנַבְּחִשׁ	10
פְּרַנִּישׁ	11
זְבַמְּן	12
פְּרַתְּפְּרַן	13
אַשִּׁירַת	14

⁴ Paḥi? ⁵ VḤŠTB. Artabanus. ⁷ Dargman? ⁸ ISK . . . ⁹ PRNM.
¹⁰ Bagabukhsha 10. ¹¹ PRNIŠ. ¹² ZBMN. ¹³ Phrataphernes.
¹⁴ Ashyadata.

Line 1 contains no complete letter.

Line 3. . . בַּר. Ungnad בר.

Line 4. פְּחִי cf. 14². Egyptian, though the rest, when they can be recognized, are Persian names.

Line 5. . . וּחִשְׁתַּב a compound of Persian *vakhš*?

Line 7. . . דְּרַגְּ Dargman? 8²³ &c.

Line 8. Cf. אִסְכִּישׁ 2¹⁹.

Line 10. בְּנַבְּחִשׁ Persian Bagabukhša, Μεγάβυζος.

Line 13. Cf. 5¹⁷. Ungnad פְּרַתְּנַן.

Line 14. אַשִּׁירַת Persian Ašyadata (Ungnad).

No. 52.

Fragments of two parallel columns containing chiefly names.

No date. At the beginning of some lines in col. 2 are marks, of unknown meaning. Ungnad thinks they may indicate fractions.

The writing is unusual.

Sachau, plate 24. Ungnad, no. 25.

Col. i.

1 . . . 1
 הו . . . 2
 7 . . . 3
 בקע . . . 4
 ונשפט . . . 5
 יצעקו . . . 6
 ש[פט על . . . 7
 דיה זי [א]חדת . . . 8

Col. ii.

. . . יֵאֲשִׁיָּה בֶרֶךְ . . . 9
 בר זכר[יה] . . . 10
 . . . עדש הש . . . 11
 . . . שמעיה בר . . . 12
 הושעיה בר [צפ]ניה 13
 יאזניה בר [שפ]טיה 14
 זכריה בר [זב]דיה 15
 משלם בר [יא]זניה 16
 יאזניה [בר] חלקיה 17

Col. i.

1-4 5 . . . and we judge 6 . . . they complain 7 . . . judge concerning 8 which you (or I) received.

Col. ii.

9 Josiah (?) b. . . . 10 . . . b. Zechariah
 11 . . . 12 Shemaiah b. . . . 13 Hoshaiiah b. *Zephaniah* 14 Jaazaniah b. *Shephatiah* 15 Zechariah b. *Zebadiah* 16 Meshullam b. *Jaazaniah* 17 Jaazaniah b. Hilkiiah.

Lines 5-8 look like part of a letter.

Line 8. זי. Ungnad ה, but it stands alone.

Line 9. יֵאֲשִׁיָּה. The ש is very doubtful.

Line 14. יאזניה. Ungnad יאציה, which is not known as a name. Cf. the צ in l. 6.

Line 15. זכ[דיה] might of course be זכ[ריה].

Line 16. משלם. The ם is strange, but can hardly be anything else.

No. 53.

Fragment containing part of a column of names.

Lines 8 and 11 have been erased, or perhaps the papyrus is palimpsest. Before l. 9 (on the reverse) there are marks of perhaps a line erased. No date.

Sachau, plate 4. Ungnad, no. 26.

... בר 1
 פטיסי בר נתין 2
 הָנִי בר בארי 3
 פסו בר כָּשִׁי 4
 נַחְחָנוּם בר חנמו .— 5
 אַשְׁמַכְרִי בר אפֿעֿ 6
 חור בר אַסְכְּשִׁית 7
 8

Reverse.

אַשְׁמַרֵם בר נבונד 9
 פסו בר מנכי 10
 11

¹ b. ² Peṭisi b. Nethin. ³ Haggai b. Beeri. ⁴ Pasu b. KŠI.
⁵ . nḥ-ḥnum b. Ḥnomo. ⁶ Išum-kudurri b. AP'. ⁷ Ḥor b. ASKŠITH.
⁸

Reverse.

⁹ Išum-ram b. Nabunad(in?) ¹⁰ Pasu b. Mannuki. ¹¹

Line 1. Ungnad בר נתין, which does not seem possible.

Line 2. The son has an Egyptian name, the father's is Jewish. נתין. The proper Aramaic form of נתון used elsewhere.

Line 5. Ungnad and Sachau מנחחנום, but מ is doubtful. Not ענח'. The line at the side is perhaps 7.

Line 6. אפֿעֿ or אפט.

Line 7. Cf. 51⁸.

Line 9. נבונד. A final ך does not seem possible.

No. 54.

Fragment containing two imperfect letters, one on the recto and one on the verso. They are in different hands, both unskilled, the recto being the more so. Evidently both refer to the same matter, but their

relation is puzzling. Sachau and Ungnad think that one side is the answer to the other. If so, the reverse would seem to have been written first, note l. 15, 'שִׁלְחוּ לְנָב' and l. 2 'שִׁלְחַת לְנָב'. This, however, does not suit l. 10 מְרָאִי and l. 1 עִבְד־י, if the words are used literally, but perhaps they are only formal and Sachau's view is best. The letters cannot be by two writers to the same person, note l. 4 לָךְ and l. 11 לִי.

On the recto a line is written vertically at either side. Something is lost at the end, but probably not much at the side of the verso.

Sachau, plate 36. Ungnad, no. 40.

	עִבְדְכֶם [וּשְׁחִי]	1
	הָא שִׁלְחַת	2
	לְנָבוּנְתָן	3
	הֲוֹ אִית לָךְ	4
	חֲמֵרֹן	5
	יִשְׁבְּקוּן הַמּוֹ	6
	אַף לָךְ . . .	7
right-hand side.	. . . דִּי תְנָה בְּנֹהָ [י] שְׁנָא	8
left-hand side.	. . . [ע] בְּרֵךְ נִשְׁזַבְּנֵי הִי	9
	Reverse.	
	מִן [ע] קִבְּנָבוּ שְׁלָם מְרָאִי	10
	שְׁגִיָא [כַּעַת הֲוֹ לִי חֲמֵרֹן	11
	. . . אֵי זֵילְכֶם י . . .	12
	נֹו נְבוּנְתָן בְּצַבֹּ	13
	לְמֹהָ [ךְ] מִן קִדָּם רְבַחִילָא	14
	שִׁלְחוּ לְנָבוּנְתָן וּיִשְׁבְּקוּ	15

¹ Your servant WŠHI. ² Behold, I have sent ³ to Nabunathan (saying):
⁴ If you have ⁵ 10 asses ⁶ they will give them up (?), ⁷ also to you . . .
⁸ . . . here his sons exceedingly. ⁹ . . . your servant (?), we will rescue him.

Reverse.

¹⁰ From 'Aḳabnabu, greeting to my lords ¹¹ exceedingly. Now if I have 10 asses, ¹² yours (?) . . . ¹³ Nabunathan . . . ¹⁴ to go (?) from the commander. ¹⁵ send to Nabunathan and he will give up

Line 1. [עִבְדִּי כֶם]. The tails remaining can hardly represent anything but כֶם. On the other hand this does not agree with לָךְ (clearly) in l. 4. וּשְׁחִי only a conjecture, but הִי is probable. Cf. 22¹³³⁻¹³⁴.

Line 2. **הא**. The **א** has an archaic form.

Line 4. **אית** is certain. Ungnad **אחח**. For **איתי**. Cf. 46³. **לך**. The **ך** is archaic.

Line 5. **חמרן** is certain. The numeral is not quite clear, but is corroborated by l. 11. There is nothing more in the line.

Line 6. **ישבקן**. For the **ו** cf. l. 3 **לנבנתן**. It is not a **ד**, as Ungnad. 'They will leave them alone' i. e. lay no claim to them? **המו** probable, with **ה** above the line.

Line 7. All uncertain.

Line 8 vertically on the right-hand side. **די** is the end of a word. **בָּנָה** fairly certain. Not **כ** (as Ungnad), cf. the **ך** in l. 4.

Line 9. Vertically on the left-hand side. **כרך**. The **ך** is doubtful. The following mark is not **א** (as Ungnad), but the **ו** projecting from l. 6. **נשוכנ**. The **ב** is strange. There are traces of **הי**, which is suitable if this is the verb **שוב**.

Line 10, on the verso, begins the other letter. **קֶבְנָבו** is Ungnad's reading. There is a mark after it which may be unintentional. Before it probably **מן**, which would fix the amount lost at the beginnings of the lines. **מראי** plural? Cf. **שלחו** in l. 15 if that is imperative.

Line 11. **שניא** fits the space as determined by l. 10.

Line 12. **יִלְכָּם** uncertain. There seems to be an **א** above the line, but Ungnad reads **זילכי**. The last letter may be a **ם** as in **קדם** l. 14. This would be suitable if **מראי** is plural, but **כי** fem. could not refer to **מראי** masc. After it Ungnad reads **ה שנת**, but this is very doubtful.

Line 13. **בַּעֲבֹר** faint and uncertain. Ungnad **באבו**, and Sachau conjectures **באבון** 'in Abydos', but the **א** would be impossible in this hand.

Line 14. **למה** is Sachau's conjecture. There is no sign of the **ך**.

After l. 15 the rest is lost.

No. 55.

Fragment, as Ungnad thinks, of an inventory incomplete on both sides. It may, however, be part of a letter. If so, it would seem to begin on the reverse, cf. no. 54. This depends on the amount lost. A line may be wanting at the beginning, but there does not seem to be much missing at the sides. There is no date.

Sachau, plate 36. Ungnad, no. 41.

Obverse.

וּתְפִסָּה 1

וּיְהַבְלִי 2

זכריה כרש 3
 זי \ . . . 4
 . . . אמרת ל 5
 יהב לגדוך 6

Reverse.

ביתאלנר]ן 7
 משאן \ זי 8
 . בו . וחת . 9
 נתן . . . 10
 וכרבלה \ 11
 צִצֵנִן \ 12

Obverse.

¹ and I TFSH ² and Zechariah gave me ³ (I) karash. ⁴ . . . I . . . which
⁵ I said to . . . ⁶ he gave to GDVK (?)

Reverse.

⁷ Bethelnadin ⁸ I MŠ'N of ⁹ Abydos (?) and go down (to) Syene (?) ¹⁰ . . .
 give. ¹¹ and I hat. ¹² 2 . . .

Line 1. ותפסה apparently a noun. The ו shows that it cannot begin the document.

Line 4. זי \. Ungnad זה. It is uncertain whether anything followed זי.

Line 5. . ל hardly לי, as Ungnad.

Line 6. All quite uncertain. There is no name like גדוך.

Line 7. [ן]ביתאלנר not נתן as Ungnad. A Babylonian form. Cf.

18^{4,5}.

Line 8. משאן as in 15^{16a}. Meaning unknown.

Line 9. . בו. Read אבוט Abydos? An א is hardly possible. וחת
 cf. 42⁷. If it is a verb, the stroke following cannot be \. Perhaps
 [ן]ס?

Line 10. נתן or בתן?

Line 11. וכרבלה (not 'סר 42⁹) 'a hat' as in Dan. 3²¹. A Persian, not
 a Jewish, garment.

Line 12. צִצֵנִן \. So Ungnad, but the second צ is like the א in l. 8.
 Sachau thinks it is = צנצנת.

No. 56.

Fragment of the beginning of a letter, with part of the address on the
 back. No date.

Sachau, plate 37. Ungnad, no. 44.

- . . . אלהיא ישאלו שלמך בכל ערן ובעת . . . 1
 . . . ה בר יה . . . אול לסון ועבד ליהו . . . 2
 . . . י אַיְבּוֹ [ב]ר ברכיא הוֹ . . . 3

Reverse.

- [אל אחי . . . בר] גדול אח[ו]ך יסלה בר נתן 4

¹ . . . may the gods seek after your welfare at all times: and now . . .
² . . . -t b. . . went to Syene and made for Ya'u- . . . ³ Azibu b. Berechiah . . .

Reverse.

⁴ *To my brother . . . b. Gadol, your brother Yislah b. Nathan.*

Line 1. A variety of the usual formula, as in no. 39. It no doubt began בר גדול אחוך יסלה בר נתן, so that quite half the line is lost at the beginning, and probably something at the end.

Line 2. The names are quite uncertain. Not יח[מול] which is fem. in 22⁸⁹. . . . ליהו probably, as Ungnad suggests, part of a compound name.

Line 3. אַיְבּוֹ rather than אאבו (as Ungnad). Cf. אובי I Chron. 11³⁷? ארכיא popular for כיה, cf. ידניא 14². Ungnad takes it as 'knees'.

No. 57.

Fragments of a letter. No date. The readings are mostly as in Ungnad, the facsimile being indistinct.

Sachau, plate 38. Ungnad, no. 46.

- . . . שלם ליתנא שלם . . . 1
 . . . כ[רבלן] // להם נמו . . . 2
 . . . הו . . . י 3
 . . . שלמכם 4
 . . . תי 5
 . . . בת לא 6
 . . . כְּמִיא זִי 7
 . . . שלם 8
 . . . ערן 9
 10

¹ . . . Greeting to Yathna ; greeting to . . . ² 2 hats . . . ³
⁴ your welfare . . .
⁵ ⁶ ⁷ . . . like the waters of . . . ⁸ greeting . . .
⁹ time . . . ¹⁰

Line 2. $\bar{\text{ל}}\bar{\text{ה}}\bar{\text{ם}}$. The $\bar{\text{מ}}$ is more like $\bar{\text{ז}}$, but $\bar{\text{ח}}\bar{\text{ז}}$ does not occur.

Line 7. $\bar{\text{כ}}\bar{\text{מ}}\bar{\text{י}}\bar{\text{א}}$ probable. Ungnad only $\bar{\text{י}}\bar{\text{א}}$. . .

Line 8. Ungnad adds $\bar{\text{פ}}$ —very doubtful.

No. 58.

Fragment. The recto (l. 3) contains what may be part of the address of a letter. The verso (ll. 1, 2), in an unskilful hand, contains two lines imperfect at the beginning (and at the end?) There is no sign of anything above or below them. The letters are rather wide apart, but there are no spaces between words. Sachau thinks it may be Hebrew, but after dividing it in various ways, I have failed to extract any meaning from it, either as Hebrew or Aramaic. Perhaps it is best to regard it as a learner's writing exercise, bearing no relation to the recto. It was written on an old scrap of papyrus torn from a letter, and already bearing the words in l. 3.

Sachau, plate 37. Ungnad, no. 43.

. . . מַאֲלֵה־בְּלִישְׁלֹמֹכִישְׁלָם . . . 1

. . . שְׁלֹמֹכִישְׁלֹמֹכִישְׁלָם . . . 2

בֵּר בֵּר . . . 3

Of lines 1 and 2 the meaning is uncertain. Line 3 . . . b. Shabbethai.

Line 2. $\bar{\text{פ}}\bar{\text{ר}}\bar{\text{ק}}\bar{\text{נ}}\bar{\text{י}}$. The $\bar{\text{ק}}$ might be a $\bar{\text{ת}}$, and the $\bar{\text{נ}}$ a $\bar{\text{כ}}$.

Line 3. Ungnad reads $\bar{\text{ע}}\bar{\text{מ}}\bar{\text{ר}}\bar{\text{י}}$ after the first $\bar{\text{ב}}\bar{\text{ר}}$.

No. 59.

The top left-hand corner of a document in demotic Egyptian. The Aramaic endorsement shows it to be an affidavit, if the two sides are related.

Sachau, plate 39. Ungnad, no. 49.

Recto, a demotic document.

Verso. וִי כְּתַב חֲמֹן . . . סֵפֶר מוֹמָה

Verso, endorsement: Deed of an affidavit, which Ḥaman wrote . . .

מוכח 'ס cf. 44¹.

מוכח seems to be a complete name, but it does not occur again in these papyri. The traces of letters after it do not belong to it.

No. 60.

A Greek letter.

Fragments, of which the larger contains part of a letter in Greek to 'king Ptolemy'. On one of the small fragments are traces of Aramaic writing, but nothing can be read with certainty. The date is said (judging from the writing) to be early in the third century B. C.

The text was published in F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden* i (1915) no. 5111, from which the reading here is taken. It is clearly the beginning of a letter reporting some attack by Ethiopians (on Elephantine or Syene?) which the writer helped to repel.

Sachau, plate 39. Ungnad, no. 48.

βα]σιλεῖ πτολεμαίωι χαίρειν περταῖος ἀρνού[φιος
]φ . . . κατέβησαν αἰθίοπες κα[ὶ ἐ]πολιόρκ[ησαν
]φρακτεύω ἐγὼ καὶ δύο ἀδελφοὶ στ[αθμόν (?)
]σ . ν ἐπὶ βοήθειαν καὶ ἀνέλομεν[

¹ To king Ptolemy, greeting. Pertaeus, son of Arnuphis . . . ² . . . Ethiopians came down and besieged . . . ³ . . . I . . . and my two brothers . . . ⁴ . . . to help and we destroyed . . .

Line 3. . . φρακτεύω. The φ is doubtful, as well as the meaning. If it is a verb, the present tense seems unsuitable. στ[αθμόν] does not seem a very happy conjecture.

No. 61.

An inventory.

On the reverse of a papyrus of the Behistun inscription. There are two columns, of which the first contains part of the end of the inscription (see p. 253) and the other contains this list or inventory. The date is lost. The reading is particularly difficult, owing to the broken and discoloured state of the papyrus. The text here differs a good deal from that of Ungnad and Sachau.

Sachau, plate 55, col. 2. Ungnad, no. 67, ii.

ש]כרן כסין זי נח]ש	1
חנן בר חגי ליר]	2
כסין זי נח]ש [ב א	3

	כס כסף חֲדָ	4
	. בילוף ///	5
ס	.....	6
לג	. . . . בילוף	7
	// זי ס[תת]רין //	8
	/// רב . . למאכל ///	9
<hr/>		
	זכרן עֲנִי אֲחָ	10
	מנכ[י ב]ר ענניה	11
	. . . ביוֹס [/ לא]דר שנת . . .	12
	כסין . . כסף (?) ש ד /	13
	כֶּסֶם כסף \	14
	. . . יקֶם[וֹן] ש /	15
	/// . . . י	16
	\ /// // . . ולף (?)	17
	/ . . . /// סכ	18
	.....	19

¹ Memorandum: cups of bronze . . . ² Hanan b. Haggai . . . ³ cups of bronze 21 . . . ⁴ cup of silver, one . . . ⁵⁻⁷ ⁸ of 2 staters . . . ⁹ . . . to eat, 3 . . .

¹⁰ Memorandum: 'Ani . . . ¹¹ Mannuki b. 'Ananiah ¹² on day 1 of Adar, year . . . ¹³ cups . . . the sum of 21 shekels ¹⁴ cup of silver, 1 : ¹⁵ they are worth shekels . . . ¹⁶⁻¹⁹

Line 1. זכרן 'memorandum' as in 32¹⁻².

Line 5. בילוף is probable, as in l. 7, or אלוף. Meaning?

After l. 9 there is a blank space, and a horizontal stroke.

Line 10 begins a new list. עני or ענני a name?

Line 12 contained a date which was no doubt nearly that of writing. דר is fairly certain. Sachau [א]בף Epiphi, and one would expect an Egyptian month.

Line 13. After כסין probably a numeral. כסף is only a conjecture, but it is better than Ungnad's פּרן.

Line 15. יקֶם[וֹן] 'are valued at'? Cf. 15^{16a}. ש or /// as Ungnad.

After l. 19 the papyrus is blank.

The following (nos. 62-68) are for the most part groups of small disconnected scraps. The reading of them as printed by Sachau has been revised with the facsimiles and a few passages have been restored, but in the absence of context it is not possible to make much out of them. They do not admit of connected translation, but points of interest are treated in the commentary.

No. 62.

No. 1. The verso of a Behistun fragment.

Probably accounts, like no. 61. Beginnings of lines only.

Sachau, plate 56 (reverse). Ungnad, no. 68 E.

No. 1.

1 חנן]

2 ✗

3 מִיָּה נְבוּעֻקַּב בֵּר]

4 זִכְרֵן חֲנַן בֵּר עֻזְרִי] ה

5 ל . . . עֶלְדֵּבֵר פֶּת]

6 לָא . שׁוֹ בֵּא]

7 כֶּסֶף

No. 3.

1 ק .

2 וּל .

3 בַּה .

4 בַּח .

5 / זִבְנ .

6 / ל .

7 בַּח .

Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9 Behistun fragments.

Nos. 5-7, 10-20 unimportant.

Line 2 a mark of division, not like that in Aḫiḳar. Perhaps only a horizontal stroke crossed through.

Line 3. נְבוּעֻקַּב cf. 26^{23,28} and 22²⁰ where it is preceded by מֵאָתָּה (centuria) which may perhaps be read or intended here. The father's name is not mentioned in either passage.

Line 4. זִכְרֵן as in 61¹⁻¹⁰. The / here and in l. 5 (in Ungnad) does not belong to the line.

No. 3. The verso of a Behistun fragment (ll. 18-28). Unimportant.

No. 63.

On the back of a Behistun fragment (ll. 1-15).

Accounts or inventory, like no. 61, in two columns. Beginnings of ll. 1-7 lost. Ends of ll. 8-16 lost.

Sachau, plate 53 (reverse). Ungnad, no. 69.

Col. i.

1 . . . / שנת [ר] /// [//] כספֿ . . . בא לתֿ]
2 . . . / / / תויא אנתח אחרטיס ש פ [//]

blank.

3 . . . כך ברת זכ[ור] . . . [בך פ // סאן ///
4 . . . ל שלמת שֿ . . .
5 . . . פ |

blank.

6 . . . אֵ אליהויש[מע] בר . . . עֵבי בר
7 . . . אֵ

Col. ii.

8 זכור בר . . . י שנת /// [//]
9 עזריה לחנא נגרא הֿנ]

blank.

10 זכרן על מנחם בר שלום]
11 ארך אמן /// כ // ב .]
12 זכרן על עז[ר]יה לחנא זֵי]
13 תנין עֵא ע . . . נֵא רבא זי . . .]

blank.

14 זכרן קֵניא זי הפשר ול . . .]
15 [פנו]ליה בר אושע באפף שנת ר /// [//]
16 . . . יהב ל . . . רין בירח מסורע]

Line 1. The numeral as restored is fairly certain, cf. l. 15 which is probably the same or the next year.

Line 2. תויא. Ungnad cft. Θαυῆς in Greek papyri. אחרטיס. Ungnad cft. Aḫartīše. ש no doubt for שקלן. פ not for כסף, as Ungnad. It must be some term defining שקלן.

Line 3. כך . . . may be ת . . . There is a נהכת ברת זכור in 22¹⁰⁷.

Line 6. [מע] אליהויש might be אליהוי, but there are faint traces of כע. The name occurs elsewhere, but the father is not mentioned.

Line 8. /// /// שנת is against what was said on l. 1.

Line 9. Nothing between עוריה and לחנא. It is merely a large ה. לחנא as in l. 12 seems to be some term descriptive of Azariah. In Aḥīḳar 83 לחנת the ל is a preposition.

Line 10. על (as in l. 12) after זכרן, is unusual. For the name cf. 44¹.

Line 11. // כ is written. Probably meant for // ב as usual in measurements. Then a blank before a new entry.

Line 12. וי or [ננ[רא] as in l. 9.

Line 13. תנין can only mean 'secondly', referring to Azariah, who was previously mentioned in l. 9. עא Ungnad עקא improbable. It may be כספיא written close together.

Line 14. קניא cf. קניה in 1², the 27th year of Darius, and 5², the 15th year of Xerxes. הפשר. In Hebrew the Hiphil means 'to come to an agreement'. In later Aramaic the Pael means to 'settle' an obligation, so that the Aphel (not used) might mean the same 'to pay'. On an ostrakon (Sayce and Cowley M, ll. 5, 6, 8) the word הושר is used in a somewhat similar sense. It is tempting to identify the two words, but ו seems clear there, and פ here.

Line 15. [פנו]ליה is only conjectural. The papyrus is creased. The name occurs elsewhere, but the father is not mentioned. Date perhaps as in l. 1.

No. 64.

Fragments 1-16 belong to Behistun.

Sachau, plate 57. Ungnad, no. 70 B.

No. 17.	[כרייא נ[לאדן blank. . . . עֶרְמַלְךְ] [יירח	No. 18.	[מ[לכא שערו;] [פִּנְתָּן עַל].
No. 20.	[חשיארש] [שלח עליד] ל[סיון שנת] [שנ]ת אחרה ה[מן[מוצדין אמ]. [א במה] [. . . שנת]	No. 19.	[. הקימת] [ם אנה ה]ו
		No. 21.	[. לש] [בטל .] [באון]
		No. 22.	[ת] [בין]

No. 3.	אמר מהֵן בר יש] לזכם דגלא] הוה להחסנ .]	No. 4.	שלם אחי בכל]שלם כעת לאחת ה]את זי ה
No. 5.	] // / // // לירח ח]ברת אשין ארמי]ז	No. 6.	] מלכא]]כֵּא בין]
No. 7.	]בת כֵּאתו]] . כס]ף כ]רשן חמישה] כֵּר תחנוֹם ספרא [זנ]ה demotic.]זכרי ב]ר . . . אל]בית]	No. 8.	]ישאלוננֵי]]ספרא זנה]
No. 10.	]ך]]כרשן כ]	No. 9.	]מל]]הֵז]]נתנֵן]
No. 12.	]זֵנֵה]]כתי]ב	No. 11.	demotic ?]שהד פטפֵּ]]אחמנש .]
No. 14.	]ברֵי]]צֵפֵן] כ]ספא ז]נה]נֵי לא]] . . פֵּרֵא]	No. 13.	]תרכנה]]ירח תֵּ]
No. 17.	]עליה]	No. 15.	נשכעד]רי blank.
		No. 16.	] // [ ] ] ? מֵד]] ? ? פֵּך]
		No. 18.	]ספרא]]הודויה ב]ר blank.

No. 2. The end of a document or column. Perhaps from a list of names.

No. 3 begins with the second line of a document. מתן בר יש]ביה]
cf. 38¹. [להחסנ]ותה] Sachau.

No. 4. Beginning of a letter.

No. 5. From the first two lines of a contract. . . . ח Ungnad
suggests Hoiak, the Egyptian month (ביחך in 72¹⁸).]ז ארמי] probably.

No. 6. From a contract.

No. 7. From a contract to which no. 11 also belongs. They are combined thus:

[בת . . . באתו]
 [כס]ף [כ]רשן חמשה
 כתב . . . [ב]ר החנום ספרא [זנ]ה [כפס . . . ושהדיא בנו
 demotic.

[שהר פטפ] . . . בר . . . [שהר] זכרי ב[ר . . . אל
 [א]חמנש [.] בית [. . .]

l. 1. hardly [בתו]ר. l. 3. Clearly the end of the body of the contract, giving the scribe's name. But חנום is feminine. l. 4 in demotic. No doubt a witness. Griffith reads on no. 7, 'H-e[-'r-ty-s] i. e. Ah[artais]. Cf. אחרטים 63². The demotic on no. 11 is uncertain. l. 5. Witnesses' names in their own handwriting. . . . פטפ. Possibly פטסי. At any rate an Egyptian name. l. 6. [א]חמנש cf. 17¹. But there is a trace of a letter (ה?) after ש, which is against this reading.

No. 8. Sachau thinks this may belong to nos. 7, 9, 11-13, but I doubt if they are all in the same hand. יישאלוני. The י is very unusual in form.

No. 9. תנר, perhaps , ינתנו or התננה.

No. 10. Unimportant.

No. 11. See under no. 7.

Nos. 12, 13. Unimportant.

No. 14. The writing is unusual. Note צ (if so). The א is late.

No. 15. [ישכעד]רי. Sachau. Witness's name at the end of a deed. Cf. 2¹⁹, 3²³.

No. 16. Unusual writing. Reading quite uncertain.

No. 17. Unimportant.

No. 18. End of a deed. Cf. 10²².

No. 66.

Sixteen fragments of legal and similar documents.

Sachau, plate 59. Ungnad, no. 72.

No. 1.	[ונה ש]מהת גבריא	No. 2.	[מת]
	[ה בר פטנתר שמ]ה		[א בר ה]
	[גבריא זי ש]מהתהם כתיב; מנעל		[כתיב]
	[גברן מנן יה]		[ו ברב .]
	[ק]ם כנבוזי ל .		[. . .]
	blank.		blank.

No. 3.	[יַמָּה לךְ] [בין נחת] lost. [ון יוֹ]	No. 4.	blank [לח זי מן] [לרגל] [שְׁעָרוֹ] [אנת]
No. 5.	[י א] [א פי] [. תהמ] [אסר .] [בַּתְּלִ]	No. 6.	[בנרת בר] [בִּב בירתא] מן יומי מן [לך מצר] ון
No. 7.	[מִלי דבק לה] [הֵה בב בִּיתא] [אתרפרת]	No. 8.	זֶךְ כרשן /] ענני ספרא זנִה אזניה ענני blank.
No. 9.	[שלם עבדך] [וקצרתִי]	No. 10.	[לונפר] [ליוניה]
No. 11.	[מִנְכֶם ומן ב]	No. 12.	[מִנְתִּי] [יֵ אֶסוּטִיס]
No. 13.	[תחומואי]	[ם דמי] [ם כ . זיל]	
No. 14.	[ב] [הֵה לה בִּיהֵ] מרה־קֶ ביתא / זי כֶּ תב	No. 16.	[תנתנון לה בשנִת . ת] [לֶכֶם הֵן ג . . .]
No. 15.	..... [ א א . מן מן]וע א למערב] [ע]		

No. 1. From a list of names, perhaps in a letter. 1. 1. [זנה ש]מהת as in 22¹, 34¹. 1. 2. An Egyptian name. 1. 4. as in 30¹³, 32⁵. This is the last line of a column, followed by a blank.

Sachau suggests that nos. 1-3, 5, 6, 9-11, 16 all belong to the same document. The writing of nos. 1, 2, 6 seems to be by the same hand, but it is not possible to arrange them together with any certainty.

The document may relate to the destruction of the temple at Yeb (no. 30 &c.), and was perhaps a petition to the Persian governor,

recounting the names of the men responsible for the destruction, and praying for their punishment and for the restoration of the temple. The foreign names in fragments 1 and 6 agree with this, and the mention of Cambyses and the (native) king of Egypt imply a reference to the history of the temple, as in no. 30.

No. 2 is probably part of the same as no. 1. The blank space shows the relative position of the lines. They are not continuous, but that is not surprising, if they were as long as in no. 30.

No. 3. Not by the same hand as no. 1. In l. 3 the surface has flaked off.

No. 4. From the beginning of a contract relating to barley.

No. 5. Probably not by the same hand as no. 1.

No. 6. See on no. 1. בנרת Persian Bagadata (Theodorus). In 3²⁴ he has an Egyptian (?) father. The context is the same as in 30¹³—the city of Yeb, the king of Egypt, Cambyses.

No. 7. Subject obscure. The name is Persian. Probably not אתרפרן.

No. 8. From the end of a deed. אוניה נתן בר ענני wrote 10²⁰. cf. 12⁸, 18⁵. The י has two strokes, but the writing is rough, and it may be so.

No. 9. From the beginning of a letter.

No. 10. לונפר 'to Onophris' (Sachau).

No. 11. Unimportant.

No. 12. אכוטים apparently an Egyptian name. Not אהרטים as above.

No. 13. Perhaps from a lease or conveyance, as in 6⁷.

No. 14. Possibly part of the same as no. 13. Cf. 6²².

No. 15. From a similar document, giving measurements of a house as in 8⁴⁻⁵. למערב is certain, and confirms מן כן [וע]א. Sachau and Ungnad read למעבר, and ascribe the fragment to Behistun.

No. 16. From a contract. . . . נ no doubt is part of גרי (Sachau).

No. 67.

Eighteen fragments of legal documents, &c.

Sachau, plate 60. Ungnad, no. 73.

No. 1. לתעובי ש]נת
[ארנבו ל]

No. 2.

[ב /// // ל]א
[השלחת ל]
[ש]א .

No. 3.	[בִּיָּה ארמי סונכן לדגל] [נריתך בדון] [יתומה וסלואה]	No. 4.	[לאדרר הו] [קוֹן ארמי זין]
No. 5.	[אָטיב לבב] [רחקת מנך מן זין]ומא זנה [איש לי יגרנדך דין] זי .	No. 6.	[זין בר פס] [כֶּם בר כֶּט] [בר אגין] [אָר]
No. 7.	[אי כל] [לֶזֶה מראי] ל [אית	No. 8.	ירח ירח פק] אל אחי מן]
No. 9.	[שנ] [סתתרי / .]	No. 10.	[אִשׁ / / / / זי מֶדְבִּיָּ תא] [שנת ר / / / / לדר] יוהוש
No. 11.	[אושע] [שלם]	No. 12.	אחרי יהוי]
No. 13.	[מֶדְ חטה //] [בשמש רֶ / .] [יִנְעִ] [אֶרֶ] [תֶרֶג] [נֶאָ ח]	No. 14.	[תי] [ת לאסֶר] [אמר .] [. נלך מֶן] [ם תשי ש] blank.
No. 15.	[רֶ יהו] [גדל אח]	No. 16.	[שקלן //] [כספא ינתן]
No. 17.	[צחא .]	No. 18.	[ויקחונה]

No. 1. From the beginning of a contract. Babyionian name, probably of the *degel*, cf. 20².

No. 2. Unusual hand. From a contract? The date ('on the 5th of P . . .') is not that of the deed, as there are traces of a previous line.

No. 3. סונכן 'a man of Syene'. Cf. 24³³, 33⁶. Yethoma and Selu'a are sisters in 1¹⁻², to which this may refer.

No. 4. From the beginning of a contract. קוֹן if right and a complete name, cf. 22¹¹⁷.

- No. 5. Common form in contracts.
 No. 6. Reading uncertain. The hand is like that of some of the ostraka. Perhaps a list of names.
 No. 7. Ends of lines, of a letter?
 No. 8. From a contract. Unusual hand.
 No. 9. 'One stater', cf. 37¹² &c.
 No. 10. From a contract. [מרבני] (Sachau) is doubtful. The date, which is fairly certain, is no doubt of Darius II (406 B.C.).
 No. 11. Perhaps from a letter.
 No. 12. Unusual hand. Otherwise unimportant.
 No. 13. Reading and meaning uncertain. The ח and ט have unusual forms. Cf. no. 2.
 No. 14. Meaning uncertain. From a contract?
 No. 15. From the beginning of a letter?
 No. 16. From a contract.
 No. 17. Unimportant.
 No. 18. Note the imperf. of לקח without ל.

No. 68.

Twelve fragments of legal documents, letters and accounts. Mostly with writing on both sides.

Sachau, plate 61. Ungnad, no. 74.

- | | | | | |
|--------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------|
| No. 1. | Obv. | מ]בם ומנן | Rev. |]שלם יהוה |
| | | [שלם אחוך תקותיא שלם] | | על ל |
| | | blank. | | |
| No. 2. | Obv. | ש]מלכא אדין ב]יב | Rev. | blank. |
| | |]זי ליח] | | ב]רת זכור |
| | |]ת עמכי למ] | | |
| No. 3. | Obv. |]י פ . | Rev. | blank. |
| | |]בא אל] | |]לק כל → |
| | |]ער תחזה] | |] . . ל . [|
| | |]לבשך ולא] | |] . . ת [|
| | |]לת פתום | | |
| No. 4. | Obv. |]אדין ביב אמרת מבט] | Rev. |]זי כתבת מפטחיה ב]רת |
| | | ש | | |

No. 5.	Obv.	[ה עבדת] [כרש בזרען זיל] blank.	Rev.	[כו [במלן ל . . זנה] [. ר //] blank.
No. 6.	Obv.	[א יהיבא] [מ דינתא]	Rev.	[לי איזכ] [סב אמש] [. שמל]
No. 7.	Obv.	[בד] [קי בה] [. תאל א] [תאלח]	Rev.	blank.
No. 8.	Obv.	[סתרי אחובי] [ובניה שלם]	Rev.	[אחתי ס]תרי
No. 9.	Obv.	[נתן עד]	Rev.	מרא]י
No. 10.	Obv.	[פרד . ונח] [עם זי תנ]תן [עדבן חסין]	Rev.	[י הוישמע בר] [. ברך בר] [. נבוישרר]
No. 11.	Obv.	[ב /// לתעובי] [זכרן חמד]ן [בארעא .] [ב /// לתעובי אמ] [כל]	Rev.	[. ל . . חמון] [מדינת נא
No. 12.	Obv.	[עבדיך] [בין] [ארתי] [בלבנ] [כל ד] [כל ד]	Rev.	[כפ]ר]א זי לבחחא אנתתה .]

No. 1. From a letter. תקותיא is strange. תקוה is known as a name. Reverse mostly obliterated.

No. 2. From a contract. If ש is right (as Sachau) it might belong to Xerxes, Artaxerxes, or Darius. One of the parties was a woman (as shown by עמכי), and according to the endorsement, a daughter of Zaccur.

No. 3. Obscure.

No. 4. From a contract. The name is evidently [מבט]חיה, which is spelt 'מפט' in the endorsement. There is nothing to show whether this was the notorious daughter of Mahseiah.

No. 5. From a letter or contract?

No. 6. Unimportant.

No. 7. Obscure. In ll. 3 and 4 ביתאל?

No. 8. From a letter to סתרי from her brother. The name may be short for סתריאל, which is known.

No. 9. From a letter?

No. 10. From a contract? ערבן, if right, = Heb. ערבון. Reverse, names (of witnesses?). Sachau's נבושדר is probable.

No. 11. Accounts, cf. 61. Beginnings of lines. l. 2. [חמר] a name (?). Or חמרן as in 54^{5.11}? l. 4. The date is added in the margin. l. 5. כל introducing a total. Rev. l. 1. חמרן or חמרן as obv. l. 2. l. 2. מדינת נא as in 24³⁶ 'district of Thebes'. Not 'our city' (as Sachau).

No. 12. Beginnings of lines from a report. l. 3. . . ארת a Persian name. Reverse, endorsement, as in contracts, but written at right angles to the obverse. The name is uncertain.

The following (nos. 69-78) have been already published in the CIS. They are all fragmentary and very difficult to interpret. They are reprinted here for the sake of completeness because they evidently belong to the same period and class as the documents from Elephantine. Moreover the discovery of the better preserved texts has thrown light on some points which were previously obscure. As they have been carefully edited in the CIS a full commentary is unnecessary here. Only divergences from the views taken there will be noted.

No. 69.

Six fragments, not all belonging to the same document. B is certainly in a different hand from the rest.

Ungnad suggests that they are part of a story. They may, however, belong to a letter or petition or report narrating one of the many troublesome incidents in the history of the colony. The reading throughout is very uncertain and the fragments are too much broken to admit of translation. They were first published by Lepsius in his *Denkmäler*, vol. xii, pl. 124, and afterwards in CIS ii, 1, 149. From the character

of the writing it seems that they belong to the same period as the rest of these texts, and that they probably came from Elephantine.

Fragment A is in two columns.

Sachau, plate 51. Ungnad, no. 64. CIS. ii, 1, no. 149, plate xix.

A

	יְהוֹהוּ יוֹ ]	. . . .	1
	אחר] מלל על פטנפחתך	[בין	2
	בן אמר אחריו ]	. . . .	3
	א וְאֶסְרוּהוּ וְ	[שמש	4
	לא שבקוהי עד כנן]	א . חטרן בי	5
	א . . . .	. . . .	6
	. . . .	פחת	7
	כלל . . . נהו בבב הנן]	[שבו ביבולי	8
	נמלת חתמוֹבִי צליח]	נחכי זי	9
	ב . . ח יהיב לתחות]	[פתירות ברי לז	10
	נהיש קסתר // זימלל על]	[אמחות בר . . תה זי	11
	זי לא באגר יהבת לה אף נתנת]	[אלהא	12
	לוששן וכנותה]	שבק ל	13

B

D

C

F

המו בן אמ] רו	א] מחנת	שלם לבר ]	. . . .
שימו לה]	→ // ה]	ה במנ ]	. . . .
ננוא א]	ש ש צ]		ל] ///
עביד]	תרא א . . צ]	E	ל] //
וד	תנה]	צ]	
		חמר ברא זי]	
		לי]	

A, col. ii.

¹ he will show . . . ² then he spoke to Petenefhotep . . . ³ . . . thus he said, They seized . . . ⁴ . . . and imprisoned him and . . . ⁵ they did not let him go till . . . ⁶ . . . ⁷ ⁸ . . . in the gate? of ⁹ . . . ¹⁰ . . . given to Thoth . . . ¹¹ ³ and he will speak to . . . ¹² which I did not give to him as payment; also I gave . . . ¹³ to WŠŠN and his companions.

The rest does not admit of translation.

Col. ii, l. 4. וָאֶסְרוּהִי (Ungnad) seems the only way of making a word of it, but the וָא is very doubtful. l. 8. כָּלֵל very uncertain. Hardly מלל. l. 10. לַתְּחֹת. The Egyptian god Thoth rather than the month. l. 11. וּ// probable. Ungnad ש. l. 13. לְוִשֶׁן a name 'to W.'

No. 70.

Beginning of a letter. Cf. 30¹ and often.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 144, plate xv.

1 אֵל מְרַאֵי מִתְרוּהֶשֶׁת עִבְדְּךָ פְּחִים שְׁ[לָם]

2 חֵיא חֲדָה וּשְׂרִירָא מְרַאֵי יְהוּי יִתְ[יֵר]

¹ To my lord Mithravahisht, your servant Paḥim, *greeting* . . . ² Living, happy and prosperous may my lord be *exceedingly* . . .

Line 1. מִתְרוּהֶשֶׁת a Persian name. 'Mithra is best'. שְׁ[לָם]. There is a trace of the ש. The line was probably long, and continued שְׁלָם עֵדֵן מְרַאֵי אֵלֵה שְׁמִיא יִשְׂאֵל בְּכָל עֵדֵן.

Line 2. חֵיא with וּשְׂרִירָא is best taken as in CIS 'vivus', but the emphatic forms are strange. מְרַאֵי not vocative, but subject of יהוּי. יהוּי is jussive, not a mere by-form of יהוּה. יִתְ[יֵר] cf. 30³. The ת is certain, not ק.

No. 71.

Two fragments, perhaps belonging to the same text, which no doubt was a story. Apparently Bar Puneš had done some meritorious service for which he was suitably rewarded by the king.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 145, plate xvi.

A. Recto.

וְלֹא יִמְלֹא ב[טִנ]הֶם לְחָ[ם]	1
אִישׁ כִּיבִי אֲבָהִיהֶם]	2
קִדְמַתְהֶם עַד יִבְנוּן קִרְ]	3 [יֵן
וּבִיּוֹמֵן אַחֲרֵנָּה יֵאֲכַל]	4 [ע
צִדְקָה לְאֲבוּהִי וְיִזְבֵּן]	5 [וְהִי
וְיִתְקַלְנֵהּ בְּלִבָּהּ וְיִקְטֹל אִישׁ ל]	6 [תְּדִי
מְרַאֵה וְיִשְׂרָהּ אִשׁ בְּנֵי מְרַאֵה]	7
לְחֶם וְיִתְכַנְשׁוּן אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִן]	8 [אִישֶׁה
שָׁנָן צָדַד // וְ[פָח]	9

A. Verso.

[.]	לבני על תסהדא זי מלכא ושמן]ע	10
[.]	בר פונש הו אחר ענה מלכא]	11
[.]	בר פונש מליא זי מלכא אמר ו]ענה	12
[.]	ק]טלת המו תהך בהרב חילך ות]	13
[.]	א]יחלף אך ושביא זי שבית בוא שנתא]	14
[.]	ב]אלך ונרמיק לא יחתון שאול וטללך]	15
[.]	בר פונ]ש על אלפי מלכא ו במנצ]חן	16

B. Recto.

[.]	מלכא וזעק ומשח]	17
[.]	זנה זי קרה]	18
[.]	ת]תלנהי כן כוי עבדת לבנוה]י	19
[.]	ל]לוא באתר ימ]א [קמל]תהי	20
[.]	ש]ערתם בתמאי אמנח]ם	21
[.]	ז]ך תהך ותשתה]	22
[.]	ה]עם אלהן אלחש עזור]	23
[.]	א]צב . ב . . [וביומן] אחרנו]	24

B. Verso.

[.]	זי ינתן לה אבוהי]	25
[.]	יתכנ]שו אלהי מצרין [זי	26
[.]	מצ]רין ויהוון]	27
[.]	מה ותאבד צדקתא ואין]	28
[.]	סו ואתנפק איש]	29
[.]	ש]עלבר כספה כשד]	30
[.]	פנרה לקברה [ול	31
[.]	א]יאמרון לה ויעני]	32
[.]	נתה בפלנ . . . חלך ול]	33

¹ And he shall not fill their belly with bread . . . ² every man the sufferings of their fathers . . . ³ before them until they should build a city (?) . . . ⁴ And in after days he shall eat . . . ⁵ righteousness to his father, and shall sell . . . ⁶ And he shall weigh it in his heart (?) and one shall kill . . . ⁷ his lord, and one shall set free the sons of his lord . . . ⁸ bread, and the gods of Egypt shall be assembled . . . ⁹ 44 years . . .

¹⁰ to my sons concerning the testimony (?) of the king and he heard . . . ¹¹ it was Bar Puneš. Then the king answered . . .

12 Bar Puneš the words which the king said and *he answered* . . .
 13 thou hast killed them, thou shalt go with the sword of thy
 troops, and . . . 14 . . . he shall make up for (?) this, and the prisoners
 whom thou hast captured this year . . . 15 . . . in these, and thy bones
 shall not go down to the grave, nor thy spirit . . . 16 . . . *Bar Puneš* over
 the hosts of the king, and *set him* among the officers . . .
 17 . . . the king, and he cried out and measured (?) . . . 18 . . . this which
 happened . . . 19 . . . *thou* shalt hang him. Thus as thou didst to his sons . . .
 20 . . . unless (?) in a place by the sea *thou* hast killed *him* 21 . . . ? ? ?
 22 . . . *this*, thou shalt go and drink . . . 23 . . . with (the) gods, and he
 whispered, help . . . 24 *and in* after days . . .
 25 . . . which his father shall give him . . . 26 . . . the gods of Egypt *shall*
be assembled, *who* . . . 27 . . . *Egypt*, and they shall be . . . 28 . . . and
 righteousness shall perish . . . 29 . . . and the man was taken out . . .
 30 . . . on account of his money . . . 31 . . . his body to its grave, and . . .
 32 . . . and they shall speak to him and he shall answer . . . 33
 for half

Line 2. כִּבִּי. One would expect כְּבָאֵבִי, if it means 'pains'. אֲבֵהֵיִם
 is more probable than אֱלֹהֵיִם. Cf. אֲבֵהֵיִן 'our fathers' 30¹³.

Line 3. קִדְמַתְהֵם. CIS קִימִיִּים, but the spaces are too large for י. Cf.
 קִדְמַתְךָ 'before you' Aḥiḳar 101. . . קִרְ[יָה] CIS קִרְ.

Line 4. וּבִיּוֹמֵן אַחַד. Cf. Aḥiḳar 39, 52 &c.

Line 6. בַּלְבָּה. The ב is more like a ד.

Line 7. וַיִּשְׁרֶה may mean 'set free' (CIS) but? Above the line are
 the letters כב, faint, palimpsest?

Line 10. תְּסַהֲרֵא CIS 'testimonium', but the root is always written
 with ש in these texts. The ד might be a ב.

Line 11. הו belongs to what precedes, and אַחַר begins a new sentence,
 as e.g. in Aḥiḳar *passim*.

Line 13. בַּחֶרֶב חֵילְךָ CIS 'with the sword of thy strength'. Perhaps
 rather 'with the sword of thy troops' i. e. with thy armed forces, addressed
 to the king.

Line 14. יְהִלְךָ very uncertain. לְךָ CIS לְךָ בּוֹא שְׁנַתָּא cf. 21³.

Line 15. יַחְתּוֹן with an accusative as in 42⁷, but in 42¹¹ with ל. לְלַלְךָ
 is certain. It does not occur elsewhere in these texts. לְלַלְךָ
 thy shadow i. e. thy spirit or soul.

Line 16. אֲלָפֵי more likely 'thousands' than 'officers', as CIS. [בְּמֵנַצְחֵן].
 CIS takes it as a name. The restoration adopted here would be suitable,
 if the word is possible in Aramaic.

Line 17. וּמִשָּׁה fairly certain. Perhaps 'measured' cf. 9⁴, rather than
 'anointed'.

Line 18. קִרְה (CIS קִרְא by a slip), no doubt 'happened'.

Line 19. בּוֹי כֵּן probably begins a new sentence.

Line 20. לולא CIS 'nisi' as later. But לו 'if' in these texts seems to occur only in the compound הן לו. Perhaps it is a noun. The lost letter preceding it looks like ש. Or is it הן לו לא?]קטל[ימ[א] is more probable than CIS ים יקטל ימא. like Heb. במדינת הים 'a place by the sea'.

Line 21. שעתהם. So CIS. The ר is more like ס, but ב is possible.

Line 22. ותשהה. The second ת is fairly certain. CIS ותשלה.

Line 24. -נן are clear, and אחר probable, which suggests וביומן before it.

Line 26.]יתכנ[שו as in l. 8. יז printed as certain in CIS, is not visible on the facsimile.

Line 29. סו . . . CIS בו . . .

Line 30. עלדבר כספה. CIS]י[בר כבוה ז], but the names are not known. Reading very uncertain.

Line 31. לקברה (or לקבלה). Probably a noun rather than infin. Pael. . . ול printed as certain in CIS, is not visible on the facsimile.

Line 32. צערי דיעני CIS ר, but נ is more probable than ר.

Line 33. תלך not a Hebraism for תהך, which is used in l. 22.

No. 72.

Fragment, written on both sides, containing accounts for wine, evidently referring to a private household rather than to a trade.

There are parts of two columns on either side, but the right-hand column in each case is nearly all lost. The lines were short, and each as a rule contained a single complete entry.

CIS does not say where the papyrus was found. It may not have come from Elephantine. The writing is not like that of the other documents, and is perhaps somewhat later, but as it is no doubt the work of a man who was not a professional scribe, it is not easy to judge.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 146, plate xvii.

	נפקתה בירח פאפי	]פאפי זי מתיהב[	1
	ב \ לפאפי לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי \ מצרין]		2
	ב || לפאפי לשרתא מצרין קלול \ קלבין //	]מצרין קלבי \	3
	] היב לצחא בר פמת חמר מצרין מאנן /// //	מצרין קלול \ קלבין ||	4
	בנו קלולן // קלבין /// עליך זער שך		5
	]ב.ל עליך קדם עחר מן צר[ין קלול \		6
	מצרין קלול \		7
	ל.לא מצרין קלבי \		8

[זי בצ . . מצרין קלול \	9
[לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי \ מצרין]	10
[בר פחה מצרין קלול \	11
[ל]שרתא מצרין ק[לול \	12

B.

ב ב // לשרתא קלול \ קלבי \	13
ב ב // לבנדו \ קלבין ||	14
לנקה קדם אפתו אלהא רבא קלבי \	15
לנקה אסי אלהתא קלבי \	16
לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי \	17
ב ב // לכיחד זי הו יום לנדר לשרתא קלולן ||	18
ב ב // // קדם א]	19
עליך אנדומא]	20
ב ב || || || ל]	21
ב ב || || || ל]	22
עחרנפי לה]	23
לשרתא]	24
ל]	25

A. Col. i.

¹ . . . Paophi, which was given out ²

³ . . . wine of Egypt, *kelbi* 1. ⁴ . . . wine of Egypt, *kelul* 1, *kelbi* 2.

Col. ii.

¹ Expenses in the month of Paophi: ² On the 1st of Paophi for dinner, wine of Sidon, *kelbi* 1, Egypt(ian) . . . ³ On the 2nd of Paophi for dinner, Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1, *kelbi* 2 ⁴ Given to Zehō b. Pamuth, wine of Egypt 5 bottles ⁵ containing *kelul* 2, *kelbi* 3, for you . . . ⁶ for you before 'Ahor, Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1. ⁷ Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1. ⁸ Egypt(ian), *kelbi* 1. ⁹ Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1. ¹⁰ for dinner, wine of Sidon, *kelbi* 1, Egypt(ian) . . . ¹¹ b. Peḥa, Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1. ¹² for dinner, Egypt(ian), *kelul* 1.

B. Col. i, nothing important.

Col. ii.

¹³ On the 23rd for dinner, *kelul* 1, *kelbi* 1. ¹⁴ On the 24th to Bagadeva (?) 1, *kelbi* 2. ¹⁵ For a purification before Apuaitu, the great god, *kelbi* 1. ¹⁶ For a purification before Isis the goddess, *kelbi* 1. ¹⁷ For dinner, wine of Sidon, *kelbi* 1. ¹⁸ On the 25th of Khoiak, which was the day of a vow, for dinner, *kelul* 2. ¹⁹ On the 26th before . . . ²⁰ For you . . . ²¹ On the 28th for dinner . . . ²² On the 29th for dinner . . . ²³ Aḥornufi . . . ²⁴ For dinner . . . ²⁵ For . . .

Line 1. $\overline{\text{מתיהב}}$ more probably than מתכתב (CIS). The end is blotted. As it is at the end of the line, the sentence must have continued in l. 2, probably with ביר 'given into the hand of'. נפקתה translated 'expenses' is rather 'what was served out'.

Line 2. לשרתא perhaps as CIS 'pro prandio'. צידן . We have corroboration of the large trade in Syrian wine in the numerous jar-handles bearing Phoenician names published by Sachau on pl. 69 sqq. קלבי only found in this papyrus.

Line 4. היב if not a mistake, must be a popular form for יהיב .

Line 5. בנו as elsewhere frequently. CIS בנף , but the use of בנו was unknown at the time. The end of the line is quite unintelligible.

Line 6. The first word looks like כבל or כפל (?). עליך 'on your account' i. e. for the master to whom the return is made. עחר CIS the Egyptian god. If so, it was an offering, and Egyptian wine was used. But this is doubtful.

Line 8. CIS בלילא .

Line 11. פחה as a name occurs in 40².

Reverse.

Line 14. לבנרו (not רן) a Persian name compounded with *baga*? CIS לבנור .

Line 15. אפתו must be a god-name.

Line 16. אסי not very clear, but must be so. אלהתא CIS רבתי would not be used in this Aramaic. The last letter is almost certainly א . The first letter is probably א , and there is room for לה , though it is hardly legible. Cf. אלהתה 14⁵.

Line 17. תנה is certain. Not as CIS.

Line 20. אנדומא CIS אנומי . Very uncertain.

Lines 21, 22. Supply probably $[\text{לשרתא}]$.

Line 23. פצחא rather than פינתא (CIS). Meaning?

No. 73.

Fragments of accounts, perhaps by one hand, put together without regard to their original position. Owing to their lack of connexion they present little of interest except the names, which, however, are not always legible. They are all Egyptian, so that the use of Aramaic is remarkable, unless the steward was a foreigner (Jew?).

CIS. ii, 1, no. 147, plate xviii.

ל פֶּשׁ

כל

$[\text{עלן בנפא גפיא}]$

$[\text{עלמא הו}]$

1

2

No. 74.

Fragment of a list of names, all probably Egyptian.

CIS. no. 148, plate xv.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1 | פטי בר פחפי פלנה ת.קא |
| 2 | פסמשך בר פ[מ]ח בר נעֶעֶב בַּ . . . |
| 3 | פמן בר בַּנ[ת] . . . |
| 4 | סמתו בר ענחמֶה |
| 5 | הריו בר פטאֶי |
| 6 | חנסֶ בר פטאֶסי |

¹ Peṭi b. Paḥapi, his half is . . . ² Pasmašak b. Pamuth b. Ne'eṣab, in . . . ³ Pamen b. Ban' . . . ⁴ Smitu b. 'Anḥmuth. ⁵ Hadiu b. Peṭisi. ⁶ Ḥons b. Peṭisi.

Line 1. ת.קא CIS תוחא, but the † might be ד, ר or פ. The ק is more probable than ח, cf. the ח in ll. 4, 6.

Line 2. פ[מ]ח. A מ is the most likely letter to fill the space. Cf. 72⁴. נעֶעֶב CIS נטעב, neither very probable names.

Line 4. The final ת is partly visible.

Line 5. הריו. CIS cf. הורו, but? פטאֶי. Traces of סי are visible.

No. 75.

Fragment, very difficult. It can hardly be taken as in CIS.

The stroke after l. 5, and the summing up with כל are both characteristic of accounts. The reading of אשלן is certain (l. 5), and if this has its ordinary meaning, the papyrus would seem to contain an inventory of a plantation.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 150, plate xx.

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1 | רבתכה במדע קרק]ע . . . |
| 2 | וחנמיא קרבֶתא . . . |
| 3 | אהֶבֶתה במדע ק[רקע |
| 4 | פקרקפתח קֶר[בתא |
| 5 | כל אשלן דֶ־ר . . . |
| 6 | תני אמת . . . |
| 7 | רבתכה אשל]ן . . . |
| 8 | אחותה הי . . . |
| 9 | כ[ל [אש]ל]ן . . . |

Translation quite uncertain.

Line 1. רבחה as in l. 7. CIS 'domina tua', but the suffix never has this form in the papyri. It can hardly be a Hebraism. במרע as in l. 3, where it might be במסע. Hardly במוע 'east', or = מרק 'narrow'? קרקע. CIS קרם is hardly possible. It might be קרה.

Line 2. וחנמיה a name? for חנמיה cf. חנמאל Jer. 32⁷ &c. Or cf. חנמל ('frost?') in Ps. 78⁴⁷.

Line 3. אהבה so CIS. The second letter is not like ה, and the ב is more like ס.

Line 4. פקר an Egyptian name compounded with פתה.

Line 6. תני perhaps like טוב 'again', beginning a new series.

Line 9 probably as l. 5 'total, tamarisks . . .'

No. 76.

Fragment of a report of legal proceedings. Very little can be read with certainty on the facsimile, so that the text is for the most part that of CIS.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 151, plates xx and xxi.

. . . חותם עד כמו . . . למי ר ר // זכֶן אֵמר . . . ך צחא זך . . . 1
 עביר
 . . . ר וכנותה הנש . . . ל . . . בֶרֶת צחא זך . . . 2
 . . . ה צחא זך לי[ר]ניה ביום ר [לפ]אוגי בעת . . . 3
 . . . תן על משאלת . . . ל . . . עם . . . 4

¹ . . . seal, till . . . 12 R and thus they (?) said to you: this Zehō . . . before ² . . . and his colleagues . . . was done to . . . daughter (?) of this Zehō . . . ³ . . . this Zehō to Yedoniah (?) on the 10th day of Paüni, now . . . ⁴ . . . will give, on the petition of

Line 1. אמרו לך restored from pl. xxi. Possibly it was צחא זך. At the end perhaps קרם.

Line 2. ר . . . the end of a name. בֶרֶת very doubtful.

Line 3. לי[ר]ניה. It is doubtful if ר would fill the space. [לפ]אוגי. As יני is clear, this is more probable than לַפאפי (CIS), but the name does not occur for certain elsewhere.

Line 4. תן . . . part of נתן.

No. 77.

Small fragment of the beginning of a letter.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 152, plate xx.

1 שלם מראי . . .
2 עלים חד תמנה . . .

Reverse.

3 תנה על . . .

¹ The welfare of my lord . . . ² A servant there . . .

Line 1. מראי is certain. Not רבא as CIS.

Line 2. עלים probable, though the ע has an unusual form.

Line 3 apparently the address.

No. 78.

Fragment of accounts, very difficult to read on the facsimile.

CIS. ii, 1, no. 153, plates xx and xxi.

Obverse.

1 עלנה בי[רח] . . .
2 בנו
3 כסף ש // // . . .
4 דמי ולף רד /
5 כל כסף ש[ק]לן // . . .
6 כל כסף כרש . . .

¹ Accounts in the *month* . . . ² including ³ the sum of 6 shekels . . .
⁴ the value of 1111 . . . ⁵ total money, shekels 2 . . . ⁶ total money, karash . . .

Line 1. עלנה cf. 73¹, but the reading in both places is uncertain. It must mean 'accounts'.

Line 2. בנו is now certain.

Line 4. דמי is probable, but does not seem suitable.

Line 5. ש[ק]לן is more probable than the CIS reading.

Line 6. כרש (or plural) is no doubt right. The word was not known to CIS.

The reverse is illegible.

No. 79.

Fragment found at Elephantine near the site of the temple. It is not included in Sachau's volume. As there is no facsimile the text is printed here as in Ungnad's edition.

Cf. also De Vogüé in *Répertoire*, 246; Clermont-Ganneau in *Recueil* vi, p. 246; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, p. 217.

It seems to be part of an inventory or specification. Cf. no. 26.

Ungnad, no. 89.

. 1
 2 בנו חרה אמן ר // פתי אמה / דורה פ[ש]כן [///] / . . .
 3 בנו לוח אחרה אמן /// /// /// ופלג פתי אמה / דור[ה] . . .
 4 לוח [א]חרה אמן /// // פתי א[מה] / דורה פש[כן] . . .

¹ ² including one of 12 cubits, one cubit wide, 4 (?) hands thick (?) . . . ³ including another board of 9 cubits and a half, 1 cubit wide, . . . thick (?) . . . ⁴ another board of 5 cubits, 1 cubit wide, . . . hands thick (?)

Line 1 is illegible.

Line 2. דורה must be a third dimension, 'thickness'. Ungnad cft. דורא 'circumference'. This cannot be the exact sense here since the object was 1 cubit wide. The thing is no doubt a לוח, whatever that is (as in ll. 3, 4), not a single plank, but a flat surface of some kind.

No. 80.

Fragment found with no. 79. The writing is on both sides. There is no facsimile, so that I have adopted here the readings of Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil* vi, p. 246), as printed by Ungnad. See also De Vogüé, *Répertoire* 247; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, p. 219. The text is too fragmentary to give any connected sense. It seems to be a report of some incident concerning the garrison from which legal proceedings resulted.

Ungnad, no. 90.

1 על ב . . .
 2 א[מ]רו הו פנ[ה] . . .
 3 . . להם ו[ר]בי מאותהם . . .
 4 חרבה חי[ל] לא איתי . . .
 5 חילא [זנה] הוד מחס[נן] . . .
 6 אף בען ביר[ת]אָ זא חי[ל] . . .

Reverse.

7 כען כן אַ [מר] מתרדת . . .

8 אנתם דיניא אמרו ל . . .

9 ינתן [ל] מדיא

¹ To B . . . ² they said . . . ³ . . . to them, and their centurions . . .

⁴ his sword, there is no force . . . ⁵ this force, they were holders of . . .

⁶ Now also this fortress (?) . . .

⁷ Now thus *says* Mithradates . . . ⁸ you, judges, say to . . . ⁹ he will give to my lord (?)

Line 3. 'כי מאו' [ר] no doubt 'heads of their hundreds' i. e. centurions as Ungnad suggests. Cf. 'מאת נ' 22²⁰ &c.

Line 5. [מחם] for מהחסנן, is not very convincing.

Line 8. אמרו imperative.

Line 9. [ל] מדיא read למראי? There was probably something after it.

The next three papyri are later than those from Elephantine.

No. 81.

This was published in *PSBA*, 1907, p. 260, with facsimiles. The papyrus was bought by Sayce, with other fragments, from a dealer at Luxor who believed them to have come from *Ḳus*. It was given by Sayce to the Bodleian Library where it is referenced as MS. Aram. a. 1 (P). It consists of two long strips about 20 × 2½ inches (and some fragments). The writing is on both sides and is divided into 10 columns running down the width of the papyrus. Originally no doubt the two fragments were united along the long edge and the columns were continuous across both. Probably something is lost between the fragments (i. e. in the middle of each column) but hardly anything at the top or bottom. The document evidently began with l. 1. The columns are not always kept distinct, but sometimes run into one another where the lines are long. The lines often slope, so that the beginning or end is occasionally lost. These two defects make the decipherment more than usually difficult. The difficulty is further increased by the unskilful writing, by the broken condition of the papyrus, by the condensed and disconnected nature of the entries, by the abbreviations and by apparent inconsistencies of the writer.

No date is given, but the many Greek names suggest the Ptolemaic

period, and this is corroborated by the character of the writing, which shows a much later stage of development than that of the Elephantine documents. It is unlikely, however, that Aramaic survived, even in individual cases, long after the time of Alexander, and we shall perhaps not be far wrong in assuming a date about 300 B. C.

With regard to particular letters, א, ב, ח, ל, ט have practically arrived at the ordinary square shape: נ has much the same form as in the Elephantine documents: ד and ר are still indistinguishable: ז is difficult to distinguish from the unit א: כ and נ when medial, have the tail bent, but when final, it is straight: in מ the right-hand stroke turns round, thus approximating to the square form: ס shows the most pronounced change, being sometimes nearly joined below, as in the square form: ק only requires a longer tail to give it the square form: ת much as at Elephantine, but the left-hand stroke is shorter.

The text consists of accounts, not of a household (like no. 72), but apparently of a business of some kind. Many entries seem to relate to wine, others perhaps to money-lending, but the precise meaning of most of them is obscure.

A peculiarity of this document is the way of writing the numerals. In a series of units the last one or two or three are written sloping against the preceding stroke, e. g. \\\ \\\ \\\, but almost \\\ \\\. In the *PSBA*, not having found this arrangement before, I printed it as \\\ \\\ &c., and took it to represent a fraction, e. g. $3\frac{3}{4}$. It is, however, simply a way of writing 6, &c. (\\ \\\ at Elephantine), due perhaps rather to a personal fancy of the writer than to a later method. This value is proved by the ratio regularly preserved (where the reading is certain) between the number of לָגַן and the number of ר. Thus in l. 62 \\\ בר \\\ \\\ \\\ לָגַן, '6 bottles at (i. e. costing?) 3 R'. Whatever the meaning is, it will be found that 2 bottles always correspond to 1 R, if the units are read as here suggested.

Another obscure combination is פ א מ. This must in some way mean one half. Cf. ll. 96-98, where (if 2 bottles = 1 R) 5 bottles should be valued (?) at $2\frac{1}{2}$ R, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ R, and 1 bottle at $\frac{1}{2}$ R. As a mere conjecture I suggest that פ may be for פִּלְגַן and that מ may be for מוּסַף 'added' (the perfect Hophal occurs in Dan. 4³³) or some such word. The whole will then be equivalent to $+\frac{1}{2}$. (פִּלְגַן א מוּסַף?).

The ר here, as elsewhere, is for רִבְעָה 'quarter' (of a shekel). This is shown by l. 94 where 9 bottles should at the same rate be valued at $4\frac{1}{2}$ R. and the text has 'at 1 sh(ekel) $+\frac{1}{2}$ (R)'. Therefore 1 shekel = 4 R or quarters.

Col. a.

	חשבן ענביא זי כתבת אבהי	1
	שלמציין נצבתא זי זבדיה חנטן ס ר \	2
	שבתית ברת עבדיה חנטן ס \ ק \ \ \ \ \ \ פ	3
	ארסיין חנטן א ר \ \	4
	בב ארס[ין] שטר \ א	5
	. . . . .	6
	. . . . .	7
	[מן שמ]עון גרבן // יחנן כהנא גרב \	8
	מן שבת ישיב גרבן \ \ מן נתן \ גרב \	9
	מן חני דיפרס גרבין \ \	10
	תבא ברת חנה ברתא \ א \ \ \ א \ על . . .	11
	. . . . א ומן ס.גרה	12
	. . . . .	13

Col. b.

	שטריא ביד יונתן ואנה	14
	סלק לאפנא שמעון בר חני	15
	בב שמתי שטר \ בחמראן ג ר	16
	בב שמעון שטר \ בכרשן ר \ \	17
	ש \ \ \ \ \	18
	בב שמעון שטר \ [בוזון] \ \ \ \ \	19
	[בב שמעון] \ [ש]טר \ בחלרין \ \ \ \ \ מדלא	20
	וירחין ר \ \ \ \ \ מדלא	21
	עבדיהו זכור שטר \ בוזון \ \ \ \ \	22
	בב עבדיהו זכור שטר \ בחנטן א ר	23
	שבת חני תתן שטר \ בביתה	24
	בב שבת חני שטר \ בחנטן א ר \ \ \ \ \	25
	בידה שט[ר] \ יחנן בר דלוי ע	26
	בוזון \ \ \ \ \	27

Col. c.

	ביד [ין]נתן חנטא [זי?] יחיי בר .,בניה	28
	ביד יונתן רכיסה \ \ \ \ \ זי חמרין	29
	תפלה זי כסף ר נחתן \ \ זי כסף	30

	ביד נתן וזיכא זי משלם בר עוגר בש	31
	וזיכא זילי בידה וזיכא רבא זילנא בידה	32
	רבא בידה דזולא בידה כה . . . ה שפיר[ה]	33
	בידה זא זי ידניה	34
	בי[דה]	35
	חנטן א ר	36
	[ביד]ה חרשא זי נחש נכרס. ברת חניה . . .	37
	בידה חרשא זילנא במצי . . . א	38
	<u>ב</u>	
	חמרא זי יהבו יתלי שנתא זא של . . . כהנא	39
	בטמאסו ד חל גרבין א הג . . .	40
	דלוי זערא גן ב ד ד חל	41
	במידלה אביתי גרבן	42
	עבדיהו פחס גרבין חל	43
	מהני זון	44
Col. d.	זי . . . חת לטבה ה . . .	45
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¹ Account of the produce which Abihi wrote . . . ² (daughter of) Shelamzin: the farm of Zebadiah, wheat 1 seah 1 quarter. ³ Shabtith daughter of Obadiah, wheat 1 seah, 7 . . . 1 half(?) ⁴ Arsin wheat, 12 ardabs. ⁵ . . . Arsin 1 bond . . . ⁶

⁷ flagons . . . mine, 9. ⁸ From Simeon 2 flagons. Johanan the priest 1 flagon. ⁹ From Shabbethai (daughter of) Yashib 2 flagons from Nathun (?) 1 flagon. ¹⁰ From Haggai (son of) Diaphoros, two flagons.

¹¹ Tabo daughter of Haniah, the house. Ardabs 3 . . . ^{12, 13}

¹⁴ The bonds in the hand of Jonathan and me: ¹⁵ Simeon b. Haggai came up to . . . ¹⁶ . . . ŠMTI, 1 bond for 40 she-asses. ¹⁷ . . . Simeon, 1 bond for 12 kerashin ¹⁸ 8 shekels. ¹⁹ . . . Simeon, 1 bond for 400 zuzin.

²⁰ . . . Simeon, 1 bond for 4 hallurin . . . ²¹ and 12 months . . . ²² Obadiah (son of) Zaccur, 1 bond for 120 zuzin. ²³ . . . Obadiah (son of) Zaccur, 1 bond for 10 ardabs of wheat. ²⁴ Shabbethai (daughter of) Haggai will give 1 bond on her house. ²⁵ . . . Shabbethai (daughter of) Haggai, 1 bond for 24 ardabs of wheat. ²⁶ In her hand is 1 bond of Johanan b. Dallui . . . ²⁷ for 100 zuzin.

²⁸ In the hand of Jonathan, the wheat of(?) Yahya b. . . beniah. ²⁹ In the hand of Jonathan . . . 6 of asses. ³⁰ A phylactery (?) of silver, 10; 2 trays of silver. ³¹ In the hand of Nathan, the . . . of Meshullam b. 'Azgad for 2 shekels. ³² My . . . in his hand; our large . . . in his hand. ³³ The large one in his hand, and the small (?) one in his hand; a beautiful . . . ³⁴ in his hand. The . . . of Yedoniah . . . ³⁵ in his hand.

³⁶ wheat 2 ardabs 1 quarter. ³⁷ In his hand the . . . of bronze. NKRS, daughter of Haniah . . . ³⁸ In his hand our ³⁹ The wine which they gave shall be kept back (?) this year. ŠL . . . the priest

⁴⁰ in T̄MASU 21 . . . 2 flagons . . . ⁴¹ Dallui junior, a garden for 46, 1 ḥallur (?) . . . ⁴² . . . Abithi 3 flagons. ⁴³ Obadiah . . . 6 flagons, 1 ḥallur (?) ⁴⁴ Profit (?) 100 zuzin.

⁴⁵ which he *brought* down to Thebes (?) . . . ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ To H . . he lent 2 plates . . . ⁴⁸ he *lent* 6 plates . . . ⁴⁹⁻⁵¹

⁵²⁻⁵⁵

⁵⁶ Hargalti for . . . shekels . . . ⁵⁷ 64, 1 quarter . . . ^{58, 59}

⁶⁰ the forty in . . . ⁶¹ K 10, 1 ka at 1 shekel 2 quarters, remainder 1 shekel. ⁶² Nikias 6 bottles at 3 quarters, remainder $\frac{1}{2}$ k. ⁶³ . . . Nikias 6 bottles at 3 quarters, remainder 1. ⁶⁴ Apollonius will pay $\frac{1}{2}$ ka at 2 shekels 1 quarter. ⁶⁵ Yania 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ⁶⁶ Yania . . . bottles . . .

⁶⁷ at 1 quarter. ⁶⁸ . . . 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁶⁹ Self 2 bottles. ⁷⁰ Nathan. We will lend 1 bottle at $\frac{1}{2}$. ⁷¹ Yania, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ⁷² . . . Nikias, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁷³ Yania, . . . bottle . . .

⁷⁴ NBS, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁷⁵ Yania, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ⁷⁶ . . . Nikias, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁷⁷ Remainder, 2 quarters. ⁷⁸ Judah, 2 bottles at 1 quarter. ⁷⁹ . . . Nikias, 1 bottle, $\frac{1}{2}$. ⁸⁰ Yania, 2 bottles at 1 quarter. ⁸¹ Yania, $\frac{1}{2}$ ka at . . .

⁸² 1 quarter. ⁸³ Per flagon five . . . ⁸⁴ Isidoros, 2 bottles at 1 quarter. ⁸⁵ Poros, 1 ka at 1 shekel 2 quarters. ⁸⁶ Hargalti, a half at 3 quarters. ⁸⁷ Lysimakhos, 7 bottles at $3\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ⁸⁸ Kostos, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁸⁹ Diaphoros, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ⁹⁰ Abithi (son of) Nathin, 6 bottles at 3 quarters.

⁹¹ Abithi ⁹² Isidoros, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ⁹³ Yania, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ⁹⁴ Bakkhias, 9 bottles at 1 shekel $\frac{1}{2}$ (a quarter). ⁹⁵ Yonia, 2 bottles at 1 quarter. ⁹⁶ Judah, 5 bottles at $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ⁹⁷ Yania, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ⁹⁸ Reḥabel, 1 bottle at $\frac{1}{2}$ (a quarter). ⁹⁹ Obadiah (son of) Yashub . . .

¹⁰⁰ 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ¹⁰¹ Yania, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ¹⁰² PTPI, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ¹⁰³ PTU, 6 bottles at 3 quarters. ¹⁰⁴ Yonia, 4 bottles at 2 quarters. ¹⁰⁵ ZPRH, 2 bottles at 1 quarter. ¹⁰⁶ For (?) PTU, 2 ka at 3 shekels, remainder 6 M. ¹⁰⁷ Armais, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁹ In the house of Yashib . . . 5 . . . ¹¹⁰ In our house . . . 2 . . . 2 . . . open. ¹¹¹ Bronze-bands which they put on the date-palms of Peḥi.

¹¹² This year for tax 7 kerashin 3 shekels. ¹¹³ . . . PTU, 8 bottles at 1 shekel. ¹¹⁴ . . . PTU, 2 bottles at 2 (?) quarters. 8 bottles at 1 shekel. ¹¹⁵ Abithi to our house (?) . . . 'R̄BIA, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters.

¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ 4 bottles at 2 quarters.

¹¹⁸ . . . remainder ¹¹⁹ For mine, Nikias value of wine ¹²⁰ 3 shekels. ¹²¹ . . . Nikias . . . ¹²² 30th of Thoḥ. ¹²³ ¹²⁴ 24 zuzin 1 quarter.

¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ Sostratos, 3 bottles at $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarters. ¹²⁷ Self, 12 bottles. Shabbethai (son of) Haniah, 3 bottles at 2 quarters. ¹²⁸ . . . Self, 4 bottles. ¹²⁹ . . . Self, 6 bottles ¹³⁰ at 1 shekel . . . Self, 6 bottles ¹³¹ at 2 quarters. Nikias 1 ka 1 shekel, at 2 quarters, remainder 2 quarters ¹³² at 2 quarters. Judah, 12 bottles at 3 shekels 2 quarters remainder 3 quarters ¹³³ at 2 quarters . . . Self, 4 bottles. ¹³⁴ . . . 2 for wheat 1 seah. ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ . . . 3 for wheat 1 seah. ^{137, 138}

Line 1. ענביא is more probable than ענקא (*PSBA*) 'Fruits' meaning 'produce' in general. אביהי for אבהי elsewhere, a feminine name.

Line 2. שלמציין a feminine? name. Cf. שלמצה Salome, in Midrash and Talmud, said to be for שלם ציין. She may be the mother (or father) of Abihi, ברת being omitted as בר is elsewhere in this document. נצבתא 'plantation' i. e. field or farm. ס for סאה.

Line 3. ור very doubtful. It does not correspond to any other entry. פ \ 'one half' should have מ as elsewhere.

Line 4. ארסין as l. 5. Sayce suggests Arsinoë.

Line 5. בב Sayce 'on account of', perhaps for בבית. It generally occurs where a name is repeated.

Line 7. גר[בן] large bottles. Probably of wine.

Line 9. ישיב a name. The בר[ת] is omitted. After נתן the \ is unintelligible, and perhaps is not to be so read. It may be נתון.

Line 10. דיפרס Diaphoros. בר omitted. גרבין perhaps a dual form (Sayce), or a mere caprice as גרבן is used before with \.

Line 11. ביתא reading and meaning uncertain. The rest of the line is also unintelligible.

Line 12. גרה, ס, א a name?

Line 15. לאפנא Sayce, 'to our side' (לפנינו) i. e. joined our partnership(?).

Line 16. חמראן, 'she-asses' with א to distinguish it from the masculine? The ב- no doubt means 'concerning'.

Line 19. ⚡ is probably the same as the sign for 100, often used in the Behistun text. Perhaps originally for כ[אה].

Line 20. מדלא in later Aramaic should mean 'property', which does not seem suitable here or in l. 21.

Line 22. זון must be very small coins since the number is so large—hardly a quarter of a shekel.

Line 24. תתן if right is for תנתן.

Line 29. רכיסה (or 'רכ'). Possibly a name. In any case the numeral after it is difficult to explain.

Line 30. תפלה. Can it be used in the ordinary sense, a 'phylactery'?

in a silver case? The numeral is again difficult, unless it means the value, 10 shekels (?), and similarly in l. 29.

Line 31. ויזכא a quite unknown word. Sayce suggests that it is Persian, but there seem to be no traces of Persian in this document.

Line 33. וזולא 'cheap' (Sayce), but the reading is very doubtful.

Line 34. זא or זא, probably the end of a noun. ? הרשא as in ll. 37, 38.

Line 37. הרשא some unknown article made of bronze. נכרס. The final letter might be another ס. Greek or Egyptian?

Line 39. יתלי is probable. 'Shall be held in suspense' i. e. not used, or not reckoned in the account?

Line 40. בטמאסו. The last letter seems to belong to this name(?).

Line 41. דלוי. Name? as elsewhere. Sayce suggests 'bucket', but the form (for דלי) is difficult.

Line 42. במידלה cf. מרלא ll. 20, 21. It may be related to דלוי.

Line 43. פחס is used of 'stirring' wine, i. e. causing it to ferment?

Line 44. מהני perhaps 'profit' from הני.

Line 45. לטבה. Sayce 'to Thebes'.

Line 47. רבה 'lent at interest'.

Line 56. הרגלתי as in l. 86, where it should be a name.

Line 62. פ 5 is fairly certain, not פ 5.

Line 65. יניא probably like the common form ינאי, for יוחנן. In ll. 95, 104 יוניא. It can hardly be 'the Greek'.

Line 74. נבס perhaps badly written for נכס = נכים.

Line 78. יהודה. The name does not occur in the Elephantine texts.

Line 83. After חמשה something is wanted. There is not room for more than one letter, or two.

Line 86. פלג i. e. half a ka, as the price shows.

Line 98. רחבל perhaps for רחבאל, cf. רחביה 1 Chron. 23¹⁷ &c. Names in -el are not found in the Elephantine texts.

Lines 102. פתפי 103. פתו apparently names.

Line 109. לעתיך (and in l. 110). A connexion with לעי seems unsuitable.

Line 110. בראמן apparently to be so read, but the א is strange. A plural is required.

Line 114 is erased, being no doubt an erroneous repetition of l. 113.

Line 115. לבתנא for לביתנא? ערביא or ער', apparently a name.

Line 126. ססרתס. Sayce suggests perhaps Sostratos.

Line 130. בשא. If this refers to l. 129 the proportion is unusual. It should be בר, and so in l. 131.

No. 82.

Fragments of a legal document, bought by Prof. Sayce in Egypt and given by him to the Bodleian Library (MS. Aram. e. 2 (P)). It was published in *PSBA*, 1915, p. 217, with a facsimile.

The writing is similar to that of no. 81, and the date is therefore probably about the same, early in the 3rd century B.C. As it is an official document it would not have been written in Aramaic, one would suppose, much after 300 B.C.

Unfortunately it is too fragmentary to admit of a continuous translation. Probably nothing is missing before l. 1, or only part of a line which may have contained the address, e.g. 'to our lord X'. The beginnings and ends of all the lines are lost, and several words are illegible, so that the details are quite obscure. As far as it can be made out, the general sense seems to be that three litigants were concerned with the division of certain property, including a house. One of them was perhaps executor and had handed over part of the estate to the 'heads of the congregation', who were now to distribute it. If the reading עבדיך is right in l. 1, the document is a report of proceedings by the judges to some higher official. The 'judges' are probably officers of state, but the 'heads of the congregation' must be Jewish elders who were recognized by them. The place of the action may have been Abydos or טבה (Thebes?), where there must have been a Jewish settlement at this date. The name Abydos occurs in 38³.

.	וְעַבְדֶיךָ דִינִיא זִי בֵּא [בוט]	1
.	[בר ד] לֹוֹי דְלִיה בֵּר ח [גי] שְׁבַעָה בֵּר עַבְדִּיה [ו]	2
.	בֵּית זֹמִי בִטְבָה בִירְתֵא אֵהָה חֹי	3
.	זִי שֹׁקֶּ פֿ . . . יֵ אַנְתֵּן אַחַרָה	4
.	שְׁלֵמַת עֵלְרֵאשִׁי עַד [תֵּא]	5
.	יִתְקַדֵּם בִּיה וְשִׁהְרוּ עֵלְכִלְנִבְסֵ [נ]	6
.	א וְאַחַרְיֵא לְקַבֵּל חֵלְקֵן // כַּעַן דוּ	7
.	פְּהוּ וְלֹא הֵוֵה בִי מֵלֵא וּיִתְנֹן ל	8
.	תְּהֵ לְהֹן לֵאֵ . . . בֵּר . . . וּיִתְנֹן חֵ [לֵק]	9
.	חֵ [חֵל] קֵן // זִי תוֹרָה לְפִלְטָה אַחַתְהָ ל	10
.	לִיהֵא תֵרִין יֵ בְהֵן יֵאֲתָה שְׁלִי	11
.	אַבְהֹון יִשֵּׁר חֵלְקֵ	12
.	קִמִּינֵא לֵא [בוט]	13
.	הֵם עֵלְזִי	14

¹ and your servants the judges who are in *Abydos* . . . ² son of *Dallui*, *Delaiah* b. *Haggai*, *Shib'a* b. *Obadiah* . . . ³ . . . the house of *Zomi* in the city of *Thebes*, *H* . . . came . . . ⁴ of the street (?) . . . I will give. Afterwards . . .

⁵ I paid to the heads of the congregation . . . ⁶ . . . let him come before him; and they gave evidence as to all goods . . . ⁷ . . . and other things in 3 parts. Now . . . ⁸ and it was not a complete house (?), and they shall give to . . . ⁹ but to *A* . . . son of . . . and they shall give a part . . . ¹⁰ . . . 3 parts of a *Tora* to *PLTA* his sister to . . . ¹¹ two which he shall bring . . .

¹² . . . *Abbahun*, correct division . . .

¹³ . . . before us to *Abydos* . . . ¹⁴

Line 1. The remains of letters at the beginning have not been deciphered. At the end a place-name is wanted, as in l. 13, and [אבוט] seems the most likely, but it is only a conjecture.

Line 2. [ד]לוי as on an ostrakon, Sachau pl. 68, 2¹⁻³⁻⁵, which may be of about the same date. שבעה cf. O.T. שבע. The ה is more like ם. These were no doubt the three persons interested. Cf. l. 7.

Line 3. זומי uncertain. Cf. זומא in Mishna. בטבה must be the name of a town. Sayce suggests *Thebes* as in 81⁴⁵. . . הזי or . . חני must be part of a name, but its relation to the transaction is not clear.

Line 4. שיק very doubtful. There are traces of another line between ll. 4 and 5.

Line 5. [עד]תא. The ד is doubtful, and therefore the restoration is uncertain, but it is probable. The word occurs in 15²², and is correct for the Jewish community.

Line 6. ביה for בה (?) is unusual. 'Before him'? עלכלנכס[ן] followed by ואחריה l. 7, cf. 20¹². But the reading here is uncertain.

Line 7. לקבל '(divided it) according to' i. e. into 'three parts' for the three litigants.

Line 8. הוה very uncertain. What 'a full house' means I cannot guess. ויתנון is clear, for וינתנון at Elephantine.

Line 10. תורה is certain, and the three parts (+ 2 in l. 11) suggest חמשה חומשי תורה. The word does not occur in the Elephantine papyri, where there is no allusion to the Law. Or is it תור 'her ox'? It was evidently a valuable possession. How פלטה was concerned with it is not clear.

Line 11. תריקן or תריהום? בהן יאתה 'come with' i. e. bring them.

Line 12 probably the last line, ratifying the apportionment. אבהון a name. Cf. אבהו, אבון.

Lines 13, 14. It is quite uncertain where this fragment belongs.

No. 83.

A fragment with writing on both sides, in the Harrow School Museum. It is not dated. The recto, containing a column of accounts, is in a fairly early hand, probably before 400 B.C. The verso, containing a list of names and a few lines of accounts, is more roughly written and probably nearly as late as 300 B.C. That the papyrus should have been used again after such an interval is strange, but not impossible, especially as the verso shows signs of being palimpsest.

The verso is very much faded in parts, and on both sides the reading is uncertain owing to the lack of context and the few opportunities of comparison.

	ב // \ לחעבי	1
	מטא צחא מנפֿי	2
	ב // \ מן פטאסֿי	3
	חלפן א [צ] // //	4
	ב // // א צ // //	5
	ב // // א צ // // [/]	6
	[ב] // // א צ [// //]	7
	ב // // א צ [// //]	8
	בר א צ // //	9
	בר א צ // //	10
	בר א צ // //	11
	בר א צ // |	12
	בר א צ // //	13
	[ב] ר // // א צ // //	14
	בר // // א צ // //	15
	בר // // [א צ // //] //	16
	בר // // א צ [// //] //	17
	[בר] // // א צ [// //] //	18
Reverse.	סוקן // // // //	19
	... הָ //	20
	בעלי פתורא	21
	צחא \	22
	פטנתר \	23

פסו \	24
צחא \	25
ישם \	26
פי \	27
<hr/>	
נפקה . צמי	28
על מיריתא ככרן //	29
עלים צחא כל \ . .	30

¹ On the 4th of Tybi ² Zəḥo came to Memphis. ³ On the 5th from Petiſis ⁴ on our account 25 ardabs. ⁵ On the 6th 25 ardabs. ⁶ On the 7th 25 ardabs. ⁷ On the 8th 25 ardabs. ⁸ On the 9th 25 ardabs. ⁹ On the 10th 25 ardabs. ¹⁰ On the 11th 25 ardabs. ¹¹ On the 12th 25 ardabs. ¹² On the 13th 25 ardabs. ¹³ On the 14th 25 ardabs. ¹⁴ On the 15th 25 ardabs. ¹⁵ On the 16th 25 ardabs. ¹⁶ On the 17th 25 ardabs. ¹⁷ On the 18th 25 ardabs. ¹⁸ On the 19th 25 ardabs.

Reverse.

¹⁹ . . . 8. ²⁰ . . . 3.

²¹ Money-lenders: ²² Zəḥo I ²³ Petnether I ²⁴ Pasu I ²⁵ Zəḥo I ²⁶ YŠM I ²⁷ Pi I

²⁸ Expenditure . . . ²⁹ For the inheritance (?) 3 talents. ³⁰ The servant of Zəḥo, each . . .

Line 2. מנפי very faint, but probable if מטא does not require ל. Cf. ⁴²⁷ חת מנפי if that really means 'go down to M.'

Line 4. חלבן probably. חלרן would not make sense. Cf. חלף in ⁴⁴⁸. א no doubt for אררבן.

Lines 5-18 simply enumerate the days from the 6th to the 19th, on each of which 25 ardabs were received or given out.

Line 19. סדקן. I cannot guess what word this is.

Line 21. At the side are three strokes belonging to a previous column. פתורא the 'table' of a money-changer?

Lines 22-27. The names are all Egyptian. For the \ after each cf. ³³¹⁻⁴.

Line 26. ישם quite uncertain.

Line 28. צמי, not עצמי, and there is no obvious word.

Line 29. מיריתא apparently so to be read. 'Inheritance'? ככרן at Elephantine כנכרן.

The Story of Aḥiḳar.

Eleven sheets of papyrus, all more or less fragmentary, three of them with double columns.

They contain an Aramaic version of the well-known story of Aḥiḳar, followed by a collection of proverbs, similar to, but not the same as, those found in later versions. Lines 1-78, the narrative, are practically continuous, but the story is not finished. As to the remainder, the proverbs being disconnected, or only occasionally related in subject, it is impossible to say whether the sheets of papyrus are continuous.

There is no date, but from the appearance of the writing we may safely conclude that it belongs, like the majority of these documents, to the latter part of the fifth century B. C.

The story, and this version of it in particular, is interesting for the following reasons among others :

- (1) The hero is mentioned by name in the book of Tobit.
- (2) There seem to be references to the story in various books of the Old and New Testaments.
- (3) Hitherto it has been known only in later (post-Christian) forms.
- (4) The papyrus shows that the original work goes back at least as far as the fifth century B. C. and probably earlier.
- (5) It is thus the earliest specimen of wisdom-literature outside the Old Testament and cuneiform texts.

The general questions relating to the story and its transmission, may be studied in English in ' *The Story of Aḥiḳar . . .* by Conybeare, Rendel Harris and A. S. Lewis', 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1913 (here quoted as 'Story') and in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. ii, Oxford, 1913 (here quoted as 'Charles') p. 715+, by the same editors, together with the works mentioned there. It is only proposed here to deal with the Aramaic text found in these papyri and with the questions specially connected with it.

Owing to the broken state of the papyri their reading and interpretation alike are often uncertain. A large number of articles dealing with the text have added something to its elucidation, but much still remains to be done. For the present purpose the suggestions of the following scholars, as being the most worthy of attention, have been carefully considered :

Baneth, *OLZ*, 1914, 248, 295, 348.

Epstein, *ZATW*, 1912, p. 128; 1913, pp. 222, 310; *OLZ*, 1916, 204.

Grimme, *OLZ*, 1911, 529.

Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris III* (1912), p. 253.

Ed. Meyer, *Papyrusfund*, p. 102.

Montgomery, *OLZ*, 1912, 535. *Expository Times*, 24 (1913), p. 428.

Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, 67, p. 766. 'Untersuch. zum Achiqar-Roman' in *Abh. der Gött. Ges.* 14, 4 (1913).

Perles, *OLZ*, 1911, 497; 1912, 54.

Seidel, *ZAW*, 1912, p. 292.

Smend, *ThLZ*, 1912, 387.

Strack, *ZDMG*, 1911, p. 826.

Stummer, *OLZ*, 1914, 252; 1915, 103. *Der kritische Wert . . . Münster*, 1914.

Torczyner, *OLZ*, 1912, 397.

Wensinck, *OLZ*, 1912, 49.

The Aramaic is not (as assumed in Charles, p. 720) the original of the book. There are indeed few Hebraisms in it, and although it was found in a Jewish colony, the story shows no sign of Jewish origin. It is not derived from Hebrew sources¹ and there is no reason why we should expect it to be so. The Jews were not the only literary people of the time. The fact that Tobit refers to it as a well-known story, does not prove that it was known to the author as being a piece of native Jewish literature. Its fame was much more widely spread. At the time when these papyri were written, Egypt was, and had been for a century, under Persian rule, and as we see from other documents, the Persian government officially used Aramaic in the provinces. The language was therefore well-known at headquarters, qualified translators must have been employed (as earlier by Assurbanipal), and it is reasonable to suppose that texts other than purely official documents would gradually be made known abroad through this medium. It is true we know little enough of Aramaic in the fifth century B.C., and nothing at all of its literary narrative style, but one cannot read a few paragraphs of Old Persian (such as Darius' inscription at Behistun) without being struck by the general similarity in style of the Aramaic narrative of AḥiḶar. It is always unsafe to trust to an abstract estimate of style, but when, as here, inherent probability points to the same conclusion, the argument deserves consideration. Moreover there are a few definite signs that the Aramaic is under Persian influence. The name of Assyria is written אַתּוּר (as later in the Targums), not אַשּׁוּר as in the Sinjirli inscriptions. This is not because the papyrus is 300 years later than the Sinjirli texts but because it follows the Persian form Athura². A peculiarity of the AḥiḶar text is

¹ The resemblance of phrases, e.g. in 2 Sam. 16¹¹⁻¹⁹.²³ and 18¹⁸ (אִין לִי בֵן) to expressions used in AḥiḶar, is due to mere coincidence.

² This was first suggested to me by Prof. Sayce.

the constant use of שמה after a person's name, as in line 1 אחיקר שמה 'a man named Aḥiḳar'. This is not found in ordinary Aramaic¹, but is a common idiom in Old Persian as Behistun ii, 6 Vidarna nāma 'a man named Vidarna'. The use of אחר again, as an almost redundant conjunction, is exactly parallel to the OP pasāva 'afterwards' used in the same way.

The Aramaic then is a translation from Persian or made under Persian influence, but Persian was probably not the original language of the story. The Persians were, not, at the beginning, a literary people, although they made great efforts to become so after their conquest of Babylon. It was part of their enlightened policy. Now Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* i, 15, 69, ed. Stählin, Lpz., 1906) says that the Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera borrowed from Babylonian moral sayings² and incorporated with his own compositions a translation of the στήλη of Akikaros³, who no doubt is Aḥiḳar. It is true that Clement goes on to say that Democritus, who prided himself on his travels, claimed to have visited Babylon, Persia and Egypt and to have sat at the feet of the magi and priests (τοῖς τε μάγοις καὶ τοῖς ἱερέυσι μαθητεύων), so that he might have borrowed from a Persian text or even from the present Aramaic, since his travels must have taken place⁴ when this papyrus was already in existence. But Clement was evidently following a trustworthy authority and would not have associated Aḥiḳar with Babylonian writings if he had meant Persian. The debt of the Greeks to Babylon as well as to Egypt and even to India in matters of physical science and philosophy is acknowledged, and need not be emphasized here. Moreover the view that the story came from a Babylonian source agrees with other indications. Though it bears a Persian colouring over its Aramaic dress, its body is clearly Babylonian. The kings Senacherib and Esarhaddon are in the right order (not reversed, as in the later versions) and their names are more correct in form than in the OT, the names Nadin and Nabusumiskun are purely Babylonian, so is the use of אלהים (pl. = *ilām*) and שמש as a god (neither of them Persian), while the frequent mention of

¹ Though it occurs in other documents of this collection, where it is also due to Persian influence.

² Δημόκριτος γὰρ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίου λόγους ἠθικοὺς [αὐτοῦ?] πεποίηται· λέγεται γὰρ τὴν Ἀκικάρου στήλην ἐρμηνευθεῖσαν τοῖς ἰδίοις συντάξαι συγγράμμασι. The first sentence, which is not very clear, is quoted by Eusebius in *Praef. Evang.* x. 4. Diogenes Laertius v, 50 mentions a work Περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, edited by Theophrastus. Cf. also *Strabo* xvi, p. 762, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βοσπορηνοῖς Ἀχαίκαρον.

³ See Story, p. xli + for a discussion of the statement and reasons for accepting it.

⁴ He lived from 460 to 361 B. C.

Assyria would be quite unsuitable in a Persian composition. There would have been no need to put the story back into Assyrian times, since the incidents related might just as well have occurred under a Persian despot. We know that the Babylonians did possess λόγους ἠθικούς, gnostic or 'wisdom'-literature, in the form of proverbs,¹ some of which are similar in character to the proverbs of Aḥiḷar, and like them are collected under the name of a particular person. It appears then much more reasonable to suppose that the Aḥiḷar story and proverbs were originally composed in Babylonian, than to assume that the original was Persian, since we have no knowledge of the existence of any such literature among the Persians in or about 500 B.C. The composition must go at least as far back as that and may be even older.²

With regard to the word στήλη, used by Clement, there has been some unnecessary discussion. Of course no one writes a long series of proverbs on a *pillar*, or at least it would be very unusual to do so. They would be written (in Babylonia) on a tablet or tablets of clay, which might be of any size up to, say, 10 inches long. It is unlikely that Clement had ever seen a cuneiform tablet, and if his authority implied that the proverbs of Akikaros were inscribed on some hard substance, he might reasonably take it for granted that they were inscribed in the only way he knew, namely like a Greek inscription on a column. Therefore στήλη need only represent 'tablet', and does not imply any special distinction. The very strangeness of the word corroborates the story.

The Aramaic papyrus must be dated some time before 400 B.C., say about 430. The supposed Babylonian original cannot be earlier than 668, in the form from which the Aramaic is translated, although the story may be based on an earlier fact or legend. We have no definite proof, but some indications, of a more precise date. It is natural to suggest the time of Assurbanipal³ (successor of Esarhaddon), the great patron of learning, at whose direction countless texts of all kinds were re-copied, and new works composed. Probable as this date is, however, there are reasons against it. In reading the Aramaic text attentively (and assuming that it represents the Babylonian original faithfully) one cannot help feeling that the historical setting is vague.⁴ Esarhaddon is not

¹ See Langdon in *PSBA* 1916, p. 105+ and the references there. Also in *AJSL* 1912, p. 217.

² But not earlier than 668 (Esarhaddon's death) if that king's name belonged to the original story.

³ Cf. his complaint of the ingratitude of his brother, in Rogers, *History of Babylonia* ii, p. 447, which might have suggested the Aḥiḷar story.

⁴ So Ed. Meyer, *Papyrusfund*, p. 120+.

a living portrait: he has become a conventional figure. More definite is the fact that nowhere is either Nineveh or Babylon named—at least in the fragments preserved. The king nearly always has the title ‘king of Assyria’, and we cannot suppose that his capital would not sometimes be mentioned if its greatness was still a memory.¹ Nineveh was destroyed, and with it ‘the kingdom of Assyria, all of it’ just before 600 B. C. How long would it take to obscure the features of history and to make Assyria a suitable setting for an old-world story? Suppose we allow 50 years from the fall of Nineveh,² and allow something over a century for the story to become popular and to be translated from Babylonian into (Persian? and thence into) Aramaic. We are then brought to about the same date as Sachau for the original composition, about 550 (Sachau says 550–450), only that we hold it to have been first written in Babylonian. Whether it was translated first into Persian and thence into Aramaic, or directly from Babylonian into Aramaic, cannot be decided and is of no great importance. The Aramaic translation was made not later (perhaps earlier) than 450, by a scholar who, if he did not make it from Persian, was familiar with the Persian language and accustomed to translating from Persian, and whose Aramaic was strongly influenced by Persian. The existing papyrus is not his first draft, as is shown by the blanks in it. The copyist worked on a text which was already old and injured. He experienced the same difficulties as we have; sometimes he could not read his text and sometimes he did not understand it.

It must have been this or a similar Aramaic version which the author of Tobit knew, for there is nowhere any sign of the existence of an early Hebrew translation.³ Nor is there any reason why there should have been one. Aramaic was perfectly well understood by the Jews in the last centuries B. C., was in fact more a vernacular than Hebrew. If an Aramaic version of it already existed, as we see it certainly did, there would be no need to translate a piece of purely popular literature into Hebrew.

Before the recovery of this Aramaic text, the story was known in

¹ Cf. e.g. the frequent mention of Babylon in the book of Daniel.

² Events moved rapidly at that time. In 550 the greatness of Egypt under Necho and Hophra was recent enough to account for its appearance in the story, if it was original—see below. In Tobit 14¹⁵ (Sinaitic text) Aḥīkar is associated with the fall of Nineveh, so that this may have been mentioned in the original form of the story.

³ Whether or not the book of Tobit was originally written in Hebrew does not concern us here. At any rate the version published by Neubauer (*The Book of Tobit*, Oxford, 1878) is merely a mediaeval Jewish production. The name of Aḥīkar is there spelt אֲחִיקָר.

several later versions and appears in the Arabian Nights and even in India. As long ago as 1880 it was pointed out by Hoffmann¹ that the name of the hero is mentioned in the book of Tobit (1²², 14¹⁰, &c.). There are two possible ways of accounting for this fact: either the story already existed before the book of Tobit and was well known, or it was compiled in order to justify the reference in Tobit, just as the histories of the more obscure apostles were composed in the early church. The former, which in any case would seem the more probable, is now shown to be true, since the papyrus is two or three centuries earlier than Tobit.² A comparison between this early text and the later versions is rendered more difficult by the broken state of the papyri. The book, if it may be called so, is divided into two main parts, the narrative proper and the proverbs. Whether the two parts were originally distinct and whether the narrative was only used as a setting for the proverbs, we need not now inquire. In the later versions these two parts are subdivided into four: (1) the introduction, down to the adoption of Nadin; (2) the maxims by which he was educated; (3) the rest of the narrative, including Nadin's treachery, the restoration of Aḥiḳar and the episode in Egypt; (4) the maxims by which Nadin was punished. Our Aramaic text is, as would be expected, much simpler in the narrative part than the later versions. We have the beginning, and the first 4 fragments (=5 columns) are continuous, bringing the story down to the point at which Nabusumiskun reports to the king that he has killed Aḥiḳar. There seems therefore to be no place for the educative series of proverbs, which should begin at l. 9, in the middle of a continuous piece. The rest of the narrative is lost, so that we cannot tell whether it contained the Egyptian episode or not. So far as it goes, the narrative is on the same lines as in the later versions. If it continued on those lines, something is wanted to account for the rehabilitation of Aḥiḳar, and this may have been supplied by the Egyptian episode, though perhaps in a much less elaborate form.³ On the other hand the ending may have been more abrupt and arbitrary, especially if the story was only intended as a prop for the proverbs. It must have ended happily, otherwise there would be no point in the scheme by which Aḥiḳar's life was saved. In

¹ In *Auszüge aus syrischen Erzählungen . . . in Abhandlungen für d. Kunde d. Morgenlands*, vol. 8.

² Which is supposed to have been written c. 230 B. C. See Simpson in Charles, *Apocrypha*.

³ The incidents in this episode strike me as being too modern in character for a Babylonian story. At any rate I do not recall anything quite like them in cuneiform literature.

any case the whole of the narrative must have come first. Then follow the proverbs. They must have belonged to the story, because some of them clearly refer to Nadin's conduct, but they differ so much from the series in the later versions, that we have little help in determining their order where the papyrus is not continuous. Pap. 55 (line 79) does indeed start with a few lines corresponding roughly to a group early in the Syriac second series. Otherwise there is only occasional agreement with any of the later versions. The original collection formed a nucleus which was increased, diminished or varied according to the taste of subsequent editors. Collections of proverbs, including fables, were a favourite form of literature among the Semitic (and other) peoples. They were often compiled as representing the teaching of some particular wise man, and were put forth under his name. Thus the Babylonian collection mentioned above is ascribed to a person whose name is broken, we have the Hebrew collection of Ben Sira, and in the OT the book attributed to Solomon (Prov. 1¹, 10¹) with which are incorporated (perhaps the sayings of the wise 24²³) the proverbs of Solomon which Hezekiah's scribes copied out, 25¹ (העתיקו 'translated' or 'transliterated'?), the words of Agur 30¹, and the words of king Lemuel 31¹. (The last for instance would form an exact parallel to the Aḥiḳar text if some one had prefixed to them an edifying story to explain why his mother taught him). Many of these sayings must have been constantly quoted conversationally, and have become part of the current wisdom of the world. But from their very popularity they tend to be modified—improved or distorted, simplified or obscured—and would soon lose all memory of their original ownership. Then arises another wise man, *qui prend son bien où il le trouve*, and with his own work incorporates, consciously or unconsciously, popular sayings (and often more than one form of the same maxim) without any intention of plagiarizing. Or he takes some well-known book of maxims and improves it. In this way has 'wisdom'-literature grown, and thus we may account for the differences between the proverbs of the Aramaic Aḥiḳar and those of the later versions, as well as for the elements which it has in common with Ben Sira, the book of Proverbs, or with similar works. In fact there is no reason why, if Aḥiḳar had been current in his circle, the compiler of the book of Proverbs should not have included parts of it in his work, just as he included the 'words of Agur', which are no more Jewish in spirit than Aḥiḳar. They are just worldly wisdom. Later Hebrew works, such as the *Derekh Erez zuta*, generally have a definitely Jewish (but not necessarily religious) colouring. In the following notes no attempt is

made to trace the proverbs in other literature. That would involve a much more extensive commentary. My object has been to contribute something to the establishment of the text and its meaning, without which the larger questions cannot be satisfactorily discussed.

The use of the sign † to mark the end of a proverb is not found in the narrative part, nor in any other of these papyri. It may be an archaic א, for אהר (?), but cf. the sign > used in the 'Logia' to mark off sayings, Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* iv, pl. 1. This may be held to indicate that the proverbs formed a distinct document, but probably the sign was only used in such disconnected compositions.

In trying to restore the text certain points must be taken into account. The papyrus was written in columns which were not all of the same width. The text of the narrative was written continuously, with division of words but without leaving blank spaces. If the original width of the column can be ascertained, we can estimate approximately the number of letters missing in a lacuna. The width of the column, however, is not maintained with the same mathematical precision as e.g. in a well-written Greek or Hebrew biblical MS. Thus the width of the first column seems to be shown by line 10, where the completion at the end may be taken as certain, cf. 30¹². But if it is right, the line must have been shorter by 3 or 4 letters than e.g. l. 13 where the restoration at the end is equally certain. Within such limits, however, the width of the column is a useful guide. The style is so simple and the repetition of set phrases is so frequent that in many cases a lacuna can be filled with great probability, while in some the context compels a particular restoration.

None of these helps are found in the proverbs, where restoration is consequently very difficult. There we often have half a line, or less, left blank, so that the width of the column is no sure guide. These blanks occur also in the version of the Behistun inscription and no doubt represent passages which the scribe could not read in his exemplar and so simply left them out. There are no recurrent phrases, and in literature of this kind there is no telling what the author will say next. It is the unexpected which makes the proverb. The later versions seldom help. There is therefore much room for subjective reconstruction, with little result that can be called satisfactory.

THE WORDS OF AḤIḶAR

Col. i. Sachau, plate 40.

- 1 אלה מ]לי אחיקר שמה ספר חכים ומהיר זי חכם לברה . . .]
 2 כזי] אמר ברא לם יהוה לי קדמת מל]ו]הי [רב]ה אחיקר וי]עט אתור
 כלה הוה
 3 ועב]ית עזקתה זי שנחאריב מלך אתור]ר ואמר אנ]ה לם בנן ל]א לי ועל עטתי
 4 ומלי הוה שנחאריב מלך אתור א]חר מית שנ]חאריב מן]לך אתור וקם
 שמה
 5 אסרחאדן ברה והוה מלך באתור הל]ף שנחאריב א]בוהי ב]אדין אמרת
 6 שב [אנה ומן] ל]י יהוה] לבר אחר]י ל . . . מ]ותה [ומן יהוה
 7 ל]ספר וצבית עזקת]ה לאס]רחאדן מלכא כזי אנה הוית לשנחאריב
 8 מלך] אתור אחר אנ]ה אחיקר לקחת נדן שמה] ברה [זי אחתי ורביתה
 9 וחכמתה וטבתא ה]שנית ו]ה[קימתה בב]ב היכלא עמני] קדם מלכא בנו
 10 סגדוהי קרבתה קדם אסרחאדן מלך אתור וחכמה מ]נרעמתא
 11 ז]י שאלה אחר רחמה אסרחאדן מלך אתור ואמר חין ש]ניאן לאחיקר יהו
 12 ס]פרא חכימא יעט אתור כלה זי הקים לברה ולא בר [לה בר אח]תה
 13 כזי כן אמר מלך את]ור גהנת וסגד]ת] לם אחיקר קדם אסרת]אדן
 מלך] אתור
 14 וליומן אחרנן אנה א]חיקר כזי ח]ז]ית אנפי אסרחאדן מלך אתור טבן ענית
 15 ואמרת קדם מלכ]א א אנ]ה פלחת לשנח]אריב מלכא אבוך [ז]י מלך הו]ה קדמיך
 16 [וכעת הא

Col. ii. Sachau, plate 41.

- 17 שב אנה לא אכהל למפלח בבב היכלא [ולמעבר לך עבידתי
 18 ה]א נדן שמה ברי רבא והו יחלף לי ספר [ויעט אתור כלה והו
 19 צבי]ת עזקה יהוה לך אף חכמתי וע]טתי חכמתה ענה אסרחאדן
 יה]וה
 20 מל]ך אתור ואמר לי כותא לם [ברך ספר ויעט וצבית עזקה לי
 21 יהוה] חלפיך עבידתך הו יעבר [לי אחר אנה אחיקר כזי שמעת
 22 מלתא י]היבא אזלת לי לביתי [ושלה הוית בביתי וברי זנה
 23 זי רבי]ת והקימת בבב היכלא [קדם אסרחאדן מלך אתור בנו
 24 סגדוהי] אמרת הו טבתא יבע]ה עלי לקבלוי עבדת לה אחר
 25 בר אח]תי זי אנה רבית עשת על]י באישתא אף אמר בלבבה
 26 לם [כאלה מ]ל]ן] אכל א]מר אחיקר זך שבא זי צבית עזקה הוה
 27 לשנחא]ריב מלכא אבוך [הו חבל מתא עליך כי יעט וספ]ר
 28 חכים הו ועל עטתה ומל]ו]הי הוית אתור כלה אחר אסרחאדן

- 29 שניא ידגש מלן שמע [כאלה זי אנה אמר לה ויקטל אחיקר אחר
 30 כזי ברי זי לא ברי בדא [עלי כדבתא זא
 31 ל

Col. iii. Sachau, plate 42.

- 32 באדין התמלא חמא אס[רחאדן מלך אתור ואמר
 33 יאתי לי נבוסמסכן ח]ד מן רבי אבי זי לחם אבי
 34 אכל אמר מלכא אחיקר] תבעה אתר זי אנת תהשכח
 35 ותקטלנהי] הנלו [את]יק[ר] זך שבא ספר חכים
 36 ויעט כל אתנ]ר למה הו יחבל מתא עלין אחר כזי
 37 כן אמר מלך א]תור מני עמה גברן / אחרנן למחזה איך
 38 יתעבד אזל נב]וסמסכן זך רביא רכב ב[ס]וסה חר קל]ל
 39 ונבריא אלך] עמה אחר לי[ו]מן אחרנן תלתה לם
 40 הו עם גברן א]חרנן זי עמה ח[זני] ואנה מהלך בין כרמיא
 41 וכזי חזני נב]וסמסכן רביא [זך קרב]תא בזע כתונה הילל
 42 ואמר אנת הו]ן ספרא חכימא ובעל עטתא טבתא זי גבר
 43 צדיק הוה וע]ל עטתה ומלוהי הות אתור כלא ידעך
 44 ברא זי רבי]ת זי הקימת בתרע היכלא הו חבלך ותובא
 45 באישא הו קר]בתא דחלת לם אחיקר ענית ואמרת לנבוסמס]כן
 46 רביא זך אף] אנה הו אחיקר זי קרמן שזכך מן קטל זכי
 47 כזי שנחאריב] אבוהי זי אסרחאדן זנה מלכא חמר עליך
 48 למקטלך קרב]תא יבלתך לביתא זילי תמה הוית מסבל לך

Col. iv. Sachau, plate 43, col. i.

- 49 כאיש עם אחוהי והצפנתך מנה אמרת קטלתה עד זי לעד]ן א]חרן וליומן
 אחרנן
 50 שניאן קרבנתך קרם סנחאריב מלכא והעדית חטאיך קדמוהי ובאישא]תא
 51 לא עבד לך אף שניא סנחאריב מלכא רחמני עלזי החיתך ולא קטלתך
 כען אנת
 52 לקבלזי אנה עברת לך; כן אפו, עבד לי אל תקטלני בלני לביתך ע]ד] ליומן
 אחרנן
 53 אסרחאדן מלכא רחמן הו כמדע על אחרן יזכרני ועטתי יבעה א]חר] אנת
 54 תקר]בני עלוהי ויהחיני אחר [ענה] נבוסמסכן רביא ואמר לי אל תדחל לם
 55 תח]יי אחיקר אבוה זי אתור כלה זי על עטתה סנחאריב מלכא וחיל אתור

- 56 כלא הוון] קרבתא נבוסמסכן רביא אמר לכנותה גבריא אלך תרין זי עמה
 57 אנתם הצי]תו לם א[ף הקשי]ב[ו] עלי ואנה אמר לכם עטתא [זילי] ועטה
 טבה הי
 58 שניא] א[חר ענו גבריא] אלך תרין ואמרו ל[ה אנת] ל[ם א]מר לן
 נבוסמסכן רביא
 59 זי [אנת] א[מר ואנחנה נשמע]נך קרבתא [ענה נבוסמסכן ר]ביא ואמר להם
 שמעו לי
 60 לם זנה [אחי]קר רב [וצבית עז]קה זי אסרחאדן [מלכא ה]ו ועל עטתה
 ומלוהי
 61 חיל [אתו]ר כלא הוון אנחנה אל נקטלנהי [וכי עלים חד] סריס זילי
 אנתן לכם
 62 יתקטל ב[ו]ן] טוריא [אל]ה תרין חלף אחיקר זנה וכו' [ישתמיע ג]ברן אחרנן
 מלכא [יש]לח
 63 א[חרין פגרה זי אחיקר זנה למחזה אחר [יחזון פגר]ה זי סריסא [זנ]ה
 עלימא זילי

Col. v. Sachau, plate 43, col. 2.

- 64 עדזי על אחרן אסרחאדן [מלכא יזכר אחיקר ועטתה יבעה ויבאש
 65 עלוהי ולבב אסרחאר]ן מלכא יתוב עלי ויאמר לרבוהי וסגדוהי
 66 נכסן אנה אנתן לכם כמס[פר הלא הן לו תשכחון אחיקר ועטתא זנה
 67 טיבת על כנותה אלך ת[רין גבריא ענו ואמרו לנבוסמסכן רביא
 68 עבד לקבלווי אנת עשת [אל נקטלנהי ותנתן לן עלימא
 69 זך סריסא חלף אחיקר [זנה הו יתקטל בין טוריא אלך תרין
 70 בוך עדנא אשתמיע במ]דינת אתור לם אחיקר ספרא זי אסרחאדן
 71 מלכא קטיל אחר נבוס[מסכן רביא זך יבלני לביתה והוצפנני אף
 72 הוה מסבל לי תמה כ]איש עם אחוהי ואמר לי . . . לחם ומין
 73 יסתבלון קדם מראי ה]ן
 74 סבל שניא ונכסן שפ[יען יחב לי אחר נבוסמסכן זך רביא
 75 אזל על אסרחאדן מל]כא ואמר לה לקבלווי אמרת לי כן עבדת
 76 אזלת השכחת לאחיקר]ך זך וקטלתה וכזי שמע זנה אסרחאדן
 77 מלכא שאל לגבריא ת[רין זי מני עם נבוסמסכן ואמרו כן הוה כזי
 78 אמר א[די]ן עד אסרחא[דן מלכא

Col. vi. Sachau, plate 44.

- 79 מ[ה] חסין הו מן חמר נער ב[ג]תא
 80 ברא זי יתאלף ויתסר ויתשים ארחא ברגלון]הי

- 81 אל תהחשך ברך מן חטר הן לו לא תכהל תהנצלנ]הי מן באישתא
 82 הן אמחאנך ברי לא תמות והן אישבקן על לבבך [לא תחיה
 83 מחאה לעלים בא]יה[לחנת אף לכל עבדיך אל]פנא † איש זי
 84 קנה עבד פר[יין ו]אמה ננבה פ[חד] הו [הנעל לביתה ו . . .
 85 שם אבוהו וזרעה בשם שרחותה † עקרבא [יהשכח?
 86 לחם ולא י[אכל]ל [עד י]חיה וע[ל]והי טב מן זי יט[עמנהי
 87 ל[. . .] . . .] עבדת [. . . .] . . .] דם אילתא שניאת מסמ[. . . .]
 88 אריא יהוה מסמה לאילא בסתר סוידא והו [. . .
 89 ודמה יאשר ובשרה יאכל הא כן פנעהם זי [אנשא] † מ . . . אריה . . .
 90 שבק חמר ולא יסבלנהי ינשא בות מן כנתה [וינ]שא מ[וב]לא זי לא זי[לה
 91 וטעון נמלא יטעננהי † חמרא רכ[ן] לאתנא [מן ר]חמתה וצנפריא [ג . . .
 92 חרתין מלן שפירה זוי תלתא רחימה לשמש ש[תה] חמרא ויניקנהי כבש
 חכמה ?]
 93 וישמע מלה ולא יהחזה † הא זנה יקיר [קדם] שמש זוי ישתה חמרא
 ולא [יניקנהי
 94 וחכמתה אברה [ו נד] מן חזה † . . . שמת[. . . .] . . . ינו
 עממא [חכמתהם] אלהיא ה[. . . .
 Col. vii. Sachau, plate 45.
 95 אף לאלהן יקירה הי ע[ד]לע[ל]מן לה[מלכותא בש]מי[ן] שימה הי כי בעל
 קדשן נשא]ה
 96 ב[רי] אל ת[ב]ט יתרא עד תחזה [כל מ]לה
 97 זי] תאתה על בלך בזי בכל אתר [עיני]הם ודנייהם ל[הן] פמך אשתמר
 לך אל יהוה טרפי]ך
 98 מן כל מנטרה טר פמך ו[על] זי ש[מענת] חוקר לבב כי צנפר הי מלה
 ומשלחה גבר לא ל[קח
 99 מ[.י] אחדי פמך אחרי כן הנפק [לאחו]ך בעדרה כי עזיז ארב פם מן ארב
 מלחם
 100 אל תכבה מלת מלך רפאה תהוי [לאחו]ך רכיך ממלל מלך שרק ועזיז הו
 מן סבין פמ]ין
 101 חזי קדמתך מנדעם קשה [על א]נפי מ[לך] אלחקום זעיר כצפה מן ברק אנת
 אשתמר לך
 102 אליח[ונ]הי עלא[מ]ריך ותהך [ב]לא ביומך
 לך
 103 קדמ[ת] מלך הן פקיד אשה יקדה הי עבק עברה[י] א[לתהן] שק עלך
 וחכסה כפיך [כי

- 104 א]ף מלת מלך בחמר לכבא ✕ [למ]ה ישפטון עקן עם אישה בשר עם
סבין איש עם [מלך
105 טעמת אף זעררתא מררתא ו[טעמ]א חסין ולא איתי זי [מ]ריר מן ענוה
רכיך לשן מן[לך
106 ועלעי תנין יתבר כמותא זי [ל]א מתחזה ✕ בשניא בנן לבכך אליחרה
ובזעריהם [אלתבהת
107 מלך כרחמן אף קלה גבה ה[ו] מן הו זי יקום קרמוהי להן זי אל עמה
108 שפיר מלך למחזה כשמש ויקיר הרדה לדרכי ארקא בניח[א]
109 מאן טב כס[ת] מלה בלבכה ו[הו] זי תביר הנפקה ברא
110 אריא אול קרב לש[למה לחמרא] [ל]ס[ם] שלם יהוי לך ענה חמרא ואמר לאריא

Col. viii. Sachau, plate 46.

- 111 נשאת חלא וטענת מלח ולא איתי זי יקיר מן [זפתא?
112 נשאת חבן ונסבת פרן ולא ולא איתי זי קליל מן תותב
113 חרב תרלח מין שפין בין רעין טבן
114 איש זעיר וירבה מלוהי מסרסרן לעלא מנה כי מפתח פמה מע[ל]ה
115 אלהן והן רחים אלהן הו ישימון טב בחנכה למאמר
116 שניאן [ב]וכב[י] שמויא זי שמהתהם לא ידע איש הא בן אנשא לא ידע איש
117 אריה [לא אי]תי בימא על בן יקראון לקפא לבא
118 נמרא פנע לענזא והי עריה ענה נמרא ואמר לענזא אתי ואכסנכי משכי [ענת
119 ענזא ואמרת לנמרא למה לי נסיכי נלדי אל תלקחן מני כי לא [ישא]ל
120 שלם טביא להן למונק דמה ✕ רבא אול על אמ[ריא] . . . א . . .
121 אשתק ענו אמרי[א] ואמרו לה שא לך זי ת[נ]שא מנן אנחנה א[מריך
122 כי לא בידי אנ[ש]א מ[נ]ש[א] רנלהם ומנחתותהם מן בלע[רי] אלהן [ל]בן . . .
123 כי לא ביריך מ[נ]ש[א] רנלך [ו] למנחתותה ✕ הן נפקה טבה מן פס א[נשא] טב
124 והן לחיה תנפק [מן] פמהם אלהן ילחון להם ✕ הן עיני אלהן על אנ[שא]
125 איש מצלח עקן בחשובא ולא חוזה באיש ננב זי שתר בי וישת[מר]?

Col. ix. Sachau, plate 47, col. 1.

- 126 אלתדרג ק[שתך] ואל תהרכב חטך לצדיק למה אלהיא יסגה בעדרה
ויהתיבנהי עליך
127 . . . אנת יה ברי הכצר כל כציר ועבר כל עבירה אדין תאכל ותשבוע
ותנתן לבניך
128 הן דר[גת] קשתך והרכבת חטך לצדיק מנך חטא מן אלהן הד
129 . . . אנת יה ברי זף דגנא וחנטתא זי תאכל ותשבוע ותנתן לבניך עמך

- 130 ז]פתא יקירתא ומן גבר לחה אלתוזף א]ף הן] תוזף זפתא שלין לנפשך
אלתשים עד
- 131 ז]פתא [תשלם זפתא] א חליה כ]זי חס] יר ומשלמותה ממלא [ב]י
- 132 כל זי תשמע תבחננ]הי באדניך כי חן גבר הימנותה [כי] שנאתה כדבת
שפותה
- 133 עלק]דמן כרסאא לכדבא [.]אט ועלא[חרן יה]נשגון כדבתה וירוקן באנפוהי
- 134 מכרב גויר קדלהככתולה תימנה זי [תחבא ?] לאנפין כאיש זי יעבד לחיתא
ומן אלהן לא נפקת ✕
- 136 אלתמאס] זי בערבך ואל תרנג לכביר זי ימנע מנך
- 137 אלתרבין] חיל ואל תהשנא לבבא
- 138 זי] לא יתרום בשם אבוהי ובשם אמה אלידנח שמ]ש עלוהי] כי גבר לחה הו
- 139 מני] נפקת לחיתי ועם מן אצדק ✕ בר בטני הנשש ביתי [?]ומ]ה אמר
לנכריא
- 140 ה]וה לי שהר חמס ומן אפו צדקני ✕ מן ביתי נפקת חמת]א] עם מן
אקשה ואעפה
- 141 רז]ך אלתגלי קדם [רח]מיד [ו]אליקל שמך קדמיהם
- Col. x. Sachau, plate 47, col. 2.
- 142 עם זי רם מנך אלתעבר בנ]צוי?
- 143 עם זי אצי]ל] ועזיז מנך [אלתשפט כי ילקח
- 144 מן מנתך [ועל]זילה [יהוסף ?
- 145 הא כן איש זעיר ועם [איש רב ישפט
- 146 אלתהעדי מנך חכמתא ו] . . .
- 147 אל תסתכל כביר [וא]ל ידעך ח]כמתך
- 148 אל תחלי ואל]יבלע]וך אלתמר [ואלירקוך
- 149 הן צבה אנת ברי זי תהוה [רם השפל נפשך קדם אלהא
- 150 זי יהשפל לאיש רם (?) ו]ירים לאיש שפל
- 151 מה ילוטון ש]פוח]ת [אנ]שא ל]א ילוטון אלהן
- 152 טב כבש . . .
- 153 נפשך אלירחם . . .
- 154 ירפון המו להן זי אל עמה . . .
- 155 יהשחתון ידי ואל פמי ואל . . .
- 156 יאבך אל פם אפכא וינסח לשנ]ה
- 157 עי]נין טבן אל יאכמו ואדנין [טבן אל יסתתמו ופם טב ירחם
כשיטא ויאמרנה
- 158

Col. xi. Sachau, plate 48, col. 1.

- 159 איש [שפ]יר מדרה ולבבה טב כק[שת]ה חסינה זי מת[ננרה] בג[בר] איתי
 160 הן לא י[עמד איש עם אלהן ומה יתנטר עלאון נוה
 161 . . . מן . . . שי בטן וזי לה אלעמה מן יהו[ה ד]אנהי
 162 . . . נה . . . ו אנשא ועממא עברו בהם ולא שבקו המו ולבבהם [פתיח?]
 163 לא ידע] איש מה בלבב כנתה וכזי [ית]זה נבר טב לנבר ל[חה יוהר לה
 164 לא] ילוה עמה ב[ארחא] ובעל אנר לא יהוה לה נבר טב [ע]ם נ[בר לח]ה
 165 סנ[יא שדר לרמנ]א [א] לם סניא לרמנא מה טב שג[יא] כבי[ך לזי נ]גע
 [באנ]ביך
 166 . . . ענ[ה] [רמנ]א ואמר לסניא אנת כל[ך] כבן עם זי ננע בך
 167 צדיק אנשא בעדרה כלנטחוהי הוין
 168 בית] רשיען ביום רוה תתחלל ובשהינן יצעון תרעיה כי בזוית
 169 צדיק המו] ✠ עיני זי נטלת עליך ולבבי זי יהבת לך בחכמה
 170 מאסת וי[הבת שמי בשרחון]תא
 171 הן יאחדן רשיעא בכנפי לבשך שבק בידה אחר אדני לשמש הו
 172 י[לקח זילה וינתן לך

Col. xii. Sachau, plate 48, col. 2.

- 173 הקימני אלבצדיק עמך ל]מה
 174 ימותון שאני ולא בהרבי]
 175 שבקתך בסתר ארזא וסח[רת] ?
 176 שבקת לרחמיך והוקרת [שנאי
 177 רתא גבר זילא ידע מה י]
 178 חכים ממלל כי מפתח פם ס]
 179 אתנ] והי ש]
 180 בא]

 184 [נ]פלת ססא בערב]
 185 מיא
 186 .ב. ח נחשא נפלת ססא]
 187 נפשי לא תדע ארחה עלבן י]
 188 כפן יהחלה מדרותא ו]צהוה]
 189 ישתבע בעם מן לחם ותתרוה [נפש עניה מן חמר
 190 אנשא חלא א

Col. xiii. Sachau, plate 49.

(a)

חד דרך קשתה והרכב [חט]ה ולא] 191

(b) הן יפקד לך מראך מין למנטר] 192

למשבק זהב בידך ✕ אלת]ב] 193

קרב עלי ואל יאמר לך ר[חי]ק מני . . . א ולא יפשר 194

. . . שה ולא יע[.]. לה 195

[עבר זי ברנ]לה ארח ו[הו גנ]ב לא י[ת]קנה 196

. . . ביתה עמה [נפק]ת [א]שה מ[ן] אנ]פין ✕ ד . . . 197

[זי אלהא ✕] למ[ראה] . . . קש ברינה כזי עבר לחי[תא] ל[מ]ראה 198

. . . ת מראה . . . אבא הויה ✕ צנפריא און על . 199

. . . ה וי . . . איש לחה זי יהנשג נ . . . 200

. . . כזי [י]שלחנ[ך] למה תשתנה באנפוהי 201

. . . ה דמו . . . אנפוהי עלדבר זי 202

. . . מכרא . . . [ק]דמיך בחין קדם 203

. . . ם חד לערדה [ארכב] עליך ואנ[ה] אסבלנך 204

לך יהו[י] סבוליד וכסתך ואנה רכביך לא אחזה 205

בין בש[ר] ובין שאני בוק אל ינעל ברנלי 206

הן ✕ אליאמר עתירא בעתרי הדיר אנה 207

(c)

ד ✕ 197*

למ 198*

ת מראה 199*

ה ו 200*

(d)

רע את

חשנא

Col. xiv. Sachau, plate 50.

A אלתה]חוי לערבי ימא ולצידני ב[רא] B כי עבדתהם פרישה 208

. . . חמרא הו זי יטעמנהי ומ[.]. . . הו י[נ]טרנהי 209

. . . ר אמיר מית שאני וענת ו[לא] י[דע] זי [י]אתה מן אחרוהי 210

. . . ינסה ודם מן גלדי ✕ רג . . . בכותא הו . ג . מן . . . בלך 211

. . . בן הי . ל . . . להן ז . . . 212

. . . עויר עינין . . . 213

. . . יאתה . . . B . . . לה . . . 214

. . . עינין . . . D . . . מיא . . . 215

. . . בנן . . .	C	עויל וחרש ארנין ל	216
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Col. i.

¹ *These are the words of one named Aḥiḳar, a wise and ready scribe, who taught his son . . .* ² *For he said, 'Surely he shall be a son to me'. Before his words Aḥiḳar had become great and had been counsellor of all Assyria* ³ *and bearer of the seal of Senacherib king of Assyria, and he said: I indeed had no sons and on my counsel* ⁴ *and words Senacherib king of Assyria used to (rely). Then Senacherib king of Assyria died and there arose* ⁵ *his son named Esarhaddon and became king in Assyria instead of Senacherib his father. At that time I said* ⁶ *'I am old and who shall be to me a son after me to . . . ? and who shall be* ⁷ *scribe and bearer of the seal to Esarhaddon the king, as I was to Senacherib,* ⁸ *king of Assyria?'* Then I, Aḥiḳar, took Nadin, as he was called, the son of my sister, and brought him up, ⁹ and taught him and showed great kindness (to him), and set him in the gate of the palace with me before the king among ¹⁰ his courtiers. I brought him before Esarhaddon king of Assyria, and he told him whatever ¹¹ he asked him. Then Esarhaddon king of Assyria loved him and said 'Long life be to Aḥiḳar, ¹² the wise scribe, counsellor of all Assyria, who set up as his son, when he had no son, the son of his sister.' ¹³ When the king of Assyria had thus spoken, I bowed down and made obeisance, I Aḥiḳar, before Esarhaddon king of Assyria. ¹⁴ And in after days I, Aḥiḳar, when I saw the face of Esarhaddon king of Assyria favourable, I answered ¹⁵ and said before the king, 'I served Senacherib the king your father who was king before you ¹⁶ and now behold

Col. ii.

¹⁷ I am old. I cannot work in the gate of the palace and do my service to you. ¹⁸ Behold, my son, Nadin by name, is full-grown. Let him take my place as scribe and counsellor of all Assyria, and let him ¹⁹ be seal-bearer to you. My wisdom also and my counsel I have taught him.' Then answered Esarhaddon ²⁰ king of Assyria and said to me, 'So indeed it shall be. Your son shall be scribe and seal-bearer to me ²¹ in your stead. He shall do your service for me.' Then I, Aḥiḳar, when I heard ²² the promise given, went away to my house and was resting in my house. And this my son ²³ whom I had brought up and set in the gate of the palace before Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, among ²⁴ his

courtiers, I thought, 'He will seek my good in return for that which I have done for him'. Then ²⁵ the son of my sister whom I had brought up, imagined against me evil and said in his heart, ²⁶ 'Surely such words as these can I say, "This Aḥiḳar, the old man, who was seal-bearer ²⁷ to Senacherib the king your father has corrupted the land against you, for he is a counsellor and a skilful ²⁸ scribe and by his counsel and words all Assyria was (guided)."' Then Esarhaddon ²⁹ will be greatly troubled when he hears words like these which I shall speak to him, and will kill Aḥiḳar.' Then ³⁰ when my son who was not my son, had devised this falsehood against me ³¹

Col. iii.

³² Then was Esarhaddon king of Assyria filled with rage and said, ³³ 'Let there come to me Nabusumiskun one of the officers of my father, who ate the bread of my father.' ³⁴ The king said, 'You are to seek Aḥiḳar (in) a place which you shall find ³⁵ and kill him. Even if this Aḥiḳar, the old man, is a skilful scribe ³⁶ and counsellor of all Assyria, why should he corrupt the land against us?' Then when ³⁷ the king of Assyria had thus spoken, he appointed with him 2 other men to see how ³⁸ it would be done. This Nabusumiskun the officer went away riding on a swift horse of his, ³⁹ and those men with him. Then after three more days indeed ⁴⁰ he, with other men who were with him, saw me while I was walking among the vineyards. ⁴¹ And when this Nabusumiskun the officer saw me then he rent his clothes, lamenting, ⁴² and said, 'Are you he, the skilful scribe, giver of good counsel, who ⁴³ was a righteous man and by whose counsel and words all Assyria was (guided)?' ⁴⁴ The son whom you brought up, whom you set in the gate of the palace, has injured you (?); he has ruined you, and ⁴⁵ an evil return is it.' Then I, Aḥiḳar, indeed was afraid. I answered and said to Nabusumiskun ⁴⁶ the officer, '(Yes, and) also I am that Aḥiḳar who formerly saved you from an undeserved death ⁴⁷ when Senacherib the father of this Esarhaddon, the king, was angry with you ⁴⁸ to kill you. Then I took you to my house. There I was supporting you

Col. iv.

⁴⁹ as a man (deals) with his brother, and I hid you from him. I said, "I have killed him", until in after time and many days ⁵⁰ after, I brought you before king Senacherib and took away your offences before him, and he did you no evil. ⁵¹ Moreover king Senacherib was well pleased with me that I had kept you alive and had not killed you. Now ⁵² according as I did to you, so do also to me. Do not kill me. Take me to your house until other days. ⁵³ King Esarhaddon is kind as any man (?). Hereafter he will remember me and desire my counsel. Then you ⁵⁴ shall bring me to him and he shall let me live.' Then answered Nabusumiskun the officer and said to me, 'Fear not. Surely ⁵⁵ you shall live, Aḥiḳar, father of all Assyria, by whose counsel king Senacherib and all the army of Assyria ⁵⁶ were (guided).' Then Nabusumiskun the officer said to his companions, those two men who were with him, ⁵⁷ 'Hearken, indeed, and listen to me, and I will tell you my counsel,

and it is a good counsel ⁵⁸ *exceedingly.* Then answered those two men and said to him, 'Tell us indeed, Nabusumiskun the officer, ⁵⁹ what you think, and we will listen to you.' Then answered Nabusumiskun the officer and said to them, 'Hear me, ⁶⁰ indeed this Aḥiḳar was a great man and bearer of the seal to king Esarhaddon, and by his counsel and words ⁶¹ all the army of Assyria were (guided). Let us not kill him *undeservedly.* A slave, a eunuch of mine, I will give to you. ⁶² Let him be killed between these two mountains instead of this Aḥiḳar, and when it is heard, the king will send other men ⁶³ after us to see the body of this Aḥiḳar. Then they will see the body of this eunuch my slave,

Col. v.

⁶⁴ until afterwards Esarhaddon the king remembers Aḥiḳar and desires his counsel, and grieves ⁶⁵ over him, and the heart of Esarhaddon the king shall turn to me and he shall say to his officers and courtiers, ⁶⁶ "I will give you riches as the number of the sand if you find Aḥiḳar." And this counsel ⁶⁷ seemed good to his companions, those two men. They answered and said to Nabusumiskun, the officer, ⁶⁸ 'Do according as you think. Let us not kill him, but you shall give us that slave, ⁶⁹ the eunuch, instead of Aḥiḳar here. He shall be killed between these two mountains.' ⁷⁰ At that time it was reported in the country of Assyria, saying, 'Aḥiḳar the scribe of Esarhaddon ⁷¹ the king is killed.' Then Nabusumiskun, that officer, took me to his house and hid me, also ⁷² he sustained me there as a man (deals) with his brother, and said to me . . . 'Bread and water ⁷³ shall be carried to my lord' . . . ⁷⁴ abundant sustenance (?) and (other) things in plenty. Then Nabusumiskun, that officer, ⁷⁵ went to Esarhaddon the king and said to him, 'According as you commanded me, so have I done. ⁷⁶ I went and found that Aḥiḳar and killed him.' And when king Esarhaddon ⁷⁷ heard this he asked the two men whom he had appointed with Nabusumiskun and they said, 'So it was, as ⁷⁸ he says.' Then as long as king Esarhaddon

Col. vi.

⁷⁹ What is stronger than wine foaming in the press? ⁸⁰ The son who is trained and taught, and on whose feet the fetter is put shall prosper. ⁸¹ Withhold not thy son from the rod, if thou canst not keep him from wickedness. ⁸² If I smite thee, my son, thou wilt not die, and if I leave (thee) to thine own heart thou wilt not live. ⁸³ A blow for a slave, rebuke for a maid, and for all thy servants discipline. A man who ⁸⁴ buys a licentious slave (or) a thievish maid brings anxiety into his house, and disgraces ⁸⁵ the name of his father and his offspring with the reputation of his wantonness. The scorpion finds ⁸⁶ bread and does not eat in order that he may live, but it is too good for him to taste. ⁸⁷ thou hast done the blood of the hind . . . ⁸⁸ The lion devours (?) the hart in the secrecy of (his) den (?), and he . . . ⁸⁹ and will shed his blood and eat his flesh: so is the contact of men. From fear of the lion ⁹⁰ the ass left his burden and will not carry it. He shall bear shame before his fellow and shall bear a burden which is not his, ⁹¹ and shall

be laden with a camel's load. The ass made obeisance to the she-ass from love of her, and the birds . . . ⁹² Two things are a merit (?), and of three there is pleasure to Shamash: *one who drinks* wine and gives it (to others), *one who restrains* (?) wisdom . . . ⁹³ and he hears a word and does not reveal (it). Behold, this is precious *before* Shamash. But one who drinks wine and does not *give it to others* ⁹⁴ and his wisdom goes astray who sees? . . . Thou hast placed the peoples their wisdom the gods . . .

Col. vii.

⁹⁵ Even to gods is it precious, *to it for ever* belongs the kingdom, in heaven it is treasured up, for the lord of holiness has exalted *it*. ⁹⁶ My son, do not chatter overmuch till thou reveal *every word* ⁹⁷ *which* comes into thy mind, for in every place are their *eyes* and their ears; *but* keep watch over thy mouth, let it not be *thy* destruction (?). ⁹⁸ More than all watchfulness watch thy mouth, and *over* what *thou* hearest harden thy heart, for a word is (like) a bird, and when he has sent it forth a man does not *recapture it* (?). ⁹⁹ *Count* the secrets of thy mouth, afterwards bring forth (advice) to thy *brother* for his help, for stronger is the ambush of the mouth than the ambush of fighting. ¹⁰⁰ Suppress ⁸⁴ not the word of a king: let it be a healing to thy *brother*. Soft is the speech of a king, (but) it is sharper and stronger than a *two-edged* knife. ¹⁰¹ Behold before thee something hard: *in presence* of a king delay not. Swifter is his anger than lightning. Do thou take heed to thyself. ¹⁰² Let him not *show* it at thy words, that thou go away before thy time. ¹⁰³ *In presence* of a king, if (a thing) is commanded thee, it is a burning fire; hasten, do it; do not put sackcloth upon thee and hide thy hands, *for* ¹⁰⁴ also the word of a king is with wrath of heart. *Why* should wood strive with fire, flesh with a knife, a man with *a king*? ¹⁰⁵ I have tasted even the bitter sloe, and the *taste* was strong, but there is nothing which is more bitter than poverty. Soft is the tongue of a king ¹⁰⁶ but it breaks the ribs of a dragon, like death which is not seen. In a multitude of children let not thy heart exult, and in the lack of them *be not thou ashamed*. ¹⁰⁷ A king is like the merciful (?): even his voice is high: who is he that can stand before him, except one who is like (?) him? ¹⁰⁸ Glorious is a king to see, like Shamash, and precious is his sovereignty to those who walk on the earth in tranquillity. ¹⁰⁹ A good vessel hides a thing within itself, but *one that* is broken lets it go forth. ¹¹⁰ The lion went near to *greet the ass* saying, 'Peace be to thee'. The ass answered and said to the lion

Col. viii.

¹¹¹ I have lifted sand and carried salt, and there is nothing which is heavier than *debt*. ¹¹² I have lifted chaff and taken up crumbs, and there is nothing which is lighter than (to be) a sojourner. ¹¹³ A sword will trouble calm waters whether they be bad (or) good. ¹¹⁴ A little man when he multiplies his words, they fly away (?) above him, for the opening of his mouth . . . ¹¹⁵ gods, and if he were beloved of (the) gods they would put something good in his palate to speak. ¹¹⁶ Many

are the stars of heaven whose names man knows not: so man knows not men. ¹¹⁷ There is no lion in the sea, therefore they call the . . . lion (?).

166 / ¹¹⁸ The leopard met the goat and she was cold. The leopard answered and said to the goat, 'Come, and I will cover thee with my hide.'

¹¹⁹ The goat answered and said to the leopard, 'What hast thou to do with me, my lord? Take not my skin from me.' For he does not

¹²⁰ salute the kid except to suck its blood. The master (?) went to the sheep ¹²¹ I will be silent. The sheep answered and said to him, 'Take for thyself what thou wilt take from us. We are thy sheep.'

¹²² For it is not in the power of men to lift up their foot and to put them down without (the) gods. ¹²³ For it is not in thy power to lift

thy foot and to put it down. If there goes forth good from the mouth of men, it is well, ¹²⁴ and if a curse shall go forth from their mouth, (the)

gods will curse them. If the eyes of (the) gods are over men ¹²⁵ a man cuts (?) wood in the dark and does not see, like a thief who breaks into (?) a house and escapes (?).

Col. ix.

¹²⁶ Bend not thy bow and shoot not thy arrow at the righteous, lest God come to his help and turn it back upon thee. ¹²⁷ do thou,

O my son, gather every harvest, and do every work, then thou shalt eat and be filled and give to thy children. ¹²⁸ If thou hast bent thy bow and

shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou, it is a sin in the sight of God. ¹²⁹ do thou, O my son, borrow corn and wheat

that thou mayest eat and be filled and give to thy children with thee. ¹³⁰ A heavy loan and from a wicked man, borrow not, and if thou

borrow take no rest to thy soul till ¹³¹ thou pay back the loan. A loan is pleasant when there is need, but the paying of it is the filling of a house.

¹³² All that thou hearest thou mayest try by thy ears, for the beauty of a man is his faithfulness, for his hatefulness is the lying of his lips.

¹³³ At first the throne is set up for the liar, but at last his lies shall find (him) out, and they shall spit in his face. ¹³⁴ A liar has his neck cut,

like a maiden of the south (?) who hides (?) (her) face, like a man who makes a curse ¹³⁵ which came not forth from (the) gods. ¹³⁶ Despise

not that which is in thy lot, and covet not some great thing which is withheld from thee. ¹³⁷ Increase not riches, and lead not (thy) heart

astray. ¹³⁸ He who is not proud of (?) the name of his father and the name of his mother, let not the sun shine upon him, for he is an evil man.

¹³⁹ From myself has my curse gone forth, and with whom shall I be justified? The son of my body has spied out (?) my house, and what

can I say to strangers? ¹⁴⁰ There was a cruel witness against me, and who then has justified me? From my own house went forth wrath, with

whom shall I strive and toil? ¹⁴¹ Thy secrets reveal not before thy friends, that thy name be not lightly esteemed before them.

Col. x.

¹⁴² With one that is higher than thou, do not go (?) to quarrelling (?).

¹⁴³ With one that is a noble (?) and stronger than thou, contend not, for he will take ¹⁴⁴ of thy portion and will add it to his own. ¹⁴⁵ Behold,

so is a little man who *contends* with a great man. ¹⁴⁶ Remove not wisdom from thee, and . . . ¹⁴⁷ Be not over crafty, and let not thy wisdom be extinguished. ¹⁴⁸ Be not sweet lest they swallow thee up. Be not bitter, lest they spit thee out. ¹⁴⁹ If thou, my son, wouldst be exalted, humble thyself before God ¹⁵⁰ who humbles the lofty man and exalts the humble man. ¹⁵¹ How can the lips of men curse when (the) gods curse not? ¹⁵² Better is he that restrains . . . ¹⁵³ Let not thy soul love . . . ¹⁵⁴ heal them, except one who is like him. ¹⁵⁵ My hands shall destroy, and . . . ¹⁵⁶ God (?) shall turn back the mouth of the unjust (?) and shall tear out his tongue. ¹⁵⁷ Good eyes shall not be darkened and good ears shall not be stopped, and a good mouth will love ¹⁵⁸ the truth and speak it.

Col. xi.

¹⁵⁹ A man excellent in character and whose heart is good is like a strong bow which is bent by a strong man. ¹⁶⁰ If a man stand not with (the) gods, how shall he be saved by (?) his own strength? ¹⁶¹ belly and that which is like it, who shall be judging him (?)? ¹⁶² men, and peoples pass over them and do not leave them, and their heart is ¹⁶³ A man knows not what is in the heart of his fellow, and when a good man sees an evil man he will beware of him, ¹⁶⁴ he will not accompany him on a journey, and will not hire him—a good man with an evil man. ¹⁶⁵ The bramble sent to the pomegranate saying, 'Bramble to Pomegranate, what is the good of thy many thorns to him who touches thy fruit?' ¹⁶⁶ . . . the pomegranate answered and said to the bramble, 'Thou art all thorns to him who touches thee.' ¹⁶⁷ The righteous among men, all who meet him are for his help (?). ¹⁶⁸ The house of wicked men in the day of storm shall be destroyed (?), and in calm (?) its gates shall fall (?), for the spoiling of ¹⁶⁹ the righteous are they. My eyes which I lifted up on thee and my heart which I gave thee in wisdom, ¹⁷⁰ thou hast despised and hast turned my name into wantonness. ¹⁷¹ If the wicked take hold of the skirts of thy garment, leave (it) in his hand. Then approach (?) Shamash. He ¹⁷² will take his and give it to thee.

Col. xii.

¹⁷³ God set me up as a righteous man with thee, why . . . ¹⁷⁴ My enemies shall die, but not by my sword . . . ¹⁷⁵ I left thee in a hiding-place of cedar, and thou hast gone about . . . ¹⁷⁶ Thou hast left thy friends and hast honoured my enemies. ¹⁷⁷ Pity (?) a man who knows not what he . . . ¹⁷⁸ A wise man speaks, for the opening of the mouth of . . . ¹⁷⁹⁻¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ . . . the moth fell into . . . ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ Into a house (?) of bronze the moth fell . . . ¹⁸⁷ My soul knows not its path, therefore . . . ¹⁸⁸ Hunger sweetens that which is bitter and thirst . . . ¹⁸⁹ Let him that is vexed be satisfied with bread, and the soul of the poor be sated with wine. ¹⁹⁰ Men

Col. xiii.

¹⁹¹ One bent his bow and shot his arrow, and it did not . . . ¹⁹² If thy lord entrust to thee water to keep . . . ¹⁹³ to leave gold in thy hand. Do

not . . . ¹⁹⁴ come near to me, and let him not say, 'Be far from me'. ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ a slave on whose foot is a fetter and who is a thief should not be bought. ¹⁹⁷ his house with him, a fire went forth from before ¹⁹⁸ God. He who accuses his lord shall be entrapped in his law-suit, as if he uttered a curse on his lord. ¹⁹⁹ . . . his lord The birds . . . ²⁰⁰ an evil man who overtakes . . . ²⁰¹ thee when he sends thee, why shouldst thou be changed in his sight? ²⁰² his sight because ²⁰³ before thee tested before ²⁰⁴ one to the wild ass 'Let me ride upon thee and I will feed thee.' ²⁰⁵ keep for thyself thy feeding and thy saddle, but I will not see thy riding. ²⁰⁶ between flesh and shoe let him not put a pebble into my foot. ²⁰⁷ Let not the rich man say, 'In my riches I am glorious'.

Col. xiv.

²⁰⁸ Do not show to an Arab the sea or to a Sidonian the desert, for their work is different (?). ²⁰⁹ He who treads out the wine is he who should taste it, and he who . . . he should guard it. ²¹⁰ and I know not what will come after it. ²¹¹ . . . he shall tear out, and blood from my skin ²¹² ²¹³ blind in the eyes . . . ²¹⁴ he shall come . . . ²¹⁵ eyes . . . ²¹⁶ . . . a child and a deaf man, ears . . . ²¹⁷ . . . from the belly one (?) knows a noble person, and not from . . . ²¹⁸ . . . let not a man buy either a married woman . . . ²¹⁹ let a maid be bought as a maid, and a wife . . . ²²⁰ ²²¹ thief . . . ²²² . . . this, the house of his neighbour caught (?) fire . . . ²²³ . . . merciful . . . owner . . .

Line 1 is clearly the beginning. The first words are probably אלה מלי (so Baneth), cf. Prov. 24²³ and רברי Prov. 30¹, 31¹. Nöldeke proposes מתלי (cf. Prov. 1¹), which would imply that the narrative is merely an introduction to the maxims. שמה 'by name', a Persian idiom frequent in this text, but also occurring in the other papyri, cf. e.g. 33¹⁻⁵: ומהיר ספר ה' not only a scribe but a learned man. In Hebrew cf. Ezra 7⁶. The end of the line is difficult to restore, and none of the suggestions are convincing. The remains of the letter after לברה are not a ו or ז but part of ה or מ. One would expect some word to show that he was not really a son.

Line 2. [כוי] only a guess to fit the space. It will depend on the restoration of l. 1. יהוה a future, not precative (יהוי). מל[ו]הי. The הי are practically certain. The phrase seems to mean 'before this narrative begins'. [רב]ה 'had become great', more probable than ענה (Baneth). It continues in the 3rd person with occasional quotations in the 1st person. The composition of these first lines is difficult, and one cannot be sure where the 1st person takes up the story.

Line 3. [ועב]ית Epstein? צבת Perles. The י is certain, and there is part of the foot of ב, so that there is no doubt about the word. It is

Bab. *ṣābit*, 'bearer' of the seal. עוקתה cf. Dan. 6¹⁸. ה[אנ]ה is practically certain. The end seems to be required by ומלי in l. 4. Note the Persian form אתור and the Assyrian שַׁנְחָאָרִיב.

Line 4. מלי not מלא (as Sachau? and Ungnad). To take as 'full' (of years) seems impossible. על . . . הוה i. e. relied upon. Cf. l. 43.

Line 5. אַסְרְהָאֲדִן (Ungnad) the Assyrian form. [בֵּאֲדִין]. The ב is doubtful, and the restoration uncertain. The line is long because שמה is written above ברה.

Line 6 is too much broken to be restored with any certainty, and so too l. 7. Baneth proposes 'I took my sister's son, Nadin by name, . . .' but it seems too soon to introduce the adoption of Nadin, which ought to come just before line 9. The vacant space may have had something like 'to do my service', cf. ll. 17, 21, but I cannot fill it up satisfactorily. The ל is probable.

Line 8. The account of the adoption seems to come in most naturally here, beginning with אהר.

Line 9. After וטבתא a verb is wanted, and the tail of a ת is visible, but [ו]ה[קימתה] וכ' from l. 23. עמי[י]. Epstein עמר (joined with the preceding words), but this verb is rarely (if ever) found (l. 160) in the papyri. At the end the king must be mentioned to account for סגרוהי 'his courtiers' in l. 10.

Line 10. קרבתה i. e. I brought him specially to the notice of the king. מ[נרעמתא] is no doubt right, cf. 30¹².

Line 11. ש[ניאן] is probably right, with חין. If the fragment on the left is rightly placed, יהו is probable, for there are traces of הו on it. The 3rd person (therefore a name, לאחיקר), not לך, is required by הקים in l. 12. But the restoration is rather long.

Line 13. The first letters remaining must belong to את[ור] which implies מלך preceding. Therefore the king's remarks ended with l. 12, and the beginning of l. 13 must be the protasis of a new sentence of which the apodosis begins with נהנת.

Line 14. [וליומן אחרנן] cf. ll. 39, 49. At the end, nothing after עניית.

Line 15. [ואמרת] is required after עניית. [ה]אני must begin Aḥiḳar's statement of his case which is continued in l. 17. [פלחת] from l. 17, but it does not quite fill the space.

Line 16. Only slight traces remain. It must have formed the transition to l. 17.

Line 17. (Pl. 41.) At least half of this column is lost. בב is Babylonian for Aramaic חרע as in l. 44. The restoration of the end is not by any means certain. Cf. l. 21.

Line 18. נן is a short form of some Assyrian name like Assurnadin-apli (Ungnad). רבא . The following ו shows that it is not an adjective, but a verb (so Baneth) 'is grown up', cf. Dan. 4¹⁹, though one would expect רבה , as in l. 2. יחלף וכו' must mean 'he shall succeed me as scribe', Arab. خلف , cf. Mesha inscr. l. 6 (Ungnad). The restoration is probably right, as עוקה l. 19 shows that the regular formula was used.

Line 19, beginning as l. 3. The restoration of the end must be right. וע[טח] is the only possible word, and ענה אס is required by the beginning of l. 20. The only word which is doubtful is הכמתה , but nothing better suggests itself.

Line 20. כותא is not a title (as Sachau), nor is it connected with 'Meskin Kanti' applied to Nabusumiskun in the Syriac and Arabic versions, see Story, p. 112, n. 1, and p. xxxv. It is simply an adverb 'so' formed from כות 'like'. יה[וה] is above the line, which is consequently long. The end is from ll. 2 and 3. For ברך perhaps read הו .

Line 21. הלפוך 'instead of you' begins a new sentence. The end is probable if the beginning of l. 22 is right.

Line 22. [י]היבא , as Nöldeke, seems the only possible completion. לי ethical dative, as often with a verb of motion. ושלה הוית בביתי from Dan. 4¹, is only a guess. זנה וברי is required by l. 23.

Line 24. [סנודה]י there is perhaps a trace of ה . Nöldeke and Lidzbarski propose [בר] , but it cannot be ר , and more is needed to fill the space. אמרת 'I said to myself' i. e. I thought. יבע[ה עלי] seems probable as the contrast to עשת על[י] in l. 25. The rest is only a guess, cf. l. 52.

Line 25. [בר את]תי is certain. The trace of ח is fairly clear. [באישתא] is required as the opposite to טכתא in l. 24. The rest depends on the way in which l. 26 is filled up.

Line 26. Epstein and Nöldeke propose [קרצ]י אבל 'he maligned', continuing עשת עלי in l. 25. Then l. 26 might begin [למ]לכא . But there is a trace of ל before אבל , leaving room for a narrow letter like ן , and מלן is suggested by l. 29. If this is read, אבל must be 'I can', and אמר (future) is required after it. Then the 'words' followed, as shown by l. 27, addressed to the king.

Line 27. The restoration is partly from l. 36, which should repeat the terms of the accusation. [ספר] is required by הכים in l. 28. He was able to stir up the country against the king because he had won its confidence by his wisdom.

Line 28. [הות] 'ומ' ועל cf. ll. 4, 43, 55.

Line 29. ירגש 'will be enraged', still part of the statement of Nadin's contemplated plan, which must end in this line. שמע. For the construction cf. רכב in l. 38. Something is wanted to define מלן, not אלך, nor a relative clause, since either of these would require מליא. I have proposed כאלה here and in l. 26 'words to this effect', because Nadin need not be rehearsing the exact terms of his slander, but the trace of a letter after שמע is certainly more like ז. Perhaps after all the relative did follow, rather incorrectly, and כאלה should be omitted.

Line 30. ברא וכ'. So Epstein. It might of course be [ברא[חתי] written together as being one idea, like רבחהילא—'my son who was not my son (but) the son of my sister'. The rest of this and the next line must have described how he went to the king and made his charge, but there is nothing to guide us in restoring the lacuna.

Plate 42. This column is fairly complete on the left-hand side. The amount lost on the right is shown by l. 37 where the restoration is almost certain. After the short line 43 the lines are slightly longer, and there is a good deal of difference in length throughout the column.

Line 32. Restored from Dan. 3¹⁹. But perhaps we should read שניא רגש from l. 29. Baneth proposes ענה before [אס]רהארן, which would require something else at the beginning.

Line 33 has been much discussed. It has been assumed that Aḥiḳar is speaking, and that therefore אבי is Aḥiḳar's father. But the words are clearly spoken by the king, and אבי is Senacherib, for ואמר l. 32 must be 'he (Esarhaddon) said'. רבי is pl. constr. of רביא, used frequently of Nabusumiskun, the Assy. *rabū* (Ungnad) 'a great man', 'officer', not 'youth', 'page' as Baneth. From ll. 46-50 it appears that Nabusumiskun had been in the service of Senacherib, and must have been a person of some age and dignity. Nabusumiskun must have been mentioned by name before l. 38 where his name first appears in the extant text, and there seems to be no other place than this. [ח]ר. There are traces of ח.

Line 34 must begin with אכל, or אכלו. Then, since the line goes on in the 2nd person (אנת), something (אמר) is required to introduce the change. The words to be restored after אכל are very uncertain, but it seems necessary that Aḥiḳar should be mentioned by name in the command. The connexion of ll. 33-36 is however very difficult. תבעה. Baneth takes this from תבע 'seek him wherever . . .', but that late formation can hardly be assumed here. Though the phrase is

difficult, it may be 'thou shalt seek (בעה) Aḥīkar in a place which thou shalt find' i. e. find a suitable place and then fall upon him there. Not 'seek him wherever (אתר זי) thou shalt find him', which would be זי תהשכח (בה). Or the object of תהשכח may have begun l. 35, forming some phrase implying that he was to be killed, without the use of the direct term קטל, e. g. עֲלֵה (or עלוהי) לה, תהשכח לה, cf. Dan. 6⁵. Then אתר זי would be 'where' as in Ezra 6³.

Line 35 may begin with ותקטלנהי or with some phrase like that suggested above. The name of Aḥīkar can hardly have stood here as object to תהשכח, since it is used just afterwards. הנלו (Epstein, Nöldeke) is no doubt right. 'If he is wise, why does he . . . ?' i. e. he may be very clever, but he shall not . . . The line is very short.

Line 36. The first ר is fairly certain. It is too broad for ו, as Nöldeke (ולמה). מתא Assyr. *mātu*, does not occur elsewhere in these papyri nor in BA, though it is common later. [Restored in Beh., ll. 16, 17.]

Line 37. עמה i. e. with Nabusumiskun, so that he must have been mentioned before (cf. l. 33). למחזה more probable in this context than לם חזה, cf. l. 63.

Line 38. The beginning should be '(how) the order would be carried out'. Perhaps יעבר or יתעבר. [אול] or וואל is wanted, taking רכב as a participle. [נב] וסמסכן. Ungnad points out that a person of this name was a high official under Senacherib. Perhaps the story had an historical foundation. רביא he was 'רבי שני' (l. 33). בסוסה חר 'on a horse of his', not feminine. A distinguished officer would not have ridden a mare. [קלי] קלי 'light' i. e. swift.

Line 39. The restoration is certain. It is a short line. ל- 'after the lapse of'.

Line 40. The lacuna in the middle is difficult. Some word is wanted like 'met', 'found me'. The letter before it is taken as פ by Nöldeke and Epstein, who complete it as פ[געון]. But this would require a complement לי פגעו (cf. l. 118) for which there is not room. If פנעני were possible (?) the space might perhaps (?) allow of it. Then the line would have to begin נברן. But the letter may be part of a ח, not פ at all. Then the reading [חזוני] or [חזוני] would be obvious.

Line 41. The construction depends on the restoration of the middle of the line. Baneth's קרבתא is almost certain from the remains of the letters. It occurs in ll. 56, 59, where the obvious meaning 'battles' is clearly unsuitable. Baneth makes it an adverb from קרב ('near') meaning 'soon', 'then', used like אחר. For the form he compares עלא, ברא, כותא (l. 20). Such an adverb is not otherwise known, but it would

certainly fit these passages. If it is read here, it must begin the apodosis, and the first part of the line must contain the protasis, somewhat as restored. [חוני]. For the form cf. גרבי 14⁹, רשכם 25¹². הלל perf. Haphel of ילל, asyndeton.

Line 42. The restoration at the beginning is certain, since it must correspond to הו אנה in l. 46.

Line 43. [צדיק] is only a guess. Some word of the kind is required. If הוה is used like הו in l. 61 ('was dependent on'), the sentence ends with בלא. Of the next word, which should begin a new sentence, only ך is certain, and י is probable. The second letter is ב or ד or ר, the third may be ע (or ד, ר?). Nöldeke, Epstein יבעך. If ך is the pronoun, the verb cannot be future as that would require דנך. If it is radical ידרך or יברך are the only possibilities, and neither gives a sense. Of roots beginning with י only ידע is possible, and that gives no sense. I suggest ירע as a collateral form of רעע, 'has injured thee', but it is not satisfactory. If the broken י could be disregarded ברך would be simple.

Line 44. [זי רבי]ת is necessary. The first word depends on the reading of l. 43. תרע the proper Aramaic, for which בב is used in ll. 9, 23. ותובא has been much discussed. Epstein proposes ותובא ובהא [תב לתיובא דחלתא ר]בהא, but that is impossible and is in any case too long. Baneth makes it an adverb = טוב (as in 1⁷, 9¹²) = 'moreover', see note on l. 41 for the form. It is probably only a noun from טוב and means 'recompense'.

Line 45. [קר]בתא is Baneth's conjecture, and is probable, but it would make his חובא impossible, for two adverbs of nearly the same meaning could not come so close together. Otherwise we might restore בתא [באישא הי תו]בתא 'the return is an evil return', but two consecutive asyndeta . . . דחלת would then be difficult.

Line 46. [רביא] is the regular title of Nab., cf. ll. 54, 56, &c. Some particle is wanted with the sense 'Yes, and also (it is I who)'. Neither אף nor לם is quite satisfactory. קטל זבי no doubt means an 'innocent (i. e. unmerited) death'.

Line 48. [קר]בתא is again Baneth's reading, and it certainly suits the context. Or we might read [למעבר באיש]תא cf. ll. 50, 51. מסבל 'supporting' (with food, &c.) as elsewhere in these texts.

Plate 43 contains parts of two columns. Col. i evidently follows on pl. 42, and col. ii must follow col. i. Col. i is broad and well preserved in the earlier part.

Line 50. סנחאריב with ס as in ll. 51, 55, more correctly. The spelling with ש is due to the Assyrian confusion of ס and ש (Ungnad).

Line 52. אפּו a mere strengthening of אף, cf. אפּם 5⁸ &c. In both forms the addition is probably the pronoun, which has lost its proper meaning. יבל בלני imperat. of יבל. ער זי ל' [ע]ר] ליומן not (Ungnad), for which there is hardly room. The next line begins a new sentence.

Line 53. כמנדע. Torczyner 'bekanntlich', which does not seem probable. Can it mean 'any one', 'a person'? 'כמנדע על אח' would then be equivalent to באיש עם אחוהי l. 49. על אחרן however may be 'afterwards' (so Torczyner) as in l. 64, cf. Dan. 4⁵. א[חר] probably, or א[רין].

Line 55. [תח]יי is no doubt right. Epstein and Nöldeke propose יי = 'patricius'. Baneth יי [אנת] for יה = 'oh'. לם rather demands a verb here.

Line 56. [כלא הוו] as in l. 61. There are traces of א and the final ו. קרבחא 'then' (Baneth) is simplest. Ungnad takes it as 'battles' and supplies הוו עברן הוו.

Line 57. אתם fits the space better than הוו (זי עמה). The words following are fairly certain. עא עלי not עלי (Ungnad) which is not a word, and there is a blank space before it. The ל and י have been run together.

Line 58. נבריא is certain, and ענו is required before it. Of אחר part of the ה remains. Of ישניא there is a trace of א. Epstein לי ואמרו is unsuitable.

Line 59. The beginning is Baneth's restoration. From the traces of letters remaining זי את אמר is almost certain. It appears to mean 'what you think', which is strange just after אמר in its ordinary sense. קרבחא as in l. 56. The next words are necessary.

Line 60. [רעבית] is probably right, cf. l. 3. Nöldeke proposes רב[חילא] רב[חילא] רב[חילא]. The words must have been written wide apart to fill the space, but there is hardly room for ה[ו] [מלך אתור ה[ו]].

Line 61. הוו. The meaning 'were dependent on' is necessary here. It is plural agreeing in sense with חיל. Before סרים Nöldeke supplies עלים, but the trace of a letter is more like ד than ס, and rather more is required to fill the space. [זכני] from l. 46, is wanted as a reason for not killing him.

Line 62. יתקטל is written above the line. [בין] is more probable than [בנו] as Ungnad. א[ל] so Nöldeke, Lidzbarski. The expression is strange. ישחמיע from l. 70. Baneth [על אחרן] וכזי על אחרן which is less satisfactory.

Line 63. א[חרין] is fairly certain. 'After us'? (as Baneth). Nöldeke, Epstein א[חרין]. Then פנרה must be the object of למחזה, which is awkward. [זנה] above the line.

Plate 43, col. ii. Less than half the width of the column is preserved, containing the beginnings of the lines.

Line 64. The restoration is from l. 53. [ויבאש] is from Dan. 6¹⁵, 'it shall be evil upon him', i. e. he will regret it.

Line 65. The restoration is of course only a conjectural approximation.

Line 66. [במספר] seems to be the only possible word, and this requires something like הלא after it. The rest of the line must contain the end of the speech, and the resumption of the narrative with a subject to טיבת in l. 67.

Line 67. Restoration probably right. It thus gives the length of the lines in this column.

Line 68. Restored from l. 61, but the line is short.

Line 69. Restored from l. 62, but again the line is short.

Line 70. An abrupt transition. השתמע for אשתמע. The reading is clear. Nöldeke completes the line [במתאכלא למ] and the rest much as here but rather too long.

Line 71. Restored from ll. 48, 49, to which this passage is evidently related.

Line 72 must contain a direct statement by Nab. to introduce יסתבלון —not a command, which would require יסתבלו. [כאיט] Ungnad reads [כע] and Epstein [בעבריאי]. But כא is certain.

Line 73. מראי 'my lord', i. e. you, Aḥiḳar. [נה] is rather more probable than [סה]. The line is difficult to restore.

Line 74. סבל. Seidel takes it as a noun = 'food' cf. סבול 43⁴. It might however be a verb '(bread, &c.) he brought'. נכסן not 'Schätze' (as Ungnad) which would have been of no use to him, nor 'goods', but in a weakened sense, 'things', i. e. necessaries. The restoration is fairly certain.

Line 77. Restored from l. 37.

Line 78 does not admit of restoration. This is the end of the narrative part.

Plate 44 begins the proverbs.

Lines 80-85 are the same group as in the Syriac 22-26.

Line 79. At first sight one would compare no. 8 in the Syriac. So Nöldeke, who restores תא[בי] and takes חמר נער as 'braying ass'. But this gives no construction. Baneth תא[בי] as in l. 90 'what is stronger . . .? The burden', but this meaning for בות is quite uncertain. Wensinck תא[בי], for which there is not room. חמר נער may also mean 'fermenting wine' (Perles) and this allows of the simple restoration

ב[ג]תא. It is true this is a Hebraism, for נת is not found in Targum (though it is in Syriac) but there are other Hebraisms in this text—or are they common Semitic? The proverb must then have been '(there are various strong things but) what is stronger than wine foaming in the press?' Alluding to the intoxicating effect of new wine. There is nothing after ב[ג]תא in this line.

Line 80. יסר more probably from אסר than from יסר. The א is dropped as in לממר (perhaps) and למכל, and in later Aramaic. 'Is restrained'. ארהא must mean a 'fetter' or something similar. In Onkelos it (or אריהא) translates Heb. מוט, which is elsewhere used as a symbol of oppression. It must refer here to some form of punishment by tying the legs to a bar, or the stocks. The end must have been 'shall prosper in later life', or something of the kind. Cf. Syr. 22, Arm. 14 and Arabic.

Line 81. אָלִי = הֵן לוֹ. Cf. Prov. 23¹⁴ (משאול תציל). 'If you cannot keep him out of mischief, then beat him.' Cf. Syr. 22.

Line 82. Cf. Prov. 23¹³. The occurrence of the same idea in two consecutive lines in both places cannot be accidental. אשבקן. Seidel cft. יחיתן Hab. 2¹⁷ and concludes that, with *ן* *energicum*, the pronominal suffix may be omitted, if the sense is clear. Marti rejects this, but it seems probable, cf. 35⁵, &c. At the end something short is wanted, like 'thou wilt not prosper'. Cf. Armenian 14.

Line 83. מחאה a noun (Nöldeke, Wensinck). [באיה] so Nöldeke, cf. Syr. באל. Baneth and Sachau [באסר], which is possible from the traces remaining, but does not give a very good sense. ה is more probable at the end. לחנת. The ל must be the preposition, therefore not 'concubine' as in BA. The meaning 'maid-servant' is required here for הנת, cf. Sayce and Cowley, Ostr. M b 1. אל[פנא]. A noun is required as before. There is a trace of פ, cf. יחאלף in l. 80. Cf. again Syr. 22. At the end something is wanted to introduce l. 84. If ll. 92–94 give the approximate width of the column, several words would be required here, since the line must apparently have read straight on.

Line 84. פר[יין] is better than פר[יר] (as Epstein). אמה ננבה is certain, but a conjunction is necessary, either ו of which there is no trace, or או for which there is no room. פ[חד] uncertain, and not very suitable. הו. The ה is almost certain. After it Ungnad reads ל, but the upper stroke is really the tail of the ך in l. 83. We might read either [הנעל] or [הנעל]. At the end a connexion with l. 85 is wanted. The lines all seem to be short before l. 89, so that either the column was narrower above than below, or the fragment attached to it

from l. 89 onwards does not really belong there. Cf. l. 170 and Syr. 24, Arab. 25.

Line 86. The form of this proverb is very uncertain. It seems to mean that the scorpion refuses bread because he cannot appreciate it, his natural food being insects and vermin. $\text{לֹא יֵאָכֵל לֶחֶם וְלֹא יֵאָכֵל}$ is probable. There is not room for יֵאָכֵל לֶחֶם . The next word is very doubtful. There is a mark of a ל (but not high enough), but כֹּל חַיָּה ('he will not eat anything living') is unsuitable, because that is just what he does eat. Perhaps it is עַיִן יָחִיה .

Line 87 is too much broken to restore. [מִסְמָה] perhaps, as in l. 88.

Line 88. מִסְמָה Mr. Hayes (privately) suggests Arab. شَمٌّ to 'scent', which would be suitable, but the participle (Pael) would be מִסְמָם . The ה must be radical, so that we should have to assume a form $\text{סָמָה} = \text{סָם}$. סוּרָה or סוּרָא no doubt means 'lair' or something similar, but the word is unknown. Epstein's comparisons for this word and מִסְמָה are unconvincing.

Line 89. At the ends of ll. 89-94 Sachau joins on another fragment. It does not seem certain that it belongs here, nor how much is lost between the two pieces. It makes these lines much longer than the rest. After זִי Ungnad supplies אֵילָתָא וְאֵרִי , which is pointless. Nöldeke 'of the weak with the strong'. Seidel אֵנְשָׁא which is possible, but too long if the following lines are rightly restored. The traces of the next word (נָת, מַ?) are quite uncertain. It might be 'for fear of'. At the end perhaps a word for 'burden'.

Line 90. Seidel 'he who neglects an ass and does not feed it', taking סָבַל as in l. 74. בּוֹת Baneth takes to mean 'burden'. Seidel and Epstein think it = 'shame' and cfnt. Ps. 15³. אֵינְשָׁא Epstein $\text{זִי יֵאָכֵל לֶחֶם וְלֹא יֵאָכֵל}$ 'whom he makes to bear a burden'. Baneth אֵינְשָׁא and at the end זִילָא זִילָא i.e. a double burden. All very uncertain and obscure.

Line 91. רָכַב 'bowed to' (Epstein) is more probable with ל than רָכַב (Ungnad). [מִן רָחֲמָה] . Some trace of מ . What the birds have to do with it one cannot guess. Perhaps the fragment is not in place. The proverb must end with the line, since l. 92 begins a new sentence.

Line 92. Nöldeke thinks a mistake for שְׂפִירָה . As it stands it can only be a noun 'an ornament'. רַחֲמָה similarly 'a pleasure'. שְׂמֵי the Babylonian god (Smend), the judge of right and wrong. [שְׂתָה] so Seidel, Nöldeke, Grimme. Cf. l. 93. וּיִנְקָה . Seidel adduces a root نَاق to 'vomit' which is unknown to me (نَاف 'drink to excess'), and such a proceeding could hardly be pleasing even to Shamash.

Obviously it must be connected with ינק 'gives it (to others) to drink', but the form is difficult. Strack cft. *Mishna Aboda Z.* ii, 1 תניק, cf. Exod. 2⁹. A root נוק would be a regular parallel to ינק. כבש חכמה Ungnad says = Heb. כִּבֵּשׁ but does not say how he would translate it. It is כבש 'he who keeps (his) wisdom to himself' (as Nöldeke), or possibly even, as a contrast to אברה in l. 94 'keeps it under control' and does not let it go astray through drunkenness. The line may have ended here, though something is wanted to balance the clause. Then וישמע וכ' is the third thing pleasing—the sociable wine-drinker, the modest wise man, and the discreet confidant. This form of numerical maxim is common in Jewish 'wisdom'.

Line 93. וישמע is apparently not in the same construction as ויניקנהי l. 92, but is used loosely in the sense of 'and one who hears'. יקיר must mean 'precious', and this clause sums up the preceding proverb. [קדם] a trace of ם remains. וזי must begin the converse statement, 'but he who'. ישתה. The ה is not very probable. [יניקנהי] seems likely, but it makes the line long.

Line 94. ו—ק.ר מתחזה [ו . . . נר] מן ח'. After the mark of division (doubtful) Baneth restores עממא חכמתהם . . . מן שמין 'from heaven the nations (receive) their wisdom; the gods give it'. For the end Ungnad and Nöldeke suggest חכמתה מן אלהיא הי. All very obscure.

Plate 45.

Line 95 seems to refer to wisdom. If so, it is probably the continuation of l. 94. [ע]ר [לע]ל[מן לה], so Baneth. [בש] [מי]ן so Sachau, Baneth (cf. l. 94), &c.

Line 96 might be read אל ת[לו]ט יומא (as Ungnad) 'curse not the day till thou see (the night?)'. There is perhaps a trace of ל. But can לוט take an accusative? The usual word for 'curse' in these papyri is לחי. If ת[ב]ט as a jussive form is possible, and the blank space may be disregarded, it forms a good connexion with l. 97. יתרא adverbial, cf. the forms עלא, כותא, קרבחא. תחזה for תחזה. It cannot be read תחזה as Nöldeke and Seidel. [כל מ]לה is required for l. 97. The rest of the line is blank, which is strange, if it reads straight on. The scribe must have omitted something illegible, but ought to have left the blank at the beginning instead of the end of the line.

Line 97. [זי] is most probable. The sentence cannot have begun thus, with a feminine verb. [ל]הן. So Epstein (?). Ungnad, Nöldeke לות. Baneth לצר. Seidel לם. פמך a nom. pendens 'but as to thy mouth,

take heed'. [טרפני] is very difficult. It ought to mean 'ruining thee', but it is a strange word to use, and in the plural.

Line 98. [שמעת] is Grimme's restoration. הוקר lit. 'make heavy a (i. e. thy) heart upon (i. e. with regard to) what thou hearest'. משלחה. Nöldeke and Grimme take this as passive. It may equally well be active. לקח (Grimme) is not very satisfactory 'does not catch it (again)'. Epstein proposes לבב 'a man without heart (i. e. sense)'.

Line 99. מ. There is no obvious word. מני 'count' would not fill the space. The י might be א. אחרי (or אחרי), cf. perhaps Syr. אחרתא, 'secrets', parallel to ארב 'ambush' (so Montgomery). Baneth would omit it. הנפק (Baneth) is certain. There is no suffix. After it there is just room for לאחור but the actual word is quite conjectural. בעדרה cf. l. 126. מלחם a mistake for מלחמה, a Hebraism.

Line 100. חכבה, in later Aramaic 'extinguish', here, more generally, 'suppress'. Epstein and Nöldeke חכטה (cf. Syr. קטא), but this gives no good sense. After רפאה there is perhaps room for הי. [לאחור] is quite conjectural, but a repetition of the word restored in l. 99 would be natural in this style. The rest of the line is a separate proverb. שרק is 'smooth' (Nöldeke, Epstein). Halévy 'sharp' (cf. شرق) and so Baneth (cf. 40³). פמין is Baneth's very probable conjecture.

Line 101. עלאנפי is probably right. Seidel קרמאנפי is unlikely, and too long. תקום cf. 42⁷ and the sense of l. 103. כצפה probably = קצפה (Seidel, Stummer). כנרר, but there are traces of פ. זעיר with 'anger', must mean 'swift' or 'sharp', but it is difficult to account for such a meaning. Stummer suggests 'fearful' and cf. زعر.

Line 102. יחונחי seems the only possible form—Pael as in l. 96, instead of Haphel as elsewhere—'let him (the king) not show it (anger)'. אמריך is more probable than אמריך 'to them that destroy thee' (Epstein). The rest of the line is blank.

Line 103. קרמת fits the space. Epstein מלת פקיר i. e. if any order is given. לך is added above the line. הי fem. is attracted to the gender of אשה, but עבדה (עבדה) is correct as a masc. suffix. There is a trace of the י, therefore not עבדה (pace Nöldeke). עבק. The ב is badly formed, but can be nothing else. Cf. לעבק in 26^{6.9.22}, 42^{7.8.13}. Epstein cft. Heb. חבק, Syr. עפק, 'embrace', 'seize', grasp it and do it i. e. do it promptly. Nöldeke and Perles compare Targ. אבע (for Heb. מהרה) 'hasten'. There is no doubt about the meaning in the papyri. אלתהן שק. The reading is certain. Epstein, Nöldeke, Baneth take it as תהנשק 'do not kindle (it) upon thee', but this does not give a satisfactory sense in connexion with 'and hide thy hands'. I cannot

help thinking that we have a scribal error here. 'Hiding the hands' suggests that שק is 'sackcloth'. It is clearly separated from תהן. If so, תהן may be a mistake for תנתן, which might easily occur in this writing if the original was not clear, and the meaning is 'do not put sackcloth upon thee and hide thy hands', i. e. do not go into mourning about it and pretend you cannot do it. ותכסה is certain, not ותכוה as Baneth to suit the reading תהנשק. At the end perhaps כי to connect l. 104.

Line 104. בחמר (cf. l. 47) rather than בחמר. [מלך] is suggested by the preceding proverbs. They are grouped more or less according to subject. Perles supplies אלהא and cft. Job 9², 25⁴, Is. 10¹⁵, 45⁹.

Line 105. זערתא (Epstein, Nöldeke) is certain, cf. זער, זער. מררתא must be an adjective, not a noun (as Wensinck). ון טעמ[א] is probable, since the א is fairly certain, rather than ון אכל[ת] or ון בלע[ת] as Nöldeke. Then חסין must be 'strong' though it is not the word we should expect. Nöldeke, Perles 'lettuces' to suit ון אכל[ת] cf. l. 100. Seidel's מן משחא (cft. Prov. 5³, 25¹⁵, Ps. 55²²) is too long.

Line 106. [אלתבהת] or a similar verb, is required.

Line 107. כרחמן. Grimme 'like the merciful' i. e. God, but this hardly suits the general tenor of the proverbs. Seidel takes the כ as otiose, and cft. 106⁵. זי אל עמה as in ll. 154, 161, a very difficult phrase. Nöldeke and Seidel 'he with whom God is'. But the usual word is אלה or אלהיא, not אל (? l. 173). Grimme takes it as = Hebr. אשר לעמתו 'one who is his equal'. In l. 161 אלעמה is written as one word, which would imply that אל is the preposition, but the translation is less suitable to that passage. The line ends here.

Line 108. כשמש may be either 'like Shamash' or 'like the sun'. [בניה]. There is only room for one letter, and this restoration of Nöldeke's is probably right: law-abiding persons will uphold the dignity of their king. Epstein proposes בני ח[לוף] (Prov. 31⁸), but there is not room. Though there is a slight space before ה, it must go with בני, since there is no word of two letters beginning with ה which would be suitable. The rest of the line is blank.

Line 109. [הו זי]. Perhaps [סי] fits the space better. [הו זי] is almost certain. Baneth [זי הו] does not fit the traces of letters so well. Perles [מאן] would not fit at all. The line ends with ברא.

Line 110. Nöldeke fills the lacuna with [ל] חמר אמר [לה], but there is hardly room, and we should moreover expect חמרא (cf. l. 118) for which the space is still less adequate. חמר (א) is required by חמרא farther on, and perhaps we may read as printed. For this use of למ cf. 26²²¹, 10¹³, and especially l. 165 below (if so to be read) where