12 Nathan b. Anani b	
13 i daughter of Zeba	
14	
15 daughter of Pelulio	$ah \dots$
16 daughter of	
17 i b	
18 daughter of	
19 All of the company of Sinic	ldin.
20 The company of Nabu'aka	b:-Shallum b. Mena-
hem	
C 1 ··	
Col. ii.	
21—Meshullam b. Samuaḥ, sum	of 2 sh. for himself (?).
22—Palți b. Michah, sum of 2 s.	
23—Malchiah b. Yathom b. H	adadnuri, sum of 2 sh.
for himself (?).	
24, 20—Shelemiah b. Jashub, su	m of 2 sh. for himself (?).
25-Gadol b. Meshullam b. Mil	otahiah, sum of 2 sh. for
himself (?).	
26-Menahem b. Hazul, that (i	s) the son of Shemaiah,
sum of 2 sh. for himself (	
27-Simak b. Meshullam, he (ga	
himself (?).	
28-Gadol b. Samuah, he (gav	e) the sum of 2 sh. for
himself (?).	
29-Meshullam b. Haggai b. I	Hazul, sum of 2 sh. for
himself (?).	
30-Hazul b. Haggai b. Hazul	, sum of 2 sh. for him-
self (?).	
31 All of the company of	u.
32 2 sh	
33 sum o	
34	SECTION AND SECTION
35	and the same of th
36	

56	JEWISH DOCUMENTS OF
37	sum of 2 sh.
38	
	Col. iii.
30-	-Shillem b. Hodav sum of 2 sh.
	-Hori b. VNH sum of 2 sh.
	-Shamua' b. Shillem sum of 2 sh.
	-Mattan b. Yedoniah, sum of 2 sh.
43-	-Uriah b , sum of 2 sh.
, ,	$-$ Anan $i b. \ldots$
	–Zac 2
46-	-Anani
	-Hoshea b. Nathun sum of 2 sh.
	20— b 2
	b. N 2 sh.
50 51	b b. Joshibiah
52	
53	2 sh.
54	
55	2 sh.
56	Hoshea, sum of 2 sh.
57	Hoshea, sum of 2 sh Yehoṭal, sum of 2 sh.
58	Anani, sum of 2 sh.
59	Joshibiah
60	
	Col. iv.
61-	-Hoshea b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh.
	-Menahem b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh.
	-Nathun b. Haggai, sum of 2 sh.
	-Haggai b. Micha, sum of 2 sh.
	-Maḥseh b. Uri, sum of 2 sh.
	Shallum b. Zecharia, sum of 2 sh.
07-	-Menahem b. Zecharia, sum of 2 sh.

	-
68, 40—Meshullak b. Uri, sum of 2 sh.	
69—Pamut b. SGRI, sum of 2 sh.	
70—Anani b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh.	
71—Hoshea b. Menahem, sum of 2 sh.	
72—Haggai b. Huria, sum of 2 sh.	
73—Menahem b. Uri b. Meshullak, sum of 2 sh.	
74	
75 sum of 2 sh.	
76 Mattan, sum of 2 sh.	
77 b. Mattan, sum of 2 sh.	
78 Penuliah b. Menahem b. Pusi, sum of 2 sh.	
79—Ḥori b. Menahem b. Pusi, sum of 2 sh.	
80—Peluliah b. Hoshea, sum of 2 sh.	
81—Menahemeth daughter of 'Anani b. 'STḤ, sum of 2	sh
82-Meshullemeth daughter of ah, sum of 2	sh

# Col. v.

83—Mephatteah daughter of TSTZ, sum of 2 sh.

Sister of Maath and S . . . (?).

84—Yehoshama' daughter of Nathan, sum of 2 sh.
85—Shabith daughter of Hori b. Shillem, sum of 2 sh.
86—Re'ia daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh.
87—Yehoshama' daughter of Meshullam, sum of 2 sh.
88, 60—Mephatteah daughter of Shillem, sum of 2 sh.
89—Yaḥmol daughter of Palṭi b. Yeosh, sum of 2 sh.
90—Abihi daughter of Oshea, sum of 2 sh.
91—Nehebeth daughter of Mahseh, sum of 2 sh.
92—Yehoḥan daughter of Yigdal, sum of 2 sh.
93—Meshullemeth daughter of Zephalia, sum of 2 sh.
94
95 Menahemeth daughter of sum of 2 sh.
96 Nehebeth daughter of Z sum of 2 sh.
97 Yaḥmol daughter of Shillem, sum of 2 sh.
98,70—Yehoshama' daughter of Hoshea b. Zaccur, sum
of 2 sh.

99—Yehoshama' daughter of Haggai, sum of 2 sh. 100—Abihi daughter of Nathun, sum of 2 sh.

### Col. vi.

101—Yehohan daughter of Gedaliah, sum of 2 sh. 102—Salluah daughter of Neri, sum of 2 sh. 103—Yehotal daughter of Yislah, sum of 2 sh. 104—Ab'osher daughter of Hoshea, sum of 2 sh. 105—Yeho'alai daughter of Immanuiah, sum of 2 sh. 106—Mephatteah daughter of Zephaliah, sum of 2 sh. 107—Nehebeth daughter of Zaccur, sum of 2 sh. 108. 80—Menahemeth daughter of Yedoniah b. 'Anathi. sum of 2 sh. 100-Meshullam b. Ma'uzi, sum of 2 sh. 110-Meshullemeth daughter of Penuliah, sum of 2 sh. III-Nathun b. Pelaliah b. Nathun, sum of 2 sh. 112—Hazul daughter of Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh. 113-.... Nathan, sum of 2 sh. 114 .... Zebadiah ... 2 sh. 115-.... b. Nathan b. . . . . h, sum of 2 sh. 116—. . . . . b. Shillem b. . . . . h, sum of 2 sh. 117-Yehoshama' daughter of Kon, sum of 2 sh. 118-Re'uiah b. Uri, sum of 2 sh. 119, 90—Meshullam b. Shemaiah, sum of 2 sh.

### Col. vii.

The money which was paid on that day into the hand of

Yedoniah b. Gemariah in the month of Phamenoth, (was)

122 the sum of 31 kerashin 8 shekels.

123 of which 12 k 6 sh for Yahu,

124 7 kerashin for Ishumbethel,

125 the sum of 12 kerashin for 'Anathbethel.

126-Micaiah b. Yehovishma', sum of 2 sh. 127-Oshea' b. Nathan b. Hodaviah, sum of 2 sh. 128-Ahio b. Nathan b. 'Anani, sum of 2 sh. 120-Azariah b. Hazul, sum of 2 sh. 130—Joshibiah b. Berechiah, sum of 2 sh. 131 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2 . . 132-... h daughter of Ki ... sum of 2 sh.

(Reverse:)

133—Megaphernes b. VŠHI, sum of 2 sh. for ANDM (?). 134—VŠHI b. ZDMR, sum of 2 sh. for himself (?).

135—Haggai b. Miphtahiah, sum of 2 sh. for . . . (?).

1. I. "5th year," probably of Darius II.
 1. Women are counted as belonging to the garrison.

1. 5 no doubt originally mentioned the company (centuria) to which they belonged. Cf. ll. 19, 31.

1. 6. "he (gave?)" and "for himself": the meaning is quite

uncertain, here and elsewhere.

1. 24. The "20" in the margin is the number of names so far. In 1. 48 the "20" must represent a new numeration.

1. 117. "Kon," a short form of Koniah.

ll. 120-125 give the total receipts so far, showing that 42 names are lost. The assignment of the money leaves 2 shekels

1. 121. Yedoniah was the head of the community. Cf. 30 1. ll. 124, 125. Ishumbethel (if that is the right vocalisation) and 'Anathbethel are apparently divinities worshipped along with Yahu. See Introduction, p. xiii.

1. 126 begins a supplementary list.

Il. 133, 134. These two contributors have Persian names. The meaning of ANDM is uncertain.

## No. 23.

# List of Names. Probably about 420 B.C. (Sachau, p. 90.)

T Ahio b. Nathan.

2 Nathan b. Ma'uziah.

3 Hur b. Benaiah (?).

4 Maḥseh b. Yehoṭal.
5 Ḥanan b. Pekhnum.
6 Shallum b. H . . . .
7 Palṭi b. Mattan (?).
8, 10 Kushi b. Azzur.
9 Peṭekhnum b. Ḥori.
10 Re'uiah b. Zechariah.
11 Menahem b. Mattan.
12 Pekhnum b. Zaccur.
13 Haggai b. Micaiah.
14 Didi (?) b. Uri b. Mahseh.

15 Sheva b. Zechariah.

1. 8. The "10" in the margin shows that two lines are lost at the beginning. The "10" on the other side belongs to another column, now lost.

### No. 24.

# Account of Corn supplied. Probably 420 B.C. (Sachau, p. 86.)

		(Sachau, p. 80.)
I	Ration	of Petemut (?) b. Išmn, barley ardab I.
2	,,	Zbis. b. Nebushalliv, ,, ,,
3	,,	Haggai b. Shemaiah, ", ",
4	,,	Išmn b. Ap', ,, ,, ,,
5	,,	Petisi b. Zaphruth, ", ",
6	,,	—Żeḥo b. Żpнк for him " " ",(?).
7	(?) "	Samuah , ,, ,, and 2
		quarters.
8	,,	Ḥor
9	,,	
10	,,	—
II	,,	Nathan, barley ardab I.
12	,,	AHLBNI, barley ardab 1.
13	,,	Hur b. Nurshavash, barley ardab 1.
14	,,	Shamashgiriya b. Belbani, ,, ,, ,,

121

15	,,	VRD b. Zuthi.		
16 (?	) "	Hur b. Y'ulu,	barley	ardab I and
		2 quarters.		
17	,,	b. Abihu,	,,	,, ,,
18	"	PHRI,	,,	.,, .

Cf. No. 2. The persons named are no doubt members of the garrison, though not all Jews.

#### Col. ii.

barlary ardah T

19	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		balley aldab I (:).
20													
21												100.	
22													barley ardab I.
23													barley ardab.
24													
25 b. Pṛntu, barley ardab 1.													
26 nkl b. Uri. barley ardab I.													

27 . . . . Total persons 54, including

TO

- 28 total persons 2 at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 3.
- 29 total persons 22 at I ardab of barley each, = barley ardabs 22.
- 30 total persons 30 at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ardabs of barley each, = barley ardabs 75.
- 31 . . . total cost amounting to
- 32 . . . . barley ardabs 100.

1. 27. "Total persons 54," therefore about half the original number of lines is lost.

### Col. iii.

- 33 Total out put of what was delivered to the garrison of Syene from the . . .
- 34 that is the 20th day of the month Mehir in the 4th year, to the

- 35 20th of Mehir in the 5th year. What was delivered as food . . . which
- 36 . . . . brought from the district of Thebes by the hand of Onophris,

37 .... b. BR'VH, and 'Edri b. A . . .

- 38 Barley ardabs 1446, G 2, H 4.
- 39 And of corn (?) of Tštrs, the ration which was given out to the garrison

40 from (?) 1019.

- 41 . . . . . 1252, G I, H . . .
- 42 And what . . . . . was given as a ration to the garrison . . . . from

43 Tšṛrs, ardabs 1690.

- 44 . . . . . . . Meḥir, year . . . .
- 45 . . . . . . and from . . .

46 . . . . . xx76 . . . .

Col. 3 seems to be a summary of supplies for the year.
1. 34. "the 4th year," probably of Darius II, judging from the writing.
1. 39. "TŠŢRS," the southern province, as in No. 27.

No. 25.

# Renunciation of Claim. 416 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, J.)

- I On the 3rd of Chisleu, year 8, that is the 12th day of Thoth, year 9 of Darius the king, at that date in Yeb
- 2 the fortress said Yedoniah b. Hoshaiah b. Uriah, Aramæan of Yeb the fortress, before Widrang commander of the garrison

- 3 of Syene, to Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah b. Nathan, his brother, their mother being Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah b. Yedoniah, before
- 4 Widrang commander of the garrison of Syene, as follows: I withdraw (my claim) against you on the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah. These are its boundaries:
- 5 at the upper end, the house of Hosea b. Uriah adjoins it; at the lower end of it, the house of Hazul b. Zechariah adjoins it;
- 6 at the lower end and above, there are open windows; on the east of it, is the temple of the God Yahu, and the highway
- 7 of the king between them; on the west of it, the house of Mibṭaḥiah daughter of Mahseiah, which Mahseiah her father gave her.
- 8 adjoins it. This house, whose boundaries are described above, is yours, Yedoniah and Mahseiah both
- 9 sons of Nathan, for ever, and your children's after you. To whom you will, you may give it. I shall have no power, I Yedoniah, or my sons
- no power to set in motion suit or process against you, nor shall we have power to sue son or daughter of yours,
- or any man to whom you may sell this house, or to whom you may give it as a gift,
- or dependants female or male. If I, Yedoniah, sue you, or you are sued by
- 13 a son of mine or daughter or female or male dependant, on my behalf or on behalf of my sons, (or

anyone) except a son or daughter of Jezaniah b. Uriah.

14 or (if) they sue son or daughter, or female or male dependant of yours, or a man to whom you may sell or to whom you may give as a gift

15 this house, or whoever shall bring a claim against you, shall pay you a fine of the sum of ten kerashin, that is to kerashin at the rate of

16 2 R to I karash by royal weight, and the house is assured to you for ever and to your sons after you, failing

17 any sons of Jezan b. Uriah, without question. Ma'uziah b. Nathan wrote (this deed) at the direction of Yedoniah b. Hosea and the witnesses

18 hereto

Menahem b. Shallum: Mahseiah b. Yedoniah: Menahem b. Gadol b. Ba'adiah:

Yedoniah b. Meshullam:

10 Yislah b. Gadol: Gadol b. Berechiah: Jezaniah b. Penuliah: Ahio b. Nathan. (Endorsement:)

20 Deed of renunciation, which Yedoniah b. Hosea wrote concerning the house of Jezaniah b. Uriah,

21 for Yedoniah b. Nathan and Mahseiah his brother. both of them.

1. I. Year 8 in the Jewish reckoning, which began the year in the spring (Nisan), = year 9 in the Egyptian reckoning, which began the year in the previous December (Thoth).

1. 3. Nathan = Ashor. See No. 203.
1. 4. "before Widrang," etc.: repeated from 1. 2 by an error.
1. 13. "except": the meaning is not quite certain.
1. 17. The same scribe who wrote Nos. 18 and 20. His father wrote Nos. 10, 13.

#### No. 26.

### Order to Repair a Boat. 412 B.C. (Sachau, p. 44.)

- I From Arsames to Wahiprimahi: Now the boat of Pesmesnith and his colleagues the boatmen of the fortifications is worn out as reported
- 2 to us by Mithradates the boatman as follows: Thus says Pesmesnith . . . . . . . the boatmen of
- 3 the fortifications say thus: The boat of which we have charge, it is time to do its repairs. Thereupon I sent word as follows: Let the specification
- 4 be drawn up accurately and sent to the accountants of the treasury. They with the commanders Shemsillek and his colleagues are to inspect this boat
- 5 and make a report on it (?), and let the arsenic (?) which is required (?) by the specification, paint (?) and the rest be sent, and let the accountants give all the materials
- 6 and let its repairs be done immediately, and the rest about which word was sent to them from me.

  Thereupon they sent and thus said their messengers:

  On
- 7 the beach which is in front of the fortress, between its fortifications Mithradates the boatman showed us the boat. We report that by Pesmesnith and . . . . . ,
- 8 both boatmen of the fortifications, it is described accurately, and we have reported to Shemsil'ek and his colleagues the commanders, (and) Shemu b.
- 9 Kanufi, head of the carpenters, of SPYT, and they said thus: It is time to make its repairs. This is the specification (of) what is required (?) to do its repairs:

10 Cedar and AR wood, new, (each) plank 10 cubits . . . . . . 80 cubits by 3 hand-breadths, among them ribs (?) of 12 cubits;

II boards (?) 15, each of 20 cubits; a s'BL, 70 cubits; HNN for the hold (?) 3; a sail (?) for the mast (?), I;

- 12 planks for the HL of 60 cubits; a PHTMUNI for the P'R'R, I of 2 cubits; APSI under the HL, 5; nails of bronze and iron,
- 13 200; planks of cedar, seasoned (?), strong, TMIS, 20 cubits; the equivalent of all of it, both sound (?) and broken, he is to bring to the treasury; sails (?) of

14 cotton, thick, 180 kerashin; awnings (?), 250 kerashin; planks of cedar, new; 2 HNN, each 5 cubits

- 15 3 hands by 3 hands; for the HL, nails of bronze, 150, each 3 hands, 275,
- 16 each 10 finger-breadths; total nails, 425; plates of bronze, 20 cubits; nails for them, 200;
- 17 planks of cedar, seasoned (?), Egyptian (?) government, I talent IO minæ in all; add (?) sulphur,
  IO kerashin, and arsenic for the painting (?), IOO
  kerashin;
- 18 and they shall add to the planks which are (?) supplied, to the board in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth and thickness 2 fingers; and to

19 the SIM, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth 2 fingers; and to the planed boards (?) and HNN in length each I hand; and to

20 the s'BL, the wood for the HL, the rows of TMIS, in length each 3 hands clear (?), and to the breadth I finger. The sails (?) of cotton, the awning (?),

21 the arsenic, the sulphur, are to be supplied by Persian weight. Let word be sent that these materials are to be delivered to Shemu b. Kanufi, head of

- 22 the carpenters, of SPYT, for the purpose of the repair of this boat, and let him do (it) at once. according to the order issued. Now Arsames says as follows: You are to act
- 23 in accordance with this which the accountants say. according to the order issued. 'Anani, secretary, drafted the order. Nabu'akab wrote (it).

24 Wahprimahi . . . . . . . . .

25 According to the order issued . . . . wrote . . .

26 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

27 From Arsames, which he . . . .

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

The translation is very difficult owing to the many technical terms of unknown meaning.

1. 1. Arsames was the satrap of Egypt.
1. 9. "SPYTKN": an adjective formed from a place-name. Cf. l. 22. l. 17. "Egyptian government" is very doubtful.

# No. 27.

## Petition to Arsames (?). About 410 B.C. (Sachau, p. 26.)

I... we should be injured (?). When (?) detachments of the Egyptians rebelled, we did not leave our posts,

2 and nothing disloyal was found in us. In the 14th year of King Darius, when our lord Arsames

- 3 went away to the king, this is the crime which the priests of the god Khnub committed in the fortress of Yeb
- 4 in concert with Waidrang who was governour here, after giving him money and valuables: there is a part

- 5 of the king's stores which is in the fortress of Yeb, (this) they wrecked, and they built a wall in the midst of the fortress of Yeb.......
- 6 Now this wall is built in the midst of the fortress.

  There is a well which is built
- 7 within the fortress, and it never lacks water to supply the garrison, so that (?) if it is supervised (?) they would be
- 8 (able to get) water to drink in this well. Those priests of Khnub stopped up this well. If enquiry
- 9 be made of the magistrates, officers (and) police who are set over the province of TŠTRS
- Io it will be made *known* to your lordship in accordance with what we say. Moreover we are innocent
- II of this damage to the stores which were in the fortress of Yeb
- 12 . . . . thus we are free from blame, and anything
- 13 harmful of this kind has not been found in us, but the priests will not allow
- 14 us to bring meal-offering and incense
- 15 and sacrifice to offer there to Yahu the God of heaven
- 16 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
- 17 . . . . but they made there a fire (?)
- 18 and the rest of the fittings they took for themselves, all of it.
- 19 Now if it please your lordship, let the injury be very much remembered
- 20 which was done to us, us of the Jewish garrison.
- 21 If it please your lordship let an order be given according to
- 22 what we state. If it please your lordship, let word be sent

23 that they shall not injure anything which is ours 24 and to build the altar (?) of ours which they destroyed.

Very imperfect, especially at the end, on the reverse.

The petition is evidently an earlier appeal relating to the events described in No. 30.

1.7. "supervised": the word occurs in 13 4, but its meaning is very doubtful.

#### No. 28.

# Assignment of Slaves. 410 B.C.

(Sayce and Cowley, K.)

- I On the 24th of Shebat, year 13, that is the 9th day of Athyr, year 14 of Darius the king in the fortress of Yeb,
- 2 said Mahseiah b. Nathan (and) Yedoniah b. Nathan, in all 2, Aramæans of Syene, of the detachment of Warizath, as follows: We have agreed

3 together and have divided between us the slaves of Mibṭaḥiah our mother, and note, this is the share which comes to you as a share—you, Yedoniah—,

4 Petosiri by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language, thus,

5 "Mibtahiah's." Note also, this is the share which comes to me as a share—me, Mahseiah—, Belo by name, whose mother is Tebo, a slave. A yod

6 is marked on his arm at the right of a marking in the Aramaic language thus, "Mibṭaḥiah's." You, Yedoniah, are master of Petosiri,

7 this slave, who has come to you as a share, from this day for ever, and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him). I shall have no power,

- 8 I Mahseiah, son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or any dependant of mine, to move the court against you or against your children in the matter of Petosiri
- 9 by name, the slave who has come to you as a share. If we move the court against you in the matter, we Mahseiah or my children, or (if) we sue son
- 10 or daughter of yours or dependant of yours in the matter of Petosiri this slave who has come to you as a share, then we will pay to you a fine of standard
- II money ten kerashin, royal weight, and we renounce all claim against you and your children as regards this Petosiri
- and your children after you, and to whom you will you may give (him) without question. Also as to Tebo
- 13 by name, the mother of these lads, and Lilu her daughter, whom we do not yet divide between us, when it is time we will divide them
- 14 between us, and we will each take possession of his share, and we will write a deed of our partition between us, and (there shall be) no dispute. Nabutukulti b. Nabu-zira-ibni wrote
- 15 this deed in the fortress of Yeb at the direction of Mahseiah and Yedoniah his brother. Witnesses thereto: Menahem b. Gadol;
- 16 Witness Hanan b. Haggai; Witness Nathan b. Yeho'or; Witness Shallum b. Nathan. (Endorsement:)
- 17 Deed of assignment of a slave, Petosiri. Written by Mahseiah b. Nathan for Yedoniah b. Nathan his brother.
- l. 4. Yod, i.e. the Aramaic letter Y. The meaning of the mark is obscure. The slaves all have Egyptian names.

### No. 29.

# Contract for a Loan. About 409 B.C. (Sachau, p. 61.)

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

7 . . . .

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

# No. 30.

# Petition to the Governour of Judæa. 408 B.C. (Sachau, p. 3.)

I To our lord Bigvai, governour of Judæa, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues, the priests who are in Yeb the fortress. The health

2 of your lordship may the God of Heaven seek after exceedingly at all times, and give you favour before Darius the king

- 3 and the princes of the palace more than now a thousand times, and may he grant you long life, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times.
- 4 Now your servant Yedoniah and his colleagues depose as follows: In the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king, when Arsames

5 departed and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who is in the fortress of Yeb, (were) in league with Waidrang who was governour here,

6 saying: The temple of Yahu the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang,

7 the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan who was commander of the garrison in the fortress of Syene saying: The temple which is in Yeb

8 the fortress let them destroy. Then Nephayan led out the Egyptians with the other forces. They came to the fortress of Yeb with their weapons,

9 they entered that temple, they destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they broke. Also it happened, 5 gate-ways

Io of stone, built with hewn blocks of stone, which were in that temple, they destroyed, and their doors they set up (?), and the hinges

II of those doors were bronze, and the roof of cedar wood, all of it, with the rest of the furniture and other things which were there,

12 all of it they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and silver and everything that was in that temple, all of it, they took

13 and made their own. Already in the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in the fortress of Yeb, and when Cambyses came into Egypt

- 14 he found that temple built, and the temples of the gods of Egypt all of them they overthrew, but no one did any harm to that temple.
- 15 When this was done, we with our wives and our children put on sack-cloth and fasted and prayed to Yahu the Lord of Heaven,
- 16 who let us see (our desire) upon that Waidrang, the abominable. They tore off the anklets from his legs, and all the riches he had gained were destroyed, and all the men
- 17 who had sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them. Also before this, at the time when this evil
- 18 was done to us, we sent a letter to your lordship and to Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother
- 19 of 'Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. They have not sent any letter to us. Also since the month of Tammuz in the 14th year of Darius the king
- 20 till this day we wear sack-cloth and fast. Our wives are made widow-like, we do not anoint ourselves with oil
- 21 and we drink no wine. Also from that (time) till (the present) day in the 17th year of Darius the king, neither meal-offering, incense, nor sacrifice
- 22 do they offer in that temple. Now your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues and the Jews, all of them inhabitants of Yeb, say as follows:
- 23 If it seem good to your lordship, take thought for that temple to build it, since they do not allow us to build it. Look upon your

24 well-wishers and friends who are here in Egypt, (and) let a letter be sent from you to them concerning the temple of the God Yahu

25 to build it in the fortress of Yeb as it was built before, and they shall offer the meal-offering and

incense and sacrifice

26 on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will pray for you at all times, we, our wives, our children, and the Tews.

27 all who are here, if they do so that this temple be re-built, and it shall be a merit to you before

· Yahu the God of

28 Heaven more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth as much as the sum of a thousand talents. As to gold, about this

20 we have sent (and) given instructions. Also the whole matter we have set forth in a letter in our name to Delajah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat governour of Samaria.

30 Also of all this which was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marheshwan the 17th

year of Darius the king.

This must be a copy or draft of the letter actually sent.

l. I. Bigvai = Bagoas in Josephus, Ant. 107, where Ioannes (= Johanan in 1. 18) is also mentioned as High-Priest.

1. 2. "seek after": the regular formula in human greetings. 1. 7. "reprobate" does not seem very suitable, but no better neaning has been suggested. The word occurs several times,
1, 10. "set up" is difficult. Possibly "lifted them off their

hinges" (?) or "stood them against the wall" to burn them. l. 13. "when Cambyses came into Egypt" in 525 B.c. l. 16. "the abominable," lit. "dog-like." It may be "the

dogs tore off," after he was killed. But the sentence is obscure. "They have not sent," because they disapproved of the temple?

"to them," i. e. to the Egyptians. 1. 24.

"on your behalf," though he was a non-Jewish official. 1. 26.

1. 28. "As to gold," as bakhshish.

1. 30. "Arsames knew nothing," and so was not to blame. He was away at the time, Cf. 11. 4, 5.

No. 31.

# A Duplicate of No. 30. Same date.

(Sachau, p. 23.)

- I To our lord Bigvai, governour of Judæa, your servants Yedoniah and his colleagues the priests . . .
- 2 God of *Heaven* seek after at all times. May he give you favour before Darius . . .
- 3 May he grant you long *life*, and may you be happy and prosperous at all times. Now your servant Yedoniah . . .
- 4 Year 14 of Darius the king, when Arsames departed and went to the king . . .
- 5 The fortress. They gave money and valuables to Waidrang the governour who was here, saying . . .
- 6 let them remove from there. Then that Waidrang, the reprobate, sent a letter to his son Nephayan, who . . .
- 7 of Yahu the God, which is in the fortress of Yeb, let them destroy. Then that Nephayan led out the Egyptians . . .
- 8 their weapons. They went into that temple. They destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone . . .
- 9 5 great gate-ways, built of hewn stone, which were in that temple . . .
- 10 those, of bronze, and the roof of that temple, all of it of cedar wood, with the rest...
- II they burnt with fire, and the basons of gold and of silver and every thing . . .
- 12 they made. Already in the day of the kings of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in Yeb . . .
- 13 He found that built, and the temples of the gods of the Egyptians all of them they overthrew, but no one did any . . .

14 was done, we with our wives, and our children have been wearing sack-cloth, fasting . . .

15 let us see (our desire) on that Waidrang, the abominable. They tore off his anklets from his legs and all...

- 16 sought to do evil to that temple, all of them, were killed and we saw (our desire) upon them.

  Also
- 17 to us, we sent a letter about this . . . to your lord-ship and to Johanan . . .
- 18 and to Ostanes the brother of 'Anani, and the nobles of Judæa. A letter . . .
- 19 Year 14 of King Darius till this day we wear sack-
- 20 we do not anoint ourselves with oil and we drink no wine. Also from that time till this . . .
- 21 meal-offering, incense nor sacrifice do they offer in that temple. Now . . .
- 22 and the Jews all of them, citizens of Yeb, say as follows: If it seem good to your lordship, take thought . . .
- 23 allow us to build it. Look upon your well-wishers and friends who are here . . .
- 24 concerning the temple of the God Yahu to build it in the fortress of Yeb as . . .
- 25 and the sacrifice we will offer on the altar of the God Yahu on your behalf, and we will pray...
- 26 and all the Jews who are here, if you do so that this temple be re-built . . .
- 27 Heaven, more than a man who offers to him sacrifice and burnt-offerings worth the sum of a thousand talents. As to . . .
- 28 matter, we have sent a letter in our name to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of . . .

29 all that was done to us Arsames knew nothing. On the 20th of Marheshwan the 17th year . . .

The ends of all the lines are lost.

### No. 32.

# Answer to No. 30. About 408 B.C. (Sachau, p. 28.)

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

l. 2. "to me": the messenger, not named.
l. 9. Note that animal sacrifice is not mentioned. Intentionally?

### No. 33.

# A further Petition, connected with No. 30. About 407 B.C. (Sachau, p. 31.)

- I Your servants Yedoniah b. Gemariah by name, I.
- 2 Ma'uzi b. Nathan by name, 1.
- 3 Shemaiah b. Haggai by name, 1.
- 4 Hosea b. Yathom by name, 1.
- 5 Hosea b. Nathun by name, 1, total 5 men,

6 Syenians who hold property in the fortress of Yeb.

7 say as follows: If your lordship is favourable

- 8 and the temple of Yahu the God which we had (?) be rebuilt (?)
- o in the fortress of Yeb as it was formerly built,
- 10 and sheep, oxen (and) goats are not offered as burntsacrifice there.
- II but incense, meal-offering and drink-offering only,
- 12 and (if) your lordship gives orders to that effect, then
- 13 we will pay to your lordship's house the sum of ... and also
- 14 a thousand ardabs of barley.

This may have been sent to Bigvai after receipt of his answer, No. 32. Or it may be addressed to Arsames.

1. 10. They seem to agree not to offer animal sacrifice.

### 34

# A Letter. Probably about 407 B.C. (Sachau, p. 63.)

- I, 2 . . . . . . . . . . . khnum, now these are the names of the women who were found
- 3 at the gate in Thebes (?) and were taken prisoners: Rami, wife of Hodar. Asirshuth, wife of Hosea. Pelul, wife of Yislah, Re'ia . . .
- 4 Zebia, daughter of Meshullam. Yekhola her sister. These are the names of the men who were found at the gate in Thebes (?) and were taken prisoners:
- 5 Yedonia b. Gemariah, Hosea b. Yathom, Hosea b. Nathum, Haggai his brother, Ahio b. Mahseiah (?). They have left (?)
- 6 the houses which they had entered in Yeb, and the property which they had taken they have restored indeed to the owners of it, but they remembered (?)

.... the sum of

7 120 kerashin. Moreover they will have no further authority here. Peace be to your house and your children till the Gods let us see (our desire) upon them.

This seems to refer to violence done at the time of the destruction of the temple.

1. 5. Cf. the names in No. 33. "They," i.e. the Egyptian rioters.

### No. 35.

# Contract for a Loan. About 400 B.C. (Sachau, p. 128.)

- I On the 21st (?) of Phamenoth, year 5 of Amyrtæus the king at that time
- 2 said *Menahem* b. *Shalom*, Aramæan of Yeb the fortress, of the detachment of Nabukudurri,
- 3 to Sallua daughter of Samuah, as follows: You have a claim on me for the sum of 2 shekels,
- 4 that is the sum of I stater, being part of the money and goods which are (prescribed) in the deed
- 5 of your marriage. I, Menahem, will give it and pay you in full by
- 6 the 30th of Pharmuthi, year 5 of King Amyrtæus.

  If I have not
- 7 paid off and given to you this sum of 2 shekels, that is I stater,
- 8 by the said day which is written above, and it come to the rst (?) of Paḥons,
- 9 this your money, the sum of 2 shekels that is the sum of 1 stater, shall be doubled (?),
- 10 and I will give you, Sallua, your money and . . . . . your money
- II . . . . . . . . . if I sue you or sue your son . . . .
- l. I. Amyrtæus is the Egyptian who rebelled against Persia shortly before 400 B.C.
  - 1. 9. The end is too fragmentary to be restored. Cf. No. 11.

No. 36.

# Part of a Marriage Contract. No date. (Sachau, p. 49.)

I new, 21 (?) . . . .

2 5 cubits 3 hands by 3 (cubits) and 4 hands, worth the sum of 3 shekels; 1 . . . new, 7 cubits

3 by 4 and a span, worth the sum of 4 shekels 20 hallurin; I... new, of wool, worth the sum of

4 10 hallurin; 1 cup of bronze worth the sum of 15 (?) hallurin; 1 bowl of bronze . . .

Cf. No. 15.

# The Words of Ahikar.

Col. i. (Sachau, p. 148.)

I These are the words of one named Aḥiḥar, a wise and ready scribe, which he taught to the son of his sister, whom he brought up.

2 For he said "Surely he shall be a son to me." Before his words Ahikar 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 do my service? 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, Ahikar, 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

II he asked him. Then Esarhaddon king of Assyria loved him and said "Long life be to Aḥiḥar,

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 Aḥikar, before Esarhaddon king of Assyria.

14 And in after days I, Aḥikar, 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

The name is spelt here Aḥikar in deference to custom. It would be pronounced Aḥuyakar in Babylonian, Aḥyekar in Aramaic. Of Greek Andreases

Aramaic. Cf. Greek 'Αχιάχαρος.

1. τ. "scribe" is a man learned in the law, a councillor. The ends of this and the following lines are difficult to restore. Possibly the papyrus is not correctly pieced together.

1. 16 is missing. Otherwise the text is continuous.

### Col. ii. (Sachau, p. 151.)

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, Ahikar, 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 Ahikar, 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 Ahikar." Then
- 30 when my son who was not my son, had devised this falsehood against me . . . . .

1. 31 is lost. It must have related how he told his story to the king.

### Col. iii. (Sachau, p. 153.)

- 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 Aḥiḥar wherever you may find him
- 35 and kill him. Even if this Aḥiķar, 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 he would act. This Nabusumiskun the officer went away riding on a swift horse,

39 and those men with him. Then after three more days indeed

40 he, with other men who were with him, found 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, Aḥikar, indeed was afraid. I answered and said to Nabusumiskun

46 the officer, "(Yes, and) also I am that Aḥikar 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. (Sachau, p. 155.)

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 one friend to another.

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, Aḥikar, 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 Aḥikar 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 Aḥiḥar, and when it is heard, the king will send other men

63 after us to see the body of this Ahikar. Then they will see the body of this eunuch my slave,

# Col. v. (Sachau, p. 157.)

64 until afterwards Esarhaddon the king remembers Ahikar and desires his counsel, and grieves 65 over him, and the heart of Esarhaddon the king shall turn and he shall say to his officers and courtiers

66 'I will give you riches as the number of the sand if you find Ahikar.' '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 Ahikar here. He shall be killed between these two mountains."

70 At that time it was reported in the country of Assyria, saying, "Aḥiḥar 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 his servants, "Let bread and water

73 be carried to my lord." So he gave me . . .

74 abundant sustenance (?) and goods 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 Ahikar 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 . . . . .

1.64. The text is continuous from col. iv, though the connexion is loose.

1. 78. The narrative breaks off here.

\* \* \*

### Col. vi. (Sachau, p. 160.)

- 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.
- 8r 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,
- or 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 goodly (?), 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

04 And his wisdom goes astray . . . . who sees? . . . Thou hast placed . . . . . peoples . . . the gods . . .

The "proverbs" begin with this column.
1. 79. "wine foaming" has been generally taken as "an ass braying" (cf. Syriac, No. 8), but "in the press," if right, makes this impossible.

11. 80-85. Cf. Nos. 22-26 in the Syriac.

1. 92. Note the numerical maxim, common in wisdom-

literature.
1. 93. "Shamash," the Babylonian god, the judge of right and wrong, rather than "the sun." So in l. 171.

## Col. vii. (Sachau, p. 163.)

- 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 re-capture 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 not the word of a king: it may be a healing to thy brother. Soft is the speech of a king, (but) it is sharper and stronger than a two-edged knife.
- IoI Behold before thee something hard: in presence of a king stand 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; let it not kindle 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 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.
- roo 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

1. 95. The subject is probably "wisdom."
 1. 96. "chatter overmuch": the words are indistinct, but this gives the most suitable sense.
 11. 97-99 are on the same subject.

ll. 100-108 is another group.
l. 103. "kindle": so the text. Perhaps it is a mistake.

1. 107. "the merciful," i. e. God?
1. 107. "except one who is like him": the phrase occurs several times, but its meaning is doubtful.

1. 108. "Shamash," as in 1. 93. Or it may be "the sun."

1. 110. There is a gap after this line.

## Col. viii. (Sachau, p. 166.)

III I have lifted sand and carried salt, and there is nothing which is heavier than debt.

II2 I have lifted chaff and taken up bran, and there is nothing which is lighter than (to be) a sojourner.

113 A sword will trouble calm water among good shepherds.

114 A little man when he multiplies his words, they
....above him, for the opening of his
mouth ....

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.

II7 There is no lion in the sea, therefore they call the . . . . lion (?).

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 (?).

ll. 111, 112. Cf. Syriac, Nos. 45, 46.

l. 114. Two words not translated, as the meaning is unknown.
l. 117. The reading of the omitted word is uncertain.
l. 120. "The master": we might read "the bear," or "the

wolf."

ll. 122, 123. Two forms of the same proverb.

1. 125. The translation and point are alike doubtful.

## Col. ix. (Sachau, p. 169.)

- 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, oh 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, the arrow is from (the) gods.
- 129 . . . . do thou, oh 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
- 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, and 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.

l. 126. "God" is plural with a singular verb, as in Hebrew, but it may be only a scribal error.
1. 131. "the filling of a house" is obscure. Perhaps it means

"takes all that the house contains."

l. 132. "hatefulness," i. e. what makes him hateful. l. 134 is very obscure. "of the south" is very doubtful.

ll. 139, 140 are suitable to the second series of sayings found in the later versions.

# Col. x. (Sachau, p. 172.)

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. (Sachau, p. 174.)

- 159 A man excellent in conduct 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 (?)?
- 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. (Sachau, p. 176.)

- 173 God set me up as a righteous man with thee,  $why \dots$
- 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

177 Pity (?) a man who knows not what he
178 A wise man speaks, for the opening of the mouth
of
(ll. 179–183 are lost.)
184 The moth fell into
(l. 185 is lost.)
186 Into a house (?) of bronze the moth fell
187 My soul knows not its path, therefore
188 Hunger sweetens what is bitter and thirst
189 Let him that is vexed be satisfied with bread and
the soul that is poor be sated with wine.
190 Men

This column is very much broken, and the rest is too imperfect to be translated.

# The Behistun Inscription (l. 50- ).

Col. i. (Sachau, p. 187.)

They killed of them 827 and took alive ... o6. A second time the rebel troops gathered together. They went

2 To meet Dadarshish to join battle. Then they joined battle at the fortress called Tigra, in Armenia. Auramazda helped me; by the protection of

3 Auramazda my army slew the rebels. On the 18th of Iyyar they joined battle. They slew of them

5046.

4 The rebel troops gathered together. They went to meet Dadarshish to join battle. Then they joined battle at Huyav as it is called,

5 The fortress in Armenia. Auramazda helped me; by the protection of Auramazda my army slew

the rebels. On the 9th of Sivan

6 They joined battle. They killed of them 472 and took alive ... 02. Then Dadarshish did nothing (further), waiting for me in Armenia.

7 Thus says Darius the king, One Vaumisa by name, my servant, a Persian, to Armenia I sent. I said, "Go, that army, the rebels who do not

8 Obey me, slay them." Then Vaumisa went to Armenia.
On (his) arriving (there) the rebels gathered together. They went to meet Vaumisa to join

9 Battle. Then they joined battle. He killed of them 2034.

- They went to meet Vaumisa to join battle. They joined battle. On the 30th of Iyyar they joined battle.
- They killed of them 2045 and took alive 1578. Then Vaumisa did nothing, waiting for me in Armenia.
- 12 Thus says Darius the king, Then I went out from Babylon and went to Media. On arriving in Media at a (city) named Kundur in Media that Phraortes with
- 13 An army came to meet me. We joined battle. Auramazda helped me, by the protection of Auramazda I slew the army of Phraortes. On the 25th

14 Of Marheshwan (?) we joined battle. I killed of them ...5 and alive I took 108010. Then that Phraortes

15 . . . Then I sent the army . . .

\* \* \*

l. I. The number of the hundreds is lost.

After 1. 3 and elsewhere, the blank space represents an omission. The original was probably worn out and illegible in these places.

1. 4. "Huyav," in the Elamite version "Uiyama." M and V

are interchanged in Babylonian.
1. 14. Both numbers are broken.

### Col. ii. (Sachau, p. 191.)

16 Thus says Darius the king, Then the country was mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

17 Thus says Darius the king, The country called Margiana rebelled. As king over them they made

18 One Frada by name. Then I sent (the man) named Dadarshish, governour of Bactria. I said, Go, kill

19 The army, the rebels. Then Dadarshish joined battle with the Margians. Auramazda helped me.

- 20 By the protection of Auramazda they killed those rebels. On the 23rd of Chisleu they joined battle.
- 21 They killed of them 55243, and took alive 6972.
- 22 Thus says king Darius, A certain man, Vayazdata by name, a Persian, dwelt in Persia. He said,
- 23 I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. Then the Persian army, as many as (?) were in the houses in the neighbourhood (?) of the fortress,
- 24 Rebelled. They went over to him. He became king in Persia. Then I sent the army, which was small, in Persia,
- 25 Which had not rebelled, and the army of Media which was with me. Artavarzi by name, a Persian,
- 26 I sent at the head of them. The other army of Persia and Media went with me. Then Artavarzi
- 27 With the army went to the place called Rakha in Persia. Then that Vayazdata, who said, I am Smerdis came (?) with
- 28 The army to join battle. They joined battle. Auramazda helped me, by the protection of Auramazda
- 29 My army killed the army of Vayazdata. On the 12th of Iyyar they joined battle. They killed of them 303...
- 30 And took alive . . . Then that Vayazdata went with a small force of cavalry before
- 31 The fortress called Paishiyauvada. Then, with his army, he came to meet Artavarzi to join
- 32 Battle. They joined battle. My army killed the army of Vayazdata. In the month Tishri (?)

### Col. iii. (Sachau, p. 192.)

33 They joined battle. They killed of them . . . and took alive . . .

- 34 They took Vayazdata, and the nobles who were with him they (also) took. Thus says king Darius, Then
- 35 I put 10... to death, and the nobles who were with him I crucified at a place called Uvadaicaya in Persia
- 36 52 (of them). This is what I did in Persia.
- 37 Thus says king Darius, That Vayazdata, who said, I am Smerdis, had sent an army to Arachosia
- 38 And a certain man at the head of them to meet my servant named Vivana, a Persian, the governour
- 39 Of Arachosia, saying, Go to Vivana and the army which obeys king Darius
- 40 Kill (them). The army of Vayazdata went to meet Vivana to join battle. They joined battle
  41 Auramazda helped me. By the protection of Aura-
- 41 Auramazda helped me. By the protection of Auramazda my army killed the rebels. They killed
- 42 Of them 4570... and took alive . . . On the 13th of Tebeth
- 43 They joined battle. Auramazda helped me. By the protection of Auramazda my army killed the army of
- 44 The rebels. They killed of them 3... and took alive . . . . . . Then fled
- 45 That man who was in command over them with a small force of cavalry and went
- 46 Towards (?) Arshada the fortress in the province of Arachosia. Then Vivana went with the army to meet him
- 47 To join battle. He joined battle. He took him, and killed the nobles who were with him. The total of the killed
- 48 And prisoners whom my army killed and took, was . . . Thus says king Darius, Then the country was mine.

49 This is what I did in Arachosia. Thus says Darius the king . . .

\* \*

1.23. The reading is uncertain. "Neighbourhood": the same word is used in the Babylonian text, but its meaning is doubtful. l. 32. "the month T..." must be either Tishri or Tammuz. Column iii. reads on continuously.

## Col. iv. (Sachau, p. 196.)

- 59 Thus says king Darius, These are the men who stood on my side till I had killed that Gaumata

60 The Magian, who said, "I am Smerdis." They were especially distinguished in my sight.

61 Indaphernes, by name, son of Vayaspara a Persian: Gaubaruva son of Mardonius (?)

62 A Persian . . . . . a Persian . . . . .

63 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

thou hide

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