ARAMAIC PAPYRI

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DISCOVERED AT ASSUAN

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EDITED BY

A. H. SAYCE

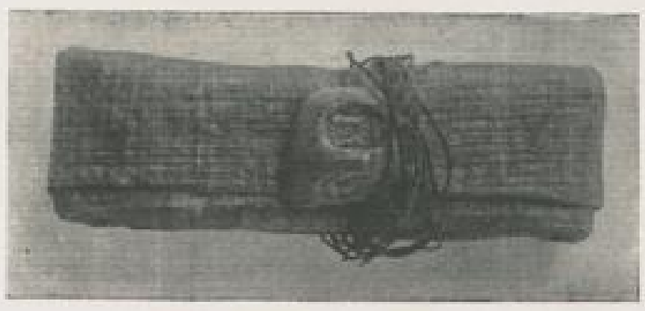
WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

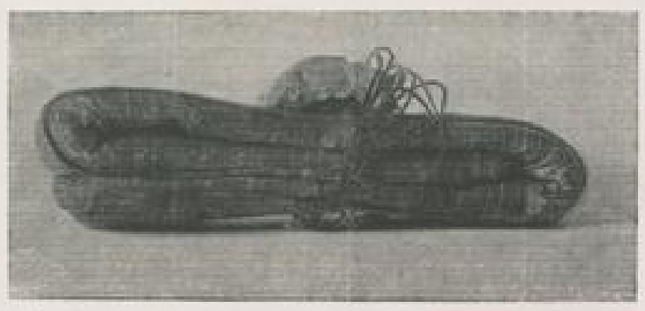
A. E. COWLEY

AND WITH APPENDICES

BY

W. SPIEGELBERG AND SEYMOUR DE RICCI





TWO VIEWS OF PAPYRUS A BEFORE UNROLLING

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PREFACE

The publication of the Aramaic papyri contained in the present work is due to the munificence of Mr. Robert Mond. In editing them I have to thank Mr. Seymour de Ricci and Professor Spiegelberg for the contributions to the work which they have been so good as to send me, and more especially Mr. Cowley, to whose keen sight and unwearied patience we owe the present satisfactory text of the documents, and who also undertook the laborious task of compiling the glossary of words. One of the papyri (**A**) was purchased by the Bodleian Library while the work was in progress, and there is reason to believe that other papyri from the same find are in existence. Any museum, library, or private person into whose possession they may have passed is earnestly requested to make the fact known. The Plates (with the exception of **A, L,** and the Ostraka) have been printed from photographs taken by Mr. Howard Carter, late Inspector of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt, who placed the publication of them in my hands.

A. H. SAYCE.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BA. = Biblical Aramaic.

CIS. = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, vol. ii.

NSI. = North Semitic Inscriptions, by G. A. Cooke (Oxford, 1903).

PSBA. = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, vol. xxv (1903).

RAO. = Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. vi.

RÉS. = Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique, vol. i (*RÉS.* 246 is reprinted below, on p. 78).

Str. = Strassburg Papyrus, edited by Prof. J. Euting in *Mémoires . . . de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1re série, tome xi, iie partie (Paris, 1903) (= *RÉS.* 361, reprinted, with some suggestions, below, on p. 78).

Zing. Had., *Pan.* = The Hadad and Panammu Inscriptions of Zingirli (see *NSI.*, pp. 159 and 171).

NOTE

During my excavations at Thebes in the spring of 1904, I was informed that some Hebrew papyri had been found near Assuan, and I at once telegraphed that they should be kept for my inspection. On my arrival at Assuan, I acquired them with the intention of presenting them to the British Museum.

Mr. Howard Carter, then Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, had also seen the papyri, and having learnt that they were in my possession requested me to sell them to the Museum Department at Cairo, as they had no Aramaic papyri in the Cairo Museum, as these, on closer inspection, proved to be.

As this request was virtually a command, I presented the papyri to the Museum authorities, on condition that I should have the right of publication of the same and also of those acquired by Lady William Cecil, the fragmentary papyrus being a portion of one of mine. I must here express my best thanks to Lady William Cecil for her kind acquiescence in my proposal.

Mr. Howard Carter unrolled these papyri in my presence, and kindly undertook for me to superintend their reproduction by photography, which was carried out by Mr. Dittrich, Court Photographer at Cairo, whom I suggested for the work, with great skill and care, of which the plates bear evidence. Mr. Carter also undertook their reproduction in England and entrusted the work to Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd.

I cannot sufficiently thank Professor Sayce, who had seen my papyri at Thebes, for kindly undertaking to edit them for me, and for interesting Mr. Cowley in the transliteration and translation of the Papyri, a difficult task which, to my gratification, Mr. Cowley accepted, and I trust that my gratification will be shared by all those who shall subsequently study the same.

I must also express my cordial thanks to Mr. Seymour de Ricci for the bibliography which he has prepared, and which he has kindly requested me to publish, and which will be found in Appendix II, and to my friend Professor Spiegelberg for his additional notes.

Further Papyri (Nos. **A** and **L**) have been acquired by the Bodleian Library, and I am grateful to the authorities for their permission for the publication of the same in this volume.

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INTRODUCTION

Aramaic ostraca and fragmentary Aramaic papyri have from time to time been found in the mounds of the old city which stood at the southern end of the island of Elephantinê, opposite Assuan. In the winter of 1901, while I was there, I rescued a more than usually perfect roll of papyrus from the hands of the diggers for *sebakh*, as well as three ostraca, which were found along with it. As the ostraca were covered with Aramaic writing, it seemed probable that the papyrus also would be written in Aramaic, and such proved to be the case. The papyrus and ostraca are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and have been edited by Mr. A. Cowley in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for May, June, and November, 1903.

I mentioned their discovery to Professor Maspero, the Director-General of the Service of Antiquities, and urged that the mounds should be carefully guarded, and that excavations should be undertaken on the spot where they were found, in the hope of disinterring more. In the early spring of 1904, accordingly, some excavations were made by the Service of Antiquities, but they were not able to be continued long enough to yield more Aramaic papyri, though fragments of Greek and demotic papyri were discovered in considerable abundance.

Meanwhile, however, rolls of Aramaic papyri were being offered for sale by dealers at Assuan. Different accounts were given to Mr. Howard Carter, then Inspector-General of the Service of Antiquities, and myself as to the place of their discovery. On the one hand we were told that they had been found in the island of Elephantinê, and the actual spot from which they had come was pointed out to us; on the other hand we were assured that they had really been discovered in a wooden box by the workmen employed in making the new road which runs from the railway station at the southern end of Assuan to the English Church and Cataract Hotel on the top of the hill. That this latter was the true story seems to admit of little doubt, though, unfortunately, the papyri themselves do not settle the question. The whole of this locality is covered with the débris of the ancient Syênê, and the new road is due west of an old road that once ran from west to east to the gate of a temple, and on either side of which are three granite bases, with Latin inscriptions, discovered in 1895.

Four of the papyri (37107, 37108, 37109, 37110[1]) were bought by Lady William Cecil, six others (37106, 37110, 37111, 37112, 37113, 37114) by Mr. Robert Mond, who with great generosity gave them up to the Cairo Museum, while Mr. Mond added to his liberality by offering to publish them all in a complete and worthy form at his own expense. When the papyri were unrolled it was found that two of them which had been purchased separately by Lady William Cecil and Mr. Mond (37110) belonged to the same roll.

The find was such as had never been made before. The papyri were in a

[1] These are the registration numbers in the Catalogue of the Cairo Museum.

practically perfect condition; the very strings which had been tied round them were still intact, and the clay seals which fastened the strings to the papyri were unbroken. For the first time the Aramaic scholar has at his disposal a series of connected and fairly lengthy documents, clearly written and but little injured, and furnished with exact dates. A fresh light is thrown by them on the history and character of the Aramaic language as it was spoken and written in the western provinces of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B.C., new words and meanings are added to the Aramaic dictionary, and new forms or idioms to Aramaic grammar, while the origin of Biblical Chaldee is at length explained to us.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable results of the discovery is the proof it affords us that within a century after the death of Jeremiah a colony of Jews had found their way to Assuan, at the southern limit of Egypt, where they had acquired houses and other property and were engaged in trade as bankers or money-lenders (as may be gathered from the Bodleian papyrus L). One of them, we learn, had been a Persian official—'*handiz* in the citadel' (E 4)[1], and a chapel or synagogue of Yahu stood by the side of the king's road at Elephantinê (B 11, J 6, E 14). The members of the colony seem to have avoided intermarriage with their neighbours, and so to have preserved their nationality almost as jealously as the Jews of a mediaeval ghetto, though the second husband of Mibhṭaḥyah, to whom most of the documents relate, was an Egyptian of the name of As-Ḥor, son of Teos. As, however, we find from a comparison of two of the deeds (H and J) that he subsequently changed his name to Nathan, we may presume that after his marriage he became a proselyte to the Jewish faith. At the same time it is interesting to note that after, as it would seem, her marriage to the Egyptian architect, Mibhṭaḥyah swears, not by Yahu, but by the Egyptian goddess, Sati (E 5). The Jews of Syênê do not seem to have carried their exclusiveness so far as to refuse all recognition of their neighbours' gods, and one of the witnesses to a deed dated in B.C. 465 (B 17) is Hosea the son of Peti-Khnum, 'the gift of Khnum,' though here again it is possible that we may have to do with a proselyte. At all events there is clear evidence that the Jews at Syênê and Elephantinê not only formed a separate and distinct class of the community, marrying in most cases among themselves, but also that they were worshippers of Yahveh and of no other deity. Their names are compounded with that of Yahveh quite as much as the names of the orthodox Jews who returned to Palestine from the Captivity; they swore by the name of Yahu, and a chapel or altar of Yahu stood near the houses of their settlement. They thus form a contrast to their grandfathers a century before, whom Jeremiah had rebuked for burning incense to 'the queen of heaven' and who are expressly stated to have been settled in Pathros or Upper Egypt (Jer. xliv. 1, 15).

In the deeds the Jews are called indifferently 'Jews' and 'Aramaeans,' one of the scribes, Me'ozyah the son of Nathan, using both terms (H and J), while persons described as Aramaeans in one document appear as Jews in another; cf. A 2 with B 8, 9 (Qoniyah b. Zadok), and A 2, E 2, G 2, with B 3, C 2, D 2 (Mahseiah b. Yedoniah). This perhaps may have been partly due to the fact that they spoke Aramaic, but the main reason was that the whole population of the western half of the Persian Empire—Egypt and Asia Minor excluded—had come to be officially known as Aramaean. Aramaic, in fact, was here the official language of the government, which was accordingly used by it even in Asia Minor and Egypt themselves. The Jewish scribes accepted and employed the term just as readily as the scribes of any other

[1] See note on the passage.

nationality, evidently regarding their fellow-countrymen as merely a division of the Aramaean family (cp. Deut. xxvi. 5[1]). They were not citizens in the sense in which the native Egyptians were so. This results from the curious phrase לרגל[2], found for the first time in these documents. It is always followed by a name which is invariably Persian, except in one instance, where it is Babylonian, and which we may therefore conclude denotes some Persian official. The phrase literally means 'attached to the foot,' 'in the following of,' and so suggests that the persons thus described were in a position similar to that of the clients at Rome. The suggestion is confirmed by our finding the רגל twice contrasted with the קריה or 'city' (E 10, A 9), there being a *ba'al regel* as well as a *ba'al qiryâh* or 'citizen.' The alien who settled in Egypt would thus have originally been under the protection of a recognized government official or full citizen, as was the case in the Egypt of the Mamluk period, and would have been represented by him in all public and official matters as by the *wekîl* of to-day. If, however, this was the original meaning of the phrase, for reasons given in the note on C 2, it would seem to have acquired in time another sense, and to have come to signify, not clientship, but residence in a particular quarter of a town. In this way it would have corresponded with the *ḥâra* or 'quarter' of to-day. These 'quarters' were until recently enclosed within their own gates, and at the head of each there is still a shêkh who is responsible for the conduct of its inhabitants. In the case of those who were not citizens the shêkh could exercise a sort of consular protection. To have belonged to a רגל, therefore, may have meant not only that the alien held property in a particular 'quarter,' which had to be named for the purposes of registration and taxation, but also that he had a right to the protection of the representative of the quarter from which it derived its name.

It seems probable that the Egyptian rule of counting legitimacy of birth through the mother had to be followed by the alien. At all events, the sons of As-Ḥor, the Egyptian architect, are not Egyptians, but Jews, and as such not citizens, but clients and aliens. What renders the point uncertain, however, is that As-Ḥor must have become a proselyte, since he changed his name to Nathan, and in so doing he may have forfeited his own rights of citizenship.

There was no religious intolerance. The Jewish oath by Yahu was as valid in the courts of law as an oath by Sati. The chapel of Yahu, moreover, stood by the road-side like the chapel of an Egyptian god. And the case of As-Ḥor shows not only that the Egyptian was willing to marry a Jewess if she were rich enough, but also that no restriction was placed upon his becoming a Jew in religion himself.

The Jews had their own court—'the tribunal of the Hebrews'—which was recognized by the law quite as fully as any of the other courts of the country, Egyptian or Persian. Pî', who was not a Jew, had to appear before it, and it is not a little remarkable that it was here that the Jewess Mibḥṭaḥyah swore by the goddess Sati. The court probably included other Semites besides Jews: at all events, the names of the scribe and witnesses are none of them Jewish, but Syrian or Arab. Even in the days of the Assyrian Empire the Semitic countries west of the Euphrates had come to be known as Ebir-nâri, 'Beyond the river,' and it is therefore very possible that their inhabitants were grouped together under the general name of 'Hebrews.'

[1] It is, perhaps, not accidental that when the Jews of Elephantinê are described as being of Syênê, they are always called 'Aramaeans,' as if the specifically Jewish colony were confined to Elephantinê, while in Syênê they were merged in the general body of Western Semites.

[2] Or possibly רגל, see note on A 2.

By the side of the 'tribunal of the Hebrews' we hear also of a 'tribunal of Naphá,' presided over by a Persian official representing the commander of the forces at Syênê. Here the process was the ordinary one of judicial investigation and decision, whereas the court of the Hebrews seems to have been satisfied with a simple oath of expurgation on the part of the parties who appeared before it.

The law under which the Jews of Elephantinê lived in common with their neighbours was that of Persia. Apart from 'the tribunal of the Hebrews' there is nothing to show that they were subject to any code of laws of their own or to the local laws of Egypt. The conveyance of property is couched in the technical terms of Babylonian law, from which the law of Western Asia derived its origin, and the deeds which relate to it are drawn up in the form made familiar to us by the legal documents of Babylonia. The penalties for the infringement of a legal obligation went back to the early days of Babylonian history, like the testamentary power possessed by the owner of property. He could will it to whom he would and determine the succession to it after his death. In this respect the woman was on an equal footing with the man: she, too, could hold property and leave it by will as she wished. The deeds relating to the disposition of Mahseiah's property are thus in exact accordance with the law of Babylonia, that is to say, of the Persian Empire.

They therefore throw a welcome light on the legal aspects of divorce, about which the evidence of the Neo-Babylonian documents is still scanty. We learn that the woman had the same right as the man to pronounce a sentence of divorce, but in each case it was only valid if pronounced in a public 'assembly.' That the right should have been given to the woman followed from the fact that she could hold and bequeath property. The penalty for demanding a divorce was the partial loss of the marriage settlement (the *nedûnyâ* of the Mishna, but called the *mohar* in G 4, 27), if the husband divorced his wife, and the loss of the 'donatio' given by the bridegroom if the wife divorced her husband. The marriage settlement passed to the children of the divorced wife, if it was real estate on which the husband had erected buildings; on the other hand, if the wife was forced to leave her husband without an actual divorce taking place, half the property was left in the husband's hands.

The house property with which the papyri are concerned was in Elephantinê, though some of the deeds were drawn up and witnessed in Syênê, and the owners of the property are described as Aramaeans of that city. The house bequeathed to Mibhṭaḥyah was bounded on the west by that of the sailor Espemet, from which it was separated by a street (according to A), on the south by the house of Dargman, on the east by those of Jezaniah and Zechariah, and on the north by that of Qoniyah. The house of Zechariah extended to the north of it, forming a bay or angle with it at the north-east corner. The house of Jezaniah in its turn was bounded on the south by that of Hosea, and on the east by the king's road or street by the side of which was the chapel of Yahu. South of the latter came another house which had been purchased by Mahseiah from a certain Meshullam and was given by him to his daughter Mibhṭaḥyah; its western boundary was the house of Hosea, while on the east it was bounded by the house of Gadol, and on the south by that of the son of Penulyah. The most curious point about the topography of these houses is that the scribe who drew up one of the deeds (B) has described it incorrectly, putting east and west for south and north, and north and south for east and west. That the mistake is on his side is shown by the fact that the description of Mibhṭaḥyah's house

elsewhere given (in D) agrees with the topography of J and E, while that given in B is wholly incompatible with it. As the Bodleian papyrus (L) and ostraca, to which I have already referred, were found in the north-west portion of the rubbish-mounds of the old city of Elephantinê, immediately westward of the sites of the temple of Amon-hotep III and the citadel, we may conclude that the Jewish quarter was situated in this spot. Professor Maspero tells me that thus far nothing distinctively Jewish has to his knowledge been discovered in the mounds except a stamp with the seven-branched candlestick.

The mixture of names in the deeds is of considerable interest; like the legal documents of the Murasu firm at Nippur in Babylonia they show to what a great extent the nationalities of the oriental world were mingled together in the Persian epoch. Besides the Jewish names, which bear a strikingly exilic or post-exilic stamp, we have, as might be expected, Persian names like Widrang and Satibarzanes, Babylonian names like Sin-kasid and Hadad-nûrî, Arabian names like ʿOdnahar and Dûmâ, Egyptian names like Petisis and As-Ḥor, as well as strange names like Ḥarshîn. In some cases the father and son bear names belonging to different languages, which point to racial intermarriage. Thus Satibarzanes is the son of Athar-ili, a name which is itself Assyrianized Aramaean, and Bagdates—the Persian Baga-dâta—is the son of the Babylonian Nabu-kuduri-[uẓur]. The Babylonians, indeed, seem to have been as numerous at Syênê as the Persians, and like them could hold official posts. One of the scribes who writes in Aramaic is the Babylonian Nabu-tukulti, the son of Nabu-zira-ibni, and a witness is specifically described as 'the Babylonian.'

That yet other nationalities were represented is made clear by some of the names which, like Barbarî 'the Berber,' and Harshîn, are not easy to explain. The Jewish names are all characteristic of the period, and resemble those found in the cuneiform records of the Murasu firm. They prove that there was as yet no superstitious reluctance among the Jewish community to pronounce the name of the national God or to incorporate it into their own names.

The same fact is witnessed by the oath taken in the name of Yahu (B 6), exactly as it was taken in the name of the Egyptian goddess Sati in the court of the Hebrews by the Jewess Mibḥṭaḥyah (F 5). No distinction is made between the two deities; Yahu is the god of the Hebrews just as Sati is the goddess of the Egyptians of Syênê or ʿAthar the goddess of the Aramaeans. The existence of the chapel and altar of Yahu by the public highway points also in the same direction. The word used to denote it is that which is otherwise used to represent a heathen altar, and it is plain that no one as yet saw any harm in speaking about the altar of Yahu as he would have done about the altar of Khnum. That there should have been an altar and chapel at all is a remarkable fact. The Jews of Egypt at any rate did not consider that the altar of Yahveh could not stand anywhere else than at Jerusalem, and that outside Jerusalem synagogues only were permissible for public worship. We can now understand the feeling that led to the foundation of the temple of Onias near Heliopolis; the Egyptian Jew did not share the belief of his post-exilic brother in Palestine in regard to the worship of Yahveh, and he could claim that he had the prophet Isaiah on his side (Isa. xix. 19).

As for chronology, the Aramaean papyri of Assuan possess a unique importance owing to the duplicate dates which they contain. Not only can the exact year in which each was written be ascertained, but thanks to the double dating in Egyptian and Syrian months the exact date of the month ought also to be recoverable. I am, however,

not sufficiently a mathematician to undertake the task of calculating the chronological equivalences which have thus been preserved to us, and Mahler's tables do not harmonize with them. I must therefore content myself with drawing attention to an equivalence which relates, not to the month, but to the year: one deed (B) was drawn up in the twentieth year of Xerxes I, which, it is added, was also the accession year of Artaxerxes I. The documents, it will be seen, cover a large part of the fifth century B.C., extending from B.C. 471, nine years only after the battle of Salamis, to B.C. 411. Twelve years later Egypt recovered its independence. And it was little more than a century before the first deed was drawn up that the grandfathers or great-grandfathers of the parties mentioned in it had fled into Egypt with Jeremiah.

The transcription of the Jewish proper names is that made familiar to English readers by the Authorized Version of the Old Testament.

A. H. SAYCE.

LANGUAGE OF THE TEXTS

THE following general remarks on the language of the documents are put together here as a convenient summary and to avoid repetition in the notes. The references will be found in the Glossary.

The WRITING, as may be seen from the facsimiles, is the same as that of the papyri edited in the *CIS*. It has progressed from the form found in the lapidary inscriptions towards that of the ordinary 'square' character, but there are as yet no distinctive final forms. The ך, ף, ן always have the same (quasi-final) shape and the ם is also invariable. The ן practically always has the final shape, but there is a tendency in some hands to bend up the tail in the middle of words. The development is towards an essentially written, rather than a monumental, character, as shown by the curved lines (which are straight in inscriptions), by an almost cursive tendency sometimes to run the letters together, and by the occasional use of *ligatures*, e.g. חם in E 17, 18 and perhaps on M. The letters ד and ר are practically indistinguishable from one another, and, when carelessly written, from ו. The difference seems to be that ד is rather smaller than ר, has the downstroke more bent, and rather more projection at the top. Of ר the down-stroke is straighter and longer, but the distinction is by no means consistently observed, with the result that there is the greatest uncertainty with regard to unfamiliar words. Occasionally too ג and פ are hardly distinguishable.

The hand is clearly a professional, scribal hand, not differing materially in the various documents throughout the sixty years which they cover, though of course some scribes are more skilful than others; cf. e.g. A and C with J. The case is quite different with the signatures, which constitute one of the difficulties of decipherment. Witnesses usually (but not in L) write their names themselves, and, as might be expected, often very unskilfully. As there is seldom any opportunity of comparison, the reading of these signatures is sometimes very doubtful, especially as the names may be either of Aramaic, Persian, Egyptian, Babylonian, or some other origin. Several of the witnesses use distinctly older forms of the letters; cf. e.g. דרנא A 18, מתסיה C 18. The characters generally are, allowing for difference of date, the same

as those found in the Aramaic parts of Assyrian and Babylonian contracts. They are in fact just what a trained scribe would use in Babylonia and are those which tradition says were introduced by Ezra on his return to Jerusalem. The transition to the later square character was a mere matter of development, which can be traced in some of the later papyri edited in the *CIS*.

The words are as a rule carefully divided, but in some cases are written together, as e.g. ברלי, ובראלי, where the לי is no doubt regarded as a mere suffix like the י in ברי. See also the note on המו in G 35. Punctuation is marked in some at least of the texts (e.g. in C, D) by extra spacing, which is a help to understanding the construction of the sentences. There is also a mark \ or ı which seems to serve the same purpose, as in L 4, or is a sign of abbreviation as perhaps in ש\, L 2, 3, or calls attention to something unusual, as in יו\, K 4, 5, like the Masoretic *paseq* as Professor Sayce suggests. A similar mark is also found at the end of the numerals, and causes some uncertainty because we do not know whether it is to be counted as a unit or not. The signs for 10 (—) and 20 (=) are well known. The latter is evidently a doubling of the former, one — being written above the other. The units are written in groups of three, but the last is generally (and the last two sometimes) written slanting (\ or ı). In one text (K 1) where the number of the year is given twice, it is in the first instance clearly III— = 13, but in the second place as clearly \III— where there seems to be an evident intention to differentiate the last stroke from the rest. The same is probably true in J 1, where see note. In K 1 the number ought to be the same in both cases, and, unless we suppose a scribal error there and possibly in J 1, we must regard the final slanting stroke as not part of the number, but either as marking the end of the numeral or as joining it to what follows. It is made very much like a ı (hence in *PSBA*. the reading שו for ש\ in L 2, 3) and perhaps was originally, if not in these texts, for ו the relative or mark of the genitive. This would certainly suit K 1, where the phrases would then be equivalent to בגוו ו לשבט, because the numeral is joined to the next word, but שנת III— because not so joined; יום IIIIII and שנת III— ו ריחרש, because joined. If so, the sign must have lost this sense and become merely a mark to close the numeral; cf. G, where it is found at the end of numerals following their nouns. In B 1, D 1 it seems to be counted as a unit, but not in H 1. We have thought best where there is uncertainty to give both alternatives in the translation.

Consonantal Changes.

We find פפטונית and פוטונית, where the ו must be a consonant (Egyptian *P'f-t'w-'wN'i*) and similar in sound to soft פ. The פ also interchanges with the soft ב in מפטחיה for מבטח. (In the ordinary Aram. פרזל it corresponds to the Hebrew hard ב.)

Both ארע and ארק occur, for Heb. ארץ (ارض), even in the same text (B 15, 16), as in the well-known passage of Jeremiah (x. 11). So also קמר (as well as עמר) for Heb. צמר, and עק for Heb. עץ, a form not hitherto found, but in agreement with the same alternation of ק for ע (where the Hebrew is צ and the Arabic ض) found in ארקא itself in the Aramaic of Nineveh and Babylonia, Zingirli and in Mandaic, and also, especially in the Zingirli inscriptions and in Mandaic, in other words: see Cooke, *NSI.*, pp. 166, 185, 192, and Driver, *Introd.*, ed. 6, p. 255 *note*.

ה seems to have become little stronger than א, since we find ברא for ברה; ארשעיה for הושעיה; ידניא for ידניה. (In אכל, יכל for אכהל, יכהל the shorter forms are to be referred to the stem יכל; see note on E 8.)

In M *b* 4, 5, M. Clermont-Ganneau inclines to identify דרע with תרע, but as the latter word is found in A it is unlikely that this is a case of ד for ת.

The *mater lectionis* is sometimes omitted, e.g. twice בניהם (unless it is a mere mistake) for בינהם; שקא for שוקא; cf. עתק and עתיק.

Abbreviations are ח for (חלר)ן; ש for (שקלן); ד (or ר) for some coin unknown. In ין for יוניה the dropping of the termination may be due to religious reasons, as also in מחסה for מחסיה.

NOUNS.

The forms ברה *daughter*, אחה *sister* occur frequently for the later Aramaic ברת, אחת.

The formative ן is found in פלגן, רחמן and perhaps נשן.

The shortened form בי is found for בית. But מרבי, מחזי, תמחי are the original indefinite forms. The word מומא also has the feminine form מומאה, which alone is found in Targum (מוּמָתָא) and Syr. (ܡܘܡܬܐ).

The emphatic state ends in א, both in singular and plural, as מיא קשיא, ספרא. The only exception is the feminine אלהתה.

The plural masculine ends in ין (not ין-) as שקלין and no doubt אמין (as in BA., Targ., Syr.) not אמין. In שוין, יהודין, &c., the י belongs to the stem: ידין G 8 is probably dual. The constr. st. ends in י, as דמי. The only undoubted forms of the plural feminine are in the constr. state, as בנתכם, כנותה.

Numerals being usually expressed by signs, only the following words occur: חד, fem. חדה, 1; עשרה (עשרתא), 10; עשרן, 20.

PRONOUNS.

Separate:—

3rd pers. sing.	masc. הו	plur.	masc. המו	
	fem. הי		fem.	not found
2nd " "	masc. אנת		masc. / fem.	not found
	fem. אנתי			
1st " "	אנה		אנחנה	

Suffixed:—

3rd pers. sing.	masc. ה-; with pl. nouns והי- (ו- G 30)	plur.	masc. הם- (with verbs also המו-?)
	fem. ה-; with verbs הי-		fem. not found
2nd " "	masc. ך-		masc. כם-
	fem. כי-		fem. not found
1st " "	י-; with verbs ני-		ן-

הי- and ני- are verbal suffixes, and והי- (ו-), ה- (fem.), י- are used with nouns. In the future tense the -נ- (*energicum?*) is regularly inserted (as in BA. and Targum, cf. Dalman, § 76), as נריתבי but אנרנבי; כליתך but אכלאנך; יהתנה, אשלמנהי. The heavy suffix כם- is found once with a future without the נ, in ירשכם J 15 (but אנרנכם J 10). The suffix of the first person is only found with a verb once in מטאני. In ירשנכם, רשנכם the נ of course belongs to the termination of the verb.

The preposition על takes a י before suffixes as עליה, עליכי, but עליוה is composed of עלי with suffix.

The suffix of the 1st pers. pl. with nouns is distinguished from the termination of the masc. plur. by the preceding י, as בנין (*our sons*), אחין, cf. עלין (*against us*), בינין.

The 3rd sing. masc. has the form והי- when joined to a plural noun, as תחומהי, and once נכסוי (G 30), but אתו-הי is masc. singular = אתוה.

The possessive suffix, however, is often supplanted by ל- or ויל- with the suffix, as ברהלי for ברתי, where the combination is so close that the two words are sometimes written as one; ביתא ויך for ביתך. Once וילכי.

The separate pronoun may be used to emphasize the suffix, as ויל הא אנה (cf. B 8, J 12, Dan. vii. 15, Ezr. vii. 21).

המו is properly the separate form, nominative, but it is also used as the object of a verb (as in BA.), and in two places (G 35, K 13) it is doubtful whether it is joined to the verb or not.

Demonstratives. The root is ז- as in Babylonia, not ד- as in BA. (but see below).

The distinction between *hic* and *iste* (this near me, and this near you) was no doubt originally observed, but already in these documents it is sometimes lost.

The forms are:—

sing. זנה *hic* plur. אלה *hi*

זך, זנך } *iste* אלך speaking to a man, אלכי „ „ woman } *isti*

Forms with ד- occur twice, but only in one text: דנא F 6, דכי F 9, in speaking to a woman.

זנך (not otherwise known) is apparently strengthened from ן by attaching the demonstrative suffix ך-; cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 110.

There is also a peculiar strengthened form זכם, apparently meaning *that very* or *the same*, see note on C 2.

הא is used as in BA. = Heb. הנה, but with a rather more pronominal force, *this is, these are.*

הו is also used as a demonstrative apparently in פלנא הו C 12.

The relative is די, as in the Aramaic of Nineveh, Babylonia, Zingirli, Nerab, Cilicia and Têma. In one text (E 7, 11, 16) די occurs in the combination דילכי.

The indefinite pronoun is מן followed by זי, but זי alone is frequently used, as subject of the verb, in this sense.

Verbs.

It is not always possible to distinguish Peal from Pael. The following forms are found:—

Peal, perfect,

sing. 3rd pers. masc. כתב; לקח; אמר, יהב; סלק, על; טיב, טב, מית; ממאנין, הוה.
fem. יהבת; צבית, הות.
2nd pers. masc. עברת; יהבת; בנית, ימאת, צבית, שנית.
fem. עברתי; רחמתי; ימאתי.
1st pers. כתבת, קבלת, נתנת (strong); רחקת, מענת (?); אמרת, אפלת; יהבת; אתית.
הוית, ימאת, בלית, (רשיתוכם), שנאת, שנית.
plur. 3rd masc. פקדו (?).
fem. not found.
2nd masc. רחמתן, שאלתם (?).
fem. not found.
1st pers. פלגן; רשין.
future, sing. 3rd masc. ינתן, יקבל; יאבד, יאמר, ישמר (?), יעקף; יכל, (ירתנה); ימות, יקום, יכהל;
יהוה, יכלא, ירשה.
fem. תרבק, תנפק, תתקל; תאמר; תלד; תתך, תמות, תקום, (תקם (?)), תתב; תהוה,
(תשנאונך).

Peal, future, sing. 2nd masc. תכתב. תנפק. תנתן; תבנה.
fem. תנתנן; תצבין.
1st pers. אנתן. אצדק; אסר; אכל; ארך. אכהל; אכלא. אחוה. (ארשנך).
plur. 3rd masc. יתנתנן. יקבלן; יכהלן; ירשון.
fem. not found.
2nd masc. (תנתנונה).
fem. not found.
1st pers. נכתב. ננתן. נפלג. נפרת (?); נכהל. נרשה.
imperative, sing. masc. עתר; בני.
fem. הבי (and הבהי); עורי; בני.
infinitive; מנפק. מנתן; מלקח. מפתח; מבנה. מרשה; מומא; לאמר.
participle, act. sing. masc. רבק (?); ארך; שוה. רבה (?).
fem. רבקה (?); ארכה; ממאה. שוה.
plur. masc. שוין.
fem. not found.
passive, sing. masc. כתיב.
fem. not found.
plur. masc. כתיבן; פתיחן.

Pael, perfect,
sing. 1st pers. שלמת; (נריחובי).
plur. 3rd „ (?) מענוך.
future, „ 3rd „ ירבה.
1st „ (אשלמונה).
plur. 2nd „ תובנון.
infinitive, זבן. (לשלמה). (תרבותה).
participle, sing. masc. משלם.

Haphel, perfect,
sing. 3rd masc. התיב; התחן.
2nd „ הוטבת.
1st „ הערת; השכחת
plur. 2nd „ הטבתם.
future, sing. 3rd „ יתנפק (or ינפק).
fem. תתנפק. תתנצל.
1st ארנתר. ארנצל (?).
plur. 3rd masc. יתנפקן.
1st נתחכן.
imperative, sing. fem. הנפקי; הנחמי.
participle, sing. masc. מתחכן.

Ithpa'el (or Hithp.) perfect,
plur. 1st pers. אשתין.
future, sing. 3rd „ יתלקח; ישתאר.

Shaphel is not found.

It will be observed that נתן. נפק. לקח are treated as ordinary strong verbs. The reading יתנן (L 6) in *PSBA*. was wrong and is now corrected.

הלך drops the ל in the future, תך. ארך.

The forms יכל (beside יכהל) and אכל (beside אכהל) are no doubt to be referred, as *scriptio defectiva*, to the root יכל, which is used in BA. (fut. יִכַּל) as well as כהל.

From עלל there is a Hanphel 1st and 2nd pers. sing. perfect הנעלת (as in BA.), where the נ is now explained as compensatory.

In verbs ל״ (ל״ה, ל״א) the weak 3rd radical is sometimes not written: (*a*) before terminations, as הערת for הערית, (*b*) before suffixes, as נרכי for נריכי; רשכם, ירשכם. This happens in the future even with נ *energicum*, as אנרנך, ירשנני (but אכלאנך, תשנאנך).

The future of הוה is always יהוה (plur. יהון in Str.). The BA. forms להוא, להן never occur.

A Niphal form apparently occurs in נשחט (a Hebraism), and perhaps in נעבצן (Babylonian?) of which, however, the meaning is unknown. Another Hebraism is the infinitive לאסר.

The forms שלים, רחיק are no doubt adjectival, as BA. שליט, רחיק, not participial.

Particles.

בנו, *in the midst* (absolutely), *within*, is common and in these texts always without any dependent word or suffix, in the adverbial sense of *here = in it*, &c. It occurs also in *RÉS.* 246 (see below, p. 78), probably in the same sense, though, as the text is incomplete, we cannot be sure that it is not used in the ordinary way as a preposition, as it seems to be in Str. B 2. It may now be restored in *CIS.* 146 A, 5, and 153 A, 2, in the adverbial sense.

עלא is similarly used without a dependent word, for *thereon, concerning it.*

On אן and ראן *where*, see the note on G 25.

אפם, not found elsewhere, is a stronger form of אף. The -ם may be compared with that in זכם; see above and note on A 8. The meaning is always *assuredly.*

הן, *if*, introduces conditional sentences, as in BA. It may be used either with the future followed by the future, as הן ... ארשנך ... אנתן ... *if I (shall) sue you, I will give*, C 13–15; or with a perfect followed by a future, as הן כליתך אנתן *if I (shall) have prevented you, I will give*, A 13; or with a future followed by a noun-clause, as הן ... תשנאנך ... לא שליטה הי *if she (shall) divorce you, she has no rights*, C 8, 9.

להן is only used in the allied senses of *but* (*sed*) and *except* (*praeter*), as also in BA. (Dan. ii. 11, &c.); in the former sense even without a preceding negative.

Syntax.

Nouns. The genitive relation is most often expressed by ד (BA. די), the first noun being then in the emphatic state as אגורא ד יהו J 6. The redundant possessive is also used as ביתה ד אסחור G 18, אסתם ד עלימא K 13.

The genitive relation is also expressed by means of the constr. state, generally with common words, where the relation is a close and natural one, as בית זבריה A 5, בעל קריה A 9, ברת מתסה D 36. So always in stating the year of the king, as שנת III III ארתחשסש C 1, not לארת as it would be in BA., but יום I למסרע D 1; see also above on the numerals, p. 15.

Pronouns. On the use of -ל, -דל with suffixes to express the possessive, see above, p. 17.

The demonstrative use of the suffix as in בה בליליא *in that night* (Dan. v. 30) does not seem to occur.

Verbs. The object is usually found without any particle, but in four places it is marked by ל- as in BA. Especially noticeable is E 2 יהבת לכי לביתא *I have given the house to you*, where we should expect a distinction between the nearer and the remoter object.

ית (only once in BA., Dan. iii. 12, and perhaps there due to dittography) never occurs.

אתא is construed either with a simple accusative of the place, as אתית ביתך G 3, or (as in BA.) with על (=אל) of the person, as אתית עליך A 3.

איתי *there is*, &c., is invariable and does not occur with suffixes. In three places (D 10, G 18, 21) it is preceded by לא, as in BA.

הלך has the complementary pronoun in תיך לה *let her go her way* G 29.

In general, it will be noticed that a few Hebraisms appear in these texts as in the fragments published in *CIS*. Such are perhaps, e.g., the words איש (*CIS*.), לקח (Zingirli), עדה, עד, and the forms נשתם, לאמר mentioned above. One reason no doubt is that the persons concerned are mostly Jews, using both Hebrew and the closely allied Aramaic, and not always distinguishing between the two. That they were Jews can hardly be doubted, considering the many names compounded with יה- and names like זכור, שלום, זכריה. The number of Jewish settlers in Syênê and Elephantinê must have been large, and their peculiarities of idiom have become a characteristic part of Egyptian Aramaic (at least so far as we know it), distinguishing it from other Aramaic dialects, very much as mediaeval Jewish Arabic is distinguished from the classical language. Probably if we had texts in Egyptian Aramaic which were not of Jewish origin, we should find them free from Hebraisms. It is, however, unsafe, considering how little early Aramaic we possess, to assume that the use of particular words is due to Hebrew influence, because they do not appear in the later texts.

Another foreign element, which has not become naturalized in the same way, is the Babylonian. Aramaic, even before the Persian period, was the language of trade, and we find it in the dockets of Assyrian and Babylonian deeds from the eighth century onwards. When it spread to Egypt, where we find it in the fifth century, there came with it, under the influence of the Persian Empire, the legal formulae current in Babylonia[1]. Such are: the enumeration of the relatives of the contracting parties; the obligation to pay a fine for breach of contract; the way of stating the boundaries of the property; phrases like זי ינתך דין; טב לבבי; דין ודבב . . . אנתן in various forms; באבני מלכא; perhaps דון לעשרתא; special words like חלמן, ארדיכל, and perhaps אפל, תמחי. There are also many Babylonian proper names.

Persian loan-words, as would be expected, also occur: פתתך, הנרז, both titles of officials, as perhaps is דמנרין; אבינרנא, and probably אתרא, נבז. There are also many Persian proper names.

From Egyptian some loan-words are found in the *CIS*. fragments, but apparently not in these deeds. The proper names are collected in Professor Spiegelberg's list, p. 24, below.

Some of these features appear also in BA., and much of the interest of the texts lies in the many points of contact which they show with Palestinian Aramaic as represented by the books of Ezra and Daniel. The differences are due no doubt partly to the difference of locality, partly also perhaps to the popular style of the deeds as compared with the literary character of BA.

[1] Cf. also the account of the drawing up of a deed in Jer. xxxii. 9 sqq.

Chronology.

The following tables may be found useful:—

G.	Tishri (23?)	= Epiphi (-6)	in 440
E.	Chisleu 3	= Mesore 10	in 446
J.	Chisleu 3	= Thoth 11 (12)	in 416 (415)
B.	Chisleu 18	= Thoth 6 (7)	in 465
C and D.	Chisleu 21	= Mesore 1	in 459
L.	(Chisleu)	= (Mesore)	in c. 450 probably
K.	Shebat 23 (24)	= Athyr 8 (9)	in 410
RÉS., 438, 3.	Sivan	= Mechir	
F.	Ab 13 (14)	= Pachons 19	in 440
in A.	Elul 18	= Pachons 28	in 471 (470) B.C.
H.	Elul	= Payni	in 421 (420)

The order of the Hebrew months is as follows:—

Tishri
Marḥeshvan
Chisleu
Tebeth
Shebat
Adar
Ve-Adar
Nisan
Iyyar
Sivan
Tammuz
Ab
Elul

The order of the Egyptian months is as follows:—

Thoth
Phaophi
Athyr
Choiak
Tybi
Mechir
Phamenoth
Pharmuthi
Pachons
Payni
Epiphi
Mesore
additional days.

Money.

The terms used are גבש, שקל, חלר, ד (or ר), עשרתא. For determining their relative value the most important text is G. Various sums are there mentioned (ll. 5–14) and the total is given at the end, thus:—

5 shekels + 1 kebhes + 2 sh. + 2 k. + 8 sh. + 8 sh. + 6 (or 7?) sh. + 1 sh. + 2 d. + 1 sh. + 2 d. + 3 sh. + 2 d.—total 6 k. + 5 sh. + 20 ḥallurin.

If the figures be added up they will be found to amount to 3 kebhasin + 34 (or 35?) shekels + 6 d., which are therefore equivalent to 6 k. + 5 sh. + 20 ḥ. It can hardly be doubted, in view of this equation, that 30 shekels make up the 3 kebhes required, and therefore 10 *shekels* = 1 *kebhes*.

With regard to the other coins, there is unfortunately a doubt as to the number of shekels in G 11 (see above, p. 15). The number of ḥallurin in G 14 is practically certain. If the shekels are 7, then 6 d. = 20 ḥallurin. If, however, the last stroke is not to be counted, the shekels will be 6, and it follows that 6 d. = 1 sh. + 20 ḥal., that is to say either 4 or 5 d. must make up 1 shekel. There is also the usual uncertainty as to reading ד or ר. (In G it is clearly written as כ). If it is ר it may be for רבע a *quarter*-shekel. Or either may be for רע (רעי), *CIS.*, 147.

Now M. Clermont-Ganneau (*RAO.*, vi, pp. 153 sqq.) has made it at least probable that the shekel in use at this time was the tetradrachm (*σίγλος μηδικός*) or stater. It may then be suggested that just as ש = שקל, and ח = חלר, so ד *here* = דרכמן drachma. Of the 6 d. then 4 d(rachmae) make up the required shekel, and the remaining 2 d. = 20 ḥallurin. (According to M. Clermont-Ganneau's calculation 2 drachmae ought to be 96 ḥallurin). We thus arrive at the following table:—

1 kebhes = 10 shekels
1 shekel = 4 drachmae (or רבען, quarters)
1 drachma = 10 ḥallurin.

This agrees with the facts so far as we have them. We find, for instance, shekels counted up to 8 but never beyond, from which it may be inferred that either 9 or 10 made up the higher coin; also never more than 2 d. are mentioned so that 3 or 4 must have made up the higher coin. Ḥallurin are counted elsewhere only up to 8. The 20 ḥal. are used here as the better known coin to define the meaning of the less common drachma. In connexion with sums of money the phrase דוו לעשרתא occurs six times (in B 15, C 15, D 14, 21, G 7, 14). It appears to be equivalent to דוו לכבש 1 which appears in the same connexion twice (in H 15, J 16). As we found above that 1 kebhes = 10 shekels, we may conclude from this parallelism that עשרתא = כבש and that עשרתא was the 10-shekel piece. In that case דוו, if it means 2 drachmae, can only denote a certain weight (5 %) of alloy in the 10-shekel piece or kebhes. The phrase is always accompanied by באבני מלכא, *according to the royal* (Persian) *weight* or *standard*, and is only used after mentioning the כבש, never after the smaller coins without כבש. It would seem that עשרתא was the customary well-known coin, and was so called just as the half-piastre or piece of 20 paras was known among the peasants of modern Egypt as 'asherin, *a twenty*. The kebhes was perhaps a new introduction, and required to be explained by reference to the old 10-piece. In six places (כבש(ן) is used without דוו לעשרתא, but in five of them is followed by באבני מלכא (A 7, F 10, G 8, 34, 36), and in one by במתקלת מלכא (K 11) which is the same thing, both no doubt implying the standard דוו לעשרתא. In two of these places it is stated to be כסף צריף (A 7, K 11), which may denote a different standard or may be considered equivalent to the ordinary qualification[1]. The other four passages are all in the later documents, by which time perhaps the coin was better known and the addition was less necessary. In three other places (E 6, 11, G 31) (כבש(ן) is used quite alone.

In L the case seems to be different. The money is there reckoned by another standard באבני פתח, which counts שׁ לר, 1 shekel to the 10-piece. M. Clermont-Ganneau, taking חלרן as = *χαλκοῖ*, makes 1 shekel = 4 drachmae = 24 obols = 192 ḥallurin. Interest at the rate of 2 ḥal. on the shekel per month, would then be 12½ % per annum, which is a reasonable rate and agrees with his very probable reading III III III in L 8, since by the end of the eighth year the interest would reach the amount of the principal. However, this may be only a coincidence. If the shekel in L is the same as in the other deeds and if the previous calculation is correct (1 sh. = 4 dr. = 40 ḥal.) the interest will be $\frac{2}{40}$ per month = $\frac{24}{40}$ per annum = 60 %, which is less probable, it must be admitted, but not impossible.

On the analogy of the other deeds we should expect שׁ לר to be preceded by כבש (one or more) in the lost part of L 2. This cannot have been the case, because

[1] The Persian daric it will be remembered was *χρυσοῦν καθαρώτατον* according to Herodotus, iv. 166.

the total monthly interest is stated (L 4) to be ···III חלין, which must be 6 or 8 (possibly 9). The whole sum lent was therefore only 3 or 4 shekels.

If לי שו means here 1 shekel to the 10-piece (it can hardly mean anything else), and like לי רוו in the other deeds indicates the standard of the currency, then in the standard of Ptaḥ there was twice as much alloy (10%) as in the royal currency. Was it debased during the revolt?

We can hardly suppose that the shekel was a different coin here. Though if it were more valuable the rate of interest would be less exorbitant.

With regard to the names of the coins: חלי is well known in Assyrian (see quotations in *PSBA.*, xxv, p. 206 *note*) as the name of a small coin, and it can hardly be doubted that the שקל was likewise the Babylonian coin of that name. The ר, if it means drachma, must be דרכמן, found in the later parts of the Old Testament (Ezra ii. 69, Neh. vii. 70). If, however, it is a ר we must take it for רבע, or for רעי as in *CIS.*, 147. The other name כבש should properly mean a *lamb*, and is naturally compared with the קשיטה of the Old Testament—a word which, according to tradition (LXX &c.), means a *lamb*. The comparison supports the tradition that the *qesiṭah* was the lamb-coin, whatever may have been the reason of the name, and makes it probable that the LXX rendering is not merely a corruption for *mina* (ἀμνᾶν for μνᾶν) as Cheyne proposes (*Encycl. Bibl.*, s.v.). Whether *qesiṭah*, like *keḇeśeḥ*, was equivalent to 10 shekels cannot be determined without further evidence.

A. E. COWLEY.

APPENDIX I

EXPLANATION OF THE EGYPTIAN NAMES CONTAINED IN THE PAPYRI

By Professor W. Spiegelberg.

אסרור n. pr. masc.

= *Nr-Ḥr* ('nr-Ḥ'r) 'belonging to (the god) Horus.'

אסמסת n. pr. masc.

= *Nr-pꜣ-md(w)* ('nr-p'-m'd') 'belonging to the holy stick.' Assyrian *Ilpindiu*; Greek Ἐσνμῆνις[1].

יב n. loci.

= *Ꜣb(w)*. Gk. Ἰέβ 'Elephantinê.' Same transcription as in *Pap. Strassburg*.

לולו n. pr. masc.

Probably the late name Αὐλοῦς[2] (var. Αὐλαῖς) '(the) boy' (Copt. ⲚⲒⲖⲞⲨ).

סן n. loci.

= *Swn(w)*. Copt. ⲥⲟⲩⲁⲛ Syēnê (السوان), the same transcription as that in *Réport.*, i. 495, different from that in Ezekiel, סונה.

סתי goddess.

= *Sꜣt*[3] (S'ꜣt'). Gk. Σῶις, the well-known goddess of Elephantinê.

פדי n. pr. masc.

Probably the Egyptian name *Pꜣ-ḏi* (Copt. ⲡⲁ-ϯⲟⲓ) known from many demotic documents, viz. *Pap. Cairo*, 30605, 30612; Petrie, *Dendrah*, 26 A 8. This name is rendered in *Pap. Reinach* 3 by Παχῶς and *Pap. Berlin* 3116, 5/12, by -παχῶς in the name Φωκωχῶος (genitive).

The feminine form of this name is *Tꜣ-ḏi* (Copt. ⲧⲁ-ϯⲟⲓ) which is also frequent in demotic documents, viz. *Pap. Berlin* 3096; Petrie, *Dendrah*, 26 A 8. This name is known too in hieroglyphics as , Devéria, *Catalogue des Pap. Louvre*, p. 70. , Lieblein, 2170. The meaning of these names is not clear[4].

פמשי n. pr. masc.

= *Pꜣ-ḏi-Ꜣst* (P'ꜣ-ḏ'-Ꜣ't') 'whom Isis gives.' Gk. Πετεῖσις.

פטוסירי n. pr. masc.

= *Pꜣ-ḏi-Wsjr*[5] (P'ꜣ-ḏ'-Wꜣ'r') 'whom Osiris gives.' Gk. Πετοσίρις.

פמחנום n. pr. masc.

= *Pꜣ-ḏi-Ḫnm(w)* (P'ꜣ-ḏ'-Ḫn'm) 'whom (the god) Khnum gives.' Gk. Πετεχνούμις.

פנפתרנית n. pr. masc.

A very interesting and important name, giving the true reading of a very frequent theophoric formation in Egyptian proper names. There cannot be any doubt that it is the n. pr. [6] *pꜣ-ꜣnḫ-n-Nt(ꜣ)-N(ꜣ)ꜣ* (pꜣ'-ꜣ'nḫ-n'-Nt'ꜣ') 'his breath is in the hands of Neit.' The Aramaic transcription shows that we must read here not *nꜣ* but *-ꜣnḫ* (ענח)[7]. It is of great interest to see that in the Persian period the first consonant of *ꜣnḫ* was not a simple *ʿ* (cf. ענח) but was still an aspirate, so that it could be rendered by ם. The Dual of [8] 'arm' *-ꜣj* is transcribed ד[9].

עתא n. pr. masc.

= *Ḏd-ḥr* (D'-ḥ'). Gk. Τεῦς, Ταχώς; Assyr. *Çi-ḫa-a*.

תבא n. pr. fem.

Perhaps = (Lepsi., 765) var. *Tꜣ-bꜣ(ꜣ)*. This name may be (= ⲧⲃⲱ) 'the bush.' Gk. Τβῶς.

The names of the months are:

תות = [10] ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ : ⲑⲱⲟⲩⲧ—*θῶθ*.

תתרי = [10] ⲧⲁⲃⲱⲣ : ⲁⲃⲱⲣ—*ἀβώρ*.

מחיר = ⲙⲁϩⲣⲟⲥ : ⲙⲁϫⲟⲥ—παχών.

פאני = ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲓ : ⲡⲁⲓⲛⲓ—παῦνι.

אפי = ⲉⲡⲏⲡ : ⲉⲡⲏⲡ—*ἐπήφ*.

מסורי = ⲙⲥⲱⲣⲏ—*μεσορή*.

For the details of the phonetic and other questions connected with these names see the author's *Aegyptisches Sprachgut in den aus Aegypten stammenden aramäischen Urkunden der Perserzeit.*

W. SPIEGELBERG.

[1] For this name see Spiegelberg: *Recueil de travaux*, xxv, p. 184.
[2] Spiegelberg: *Demot. Studien*, i, p. 19*, no. 128.
[3] Old reading *Sꜣ.t.*
[4] The Greek transcription, as well as the demotic form, shows by the use of the possessive article ⲧⲁ, that one cannot translate 'the high.' That would be *Ὑψοῦς.
[5] The reading of the name of Osiris is not quite certain. But the Aramaic transcription is one proof more for the above transcription.
[6] Leiden: *Sarcophag.*, M. 13.
[7] W. Max Müller: *Ä. Z.* xxlv, p. 86 seq.
[8] The reading proposed by Pieper (*PSBA.*, xlii, p. 236) must now be abandoned.
[9] For the Egyptian names, see Erman, *Ä. Z.*, xxxix, 129.

APPENDIX II

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EGYPTIAN ARAMAIC PAPYRI

By Seymour de Ricci

The peculiar importance of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantinê recently acquired by the Cairo Museum will compel every student to give a look backwards on the by no means inconsiderable amount of material already available for working purposes in this small but fascinating part of the vast field of Semitic philology. It was Mr. Robert Mond's desire that the present edition of the Cairo papyri should also contain a certain amount of information on the other Aramaic texts already discovered in Egypt. Though not a specialist, I undertook this task with great pleasure, as I feel every scholar will rightly consider the study of Aramaic texts from Egypt inseparable from the study of both Demotic and Greek papyri, so plentiful in this very land of marvels.

I must state, however, as a preliminary remark, that nearly every Aramaic text from Egypt, known up to the year 1893, is described, published, and translated, with a full commentary and ample explanatory notes, in the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* published by the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. The author of the *Pars secunda, inscriptiones Aramaicas continens* is the Marquis de Vogüé, and the part containing the texts from Egypt, for which he has had Professor Maspero's invaluable assistance, goes from p. 122 to p. 177, from No. 122 to No. 155; plates XI to XXI giving excellent photographic facsimiles of every single text. In the following note I have quoted this work as *CIS.* I have quoted as *RES.* the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique, publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum,* which may be considered as a continuation on a smaller scale of the great *Corpus,* bringing it fairly up to date. Six parts have already (1904) been issued. A most useful dictionary of these texts has been published by Stanley A. Cook, *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1898, 8vo, viii+127 pp.).

A. PAPYRI.

1. **TURIN.** *Museo Egiziano.* Bought with the Drovetti collection, about 1824. Two lines from the beginning of a petition; de Vogüé translates:

Ad dominum meum Milkrawahlît servus tuus Pahîm [
vivus, felix, et firmus (sit), Domine mi! sit [

Clermont-Ganneau reads at the end of line 2: *Qu'il soit à la connaissance de mon seigneur que . . .*

Bibliography: J. F. Champollion le Jeune, *Première Notice sur la Collection Drovetti* in *Journal Asiatique,* vol. v (1824), p. 20, briefly mentioned.

M. A. Lanci, *op. infra cit.,* p. 20 = transl. by Akerblad, p. 14, briefly mentioned from a facsimile by Cordero de San Quintino.

H. A. Hamaker, *Miscellanea phoenicia . . .* (Leyden, 1828, 4°), pp. 67–77, Pl. III, n. 3, with a facsimile from Raoul-Rochette's copy.

E. Fr. F. Beer, *Inscriptiones et papyri veteres semitici quotquot in Aegypto reperti sunt* (Leipzig, 1833, 4°), Pl. I, lithographed from a copy by Seyffarth (cf. Preface, p. 6).

G. Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaque phoeniciae monumenta* (Leipzig, 1837, 4°), pp. 233–6, n. lxxiii and Pl. 30, two lithographed facsimiles (Seyffarth and Raoul-Rochette).

A. Merx, *Bemerkungen über bis jetzt bekannte aramäische Inschriften* in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* vol. xxii (1868), pp. 696–7.

Ar. Fabretti, *Il Museo di antichità della R. università di Torino . . .* (Torino, 1872, 8°), pp. 56–7 and plate at the end of the volume.

Fr. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien dans l'ancien monde* (Paris, 1872, 8°), vol. i, p. 331 and plate, lithographed facsimile from Fabretti.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue archéologique,* nouvelle série, vol. xxxvi (1878), pp. 95–107 and Pl. XVIII, lithographed facsimile from Fabretti = *Origine perse des monuments araméens d'Égypte* (Paris, 1880, 8°), pp. 3–15 and plate.

CIS., pp. 148, 149, n. 144, and Pl. XV, héliogravure.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale,* vol. vi (Paris, 1904, 8°), p. 227.

2 and 3. **BRITISH MUSEUM.** Two fragments, written on both sides, bought towards 1825 by the Duc de Blacas from Michelangelo Lanci, who had them from the Greek dealer Papandriopoulo. They are stated to have been found at Saqqara. De Vogüé translates them as follows:

2 recto, col. I: a dozen disconnected signs from the ends of six lines.

col. II:

. . . . . .
nec implebitur venter eorum pane [
quique dolores deorum ipsorum [
fundra eorum donec aedificabunt urbem [
et diebus posteris erit [
5 *iustitiam patri suo et vendet* [
et perpendet in corde suo et alter occidet [*filius*]
domini sui et alter liberabit filios domini sui (ob)
panem et congregabuntur dii Aegypti [
[ ] *annos XLIII et* [
. . . . . .

This may well be a prophecy, probably delivered by an oracle.

2 verso.

] *filiis meis ob testimonium regis et audivit* [
] *filius Puneh ille moratus est . Respondit rex* [
] *filius Puneh verba quae rex dixerat et respondit* [
] *occidisti eos, dies cum gladio fortitudinis tuae et* [
] *multetur tibi, et captivi quos fecisti hoc anno* [

] *in illis et ossa tua non descendent in Orcum et umbra tua* [
] *filius Punel* (?) *in duces regis* [ ] *in Manaṣ* (?) [
. . . . . .

Possibly part of a tale. The son of Punel, brought before the king, threatens him with terrible misfortunes.

3 recto.

. . . . . .
] *rex et clamavit et unxit* (?) [
] *id quod vocavit* [
] *suspendes eum sic sicut fecisti filiis eius* [
] *nisi in loco maris interficerit* [
] *Šâtram* (?) *in Tamaï* (?) *et Menahem* [
] *this et sister* [
] *cum deo nostro et susurravit: da auxilium* [
] . [ ] . . [
. . . . . .

Narrative fragment.

3 verso. . . . . .
] *quod dabit ei pater eius* [
]*runt dii Aegypti qui* [
] *Aegypti et erunt* [
] *et perdit iustitia et* [
] *et foras ductus est vir* [
] *Allah* (?) *filius Kilboh* (?) *qui* [
] *benedicat sepulcro eius* [
] *et dicent si angorem meum* [
] *in diuidio* [
. . . . . .

M. Clermont-Ganneau considers this fragment as part of a report to the king of Persia on a local rebellion in Egypt. Possibly only a literary fragment.

Bibliography: M. A. Lanci, *Diario Romano*, 1826, no. 13.

M. A. Lanci, *La Sacra scrittura illustrata con monumenti fenico-assiri ed egiziani* (Roma, 1827, 4°), pp. 7–26, Pl. I, II, engraved facsimile = French translation by J. F. Ancelle, *La Sainte-Écriture éclaircie à l'aide des monuments phéniciens, assyriens et égyptiens* (Orange, 1844, 8°), pp. 1–19 (no facsimile).

Gesenius, op. cit. pp. 236–45, nn. lxxiv, lxxv and Pl. 31–33, lithographed facsimiles.

Merx, *ZDMG.*, loc. cit., pp. 695–6.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 26–7 = *Origine*, pp. 19–21, discussed at length.

W. Wright, *The Palaeographical Society, Oriental Series*, part II (London, 1877, folio), Pl. XXV and XXVI, autotypes of 2 *recto* and *verso*, with translation by Nöldeke and Euting.

CIS., pp. 149–55, n. 145, and Pl. XVI, héliogravures.

S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the books of Samuel, with an introduction on Hebrew palaeography and the ancient versions, and facsimiles of inscriptions* (Oxford, 1890, 8°), Pl. III, facsimile of no. 2 *verso*.

G. A. Cooke, *A text-book of North-Semitic inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903, 8°), pp. 206–10 in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

4. PARIS. Louvre, Department of Egyptian antiquities. A fragment, complete at top, written on both sides, bought in 1826 with the second Drovetti collection; de Vogüé's translation:

Recto, col. I.
. . . . . *mensis*] *Phaophi quod scriptum*
. . . . . *vini Aegyptiaci gelbi I*
. . . . . *vini Aegyptia*]*ci gelul I gelbi II*

Col. II.
Impensae in mense Phaophi
Die I Phaophi, pro prandio, vini Sidonii gelbi I, Aegyptiaci [*gelul I*]
Die II Phaophi, pro prandio, Aegyptiaci gelul I, gelbi II
Datum Sebo, filio Pamuti, vini Aegyptiaci dolia V, et . . .
5 *viritim gelul II, gelbi III. A te paulum s . . .*
[ ] *in* [. . .] *a te coram Aḥor* (?), *Aegyptiaci gelul I*
[ ] *Aegyptiaci gelul I*
[ ] *mostu, Aegyptiaci gelbi I*
[ ] *quod in Tani* (?), *Aegyptiaci gelul I*
10 [*Die . . . Phaophi*] *pro prandio, vini Sidonii gelbi I, aegyptiaci* [*gelul I*]
[*datum*] *filio Peḥac, Aegyptiaci* [*gelul I*]
[*Die*] *pro* [*prandio*], *Aeg*[*yptiaci gelu*]*l I*
. . . . . .

Verso, col. I. . . .
5] *X*
gelbi] *I*
gelbi I
gelbi] *I*
gelb]*i I*
10] *angulus*
. . .

Col. II. *Die xxiii, pro prandio, gelul I, gelbi I*
Die xxiv, pro . . . . . uno gelbi II
pro illatione coram Apuattu Deo Magno, gelbi I
pro illatione coram Iside domina, gelbi I
pro prandio, vini Sidonii, gelbi I
Die xxv Koihak, qui est dies in votum, pro prandio gelul II
Die xxvi coram O[*siride?*
A te [
Die xxviii pro [
Die xxix pro [
Aḥermuṣ [
pro B[. .]*a* [
pro [
. . . . . .

Accounts of expenditures in wine during the months of Phaôphi and Choiakh.

Bibliography: Abbé Barges, *Nouvelle interprétation de l'inscription phénicienne découverte par M. Mariette dans le Sérapéum de Memphis* in *Revue de l'Orient et de l'Algérie*, vol. iii (1856), p. 205, briefly mentioned.

Abbé Barges, *Papyrus égypto-araméen appartenant au musée égyptien du Louvre* (Paris, 1862, 4°), 35 pp. and two lithographed facsimiles.

F. Praetorius, *Aegyptisch-Aramäisches* in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxv (1881), p. 444 (quoted only).

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, l.c., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 24–5 = *Origine*, pp. 18–19, briefly discussed.

W. Groff, *Note sur le mot* ידע *du papyrus égypto-araméen du Louvre* in *Journal Asiatique*, 8th series, vol. xi (1888), pp. 305–6, and *Note sur le papyrus égypto-araméen du Louvre*, ibid., vol. xiii (1889), pp. 114–16.

M. de Vogüé, *Note sur le papyrus égypto-araméen du Louvre*, ibid., vol. xiii (1889), pp. 277–9.

CIS., pp. 155–61, n. 146 and Pl. XVII, héliogravure.

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 210–13, n. 77, in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

5. ROME. *Museo Egizio Vaticano.* Seven small fragments, doubtless from the Salt collection and probably part of the same papyrus as no. 4 and perhaps no. 6[1]. They are gummed

[1] Lambrino discovered in 1893 that a Vatican fragment of Homer was part of a Louvre papyrus and, in 1900, I recognized that such was also the case for a piece of an astrological Greek papyrus.

down, over other pieces of papyrus, so that the verso cannot be examined. De Vogüé calls the fragments A, B, C, D, E, F but only attempts to translate parts of A, B and C, the other four pieces being mere scraps. A and B probably join; they have been twice written and are actual papyrus palimpsests. De Vogüé's translation:

A. col. I. *Ratio corporum virilium*
Scilicet (?)
. . . . 13887
Datum Anḫḫapi, filio Peṭisi, pro myrrha (?)
. 850
. . . . . *in toto R.* 10

B. col. I. *Impensae domesticae*
Dahem Tabae, filiae M [
Anḫḫabis, filio Peṭisi [
Šaḫpimu, filio Peṭ [
Peṭeharpaḫrati, filio Peṭ [
Peṭeobdu *R.* 14
Pamsuḫ, filio Šaḫpimu *R.* 124
Impensae urbanae
Peṭetum *R.* 60
Aḫrešb, filio Ḫapimu *R.* 60
Summa tota *R.* 814

Only a few signs remain of A. col. II and B. col. II.

C.] *manu factum est in* [

According to Clermont-Ganneau, these are official accounts of the Persian period in Egypt.

Bibliography: Lasci, op. cit., p. 20 = transl. by André, p. 14 (briefly mentioned).

Berr, op. cit., Preface, p. 6 (briefly mentioned from Seyffarth's copy).

Gesenius, op. cit., vol. i, p. 245 (briefly described from Seyffarth's copy).

de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale: Inscriptions sémitiques*, part 1 (Paris, 1868, 4°), pp. 125–31 and Pl. 16 lithographed facsimile from his own copy.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), p. 24 = *Origine*, pp. 17–18, briefly discussed.

F. Praetorius, *Aegyptisch-Aramäisches* in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxv (1881), p. 444 (quoted only).

E. Ledrain, *Papyrus du Vatican et papyrus de la Propagande* in *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, vol. i (1884), pp. 23–30 (from de Vogüé's edition).

CIS., pp. 161–6 and Pl. XVII, héliogravure.

6. ROME. Library of the *Propaganda*, formerly at Velletri in the *Museo Borgiano* (collection of Cardinal Stefano Borgia). Perhaps transferred in 1902 to the Vatican library with the Borgia MSS. Complete at top. De Vogüé's translation:

Peṭi, filius Paḫapi [
Pasmanah, filius Peduti, filii Nutah (?), filii [
Pamen, filius Hanil [
Smitu, filius Anḫmut [
Hadiu, filius Peṭa [
Ḫmi, filius Peṭisi
. . . . . .

Bibliography: Lasci, op. cit., p. 20 = transl. by André, p. 14, briefly mentioned.

Berr, op. cit., Preface, p. 6, briefly mentioned from Seyffarth's copy.

Gesenius, op. cit., vol. i, p. 245, briefly described from Seyffarth's copy.

Barges, op. cit., pp. 1 and 2, briefly mentioned.

de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Inscr. sém.*, p. 132, briefly mentioned.

E. Ledrain, *Rev. d'ass.*, loc. cit., pp. 30–2 and plate (lithographed facsimile from a photograph sent by Mgr. Jacobini).

Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1885), pp. 670–71, n. 3, Pl. VI = *Epigraphische Miscellen*, pp. 2–3 and plate, with a lithographed facsimile from a photograph sent by Guidi.

CIS., pp. 166–7, n. 148, and Pl. XV, héliogravure.

7, 8. BERLIN. Egyptian museum. Nine small fragments of papyrus brought from Egypt by Lepsius; the first is in a larger handwriting than the others; the second and third join; it is not said that any of these fragments are written on both sides.

7. (A) Parts of five lines; no connected sense.

8. (B–C) Two columns, only a few signs remaining of the first one. The second reads, according to de Vogüé's translation:

estendit [
locutus est de Petenefḫotan (?) [
et sic dixit: ita [
filia Sarutae [
non laudavi (ea) eum. Usque [
. . . . . .
omnis [
[. .] *et venerunt* [
[. .] *datum in corpora nostra (?) (vel in Gofan)* [
] *locutus est* [
quod non pro mercede dedit (ea) illi [
mille (?) viros (?) in summa dabit [
. . . . . .

D, E, F, G, H, I, small fragments, no connected sense.

Bibliography: R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abtheilung VI, vol. xii (Berlin, 1859? folio), Pl. 124, lithographed facsimile by E. Weidenbach.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), p. 27 = *Origine*, p. 21, briefly discussed.

CIS., pp. 168–71, n. 149, Pl. XIX, héliogravure.

9. CAIRO MUSEUM. (Room N, case A, n. 441.) Fragment complete at top, discovered by Mariette in the Memphis Serapeum. De Vogüé's translation:

Domina tua in aegrotatione coram [
et propitiationem aquarum ablutisti [
dilexisti eum in aegrotatione coram [
Paperpetah coram [
omnes [
da ancillae [
domina tua [
sororis eius [
. . . . . .

Bibliography: Barges, op. cit., pp. 1 and 2, briefly mentioned.

de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, p. 132, briefly mentioned (from Barges).

Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvi (1878), p. 94 = *Origine*, p. 2, briefly mentioned.

Euting, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Ak.*, 1887, pp. 408–9, n. 100 and Pl. VII = *Epigraphische Miscellen*, zweite Reihe, pp. 2–3, with a lithographed facsimile from a photograph, by Emil Brugsch-Bey.

CIS., pp. 171–2, n. 180, and Pl. XX, héliogravure.

10. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** Same provenance. (Room N, case A, n. 441.) Fragment incomplete on all sides, except on the left; De Vogüé's translation (uncertain in places):

. . . . . .
] *sigillum signe* [ ] *decem* [ ] *Soho iste factum*
] *et socii eius* [ ] *filio Soho istius*
] *Soho iste* [ ] *die decima Phaophi tempore*
] *factum est pecunia mutua* [ ] *cum* [ ]
. . . . . .

Barois, de Vogüé, Clermont-Ganneau, loc. cit. (see above).

Euting, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Ak.*, 1885, p. 670 and Pl. VI = *Epigraphische Miscellen*, p. 2, lithographed facsimile from his own copy.

CIS., pp. 172–3, n. 151, Pl. XX, héliogravure, and Pl. XXI, héliogravure of hand-drawn facsimile by Bénédite.

11. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** (Room N, case A, n. 442.) Same provenance. Small fragment, written on both sides; complete at top. De Vogüé translates:

Recto: *Salve, domine* [
Iuvenis quidam [
. . . . .

Verso:] *quod venit (?) pro* [

Bibliography: Euting, loc. cit.

CIS., pp. 173–4, n. 182 and Pl. XX, héliogravure.

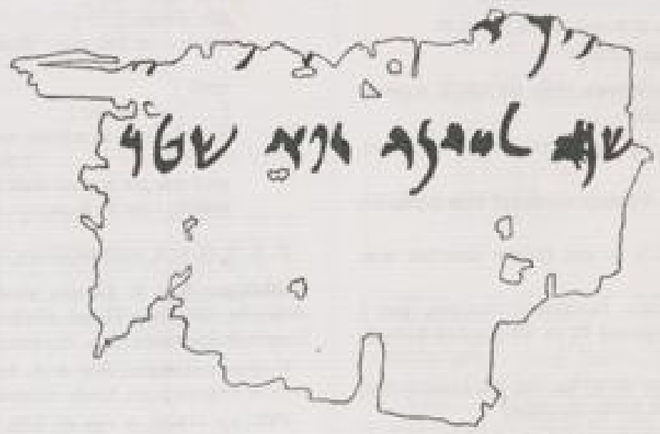
12. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** (Room N, case A, n. 442.) Provenance not stated. Written on both sides. De Vogüé only translates the *recto*:

Recto: . . . . . .
Ratio in mense [
. . .
Argentum siclorum VI [
. . . *MCXI*
Summa argenti siclorum IV [
Summa argenti [

Verso: Parts of eleven illegible lines.

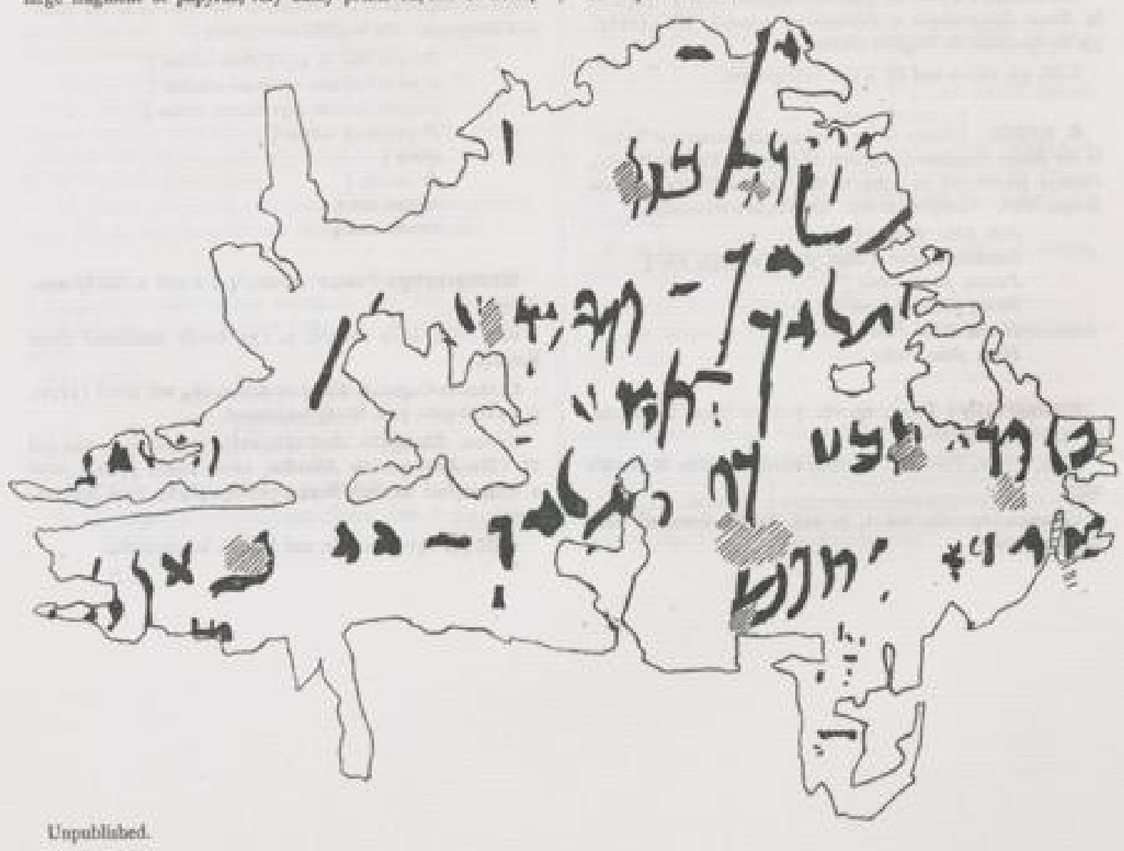
Bibliography: *CIS.*, p. 174, n. 153, Pl. XX, héliogravures, and Pl. XXI, héliogravures of hand-drawn facsimiles by Bénédite.

13. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** (Room N, case A, n. 441.) Fragment found at Abusir (near Saqqara), in 1888. Two lines from the bottom of a document. The first line nearly destroyed, the second containing still thirteen letters.



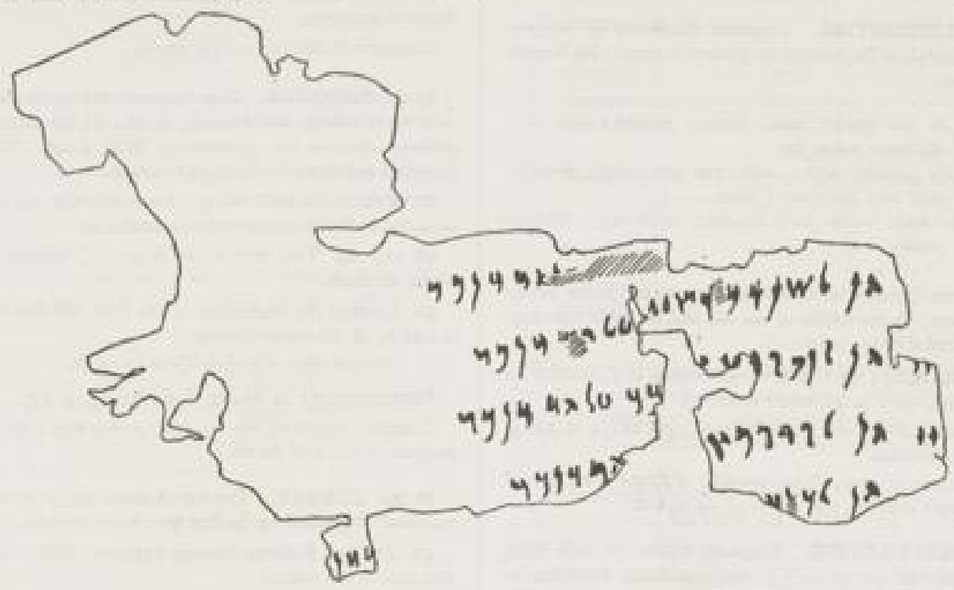
Unpublished.

14. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** (Room N, case A, n. 442.) A large fragment of papyrus, very badly preserved, full of holes, mounted on paper. Remains of seven lines in large letters. Same provenance.



Unpublished.

15. **CAIRO MUSEUM.** (Room N, case A.) A small fragment of papyrus containing the ends of five lines in a small careful hand. Briefly entered by Daressy in the *Journal* of the Cairo Museum, under the number 36499. Discovered not long ago by Spiegelberg among a small quantity of early demotic papyri stated to have been found at Saqqara, near the tomb of Ptahhotep.



16. **STRASSBURG.** Imperial library. Long strip of papyrus, written on both sides, bought at Luxor, but probably found at Elephantinê. There are many differences between the translations of Euting, Clermont-Ganneau, and Halévy; that of Clermont-Ganneau is given here.

Recto, col. I.

1 . . . . *que les Égyptiens se sont révoltés, nous nous n'avons pas abandonné (le parti) de notre seigneur*

2 *et l'on n'a trouvé rien de mal à nous (reprocher). En l'année xix du roi Darius, alors que notre seigneur Arsham*

3 *s'en fut vers le roi, voici le méfait des prêtres de Khnoub. Ils ont fait dans la ville forte d'Éléphantine*

4 *une machination avec Wi . . . g (?) qui était là (en qualité de) [. . . . . .]; ils lui ont donné de l'argent et des richesses. Il y a une partie*

5 *du [. . . .] du roi qu'[il a . . . .?] [. . .] de la forteresse, et il a [. . .] un mur dans la brèche (?) de la forteresse d'Éléphantine.*

Recto, col. II.

1 *Et maintenant il a construit ce mur dans la brèche (?) de la forteresse d'Éléphantine. Il y a un puits construit*

2 *A l'intérieur de la forteresse; ne manquant (jamais) d'eau pour abreuver la troupe; alors même qu'ils seraient (un?) bandit,*

3 *(les soldats) pourraient boire à ce puits. Ces prêtres de Khnoub ont bouché ce puits. Si une enquête est faite*

4 *par les juges, les chefs et les auriculaires qui sont en fonction dans la province de la région méridionale,*

5 *notre Seigneur sera renseigné par le contrôle de ce que nous avons dit et exposé.*

Verso.

1 *[En conséquence, nous les serviteurs, les . . .] qui sommes dans la ville forte de Yeb*

11, 13 *S'il plaît à notre Seigneur, ordre sera donné de . . . au forfait que nous avons dénoncé . . .*

Bibliography: Seymour de Ricci, *Bulletin papyrologique* in *Revue des études grecques*, vol. xiv (1901), p. 191, briefly mentioned.

J. Euting, *Notice sur un papyrus égypto-araméen de la Bibliothèque impériale de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1903, 4°), 15 pages and plate, facsimile in héliogravure, reprinted from *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, first series, vol. xi, part 2 (1904), pp. 297–311, and plate. Cf. a review by Ph. Virey, *Bulletin critique*, vol. xxv (1904), pp. 556–8.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1903, p. 364 (cf. p. 76), does not reprint the whole text.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Textes araméens d'Égypte*. I. *Le papyrus Euting* in his *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, vol. vi (Paris, 1904, 8°), pp. 221–46 in Hebrew characters.

W. Spiegelberg, *Zu dem Strassburger aramäischen Papyrus* in *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, vol. vii (1904), col. 10.

J. Halévy, *Nouvel examen du papyrus égypto-araméen de la Bibliothèque impériale de Strasbourg* in *Revue sémitique*, vol. xii (1904), pp. 67–78, in Hebrew characters.

de Vogüé and Clermont-Ganneau, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part v (1903), pp. 291–7, n. 361, in Hebrew characters, and part vi (1904), pp. 385–7, n. 498.

17. **OXFORD.** Bodleian library. Practically complete papyrus bought in 1900 at Elephantinê by Sayce and now in the Bodleian library. It is Papyrus L in the present collection.

Bibliography: A. Cowley, *Some Egyptian Aramaic documents* in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxv (1903), pp. 202–8 and plate, collotype facsimile, with translation.

G. Buchanan Gray, *Notes on the names in the papyrus*, ibid., pp. 259–63.

Sayce, ibid., pp. 325–16.

G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 404.

J. Halévy, *Un document judéo-araméen d'Éléphantine* in *Revue sémitique*, vol. xi (1903), pp. 250–8.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part vi (1904), pp. 371–7, n. 491 in Hebrew characters.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Papyrus et ostraka araméens d'Éléphantine* in his *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, vol. vi (Paris, 1904, 8°), pp. 147–58, and *Textes araméens d'Égypte*, ibid., pp. 260–7, from a photograph sent by Cowley.

18. ELEPHANTINÉ. Fragment discovered by Maspero near the temple at Elephantiné on January 1, 1902. De Vogüé's translation:

. . . . . .

As for one (table): cubits twelve; breadth: cubit one; thickness: palms four

As for (an)other table: cubits nine and-a-half; breadth: cubit one; thickness: [palms . . . .]

Other table: cubits five; breadth: cu[bit one]; thickness palm[s . . .]

. . . . . .

Clermont-Ganneau reads *slab* and not *table* and *frame* instead of *thickness*. In the middle of the last line, he thinks that there is place for *cu[bit one, palm one]*.

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1902, p. 49, briefly described.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part iv (1902), pp. 202–4, n. 246 in Hebrew characters.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Textes araméens d'Égypte* in his *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, vol. vi (1904), pp. 246–8.

19. ELEPHANTINÉ. Fragment written on both sides, discovered with the preceding one, containing, according to de Vogüé, part of a report or letter concerning one or several military operations. The name Mithridates occurs on the verso, which Clermont-Ganneau translates:

Now thus has said Mithridates [
ye judge, say to [
it shall be given to the [

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *C.-R.*, l. c.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part iv (1902), pp. 204–5, n. 247 in Hebrew characters.

Clermont-Ganneau, l. c., pp. 248–54.

20–26. ELEPHANTINÉ. Seven small fragments found with the preceding ones. About all that can be deciphered is the verb '*to command*' (once) and the verb '*to kill*' (twice), *&c.*

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *C.-R.*, l. c.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part iv (1902), p. 205, n. 248 in Hebrew characters.

Clermont-Ganneau, l. c., pp. 254–5.

27–30. SAQQARA. Four fragments of papyrus discovered with many others, not Aramaic, in one of the subterranean galleries close to the pyramid of King Unas. They are described as follows by Clermont-Ganneau:

27. Written on both sides. On each side ten lines of accounts, each line ending with the number 4.

28 and **29.** Two very small fragments, apparently from letters or deeds.

30. Contains the beginnings of five lines, the first of which is read by M. Clermont-Ganneau:

the 29th year of Ari[ah-le]s-ha [the king.

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *C.-R.*, loc. cit., p. 247.

Clermont-Ganneau, loc. cit., pp. 255–60, with a hand-drawn facsimile of line 1 of no. 26.

31–39. ASSUAN. The new Aramaic papyri in the Cairo museum. Published for the first time in this volume.

40. The new Bodleian Aramaic papyrus. Published for the first time in this volume.

41. BABINGTON papyrus. A small fragment, apparently in Aramaic writing, containing illegible remains of four lines, was discovered many years ago by the Marquis de Vogüé in the collection of Churchill Babington (of Cambridge). It is not known whether Babington obtained this fragment from Arden or from Harris, but it is stated to have been found with one of the Greek Hyperides papyri.

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, inscr. sémitiques*, pp. 131–2, with an engraving from his own copy.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 27–8 = *Origine*, pp. 21–2, briefly discussed.

B. INSCRIPTIONS.

1. BERLIN. Egyptian museum. Funerary stela discovered at Saqqara in 1877. De Vogüé translates:

1 *Benedicti Aba, filius Her, et Aḥatlu, filia Adaya, ambo perfecti, et divino favore adiuti, accedentes*
2 *coram Osiride deo. Abeli, filius Aba, et cuius mater Aḥatlu,*
3 *sic dixit, anno IV, mense Meḥir (regni) Xerxis, regis r[egum].*
4 *manu Pamen . . .*

The name *Hekna* is written before a man's legs, a little higher up on the stela.

Bibliography: A. Mariette, *Lettre à M. Ernest Desjardins sur deux stèles d'Abydos et une stèle de Saqqarah nouvellement découvertes* in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. vii (1879), p. 121.

R. Lepsius, *Eine ägyptisch-aramäische Stele* in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, vol. xv (1877), pp. 127–32, with notes by Ermno and Pl. I; a lithographed facsimile.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxvii (1879), pp. 28–9 = *Origine*, pp. 22–3, briefly discussed.

Lauth, *Ägyptisch-aramäische Inschriften* in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-philol.-histor. Classe*, vol. ii (1878), pp. 97–115 and 148.

W. Wright, *Palaeogr. Society, Oriental Series, Pl. LXIII*, autotype facsimile, with translation and notes by Nöldeke and Euting.

F. Praetorius, *Aegyptisch-Aramäisches* in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxv (1881), pp. 442–4 (discussed, not reprinted).

CIS., pp. 123–6, n. 122, and Pl. XI, two héliogravures.

M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften* (Weimar, 1898, 8°), p. 448, n. 1 and Pl. XXVIII, n. 1, hand-drawn facsimile.

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 100–1, n. 71, in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

2. PARIS. Musée du Louvre. Inscription on the side of a small stone libation table discovered by Mariette in the Memphis Serapeum. De Vogüé translates:

Oblationem pro accessione Banit ad Osiridem Apidem fecit Abiṭab, filius Banit; sic fecit coram Osiride-Apide.

Bibliography: Duc de Luynes, *Inscription phénicienne sur une pierre à libation du Sérapéum de Memphis* in *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenaeum Français*, vol. i (1855), parts 8 and 9, pp. 69–74 and 77–81 with two woodcuts.

Abbé Barges, *Nouvelle interprétation de l'inscription phénicienne découverte par M. Mariette dans le Sérapéum de Memphis* in *Revue de l'Orient*, vol. iii (1896), pp. 190–206.

E. Renan, *Observations sur une inscription araméenne du Sérapéum de Memphis* in *Journal asiatique*, 5th series, vol. vii (1856), pp. 407–27, with a woodcut.

H. Ewald, *Über eine neulichst gefundene ägyptisch-aramäische Inschrift* in *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, vol. vii (1856), pp. 52–63, in Hebrew characters.

Cf. *Nachrichten von der k. Ges. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1856, pp. 14–15; *Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft*, vol. viii (1856), pp. 136–7.

M. A. Levy, *Über die aramäische Inschrift auf einer Vase der Serapeums zu Memphis* . . . in *ZDMG.*, vol. xi (1857), pp. 65–71 and plate, with a full-sized lithographed facsimile.

Merx, *ibid.*, vol. xxii (1868), pp. 693–5.

Lauth, *Sitzungsber. München*, loc. cit., vol. ii (1878), p. 131.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 37–9 = *Origine*, pp. 31–3, discussed at length.

F. Praetorius, *Aegyptisch-Aramäisches* in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxv (1881), p. 442, briefly quoted.

E. Ledrain, *Mots égyptiens sur quelques stèles araméennes d'Egypte. 2° Vase à libation du Sérapéum, au Musée du Louvre* in *Rev. d'assyr.*, vol. i (1884), pp. 21–2.

CIS., pp. 126–7, n. 123, and Pl. XII, héliogravure.

Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 448, n. 2 and Pl. XXVIII, n. 2 hand-drawn facsimile (cf. p. 128, note 3).

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 201–2, n. 72, in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

3. CAIRO MUSEUM. White quartz scarab discovered at Saqqara. It merely bears the name "*of Hadadezer*" in Aramaic, engraved over another name, purposely erased, which may not have been Aramaic at all.

Bibliography: G. Maspéro, MS. slip-catalogue of the Boulaq museum, n. 5797.

G. Maspéro, *Guide du visiteur au musée de Boulaq*, (1883, 8°), p. 396, n. 5797.

Euting, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1885, p. 679, n. 45, and Pl. X = *Epigraphische Miscellen*, p. 11, with a lithographed facsimile from his own copy.

CIS., pp. 127–8, n. 124, and Pl. XIII, héliogravure.

4. DAHSHÛR. Three short Aramaic graffiti on fragments of columns discovered by de Morgan. One of them may perhaps be read:

Hormez, son of . . .(?).

Bibliography: Sayce, *Aramaic inscriptions from Egypt* in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxvi (1904), p. 208, with rough facsimiles.

5. TÛRA. Aramaic (?) graffito discovered in 1886 by Sayce in a quarry at Ma'sâra near Tûra. Sayce's translation (not altogether certain) reads:

Pkuti son of Shamen the Babylonian.

Bibliography: Sayce, loc. cit., p. 208, with a rough facsimile.

6. ABYDOS. Series of nine Aramaic graffiti on the walls of the great temple. I give them from de Vogüé's translations:

A *Hori, filius Bagbagos*

B *Benedictus sit Pesemmon, filius Ś* [

C *Benedictus sit Belhale*
. . . . . .

D *Benedictus sit* . . . . . *ab Osiride*

E *Somnium nostrum interpretatus est hoc*
et obtulit aquas miraculorum (?) . . . . .
. . . . . .

F *Munere sacerdotali functus est Hofra* (?), *filius Hori, coram Osiride*

G . . . . . .
Benedicta sit

H *Neferhotel* (?) [
Benedictus sit coram [

I . . . . *filius Mattat*

Bibliography: Théodule Dévéria, MS. note-books in the Seymour de Ricci collection, nos. 4 (= A), 7 (= B), 9 (= C), 13 (= D), reproduced in héliogravure in *CIS.*, part I, vol i, Pl. XVI, XVII. Dévéria's nos. 3, 5, and 14 may also be Aramaic.

H. Zotenberg, *Nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes d'Égypte* in *Journal asiatique*, 6th series, vol. xi (1868), pp. 431–50, from Dévéria's copies (A = pp. 440–1, n. iv; B = p. 442, n. vii; C = pp. 448–9, n. ix; D = p. 450, n. xiii).

M. A. Levy, *Phoenizische Studien*, part IV (Breslau, 1870, 8°), pp. 14 seqq., from Zotenberg's edition (A, B, C, D).

C. Ricque, *Note sur la xiii° inscription phénicienne d'Égypte recueillie et copiée par M. Dévéria* in *Journal asiatique*, 6th series, vol. xiii (1869), pp. 382–3, with an additional note by Zotenberg, ibid., pp. 383–4.

H. Brugsch, MSS. copies at the Göttingen library and also in de Saulcy's note-books (Seymour de Ricci collection), nos. 9 (= A and B) and 7 (= E). A third series of the Brugsch copies is reproduced by héliogravure in *CIS.*, part I, vol. i, Pl. XVIII; Brugsch's nos. 3, 4, 5 may also be Aramaic.

Joseph and Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les inscriptions phéniciennes du temple de Seti à Abydos publiées et traduites d'après une copie inédite de M. Sayce* in *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, vol i (1885), pp. 81–101 (and Pl. I–IV); from Sayce's copies nos. 6 (= A), 5 (= B), x (= C), 14 (= D), 11 (= E).

CIS., pp. 128–35, nos. 125–33 from the following copies: nos. 125–6 (= A, B) from Dévéria, Brugsch and Sayce; nos. 127–8 (= C, D) from Dévéria and Sayce; no. 129 (= E) from Brugsch, Sayce, Maspero, and Euting; no. 130 (= F) from Maspero and Euting; nos. 131 (= G) from Euting; no. 132 (= H) from Maspero; no. 133 (= I) from Maspero and Grébaut.

7. WADY SHEIKH SHEHÛN, valley near Akhmîm. Rock-graffito discovered in 1886 by Maspero and Grébaut. Clermont-Ganneau's translation:

Blessed be Pétphiah before the God Min, the third year of the king.

Bibliography: *CIS.*, p. 135, n. 134, with facsimiles of Maspero's and Grébaut's copies.

U. Bouriant, *Notes de voyage* in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vol. x. (1889), pp. 147 and 149, divided wrongly into three inscriptions.

A. H. Sayce, *Aramaic inscriptions from Egypt* in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxvi (1904), pp. 207–8, with a small facsimile and corrected text.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Textes araméens d'Égypte* in his *Rev. d'arch or.*, vol. vi (1904), pp. 267–70.

8. WADY ES-SABA RIGALEH. Two rock-graffiti discovered in 1887 by W. M. Flinders Petrie. De Vogüé's translation:

A *Benedicta sit Haga ab Iside*

B *Benedictus sit Asim, filius Šapir ab Apur*

Bibliography: W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, 1887, 4°, Pl. XV, n. 523 (= A) and n. 519 (= B).

A. H. Sayce, *New Phoenician and Israelitish inscriptions in Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. i (1887), pp. 193–4. A only, from Petrie's copy.

CIS., p. 136, nos. 135 (= A) and 136 (= B), and Pl. XI, héliogravures of the published facsimiles.

A. H. Sayce, *Gleanings from the land of Egypt* in *Recueil de travaux*, vol. xvii (1895), p. 164, nos. 1 and 2, with rough facsimiles. In the same article are also facsimiles of five other short Aramaic graffiti from the same place (loc. cit. p. 164, nos. 3 to 6).

Cf. on these graffiti Clermont-Ganneau, *Nouveaux graffiti araméens d'Égypte* in his *Études d'archéologie orientale*, vol. ii (Paris, 1896, 4°), pp. 23–7; and Sayce, *Note on an Aramaean inscription from Egypt* in *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 251.

9. ELEPHANTINÊ. Cairo Museum. Sandstone stela. Incomplete at top and bottom (and perhaps on the left-hand side).

De Vogüé's translation:

. . . . . .
. . . *son of Marna* [
. . . *chief of the garrison of Souan, has made*
. . . *in the month of Sivan, which is Mesôr,*
. . . *of the year seventh of Artah-ksi-la the king,*
. . . [*to*] . . . . . *goddess* . . . .
. . . . . .

The name of the goddess at the beginning of line 5 has not yet been deciphered.

Bibliography: de Vogüé, *Inscription araméenne trouvée en Égypte* in *Comptes-rendus Acad. Inscr.*, 1903, pp. 269–76 (cf. p. 267), with an autotype facsimile.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part 5 (1903), pp. 333–5, n. 438, in Hebrew characters.

10. SAINT PETERSBURG. Collection of W. Golénischeff. Chalcedony gem bought in Cairo, with the name *Ḥr-n-ḥš* in hieroglyphics and the Aramaic equivalent *Ḥor-Ḥeši* which de Vogüé translates as *Ḥor Ḥeheni*.

Bibliography: Clermont-Ganneau, *Une intaille bilingue égypto-araméenne* in his *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, vol. i (Paris, 1888, 8°), pp. 138–40, with an engraving.

CIS., pp. 142–3, n. 140 and Pl. XIII, héliogravure of a sealing-wax impression.

11. CARPENTRAS. Limestone stela, doubtless from the Memphite necropolis, formerly in the Rigord, later on in the Inguimbert collection; now in the city library at Carpentras, in the South of France. De Vogüé's translation:

Benedicta sit Taba, filia Tahapi, perfecta in Osiride do
Nihil mali fecisti, et calumniae in neminem dixisti his in terris.
Coram Osiride benedicta esto. Ab Osiride aquas accipe.
Sit adorans, deliciae meae (?), *et inter gratias* (*do animae*) [*sit*
perfecta]

Bibliography: *Lettre de Monsieur* Rigord, *Commissaire de la Marine, aux Journalistes de Trévoux, sur une Ceinture de Toile trouvée en Égypte autour d'une Momie* in *Mémoires de Trévoux* (*Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts*), April, 1704, p. 994, plate (engraved facsimile).

B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée, Supplément*, vol. ii (Paris, 1724 folio), pp. 207–8, and Pl. LIV, engraved facsimile.

de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*, vol. i (Paris, 1752, 4°), pp. 74 sqq. and Pl. XXVI, engraving.

Abbé Barthélemy, *Explication d'un bas-relief égyptien et de l'inscription phénicienne qui l'accompagne* in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, in 4° edition, vol. xxxii (1768), pp. 725–38 with three plates, and in 12° edition, vol. lix, Pl. I from a plaster cast.

O. G. Tychsen. *De linguae Phoenicias et Hebraicae mutua aequalitate commentatio* in *Nova acta Regiae Societatis scientiarum Upsaliensis*, vol. vii (1815), p. 92.

U. F. Kopp, *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*, vol. ii (Mannheim, 1821, 8°), pp. 229 sqq. and plate.

H. A. Hamaker, *Diatribe philologico-critica, aliquot monumentorum Punicorum nuper in Africa repertorum interpretationem exhibens* (Leyden, 1822, 4°), pp. 69–71.

Michelangelo Lanci, *Osservazioni sul bassorilievo fenico-egizio che si conserva in Carpentrasio* (Roma, 1825, 4°), 152 pp. and four plates; reviewed at length by Rödiger in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* of Halle, vol. iii (1828), col. 265–77.

G. Fabricy, *De Johannis Hyrcani Hasmonaei Judaeorum summi pontificis Hebraeo-Samaritico nummo*, vol. i, pp. 79 sqq.

Angelo Mai [i.e. Champollion-le-Jeune], *Catalogo de' papiri egiziani della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Roma, 1825, 4°), pp. 31–67.

L. Wihl, *De gravissimis aliquot Phoenicum inscriptionibus commentatio philologico-critica* (Monachii, 1831, 8°), pp. 24–6, in Hebrew characters.

E. F. F. Beer, op. cit., pp. 9–21 and Pl. I, lithographed from Barthélemy's edition.

J. Fürst, *Lehrgebäude der aramäischen Idiome mit Bezug auf die indogermanischen Sprachen: Chaldäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1835, 8°), pp. 22–3, in Hebrew characters.

Gesenius, *Scripturae, &c.*, pp. 216–32, n. lxxi, and Pl. 28–9, lithographic reproductions of Barthélemy's and Lanci's facsimiles.

A. C. Judas, *Étude démonstrative de la langue phénicienne et de la langue libyque* (Paris, 1847, 4°), pp. 86–8.

Fr. Lenormant, *Journal asiatique*, 6th series, vol. x (1867), p. 513.

J. Derenbourg, *L'inscription dite de Carpentras*, ibid., vol. xi (1868), pp. 177–87, in Hebrew characters.

A. Merx, *ZDMG.*, vol. xxii (1868), pp. 697–9.

J. Halévy, *Mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie sémitiques* (Paris, 1874, 8°), p. 152.

J. Halévy, Letter to Fleischer, printed in *ZDMG.*, vol. xxxii (1878), pp. 206–7, in Hebrew characters.

K. Schlottmann, ibid., pp. 187–97 and 767–8, and vol. xxxiii (1879), pp. 252–91.

P. de Lagarde, *Zur Erklärung der aramäischen Inschrift von Carpentras* in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1878, pp. 357–72.

Lauth, *Sitzungsber. München*, vol. ii (1878), p. 115.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, loc. cit., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 31–3 = *Origine*, pp. 25–7, discussed at length.

Lund, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, vol. iv (1880), p. 213.

W. Wright, *Palaeogr. Soc., Oriental Series*, Pl. LXIV, autotype facsimile, with translation and notes by Nöldeke and Lepsius.

E. Ledrain, *Mots égyptiens contenus dans quelques stèles araméennes d'Égypte. 1°. La stèle de Carpentras* in *Rev. d'assyr.*, vol. i (1884), pp. 18–21.

CIS., pp. 143–6, n. 141 and Pl. XIII, héliogravure.

S. R. Driver, *Notes, &c.* (cf. Nos. 2–3), Pl. II, facsimile.

Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 448, n. 1 and Pl. XXVIII, n. 3 autotype (cf. pp. 91–2 and note).

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 205–6, in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

12. ROME. Vatican, Museo Egiziano. Stela from Egypt, doubtless from Saqqara. De Vogüé's translation:

Anhhapi, filius Taḥahis, perfectus in Osiride deo

Bibliography: Fr. Lenormant, *Lettre à M. Ernest Renan sur une stèle araméo-égyptienne encore inédite* in *Journal Asiatique*, 6th series, vol. x (1867), pp. 511–15 and plate.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, l. c., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 33–4 = *Origine*, pp. 27–8, briefly discussed.

E. Lehmann, *Mots égyptiens contenus dans quelques stèles araméennes d'Égypte. 3° Stèle du Vatican* in *Revue d'assyr.*, vol. i (1884), pp. 22–3.

CIS., pp. 146–7, no. 142 and Plate XIV from a plaster-cast.

Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 448, n. 2 and Plate XXVIII, n. 4 autotype.

13. SALT stela. Limestone stela brought from Egypt by Salt, bought at his sale by the poet Rogers and owned since then by Charles Forman and by his sister Mrs. Burt of Dorking. Sold by auction in 1902. Its inscription only contains the five letters *Šmiti*, doubtless a name.

Bibliography: Giovanni d'Athanasi, *A brief account of discoveries made in Egypt.* (London, 1836, 8°), p. 185, n. 429 and Plate IV.

Gesenius, *Scripturae, &c.*, pp. 232–3, n. lxxii and Plate 29, lithographed facsimile from his own copy.

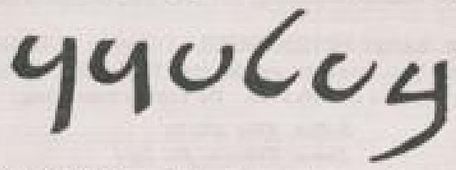
Clermont-Ganneau, *Rev. arch.*, l.c., vol. xxxvii (1879), pp. 34–7 = *Origine*, pp. 28–31 with an engraving from a drawing by Franks.

CIS., pp. 147–8, n. 143 and Plate XIV, héliogravure of a drawing by de Vogüé.

S. A. Cook, *Notes on Semitic inscriptions: Egyptian slab with Aramaic lettering* in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxvi (1904), pp. 34–5 and plate in photogravure from a photograph by W. L. Nash.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part vi (1904), p. 370, n. 490 from Cook.

14. RUBAIYAT (Fayyûm), in the collection of the late Theodor Graf at Vienna. Wooden panel with the portrait of a young man painted on one side and six Aramaic letters painted on the back in black ink. The following is Euting's copy, verified by a photograph shown to me by Graf in 1900.



This inscription is probably as late as the second century A.D.

Bibliography: G. Ebers, *Die hellenistischen Porträts aus dem Fajûm* (Leipzig, 1893, 12°), p. 34, facsimile = *The Hellenic Portraits from the Fayum* (New York, 1893, 16°), p. 52, facsimile.

[Richter and von Oefele], *Catalogue de la galerie . . . Theodore Graf* (Paris, 1900, 12°), p. 8 facsimile = *Catalogue of the Theodore Graf collection*, no pl. or date [Paris, 1900, 12°], p. 9.

C. OSTRAKA.

1. BERLIN. Egyptian Museum. Terra-cotta ostrakon discovered in February, 1886, by A. Erman on the island of Elephantinê opposite Assuan. Written on both sides. De Vogüé's translation:—

Recto (seven lines): *Nunc ecce somnium primum vidi et a tempore isto ego fervescens et aberrans; apparuit spectrum; dixit: Salve!*

Verso (six lines): *Nunc si ornamenta omnium vendideris, comedant infantes. Ecce non reliquum exiguum.*

Account of a dream in a temple.

Bibliography: Euting, *Sitzungsber. Berl. Akad.*, 1887, pp. 407–8, n. 99 and Pl. VII = *Epigraphische Miscellen*, zweite Reihe, pp. 1–2, with a lithographed facsimile of his own copy.

CIS., pp. 137–9, n. 137, and Pl. XII, héliogravures.

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 202–3, n. 73 in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

2. BERLIN. Egyptian Museum (P 8763). Terra-cotta ostrakon from Elephantinê. Six lines. Not translated.

It is P in the present volume.

Bibliography: Cowley, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxv (1903), p. 314, in Hebrew characters.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part 6 (1904), p. 384, n. 496.

3. BRITISH MUSEUM. Department of Egyptian antiquities, no. 14219. Terra-cotta ostrakon from Elephantinê, written on both sides. De Vogüé's translation:—

Recto. *Facit Isimm filius* [
pro eis adiutoribus (?) *quos ipse* [
et indicabit eum Geluria [
et interrogavit de Pefosiri [
Šeḥamu, pro eis [
et interrogavit de Ifen [
Peteharpokrates [
filius Kaumen [
. . . . . .

Verso.] *Šeho, filius Ḥabratiean*
] *dabant* (?) *et si dixerint testes* (?)
] *Hartaba et Bagatof: Ḥabrat*[*sen*]
] *nobis contra Puḥadak. Dixit*
] *si dominus noster et*
] *non dedit nobis*
rex] *regum dominus noster*
] *Pṭemutir, filius*
] *sculpet*

Perhaps part of a report on a lawsuit.

Bibliography: *CIS.*, pp. 139–41, d. 138, facsimiles of de Vogüé's hand-made drawings and Pl. XII, héliogravures.

Cooke, *Text-book*, pp. 203–5, n. 74, in Hebrew characters (from *CIS.*).

Cowley, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxv (1903), p. 313.

de Vogüé, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part 6 (1904), p. 383, n. 495.

4. BRITISH MUSEUM. Department of Egyptian antiquities, no. 14220. Small fragment of a terra-cotta ostrakon from Elephantinê, perhaps part of the same document as no. 3. De Vogüé's translation:—

Recto. . . . . .
] *personae quae* [
] *gratiis mea quam* [*largitus sum*
] *eiicm* [
] *mina* [
. . . . . .

Verso. . . . . .
] *domus mea* [
] *Gadudo nomen eius* [
] *nec* [
] *nisi* [
. . . . . .

Bibliography: *CIS.*, pp. 141–4, n. 139, facsimiles of DE VOGÜÉ's hand-made drawings and Plate XII, héliogravures.

5–6. SAINT-PETERSBURG. Collection of W. Golénischeff. Two terra-cotta ostraka from Elephantinê, the second being inscribed on both sides. De Vogüé's translations:

Šallum, filius Aba (?)
Domus Elinatan, filii Šari
Et Jehu (?), *filii Rephai*
Nehonatan, filius Afami
Nehoilah, filius Šemen
Petiu (?) *filius Nephtorophel*
Domus Eli . . . filii Rafin
Anania (?) *filius Pemel.*

5. Recto. *Asimut* [
Asihum [
Asihun [
Petefnum [

6. Verso. *Asimut*
Pefnus filius A . . . rat
. . . . . *f* . . . . . .
Osirmelek filius Pefnusi
Osirunefre filius Aphi [
Anipfah . ni filius [
. . . *a filia* . . . *m* [

Lists of names, perhaps taxation-lists.

Bibliography: *CIS.*, pp. 175–7, nos. 154–5, hand-drawn facsimiles by DE VOGÜÉ and Pl. XX, héliogravures.

7. OXFORD. Bodleian Library. Terra-cotta ostrakon, written on both sides, bought by Sayce in 1900 at Elephantinê and given by him to the Bodleian Library.

It is M in the present volume.

Bibliography: COWLEY, loc. cit., pp. 264–6 (cf. p. 202), in Hebrew characters, not translated.

SAYCE, ibid., pp. 315–16, attempted translation (*of verso* only).

J. HALÉVY, *Documents judéo-araméens d'Éléphantine. II. Ostraka* in *Revue sémitique*, vol. xii (1904), p. 55–66, attempt at translation.

DE VOGÜÉ, *RÉS.*, vol. i, part vi (1904), pp. 377–81, n. 492, in Hebrew characters.

CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'arch. orient.*, vol. vi (1904), pp. 158–64, with translation of some sentences.

8. OXFORD. Bodleian Library. Terra-cotta ostrakon, written on one side only, bought by Sayce in 1900 at Elephantinê, and given to the Bodleian Library. Text in nine lines, not yet translated.

It is N in the present volume.

Bibliography: COWLEY, loc. cit., p. 311, in Hebrew characters.

DE VOGÜÉ, *RÉS.*, loc. cit., pp. 381–2, n. 493, in Hebrew characters.

9. OXFORD. Bodleian Library. Terra-cotta ostrakon written on both sides. A mere fragment and very difficult to read. Not translatable. Three lines on one side, five on the other. Given to the Bodleian Library by Sayce, who obtained it in Egypt.

It is O in the present volume.

Bibliography: COWLEY, loc. cit., p. 312, in Hebrew characters.

DE VOGÜÉ, *RÉS.*, loc. cit., p. 382, n. 494, in Hebrew characters.

10. OXFORD. Bodleian Library. Provenance not known. Fragment of a terra-cotta ostrakon, written on both sides. Four incomplete lines on each side. Given by Sayce to the Bodleian Library.

It is Q in the present volume.

Bibliography: COWLEY, loc. cit., p. 314, in Hebrew characters.

DE VOGÜÉ, *RÉS.*, loc. cit., p. 384, n. 497, in Hebrew characters.

11, 12, 13. CAIRO MUSEUM. Three terra-cotta ostraka, inscribed on both sides from two to ten lines per side. Found at Elephantinê, according to the MS. Journal of the Cairo Museum, n. 35468. Unpublished.

14, 15. OXFORD. Ashmolean Museum. Two fragmentary ostraka obtained at Elephantinê in 1905 by Sir John Evans, K.C.B. It is through Professor Sayce's kindness that I am aware of their existence.

16, 17. BERLIN. Egyptian Museum. Two ostraka, written on both sides, picked up at Elephantinê in 1905 by Dr. Otto Rubensohn, who very kindly showed them to me at Cairo in April of the same year.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI.

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

A.

Papyrus bought by the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS. Aram. b. 1).

(1) On the 17th (18th?) of Elul, that is the 27th (28th?) day of Pachons, the 14th (15th?) year of Xerxes the king, said (2) Qoniyah the son of Zadok an Aramaean of Syênê, belonging to the quarter (*clientèle*) of Warfzath, to Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah an Aramaean of Syênê, (3) belonging to the quarter of Warfzath, saying: I am come to thee and thou hast given me the gateway of thy house for building (4) a brick wall there. This brick wall shall be thine which adjoins my house at the corner which is at the upper end. (5) This brick wall shall adjoin the side of my house from the ground upwards from the corner of my house which is at the upper end as far as the house of Zechariah. (6) Neither to-morrow nor any later day shall I have power to restrain thee from building above (*or* upon) this thy brick wall. (7) If I restrain thee, I will pay thee the sum of 5 *kebhes* royal standard, pure silver, and this brick wall (8) is assuredly [thine]. And if Qoniyah dies, neither to-morrow nor on any later day shall son or daughter, brother or sister, (9) relative or stranger, foreign resident or citizen, have power to restrain Mahseiah or his son from building above (10) this brick wall of his. Whoever shall restrain any of them shall pay him the sum which is specified above, and the brick wall (11) is thine assuredly, and thou hast full power to build above it upwards, and I Qoniyah shall have no power (12) to say to Mahseiah, saying: This gateway is not thine, and thou shalt not go out (by it) into the street which (13) runs between us and the house of Pefṣ'ônît the sailor. If I interfere with (thy rights) I will pay thee the sum which is specified above, (14) and thou hast full rights to open this gateway and to go out into the street which runs between us. (15) Pelatiah the son of Ahio has written this deed at the dictation of Qoniyah; witnesses thereto: (16) witness Maḥaseh (*sic*) the son of Isaiah, witness Satibarzanes the son of Athar-ili, (17) witness Shemaiah the son of Hosea, witness Phrataphernes the son of Artaphernes, (18) witness Bagdates the son of Nabu-kuduri, Nabû-ilî the son of Dargâ, (19) witness Ben-tirash the son of Raḥamre'a, witness Shallum the son of Hoshaiah.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(20) Deed of the brick wall which he built, written by Qoniyah to Maḥaseh.

1. On the numerals see p. 15. According as we take the number of the year to be 14 or 15, the date of this papyrus will be 471 or 470 B.C.

2. אתרש. In B 8, 9 Qoniyah is called יהודי. Mahseiah is called יהודי in B 3, C 2, D 2, but he and his daughter are Aramaeans again in F 2.

3. לרגל. Cf. ברגלך, Exod. xi. 8, and perhaps לרגלי, Gen. xxx. 30, in the sense of *following after* or *depending on* a person. It may possibly be לרגל, in which case רגל would have the meaning of *company*, see G. B. Gray in *J. Q. R.*, xi. pp. 92 sqq. In these deeds the phrase is always followed by a proper name: Warfzath (A 2, 3; B 4, 9, 10; E 2; F 3; G 2; K 2), Artabanos (B 3), Athropadan (B 9), Hâumadâta (C 2; D 2), Iddin-nabu (H 2). Of the persons mentioned in connexion with them, Qoniyah b. Zadok belongs to two (Warfzath, A 2; Athropadan, B 9), Mahseiah b. Yedoniah to two (Warfzath, A 3; E 2; F 3; G 2; B 4; Hâumadâta, C 2; D 2), Jezaniah b. Uriah to two (Warfzath, B 9, 10; Hâumadâta, C 2 if the explanation of זכם be right), Yedoniah and Mahseiah sons of As-Hôe or Nathan to two (Iddin-nabu, H 2, if the explanation of זכם be right; Warfzath, K 2), Dargman to one (Artabanos, B 3), Menahem and Ananiah, sons of Meshullam, to one (Iddin-nabu, H 2). Thus four families or persons belong to Warfzath, two each to Hâumadâta and Iddin-nabu, one each to Artabanos and Athropadan. As to locality, persons both of Syênê and of Yeb belong to the *regel* (or *degel*) of Warfzath, but Yeb only is mentioned in connexion with the others. As to date, Warfzath appears in A, B, E, F, G, K, i.e. from 470–411 B.C., Artabanos and Athropadan in 465, Hâumadâta in 459, Iddin-nabu in 420.

The variety of dates in the case of Warfzath (extending over sixty years) makes it improbable that the *regel* denoted simple

attachment to an individual Persian or Babylonian, as in the case of the Roman *clientes*, or of aliens under the protection of a Bey in the Mamlûk and Turkish periods of Egyptian history. Perhaps the *regel* denoted a *quarter* of the town, like the *ḥâra* of modern Cairo, which took its title from the official who was responsible for its good order, and who corresponded to the modern *sâḥib* of the *ḥâra*. Even so the sixty years' duration of Warizath is not explained. See note on l. 9.

תרע *gate-way* as in Dan. ii. 49.

4. אגר. The reading is certain, except that the ר may be a ד. It is translated here by *brick wall* from its similarity to the Assyrian *agurru*, *brickwork* (cf. Arab. آجُرّ, borrowed from the Persian), which is sometimes used to denote a wall-covering of tiles. Perhaps it means here the *maṣṭaba* or divan of brickwork commonly built against the outer wall of an Egyptian house close to the door; but since it extended from the upper corner of Qoniyah's house to Zechariah's house it seems to have been more probably a wall. The meaning of איגר *roof* would hardly suit the description, though that is far from clear; nor is it probable that it is connected with the אגורא of E 14, J 6. The word is feminine. The mark after it is like the final strokes in the numerals in l. 1, but must be a numeral here, since a stop is impossible.

5. From the way in which the lines are crowded here, it seems that l. 5 was inserted as an after-thought, as though l. 4 were not clear; hence the repetition.

עליה means the *southern* end and תחתה the *northern* throughout these deeds (except in B). Both are nouns.

6. שבעל. In these deeds only the future is found, and it is always followed by a future. On the construction, cf. Nöldeke, Syr. Gr., § 267. In BA. the pcp. occurs followed by infinitive with ל.

7. כסף, here and generally, is *the sum of*.

זך. Either דילך is omitted by accident, or זך is a mistake for it.

8. אפם seems to be a strengthening of אף (cf. Gen. iii. 1 אף כי־אמר *did he really say?*). For the termination cf. זכם (C 2, H 4) if it is a strengthening of זך.

9. למחסה. On -ל see grammatical remarks, p. 20. מחסה is hardly a mistake since it occurs frequently. It is probably a secondary form of the name, like יזן for יזניה and תשגן for תרשגיה. Perhaps the divine name יה was suppressed in more familiar use.

בעל רגל as opposed to בעל קריה shows that the רגל denotes the position of one who was not a full citizen—*clientela*.

12. אמר, 1st pers. sing. future. The space after לאמר is due to an erasure: nothing is lost.

15. בגו in these deeds is always used in a sort of adverbial sense, *in the midst*, without suffix or dependent word. We should expect בגוה. It occurs also in *RÉS.*, 246 (see below, p. 38), probably in the same sense as here, and is to be restored in *CIS.*, 146, A 5 (מאתן 5 ו . . . בגו קלין 5 *vessels and . . . in* [*which*] *are* 2 *gehlin*) and 153. 2 (עלה . . . בגו כסף ש III III *account . . . in* [*which*] *are* 6 *shekels*). A similarly strange use of עלא occurs, see Glossary.

16. שדר is generally but not always repeated with each name. So in mediaeval Jewish deeds בר is sometimes but not usually added.

אתרלי is an Assyrian name; hence ת for ל in the name of the goddess with which it is compounded.

17. רשגן for רשגיה. Cf. on l. 9.

19. אשגלי. The papyrus is broken but the reading is fairly certain. The name perhaps occurs also in *CIS.*, 154. 7.

20. The reading of the docket, though strange, is fairly certain.

B.

Papyrus bought by Lady William Cecil (No. 37107).

(1) On the 18th (?) of Chisleu, that is the 6th (7th?) day of Thoth, the 20th (21st?) year (of Xerxes), the beginning of the reign when (2) Artaxerxes the king ascended his throne, said Dargman the son of Harshin the Chorasmian of the fire-temple (?) (3) in Yeb (Elephantine) the fortress, a workman belonging to the quarter of Artabanos, to Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah, a Jew who (lives) in the fortress of Yeb (4), belonging to the quarter of Wartzath, saying: Thou hast sw[orn] to me by Yahu the god in Yeb the fortress, thou and thy wife, (5) and thy son, all three, about my land in regard to which I lodged a complaint against thee before (6) Damidata and his colleagues the judges, and they imposed upon thee an oath to me to swear by Yahu in regard to this land (7) that it was no longer the land of Dargman, even mine. Now behold (these are) the boundaries of this land (8) about which thou hast sworn to me: my house, which belongs to me Dargman, is on the east [of it], and the house of Qoniyah son of Zadok, (9) a Jew, belonging to the quarter of Athropadan is to the west of it, and the house of [Jez]aniah son of Uriah (10), a Jew, belonging to the quarter of Wartzath, is at the lower end of it, and the house of Espemet son of Pevṭônit, (11) the cataract sailor, is at its upper end. Thou didst swear to me by Yahu, and thou didst satisfy (12) my heart as to the land, in regard to which I shall have no power to raise suit or process against thee—I or son or daughter, (13) brother or sister of mine, relative or stranger, in regard to this land, against thee or son or daughter, brother or sister of thine, relative or stranger. (14) If any one shall raise (a suit) against thee in my name in regard to this land, I will pay the sum of 20 *kebhes* (that is, twenty,) royal (15) standard, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten, and this land is assuredly thine, and thou art quit of (16) all claims which they may bring

against thee in the matter of this land. Ethan the son of Abah has written this deed (17) in Syênê the fortress at the dictation of Dargman. Witness: Hosea the son of Peti-Khnûm, (18) witness Gadôl the son of Yigdal, witness Gemariah the son of Ahio, Meshullam the son of Hosea, (19) Sin-kasid the son of Nabu-sum-iskun, witness Hadad-nûrî the Babylonian, (20) witness Gedaliah the son of Ananiah, (21) witness Aryîshâ the son of Arûsathmar.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(22) Deed of conveyance written by [Dargman] the son of Harshîn to Mahseiah.

1. The date of the papyrus is 465 B.C., the year of the accession of Artaxerxes I. The Babylonian form of this king's name is always used, Artakšasu, not the Persian Artakhshatheŝ. So also in *CIS.*, 67 (cuneiform), *RÉS.*, 438, 4, and in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

ראש i.e. no doubt ראֹש as in BA.; so in G 23, L 5, not ריש.

2. חרזמי *Choraxmian.* Chorasmia (Khwarism) is 'Uvârazmi in O. Persian, Khuvarizmu in Babylonian, Khairizas in Zend.

אתרת, the ר might be a ד, and is in fact more like ד. Cf. אתרא in E 19. It cannot be the Aramaic אתר *place*, which would give no sense. It may, however, be connected with O. Pers. *athra*, Zend. *âtar* 'fire.'

3. יהודי as in C 2, D 2. He is ארשי in A 2, E 2, G 2.

יב. See Prof. Spiegelberg's list of Egyptian names, on p. 24. It was no doubt pronounced *Fêb*, as Gk. *Ἰέβ* = Elephantinê. The credit of this brilliant identification is due to M. Clermont-Ganneau (*RÉS.*, 361, p. 296). Elephantinê and Syênê were the twin fortresses which protected Egypt on the south from the incursions of the Sudanese tribes.

4. לגל. See on A 2.

יהו. See introduction, p. 10. This is the form always used in these deeds (and in Str. C 5) except once יהה E 14. Its occurrence shows that the Jews of Elephantinê, at all events in the fifth century B.C., had no objection to pronouncing the name, and that Yahu was the common form, not Yahveh.

5. Mahseiah's daughter is not mentioned. Probably she was too young to take an oath. She was married six years later.

6. דמיזה. There is the usual uncertainty as to ד or ר. It is clearly Persian and might be a title, such as *magistrate*, but is probably a personal name, Damîdata.

בוחתה. Cf. *CIS.*, 151, 2, Ezra v. 6, and frequently. In Ezra iv. 9 it is combined as here with דיניא *judges*, which the LXX (and MT) have misunderstood; cf. Cheyne, *Encyclop. Biblica*, s.v. Dinaites.

מקנך *they laid upon you* an oath, i.e. made you take it. The occasion of the deed apparently was as follows: Dargman was in occupation of, or claimed a right over, certain land, which was contested by Mahseiah. He then brought an action to establish his claim, and Mahseiah made a counter-claim. Mahseiah was required by the court to take an oath as to the grounds of his claim, which was allowed by the court with costs. Dargman had to submit to the ruling, and this deed of renunciation (מרחק) was then drawn up at his expense.

8. Originally the scribe wrote בית דרגמן, then he altered it to ביתי and added אנה above the line. Hence the awkward construction. For this use of the pronoun to emphasize the suffix, cf. Dan. vii. 15, Ezra vii. 21.

סוף, more correctly סוף (D 4, 6; E 14) = Heb. סוף, from יסף = יסף.

קניה ב' צרק is an Aramaean in A 2, and 'client' of Warîmih in Syênê.

9. אחריומן or אחריומין. Both are possible Persian forms.

10. מחמנית, in A 13 מחמנית. The ו must have been consonantal. It is evidently the same man, as he and his son are both described as sailors.

11. A sailor who lived in Elephantinê must have been either a Nile boatman or a 'Shellalî' who helped to take boats over the Cataract. The phrase *hard* or *difficult* waters implies the latter. Nebuchadrezzar (Cylinder ii, 12 in *Cun. Inscr. of West. Asia*, vol. i) similarly speaks of the *mîl hassam* (for *gassam*) or *terrible flood* ('like the swell of the sea') and Sennacherib (Rassam Cylinder, 80) of the *mîl kissati* or *flood of the rapids*.

12. אזרנך. For other forms see Glossary, s.v. ערי. The word more commonly used is ריש, and once עדי, all meaning to *stir up, set in motion* legal procedure, followed by an accusative of the person against whom the suit is brought, and sometimes by a second (cognate) accusative, as דין ודבב here.

דין ודבב. A Babylonian formula commonly used in legal documents, see Johns, *Assyr. Deeds*, iii, p. 260 sq., or Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts*, passim. The fuller form is found in e.g. Stevenson no. 1 *turu dinu dabâbu la-allu, appeal, suit or process shall not lie*, and it continues (as here in l. 14) *mannu la îgarrumi* 10 *manê kaspi iddan, whoever shall institute proceedings shall pay* 10 *minas of silver*, the same root ערי being used as here.

13. לעשרתא ו ר. See Introduction, p. 22.

רחק is a technical term in these deeds, *to withdraw from* (*all claims to*) *a thing*.

17. The name of Hosea's father, Peti-khnûm, *the gift of Khnûm*, seems to imply that the son was a Jewish proselyte; cf. note on As-Ḥôr = Nathan, in J 3. In mediaeval and modern times, however, it is customary to find Jews using two names, one Hebrew and another vernacular for ordinary purposes. Possibly the practice had already begun, and Peti-khnûm and As-Ḥôr were the non-Hebrew names borne by Jews who were rather lax in their religious views; cf. Jerem. xliv. 8 sqq.

19. The three names are all common in Babylonia.

21. אריישא, the second י seems to have a tail, but it may be merely accidental. Perhaps the two names are Persian.

22. מרחק, a deed of *withdrawal*, practically equivalent to *conveyance*.

A comparison of this deed with D shows that the scribe has described the boundaries of the estate incorrectly, having mistaken the points of the compass. Dargman's house was south, not east, of Mahseiah's; Qoniyah's was north, not west; Jetaniah's was east, not south; and Espemet's was west, not south. That D is right is shown by E and J, which agree with its topography.

C.

Papyrus bought by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37106).

(1) On the [21st] of Chis][eu, that is the 1st day] of [Mesor]e, the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah (2) the son of Yedoniah a J[ew, of] Yeb, belonging to the quarter of Hâumadâta, to Jezaniah the son of Uriah, of the same quarter, (3) saying: There is the land of one house belonging to me, west of thy house, which I have given to Mibhṭaḥyah, (4) my daughter, thy wife, and I have written a deed (of gift) for her respecting it. The measurement of this house is 13 cubits and a hand-breadth (5) by 11, with the measuring-rod. Now I, Mahseiah, say to thee: Build upon this land and stock (it) with its cattle, (6) and live on it with thy wife; but thou hast no power to sell this house or to give it as a present to any others, (7) but thy sons by Mibhṭaḥyah, my daughter, have rights over it (8) after you. If to-morrow, or any later day, thou buildest on this land (and) my daughter shall afterwards divorce thee (9) and leave thee, she shall have no power to take it and to give it to others, but thy sons by (10) Mibhṭaḥyah shall have rights over it in return for the work which thou hast expended (upon it). If thou shalt put her away (11) from thee, one half of the house shall be hers to take, but to the other half thou hast full right in return (12) for the buildings which thou hast built on to this house. Furthermore as to that half, thy sons by Mibhṭaḥyah (13) have the right to it after thee. If to-morrow, or any later day, I institute against thee suit or process, (14) and say, I have not given thee this land for building, and have not written for thee this deed, I (15) will pay thee the sum of 10 *kebhes*, royal standard, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie). (16) ʿAthar-shûrt, the son of Nabû-zira-ibni, has written this deed in Syênê, the fortress, at the dictation of Mahseiah; witnesses (17) hereto: witness Hosea the son of Pelaliah, witness, Zechariah the son of Nathan, (18) witness Gemariah the son of Mahseiah, witness Zechariah the son of Meshullam, (19) witness Meʿozyah the son of Malchiah, witness Shemaiah the son of Yedoniah, (20) witness Yedoniah the son of Mahseiah, witness Nathan the son of Ananiah, (21) witness Hosea [the son] of Reʿûyah, witness Maḥasch (*sic*) the son of Isaiah, witness Zaccur the son of Zephaniah, (22) witness Ho[sea the son of Yigd]al.

1. The date is 459 B.C.

After the first letter (2) the remains of the numeral probably represent ר. There is then room for I (or possibly II) before the ל. The month can only be כסלו, consistently with the position of the two ל's. There are traces of the ם in יום, after which there is room for I (barely II) before the next ל. It is therefore highly probable that the date is the same as that of D, since both relate to the same transaction. The number of the year is here clearly six.

2. יהודי, part of the ה remains; the rest is completed from B 3, יהודי ו בבירת יב, and is fairly certain on grounds of space. The א in באב is probable, but this is the only case of such a spelling.

בהמה, here and in H 4, seems to be a strengthening of זך *that very, the same*. For the termination cf. אמה. It may perhaps be compared with דכן, a strengthened form of דך *the aforesaid*, in Dan. ii. 31; vii. 20. If in אלה the termination implies the 3rd pers. plural (Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, § 110), that would be a different formation. זכה stands in both cases before its noun (in the emphatic state), whereas דכן in Daniel stands in both cases after its noun.

3. בי, not a scribal error, since it occurs again in the companion deed, D 3. The ן must be a numeral. Land sufficient for one house?

4. אתרוהי *concerning it*, as in E 7. The sense is no doubt derived from that of *following after*; cf. אחר *in consequence*, E 5.

מסך as in *RES.*, 246 = Heb. זרת, and like the modern Egyptian *shibr* was probably about 9 inches.

5. בגשתא (in later Hebrew גשה is *a lump or bar of metal*), must be here the *measuring-rod*, still necessary in all measurements of land in Egypt. The native instrument now is usually of bamboo (as in Ezek. xl. 3), but this seems to have been of metal.

בני, perhaps in a wider sense *to lay out* land.

עתי is more like עתר. In either case it must mean to stock with cattle; cf. Prov. xxiv. 27 (ועתדה בשדה לך).

בחמיתה may be בחמיתה, but the י is very close to the ת and seems to be merely the beginning of another letter which was corrected to ת.

6. כנו, adverbially as before—*therein*.

7. רחמת, a noun, elsewhere רחמן.

בנין, a general term, *children*.

8. חבנה as in ll. 5 and 14, *lay out*.

תשמאך, probably a technical term for *divorce*.

10. תיתעל. Must be Haphel of נעל with an active meaning as in D 18. Two cases seem to be contemplated: if she divorced him, she was to have none of the property; if he put her away, it was to be divided.

11. בביתא evidently means the house and land together.

13. ארשנך is equivalent to אנרנך in B 11, but רשי is the commoner root. Both mean to *stir up* legal proceedings. So also עדי in D 17. The construction with double accusative (or dative of the person, in the suffix, and accusative of the thing) is the same with both רשי and עדי.

16. עתרשורי, an Aramaic name. His father's name is Babylonian. The names of the witnesses are confirmed by the end of D.

D.

Papyrus bought by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37114).

(1) On the 21st of Chisleu, that is the 1st of Mesore, the 6th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah (2) the son of Yedoniah, a Jew holding property in Yeb the fortress, belonging to the quarter of Hâumadâta, to the maid (?) Mibhtaḥyah (3) his daughter, saying: I have given thee during my lifetime and after my death 1 house of my land. Its (4) measurement is: in length from the lower to the upper end 13 cubits and 1 handbreadth; in width from east (5) to west 11 cubits by the measuring-rod; its boundaries are:—at the upper end of it, the house of Dargman the son of Ḥarshin (6) adjoining it; at its lower end the house of Qoniyah the son of Zadok; east of it the house of Yezan (*sic*) the son of (7) Uriah thy husband and the house of Zechariah the son of Nathan; west of it the house of Espemet the son of Peḥ'ônit (8) the cataract sailor. This house as an estate I have given thee during my lifetime and after my death; (9) thou hast full rights over it from this day and for ever, and thy children after thee; to whomsoever (10) thou desirest thou mayest give (it); there is no other son or daughter of mine, brother or sister or wife (11) or other person who has a right over this estate, but only thou and thy children for ever. Whoever (12) shall institute against thee suit or process, against thee, or son or daughter of thine, or any one belonging to thee on account of this estate (13) which I have given thee, and shall bring up against thee prefect and judge, he shall pay thee and thy children (14) the sum of 10 *kebhes* (that is ten), royal standard, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten, and no suit or process (shall lie). (15) And the house is thy house assuredly and thy children's after thee, and they shall have no power to produce against thee (16) any deed new or old in my name about this estate in order to give (it) to any one else: that (= any) deed (17) which they shall produce against thee will be false; I have not written it, and it shall not be acknowledged in court (18) while this deed (is) in thy possession. And moreover I Mahseiah will neither to-morrow nor any other day take (it) (19) from thee to give (it) to another: this estate is thine, build (on it) and give (it) to whomsoever thou desirest. (20) If to-morrow or any other day I shall institute against thee suit or process, and shall say, I have not given (it) to thee, (21) I will pay thee the sum of 10 *kebhes*, royal standard, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten, and neither suit (22) nor process (shall lie). And the house is thy house assuredly, so that should I go into court I shall not win my case while this deed is in thy possession. (23) Moreover there is a deed of conveyance which Dargman the son of Ḥarshin the Chorasmian wrote for me concerning (24) this estate when he instituted an action about it before the judges, and I made oath to him and swore to him (25) that it was mine; and he wrote a deed of conveyance and gave (it) to me. That deed I have given to thee; (26) do thou keep possession of it. If to-morrow or any later day Dargman or his son shall bring an action (27) concerning this house, produce this deed and institute an action against him therewith. 'Athar-shûri (28) the son of Nabû-zira-ibni has written this deed in Syenê the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah. Witnesses thereto: (29) witness Gemariah son of Mahseiah, witness Zechariah the son of Nathan, (30) witness Hosea the son of Pelaliah, witness Zechariah the son of Meshullam, witness Me'ozyah the son of (31) Malchiah; witness Shemaiah the son of Yedoniah, witness Yedoniah the son of Mahseiah, (32) witness Nathan the son of Ananiah, Zaccur the son of Zephaniah, (33) witness Hosea the son of Re'ûyah, witness Maḥaseh (*sic*) the son of Isaiah, (34) witness Hosea the son of Yigdal.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(35) Deed concerning 1 house [which] Maḥaseh (*sic*) the son of Yedon[iah gave] (36) to Mibhtaḥ[yah] the daughter of Maḥaseh (*sic*).

1. The date is 459, as that of C, to which this is closely related. They were written by the same scribe, and many of the expressions used are the same.

After מן the papyrus is creased, but probably nothing is lost and the numeral is 1. After מנ׳ it is likely that the number is 6, as in C, so that the ן is only the way of writing the final stroke.

2. בשן. The reading is certain. It must be some qualification of the following name. In mediaeval Jewish *ketûbôth* the bride is always described as בתולה or אלמנה, as the case may be, and perhaps this word means *girl* [בשן, cf. Arab. بَشَّ *to grow up*, بَشٌّ *a young person, grown up*]. It was apparently Miphṭahyah's first marriage.

3. ארק ילי ו בי=ילי ו בי ארק in C 3, so that בי must denote some sort of measurement.

4. ארכה, probably the fem. noun (BA. אֹרֶךְ) in apposition with משתתה. The words תרתה and עלה are nouns, meaning North and South respectively; see note on A 5.

5. בעשתא. The papyrus is crushed together, so that the ע has disappeared and the א is almost like a י, but by comparison with C 5 there can be no doubt about the word.

6. יונה=ון. Cf. above on מחסה, A 9.

8. טיא קטיא as in B 11.

ביתא זנך ארק corresponds to בי ו ארק in l. 3.

10. לא is practically certain, though the papyrus is crushed and the א looks like י.

11. איש as used in these enumerations seems to be a general inclusive term, *person* or perhaps *dependant*.

ארקא here corresponds to the בי ו ארק of ll. 3, 8. The land was the important thing; the house went with it as a 'fixture' and also indicated the amount of the land.

12. דכב, the first ב is lost owing to a crease in the papyrus.

13. ויקבל עליכי פקן *complain [to] the prefect against you.* In later Aramaic it would be לקבלא

פקן, the Zoganes of Berossus, Assyrian *sakna, governor* or *prefect*, with ן for *k* as in the name of Tiglath-pileser; cf. Jer. li. 23, Dan. iii. 2 &c. The use of פקן ודין here, *prefect and magistrate* (or *law-suit?*) makes it possible that the parallel phrase דין ודכב means *judge and plaintiff*, and not as translated throughout these deeds, but the Assyrian formula is against this; see note on B 12.

14. יו עשרה *simply* to guard against misunderstanding or alteration of the numeral, as we should write '£10 (ten pounds).'

19. The slightly larger space after לאחרנן shows that ארקא belongs to the next sentence.

בני as before probably *lay it out.*

23. מסר מרחק, a deed of *alienation* of property, or *renunciation* of claim, i.e. a *conveyance*. It refers to B, which is so named on the docket. The following ן is the numeral *one*.

24. מעינת, if מעוך in B 6 is Peal, *they made you tale*, this is probably Pael, *I took*. It can hardly be the internal passive since it has the accusative ממנא.

27. עורי, imperat. fem. of ערר in a transitive sense, *awaken, set in motion*, like רשי and מרי above. In later Hebrew עורר דין על מ׳ is a legal phrase. There is a crease in the papyrus. The ו must have been there, judging from the appearance of the letters on the same crease in the lines above, but it has almost disappeared. The right-hand edge of its down-stroke is just discernible beside that of the ר.

27–34. Scribe and witnesses are the same as in C.

35. The docket is very much broken. The בי is clear. The following space might be filled up with ארק ו, but there is a trace of the tail of a ב before מחסה, suggesting בי ו ו יהב, which is also more probable.

36. למבמה is certain. It is either an abbreviation, or a popular form like מחסה; cf. note on A 9.

E.

Papyrus bought by Lady William Cecil (No. 37108).

(1) On the 3rd of Chisleu, that is the 10th day of the month Mesore, the 19th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Mahseiah the son of (2) Yedoniah, an Aramaean of Syênê, belonging to the quarter of Wartzath, to Miphṭaḥyah (*sic*) his daughter, saying: I have given thee the house (3) which Meshullam the son of Zaccur the son of Ater, an Aramaean of Syênê, gave me for its price, and wrote a deed for me in regard to it, (4) and I have given it to Miphṭaḥyah my daughter in return for the goods which she gave me when I was *hnds* in (the) citadel. I took them in exchange, (5) and did not find money and goods to pay thee. Therefore I have given thee this house (6) in return for those thy goods, equivalent to the sum of 5 *kebhes*, and I have given thee the original deed which was w[ritten] (7) for me by the said Meshullam respecting it. This house I have given to thee, and have renounced all claim to it; it is thine, and thy children's (8) after thee, and to whom[soever thou desire]st thou mayest give it. I shall have no power, I and my children, and my descendants, and any one (9) else, to institute against thee suit or process on account of this house which I have given thee, and about which I have written the deed for thee. (10) Whoever shall raise against thee suit or process, (whether) I myself or brother or sister, relative or stranger, foreign resident or citizen, (11) he shall pay thee the sum of 10 *kebhes*, [and the] house is assuredly thine. Moreover, no one else shall be able to produce against thee a deed, (12) whether new or old, except this deed which I have written and given thee. [Who]ever shall pro[duce] against thee a deed, I have not w[ritten it]. (13) Moreover, behold these are the boundaries of this house: at the upper end of it is the house of Ye'or the son of [Pe]nûliah, at its lower end (14) the chapel of the god Yahu; east of it the house of Gadôl the son of Oshea (*sic*) and the street running between them; (15) west of it is [the land] of Mardûk (??) the son of Palṭo, the priest of the gods [Khnûm and Sa]ti. This house (16) I have given to thee, and have renounced all claim to it; it is thine for ever; and to [whom]soever thou shalt wish, give (it). (17) Nathan

the son of Ananiah has written this deed at the dictation of Mahseiah, and the witnesses are—Mahseiah has written it for (18) himself—: Mithḥasdah (?) the son of Mithḥasdah (?), and S[atibarzanes] the son of Athar-ili the silversmith, (19) witness Barbarī the son of Dargī the silversmith of the fire-temple (?), [witness . . .] the son of Shemaiah, (20) Zaccur the son of Shallum.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(21) Deed on the part of Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah [to Miphṭaḥyah] his daughter.

1. The date is 446 B.C.

III ב is probable. If it were II בך there would be more space between ך and II, even allowing for the fact that the upper part of the papyrus has been shifted slightly to the right.

2. למסמחיה. This form, which is found elsewhere, shows that ס had much the same sound as the soft ב. It also interchanges with consonantal ו in מטענית for מסמ'.

לביתא, the ל marks the direct object, as in l. 5.

3. [ב]רטה[י] *for its price.* The י has disappeared owing to a break in the papyrus. רטי occurs again in l. 6. In G שה is used.

עלא *about it*, used adverbially without a dependent word, see note on בנו A 15.

4. יהבת must be 3rd pers. fem., since the 2nd pers. fem. would be יהבתי, but the deed goes on in the 2nd person.

חנרז. This word occurs in a similar connexion in Str. B 2, בדי תן הנרז יהון בברא דך סיא שחין (*RÉS.*, 361), where, however, the facsimile seems to read הנראו. In Bab. Talm. *Gittin* 60 b (מכר מיסבר ואשקי בהינרוא) Rashi explains הנרוא אוצמורא כמי מה שיעלה לך לדלת . . . (*avanture*), which would suit these two passages very well, but there is no support for the meaning *chance*. The *Arukh* identifies it with the more common חנרם *to measure*, and in *B. Bathra* 89 b on (יסי) מחנרזי Rashi says they were הולכין ובאין מסתים של מלך לברור את המאזנין, i.e. *inspectors of weights and measures*, and refers to *Ḥullin* 43 a. From both forms there are several derivatives in Arabic and Rabbinical Hebrew. The last letter was no doubt originally ז, afterwards weakened to ם. It seems to be borrowed from the Persian (mod. اندازه from اندازيدن *to measure*) and as being a Persian word was no doubt the title of an official of the Persian government. It is to be noted that both in Str. and in *Gittin* the word refers to water in some way. Also in Arabic (v. Lane, s.v. هندز and هندس) the proper meaning is that of taking measurements for water-channels. Perhaps, therefore, the meaning here is *measurer* (of water), i.e. *controller of the water-supply*, and in Str. *so that if he kept control of the water-supply, they might be able to drink water in this well.*

בבירת must be for בבירתא, since אפלה is a verb.

אפלה. The ם is almost certain: cf. Assyr. *apālu, to take in exchange.*

5. חמו the separate pronoun is used as accusative here, and perhaps in G 35.

אחר adverbially *afterwards*, hence *consequently.*

6. רטי, the noun, cf. l. 3.

כתב, the top of the כ and tail of the ת are visible.

7. אחרוהי *in consequence of it = concerning it*, as in C 4.

רחקת מנה *I have withdrawn from it = renounced my rights to it*, cf. l. 16, F 6, J 4, &c.

דילכי for די only in this deed (also ll. 11, 16).

8. אכל cannot be a mistake for אכהל. It occurs also in G 31, 35 and is future (written defectively) of יכל; cf. יכל below in l. 11 = יָכֵל Dan. iii. 29, both roots (כהל and יכל) being used, as in Daniel.

10. ובב, a mere mistake for ורבב.

בעל רגל, completed from A 9, where see note.

11. ובית should be ובתא, perhaps a mistake.

אם is a mistake for אמה.

12. יגבק is probable. It should be יתבק as in l. 11, but there is no room for the ת, unless the papyrus is a good deal more disarranged than appears. If it is not a mistake (and this scribe is very inaccurate) it is another instance of the weakness of ת.

מס, a mistake for מסר.

13. [ש]ר is probable. The name is a doublet of אוריה. A son of Penṭiḥah is called Jezaniah in J 19.

14. אגורא occurs in the Targums with the meaning of an *altar* of a heathen deity. Here, however, as an unenclosed altar of Yahu can hardly have stood by the side of the street, some sort of enclosure must be included in the term, so that *chapel* or *shrine* seems to be the most likely translation. That there should have been an altar at all proves the complete toleration which the Jews must have enjoyed. What is most interesting is that it was not merely a synagogue but an altar which was dedicated to Yahu at Elephantinê; cf. Isa. xix. 19. (This can hardly be the same as the אגורא of A.)

יהה only here for יהו in B and J.

רשקא appears to be the same as the *king's highway* in J 6.

15. ארק. Traces of the ק remain.

מרדוך is certainly not right; all the letters are doubtful. Can it be מכרך?

מלכו, cf. the Hebrew name מלכי and the Rabbinical מלכו.

אלהיא is practically certain. The ת before it can only be סתי, who is mentioned in F 5.

לחנום is supplied as being the usual companion of Sati, but it is not certain that the name fits the traces of letters remaining. Perhaps we should read יו חנם or יו לחנם. They were the two deities of the Cataract. In spite of being apparently a foreigner the man could be a priest of Egyptian gods.

16. תצבן, the ם of the word below conceals the tail of the ן but the reading is certain.

17. דמהריא usually without ו. Here it may depend on במם, *at the dictation of M. and the witnesses.*

ברי. Mahseiah signed the deed himself, contrary to the usual practice, and apparently this is what the words are meant to convey. But his writing is very unskilful and the reading of ברי is as uncertain as its meaning. The ר is more like the כ in l. 20, or it may be a ד. Can ברי נפשה mean *being clear in his mind, in full possession of his faculties?* (Cf. a similar phrase in e.g. a Jewish-Arabic deed attesting a will, Bodleian MS. Heb. c. 28, fol. 62 והו פי צחה עקלה ישתם מא יקול ומא יקאל לה). Or is it ברי *in accordance with his wishes?* The words כתב—נפשה interrupt the sentence.

18. The first מתחסרה has the appearance of being written by Mahseiah. The reading is probable. In both names the ס and ח are written together in a sort of ligature, as also in מחסיה in l. 17.

שתברין is supplied from A 16 (twenty-five years earlier), but it is not very probable. It would hardly fit the remains of the letters, and the ו would be unusual before it.

19. ברברי. A country to the south of Egypt called Barbar or Barbartu is mentioned in Egyptian texts, as well as another of the same name to the north of Syria.

דרגי. Cf. דרגא A 18, perhaps the same name.

אתרא. Cf. אתרה B 2.

The name of the other witness is entirely lost.

21. למסמחיה, traces of the מ only remain.

F.

Papyrus bought by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37112).

(1) On the 13th (14th ?) of Ab, that is the 19th day of Pachons, the 25th year of Artaxerxes the king, said Pi' (2) the son of Paḥi, a builder belonging to Syênê the fortress, to Mibhṭaḥyah the daughter of Mahseiah the son of Yedonia, (3) the Aramaeans of Syênê, belonging to the quarter of Wartzath, at the court of the Hebrews in Syênê: Let us make a division as regards the money (4) and grain and clothing and bronze and iron, all the goods and chattels, and a quittance I will give. Then an oath (5) has been imposed upon thee, and thou hast sworn to me in regard to them by the goddess Sati, and my heart is content (6) with this oath which thou hast made to me in regard to these goods, and I renounce my claim on thee from (7) this day and for ever. I shall have no power to raise against thee suit or process, against thee or son (8) or daughter of thine on account of these goods in regard to which thou hast sworn to me. If I have raised against thee (9) suit or process, or son or daughter of mine has raised (it) against thee, on account of this oath, I Pi' and my children (10) will pay to Mi[bh]ṭaḥyah the sum of 5 *kebhes*, royal standard, and no suit or process (shall lie), (11) and I withdraw from all suit and process. Petisis the son of Nebo-nathan has written this deed (12) in Syênê the fortress at the dictation of Pi' the son of Paḥi. Witnesses thereto: Nebo-reʿi the son of Nebo-nathan, (13) Lûḥi the son of Mannu-ki, ʿOdnahar the son of Dûmâ, Nebo-reʿi the son of Ostanes.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(14) Deed of quittance which Pi' has written for Mibh[ṭaḥyah].

The date is 440 B.C.

1. The first numeral may be either 13 or 14. As to the others there is no question.

מיא, probably an Egyptian name.

2. פחי. Cf. פחה, *CIS.*, 146, A 11.

ארדיכל, probably Assyrian *arad-ekalli, servant of the palace.*

3. עברן, no doubt so to be read, though the ר is more like ד and the ן like ף.

The mention of the *tribunal of the Hebrews* throws an interesting light on the position of the Jews in Egypt. Interesting also is the name (עברן) given to it. The court was probably not confined to the Jews, but was used by all who were *beyond the river*, as the district west of the Euphrates was termed. Two Babylonian contracts of the first and third years of Darius describe Tatnai as *governor of Ebir-nâri, beyond the river* (as in Ezra v. 6), and at an earlier date, in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, king of Tyre (K. 3500), the gods of Phoenicia are called the gods of Ebir-nâri. It was possibly the influence of this official name of Syria and Palestine that caused the old name of 'Hebrews' to be revived. Cf. Cooke, p. 346 sq., and references there.

נפרת, the ר might be a ד. If אנתן is right in l. 4 a future would be natural here, and נפרת may be taken as 1st person plur. fut. of פרת to *make a division.*

4. Materials for his trade as a builder, supplied apparently by Mibhṭaḥyah. The money and corn to pay the workmen, the rest for use in building. כל נכסן וקנין, general terms including these and any not specially mentioned, equivalent to *and other things.*

אנתן is probably meant, but the ן is like a ו.

5. מטאת *has come* upon thee, i.e. *has been taken* by you. On the curious fact that the Jewess Mibhṭaḥyah swears in the court of the Hebrews by the Egyptian goddess Sati, see Introduction, p. 10.

ושיב לבבי, a common phrase in Hebrew (e.g. 2 Sam. xiii. 28) and Aramaic. As a legal formula it is derived from the Babylonian, *libbalu ṭâb*, &c.

6. רבא here and רבי in l. 9, only in this deed, for זך.

8. אלני. A very interesting form, used in speaking to a feminine person, showing that the termination in ך, אלך still kept the sense of the and person, *ide.*

9. ברלי and בראלי, written as one word, the לי being regarded as little more than a suffix.

בריא for בריה indicates that there was little distinction between the pronunciation of א and ה.

10. אנתן. The בני in l. 9 is added as an afterthought and does not affect the construction.

למבמה, a mistake for למבמ'.

11. מטאסי. Another example of the Egyptianizing of foreign settlers in Syênê: the Babylonian father gives his son the Egyptian name Petisis. The brother (l. 12), who may have been by a different mother, bears the Babylonian name Nebu-reʿî (probably for -reʿya, *Nebo is my shepherd*).

13. Lûḥi is found in Babylonian contracts. Mannukî is a shortened form of Mannu-ki-ili &c. *who is like God* (= Michael).

G.

Papyrus in two parts; one part bought by Lady William Cecil and the other by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37110).

(1) On the 26th (?) of Tishri . . . . ., the 6th (?) [day] of the month Epiph[i, the 25th year of Artaxerxes the king], (2) said As-Ḥor the son of [Teos], a builder to the king, to Mah[seiah] an [A]ramaean of Syênê, belonging to the quarter (3) of Wartzath, saying: I came to thy house for thee to give me thy daughter Miphṭa[h]yah (*sic*) to wife; (4) she is my wife, and I am her husband, from this day and for ever. I have given thee as the marriage settlement (5) of thy daughter Miphṭaḥyah [the sum of] 5 shekels, royal standard; it is accepted by thee, and thy heart is content (6) therewith. I have delivered into the hand of [thy daughter] Miphṭaḥyah as mone[y] for an outfit (?) 1 *kebhes*, 2 shekels, royal (7) standard, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten; I have delivered into her hand 1 garment of wool, new, embroidered, (8) dyed on both sides (?), 8 cubits long by 5, [w]orth the sum of 2 *kebhes*, 8 shekels, (9) royal standard; 1 closely-woven shawl, new, 7 cubits long by 5, worth (10) the sum of 8 shekels, royal [sta]ndard; another garment of spun wool, (11) 6 cubits long by 4 (3 ?), worth the sum of 6 (7 ?) shekels; 1 mirror of bronze, worth (12) the sum of 1 shekel 2 *d.*; 1 tr[ay] of bronze, worth the sum of 1 shekel 2 *d.*; 2 cups of bronze, (13) worth the sum of [3] shekels; 1 [b]owl of bronze, worth the sum of 2 *d.*: all the money (14) and the value of the goods (amounting to) the sum of 6 *kebhes*, 5 shekels, 20 *ḥallurin*, at the rate of 2 *d.* to the ten, royal (15) standard. There is accepted by me [and] my heart is [con]tent therewith: 1 . . . . of papyrus (?), in which are 4 . . . . (16) of stone; 1 . . which rises up with 2 handles, value 8 *ḥallurin*; 1 . . . .; 1 new ivory cosmetic-box. (17) (If) to-morrow or any la[te]r day As-Ḥor shall die, having no issue, whether male or female, (18) by Mi[phṭaḥ]yah his wife, Miphṭaḥyah shall have full rights over the house (19) of As-Ḥor, and [his] goods and chattels, and all that he has on the face of the earth (20) without exception. (If) to-morrow or [any later] day Miphṭaḥyah shall die having no issue, whether male or female, (21) by As-Ḥor her husband, As-Ḥor shall be heir to her goods (22) and her chattels. (If) to-morrow [or] any later day [Miph]ṭaḥyah shall stand up in the congregation (23) and shall say: I divorce As-Ḥor my husband, the price of divorce shall be on her head; she shall return to (24) the scales and she shall weigh for [As-]Ḥor the sum of 5 (6 ?) shekels 2 *d.*, and all which I have delivered (25) into her hand she shall give back, both . . and thread, and she shall go away whithersoever she will, and no (26) suit or process (shall lie). (If) to-morrow or any later day As-Ḥor shall stand up in the congregation (27) and say: I divorce my [w]ife Miphṭaḥyah, her marriage-settlement [shall] be forfeited, and all that I have delivered (28) into her hand, she shall give back, both . . and thread, in one day, at one time, and she shall go (29) away whithersoever she will, so that neither suit nor process (shall lie). And [if] he shall rise up against Miphṭaḥyah (30) to drive her away from the house of As-Ḥor and his goods and his chattels, he shall pay her (31) the sum of 20 *kebhes*, and (the terms of) this deed shall hold good for her; and I shall have no power to say: (32) I have a[nother] wife than Miphṭa[h]yah, and other children than the children which (33) Miphṭaḥyah shall bear to me. If I shall say: I have chil[dren] and wife other than (34) Miphṭaḥyah and her children, I will pay Miphṭaḥyah the sum of 20 *kebhes*, royal (35) standard, and I shall not have power [to take aw]ay my goods and my chattels from Miph[ṭaḥ]yah. And if I shall have removed them (36) from her [*erasure*] I will pay Miphṭaḥyah [the sum of] 20 *kebhes*, roy[al] standard. (37) Nathan the son of Ananiah has written [this deed at the dictation of As-Ḥor], and the witnesses thereto (are): (38) Penûliah the son of Jezaniah, [Jezan]iah the son of U[riah], Menahem the son of [Z]accur, (39) witness, ...

This is the most difficult of all these texts, partly owing to its broken condition and partly to the many strange words it contains.

1. The first numeral and Tishri are fairly certain. שלש ו are doubtful, and it is difficult to see what they could mean. Probably the second numeral is complete. The number of

the year is lost, the above being only a conjecture from fragments which do not appear on the facsimile.

The scribe, Nathan, appears as a witness in C and D in 459 B.C., and also wrote E, which is dated 446. In 459 Jezaniah is already the husband of Mibḥṣaḥyah, and a house is settled upon her in that year by her father on her marriage. In 446, when E was drawn up, there is no mention of Jezaniah, who would appear to have been dead, while from H 6–12 we gather that As-Ḥor also was dead in 421 and that his two sons were then old enough to act as principals in an action at law. In F, dated 440 B.C., Mibḥṣaḥyah swears by Saṭi and not by Yahu, which may indicate that she was then the wife of the Egyptian As-Ḥor, and it is conceivable that the house described in E was settled upon her by her father at the time of her second marriage, or was in settlement of all liabilities just before her marriage. At all events the date of this deed cannot be earlier than 446 and is hardly later than 440.

3. אתיתי here with accusative. In A 3 with קל (= Hebr. אל).

לתתן, a curious, loose construction: *for you to give me.*

ברתך is practically certain from the tails of the letters which remain. There is a slight trace of the ל before it, and ל is required by the space.

מתמיה, a mistake for מתמי.

לאנתי is clear. It seems to be a mistake for לאנתתי or לאנתתה.

4. We probably have here the formula which gave validity to a marriage ceremony. The *mohar* given by the bridegroom to the bride's family corresponds to the Heb. מהר (*price* of a wife, e.g. Gen. xxxiv. 12) and the Babylonian *tirḥatu* or *marriage settlement* (see Exod. xxii. 16), which is distinguished in early Babylonian law from the *nudunnu* or gift of the bridegroom to the bride (Arab. نُحْلَة 'donatio inter virum et uxorem') and the *seriqtu* or *dowry* which was brought by the bride from her father's house. In later Babylonian law the *nudunnu* became a gift from the bride to the bridegroom, and as such passed into Hebrew as the *nadunyah* of the Talmud. For a similar gift from bride to bridegroom, see Joshua xv. 18 sqq. In early Arab law the *mohar* was not necessarily paid to the father-in-law, but might be given to the bride; cf. Gen. xxxi. 15 sqq. Unfortunately in this deed, owing to the fact that Aramaic makes no difference between the 1st and 3rd persons masc. sing. perfect, it is difficult to be sure how the transaction took place.

5. על עלך *it has come to you*, i.e. *you have accepted it.*

6. הנעלה *I deliver?* We should expect a connecting word.

הכתנה probably means something like *outfit.* Cf. Nahum ii. 10.

LL. 6–16 are the most difficult in all these texts. For the words see Glossary.

7. עמר is written קמר in H 5, cf. ארקא and ארקא.

8. אריך, on the analogy of פתי, is probably a noun.

In modern Egypt the *lifi* or roll of material worn by ladies under the *ḥabara* is about 3 yards long by 1 in width. The rolls of cloth made in Upper Egypt are even longer.

In the Fifth Dynasty cemetery at Deshasheh, Prof. Petrie found pieces of clothing material, one of which measured 28 feet 10 inches by 47 inches, and another 30 feet 2 inches by 45 inches[1]. Pieces of fine linen of similar size, with fringes and the name of the owner marked in black ink at the corner, were found by M. Palanque in a Tenth Dynasty tomb at Siût.

צבע ידין *dyed by hand* would be the natural meaning. Perhaps *dyed on both sides.* The dual is found in Dan. ii. 34, 45.

10. נשתם, note the Niphal form. On Jer. ix. 8 the Jewish commentators explain שיתם (Qerê for שחתם) as = נמשך *drawn out* (Qimḥi *offlin*). Cf. also דתב שיתם, 2 Chron. ix. 15. The meaning *to slaughter* (animals) is said to be derived from that of *drawing* the knife across the throat. The root שיתם is not found in Aramaic. Perhaps *drawn out*, i.e. *flow-spun*, is the meaning here.

12. חמחי, the חמ are clear; the י is probable from the trace left; the papyrus between is crushed and the slanting stroke may be the left-hand side of a ח which would just fill the space.

14. חלין ך, the numeral is fairly certain. It might possibly be ן ך.

II ר, the ר is written like a ך.

15. שי ובי, the meaning is quite uncertain. שי in the Targums is a *couch.* נמא ought to mean *papyrus*, but what could be made of papyrus which would have anything of stone in it? Handles of wood or porcelain inlaid with stones and shaped like the stalk and flower of the papyrus, were not uncommon in ancient Egypt, and served to hold fly-whisks, mirrors, &c. On the other hand, the *four* stone things suggest an instrument resting on four legs. Can it be a couch made of reeds, with four stone feet?

15a added above the line, seems to be intended to follow II כמן.

חקם. Cf. ריקם, Gen. xxiii. 17. Why it is feminine here is not clear.

20. After חם the word אתרן has been omitted by mistake.

22. The wife has the same power to divorce as the husband, but it must be publicly done in both cases, *in an assembly.*

23. כבף שבאה, the *penalty of divorce*, see on C 8. The penalty for the party pronouncing divorce was the loss of the gift brought at marriage by the other party.

24. I II III שקלן. If the final stroke is to be read, it is probably not part of the numeral, as the money seems to represent the *mohar*, which was 5 shekels (l. 5).

II ר, probably for לרי II ר.

25. כן חם עד חמו for *everything*, is curious. Cf. Gen. xiv. 23 מחוט ועד שרוך נעל in the same sense. The meaning of חם is very obscure.

לתאן here seems to be written as one word, i.e. תאן *where*, with ל prefixed. In l. 29 it is distinctly לת אן, i.e. לת the complement of the verb (as in לך לך) and אן *where*. Perhaps it is so meant here. Cf. the phrase in Jewish divorces למאן דתתנסבא לכל גבר דתצבין (Mish. *Git.* ix. 3), and the Babylonian *ašar ṣibâta tallak, thou shalt go whithersoever thou wilt*, said to the divorced woman.

26. ידין, probably only a mistake for דין.

28. בבף חדה. Evidently a stock legal phrase; *in one act, all at one time.*

29. כן is very uncertain. The ן may be a ו belonging to ולא, which we should expect, but then it is difficult to see what the preceding character could be. If כן is right, לא כן must be equivalent to בלא.

31. [כר]ען seems to be the only possible completion.

33. אתרן is clear. It may be a mistake for אחרן.

35. תר[אתן]. The ר is doubtful. Some word corresponding to הקדת at the end of the line is wanted.

הקדת חמו. It is uncertain whether the pronoun is חם or חמו (probably the latter) and whether it is connected with the verb or separate, as in E 4, 5.

36. קבל סברא אתרן was written and deleted. It is therefore not translated.

39. ריבלו. The letters seem to read so, but the name is impossible.

[1] *Deshasheh: Fifteenth Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, p. 31.

H.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37111).

(1) In the month Elul, that is Pa[ynî], the 3rd [4th?] [y]ear of Darius the king: at that time, in Yeb the fortress, said (2) Menahem and Ananiah, both [sons] of Meshullam the son of Shelomim, Jews of Yeb the fortress, belonging to the quarter of Iddin-Nabu, (3) to Yedoniah and Mahseiah, both sons of As-Ḥor the son of Teos by Mibhṭaḥyah the daughter of Mahseiah, Jews, (4) belonging to the same quarter, saying: [We] sued you in the court of Napha before the lieutenant of the governor Widrang (5) the commander of the garrison, saying: There are goods (consisting of) garments of wool and linen, utensils of bronze and iron, utensils of wood (6) and ivory, corn, &c. And we pleaded, saying: As-Ḥor your father received (them) from Shelomim the son of Azariah, and also (7) said: They are things which are on trust; and they gave them on trust (?), but he kept possession and did not deliver (them) back to him. And accordingly we sue you. (8) Then you inquired into (the case), and thou Yedoniah and Mahseiah sons of As-Ḥor have satisfied our heart respecting these goods, (9) and our heart is content in the matter: from this [day] for ever I Menahem and Ananiah, we renounce our claim on thee. (10) From this day for eve[r] we shall have n[o] power, we and our sons and our daughters and brothers and any one belonging to us, relative or citizen, (11) shall have no power to institute against you, Yedoniah and Mahseiah, suit or process, (and) they shall have no power to sue your children (12) and your brothers and any one belonging to you [on ac]count of the goods and money, corn, &c., of Shelomim the son of Azariah. And if we (13) or our sons or our daughters or any one belonging to us or the family of Shelomim the son of Azariah shall sue you or shall sue your sons or your daughters (14) or any one belonging to you or whomsoever they shall sue therefor, he shall pay to you or your children or whomsoever they shall sue a fine (15) of the sum of ten *kebhes*, royal [standar]d at the rate of 2 *d.* to one *kebhes*; and he shall afterwards withdraw from (all claim to) these goods (16) in respect of which we sue; and no suit or process (shall lie). Me'oziah the son of Nathan has written this deed at the dictation of Menahem and Ananiah both (17) sons of Meshullam the son of Shelomim; witness: [Me]nahem the son of Gadôl, Gadôl the son of Berechiah, Menahem the son of Azariah, (18) witness Hodaviah the son of Zaccu[r the son] of Oshaiah (*sic*).

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(19) Deed which has been written by Menahem and Ananiah [both] sons of Menahem (*sic*) the son of (20) Shelomim [for Yedoni]ah and Mahseiah both sons of As-Ḥor the son of Teos.

The sealing of the roll bears the impression of a scarab representing the name of Amon-Ra.

1. In the numeral the last stroke certainly looks as though it did not belong to the number.

The date is accordingly 420 or 421 B. C.

3. עזאה. On a British Museum ostracon (*CIS.*, 138, B 1) a עזאה is mentioned who was son of חברמיתן.

4. לכם. See note on C 2.

It is curious that the action should not have been brought before the 'court of the Hebrews' considering that both the parties were Jews, while in F one of them is shown by his name Pî' to have belonged to some other (Egyptian?) nationality. Both cases were alike concerned with real property. Possibly the Egyptian origin of the father of Yedoniah and Mahseiah may account for the difference.

נפא. See Glossary.

דמנדין פרתרך וידרנג are probably to be so read, though there is the usual difficulty in distinguishing between ר and ד. All three look like Persian words. They can hardly be all proper names, for then they would be connected by ו. In Str. פרתרך occurs in connexion, as here, with וידרנג (so read for וידזנג). The explanation *ediktum* there proposed is unconvincing, and is here impossible. M. Clermont-Ganneau (*RÉS.*, p. 296) compares פרתמים (Esther i. 3 &c.) and rightly points out that it is the title of some official. If the reading there is correct (and the facsimiles are not sufficiently clear to warrant disagreement from so eminent a palaeographer as Prof. Euting), and if תנה can have the meaning *there*, it would be simplest to take וידרנג as a proper name and translate *with Widrang who was Fratadak (governor?) there*. The other word דמנדין here might be either a proper name or a title, and we must accordingly translate either *Damandin the lieutenant of Widrang* or better *the lieutenant of the governor Widrang*. Str. makes it improbable that וידרנג is anything but a proper name. Widrang was then commander of the troops quartered at Syênê, and had a representative to hear cases בדין נפא. On a fragment of sandstone from Elephantinê (?) in the Cairo Museum, dated Sivan-Mechir in the 7th year of Artaxerxes, mention is made of 'the son of our lord Ini(a) . . . commander of the forces of Syênê.'

5. קטר = עטר in G 7, 10.

6. רתן should be some sort of material, probably = רתן in G 16. See Glossary.

7. כמקרן is probable and gives a sense. Of ומקרי the remains of the first letter suggest only a ו, the next letter is probably מ, and the rest is clear, but the construction is very awkward. Perhaps we should point ומקרי and treat it as a passive, cf. Dan. iii. 21 &c., Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 224, but it would be the only instance of this passive in the present texts.

8. אחר must be adverbial here, and ישאלתם a verb.

14. [מי ירש(ן] מי ירש(ן. The relative might be either subject or object. In either case the whole construction is awkward, and the change from plural (ירשון in l. 13) to singular (יתן l. 14) must be due to confusion. We might read [כם] מי ירש here as in J 15, but the change of number (לכם . . . יתן מי ירשון) would be equally difficult.

רין is more like ריב, which would be suitable if it were possible in Aramaic.

אביריא, or ירא-, the meaning *fine* or *compensation* is required by the context. It looks like a Persian word and a legal term.

17. נתם[ט]. There is scarcely room for the ט, unless the papyrus is much disarranged. The name נתם, however, does not occur elsewhere in these deeds, and if the ט was not there it may have been omitted by mistake. In J 18 (written by the same scribe) there is a witness Menahem b. Gadol b. Ba'adyah.

18. אוסנה as in the Assyrian form Ausî' for Hosea. On א instead of ה see note on F 9.

19. Menahem is a mistake for Meshullam.

J.

Papyrus bought by Mr. Robert Mond (No. 37113).

(1) On the 3rd of Chisleu, the 7th (8th?) year, that is the 11th (12th?) day of Thoth, the 7th (8th?) year of Darius the king: at that time, in Y(e)b (2) the fortress, said Yedoniah the son of Hoshaiah (*sic*) the son of Uriah, an Aramaean of Yee the fortress, before Widrang the commander of the garrison (3) of Syênê, to Yedoniah the sd. of Nathan and Mahseiah the son of Nathan his brother, their mother being Mibhṭaḥyah the daughter of Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah, before (4) Widrang the commander of the garrison of Syênê, saying: I have relinquished (all claims) against you on the house of Jezaniah the son of Uriah. These are its boundaries: (5) at its upper end the house of Hosea the son of Uriah adjoins it; at its lower end the house of H..nûl the son of Zechariah adjoins it; (6) below it and above are open windows, east of it is the chapel of the god Yahu with the king's road (7) running between them; west [of it] the house of Mibhṭaḥyah the 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 thy (*sic*) children's after you and to whomsoever you desire you may give it. I have no power, I, Yedoniah or my sons (10) or wife or any one belonging to me, I have no power to raise suit or process against you. Moreover, we have no power to sue son or daughter of yours (11), brother or sister, wife or dependant [of yo]urs or any one to whom you shall sell this house or to whom you shall give (it) as a present (12) in the name of me Yedoniah and in the name of my children and wife and dependant of mine. And if I Yedoniah sue you or if (13) any son or daughter of mine, wife or dependant, sue you in my name or in the name of my children, on behalf (?) of son or daughter of Jezaniah the son of Uriah, (14) or shall sue son or daughter or wife or dependant of yours, or any one else to whom you shall sell or to whom you shall make a gift of (15) this house, and whoever shall institute a suit against you, I will pay you a fine of the sum of ten *kebhes*, that is to say 10 *kebhes*, (16) at the rate of 2 *d.* to 1 *kebhes*, royal standard, and the house is assuredly yours for ever and your children's after you as far as concerns (?) (17) the children of Jezan (*sic*) the son of Uriah; and no suit (lies). Me'oziah the son of Nathan has written (this) at the dictation of Yedoniah the son of Hosea. And the witnesses (18) to it (are): Menahem the son of Shallum, Mahseiah the son of Yedoniah, Menahem the son of Gadô[l] the son of Ba'adyah, Yedoniah the son of Meshullam, (19) Yislah the son of Gadôl, Gadôl the son of Berechiah, Jezaniah the son of Penûliah, Ahio the son of Nathan.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(20) Deed of conveyance which Yedoniah the son of Hosea has written in respect of the house of Jezaniah the son of Uriah (21) for Yedoniah the son of Nathan and Mahseiah his brother, both of them.

The seal is a lion with tail erect.

1. The number of the year is given twice, and presumably is the same in both cases, unless two different reckonings are followed, which is unlikely where the numbers are so nearly the same. The last stroke in both is sloping, and it is doubtful therefore whether we read them as 7 or 8. But the arrangement of the last numeral is peculiar. Elsewhere in these deeds the units are always arranged in groups of three. There is a crease in the papyrus here in the second group, and a faint trace of a hidden third stroke may perhaps be discerned. If so, the number would be 𐡩𐡩𐡩 𐡩𐡩𐡩 𐡩𐡩𐡩, which would be regular, but would not agree with the other year-number, unless we assume that the final stroke is counted in one and not in the other. At any rate, if they are to be so read, the number eight is the most probable, and the date will be 417 B.C.

2. ורדינ רב חילא, repeated in l. 4. See on H 4.

3. נתן appears to be another name of As-Ijor. Cf. H 3. It is curious that in H 3 where the father is called by his Egyptian name, the sons are called Jews, but in K 2, where he has a Jewish name, they are called Aramaeans. He must have changed his name (on becoming a Jewish convert?) between the dates of H and J.

5. המגל. The ה and the ל alone are really certain. There is a crease in the papyrus after the ה. The traces of the concealed letter suggest a ת, or ב. The ג might be the left-hand stroke of a ח or a ע (or even ק). The ו is probable. None of the combinations gives any known name. The termination suggests a shortened form of מגולה, like יץ for יגיה, but the ה is against this. It ought to be a Jewish name as being that of a son of Zechariah.

6. בין מחיתן. Cf. Dan. vi. 11. מחיתן is probably so to be read, though the last letter looks like a ה owing to an accidental extra stroke.

אמרא. See on E 14.

7. We should expect the 'king's highway' to have been in Syēnē rather than in Elephantinē.

8. מגל is written as one word; equivalent to (or a mistake for?) מן עלא in A 10, 13.

11. ברחמן. Cf. l. 14 and רחמת in C 7. It corresponds to *ina šêd libbi* in the Babylonian contracts; cf. Peiser, *Keilschr. Akt.* 81.

13 and 16. שמר מן is difficult. It is apparently = Syr. מסר מן, *apart from, except.* In l. 13 Yedoniah accepts responsibility for himself and his own family, but expressly repudiates any liability for the action of (his cousins?) the sons of Jezaniah, the former owners of the house. In l. 16 perhaps it means *as against Jezaniah*, or in spite of any claims on his part.

14. נברן, a mistake for נבר.

15. אנתן, the construction is loose. It probably means *I or any other litigant shall pay.*

17. יץ. See note on A 9, and cf. הישן l. 20.

K.

Papyrus bought by Lady William Cecil (No. 37109).

(1) On the 23rd (24th?) of Shebat, the 13th year, that is the 8th (9th?) day of Athyr, the 13th (14th?) year of Darius the king, in Yeb the fortress, (2) said Mahseiah the son of Nathan (and) Yedoniah the son of Nathan, both being Aramaeans of Syēnē, belonging to the quarter of War[iz]ath, saying: We have agreed (3) together, and have divided between us the slaves of Mibhṭaḥyah our mother, and behold this is the share which comes to thee as (thy) share, even to thee Yedoniah: (4) (one) Petosiris by name, his mother being Tebo, a slave; I have tattooed a *yod* on his right hand, the writing being tattooed in Aramaic like that (5) of Mibhṭaḥyah; and behold this is the share which has come to me as (my) share, even to me Mahseiah: (one) Belo by name, his mother being Tebo, a slave; a *yod* (6) I have tattooed on his right hand, the writing being tattooed in Aramaic like that of Mibhṭaḥyah. Thou, Yedoniah, hast rights over Petosiris (7) this slave, who has come to thee as (thy) share, from this day and for ever, as well as thy children after thee, and to whomsoever thou wilt thou mayst give (him). I have no power, (8) I, Mahseiah, or son or daughter, brother or sister of mine, or any one else belonging to me, to bring an action against [thee] or against thy children in respect of Petosiris, (9) as his name is, the slave who has come to thee as (thy) share. If we sue thee concerning him, we, Mahseiah and my children, or shall sue son (10) or daughter of thine, or any one belonging to thee, in respect of this slave Petosiris who has come to thee as (thy) share, then we will pay thee a fine of pure silver (11), ten *kebhes*, royal weight, and we relinquish all claim on thee, and on thy children, in respect of this Petosiris (12) who has come to thee as (thy) share. He is thine, and thy children's after thee, and to whomsoever thou wilt thou mayest give (him); and no suit (lies). Moreover, there is Tebo, (13) as her name is, the mother of these lads, and Lilû, her son, whom we do not yet divide between us; when the time shall come we will divide them (14) between us, and will each take possession of his share, and write a deed of our division between us; and no

suit (shall lie). Nabu-tukulti the son of Nabu-zira-ibni has written (15) this deed in Yeb the fortress at the dictation of Mahseiah and Yedoniah his brother; witnesses thereto: Menahem the son of Gadôl, (16) witness Hanan the son of Haggai, witness Nathan the son of Yehoadar, witness Shallum the son of Nathan.

Docket on the outside of the roll:

(17) Deed of division of (property, to wit) a slave Petosiris, written by Mahseiah the son of Nathan for Yed[oniah] the son of Nathan his brother.

The date is 411 B.C.

1. In the numbers denoting the year there is the same peculiarity as in J 1. The final stroke in the second year-number is more slanting than in the first, and clearly does not count, so that we should read 13 in each case.

2. After נתן (twice) the slanting stroke seems to be a mark of interpunctuation as in L 4.

3. Mibbṭaḥyah had apparently died before this date.

4. פטוסירי שמה, cf. Ezra v. 14. A תמוסרי is mentioned on ostracon M, obtained at Elephantinê, where it was disinterred by the *sebḫaḫîn* from the rubbish on the north-western side of the old city, immediately to the west of the site of the temple of Amon-hotep III and the citadel. It must have been on this spot that the Jewish residents were settled. On the ostracon something is ordered to be written on the slave's arm 'above the writing that is upon his arm.' שנית seems to refer to this, though there is no evidence for a root שני meaning to *tattoo* (*I* Ass. šanu, to *dye*), and the form שניתת is very strange. Similar tattoo-marks on the wrist or arm are still almost universal in Egypt, the Copts for example being known by a tattooed cross. Cf. Ezek. ix. 4, 6. A mark had already been tattooed by Mibbṭaḥyah upon the slave, and it was an Aramaic letter, not an Egyptian hieroglyph or a cuneiform character. The alphabet used by the Jews, we thus learn, was called Aramaic. If יד is to be taken as the name of the letter, the mark after it must be intended to indicate this, like the mediaeval Hebrew way of writing י"ד (or the pesiq in the O. T., calling attention to something unusual). It is interesting to find the name used so early. In the first case a י is intelligible as being the initial of Yedoniah, but why should Mahseiah's slave be marked with a י? The lines no doubt refer to tattooing, though the translation of them is difficult. The expression ידה בימן (ll. 4, 6) is also very strange.

8. דינן seems to be the only possible way of reading the word. The letters are badly made and if they are to be so read, the word may be a mistake for דין, or possibly it is the plural, *judges*, since in l. 9 דינא is used in the corresponding phrase. In any case it should follow the verb according to the usage of these deeds.

9. רשינכם דינא, lit. *stir up the judge* (or *court*), which suggests that the common phrase דין ודבב really means *judge and plaintiff*, but cf. note on D 13.

11. באבני סלמא = בשחקלת סלמא elsewhere.

13. ברה must be *her son*.

16. ידאמר, perhaps we should read יתאמר, but it would be a strange form, equivalent to אמריה. Cf. יאמר, E 13.

L.

MS. Aram. c. 1 (P) in the Bodleian Library.

(1) [. . . . said *X* to *Y*] son of Yathma, saying: Thou hast given me the sum of (2) [4 shekels?] according to the standard of Ptaḥ, at the rate of one shekel to the ten, for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 *ḥallurin* (3) for one shekel *per* month, till the day on which I repay it to you in full. The interest on (4) your money shall be [eight?] *ḥallurin per* month. Any month in which I do not give you (5) the interest, it shall be (added to the) principal and bear interest. I will pay it to you month by month (6) out of my salary which they give me from the treasury, and you shall write me a receipt for all (7) money and interest which I pay you. If I have not paid you all (8) your money and the interest on it by the month of Thoth, in the ninth (?) year, your money shall accumulate (9) with the interest on it which is outstanding against me, and interest (on the whole sum) shall be due from me month by month (10) till the day when I repay it (in full) to you.

(11) Witnesses:—

(12) 'Uqban son of Shemesh-nuri.

(13) Qoṣri son of Yah-hadari.

(14) Mahseiah son of Yedoniah.

(15) Malchiah son of Zechariah.

(16) Gemariah son of Ahio wrote the deed at the dictation of the witnesses who[se names] are upon this deed.

The date is lost.

This deed was published by A. Cowley in *PSBA.* for May, 1903, pp. 205 sqq. It is republished here because the names make it clear that it belongs to the same series as the others, and also because some of the difficulties in it are explained by the other deeds.

The text has been ably discussed by M. Clermont-Ganneau, in *RAO.*, vi, pp. 147 sqq., 260 sqq., and by M. Halévy in *Revue Sém.*, 1903, pp. 250 sqq.

The papyrus as usual had a blank space at the top, which was very much broken. In fact only a few detached fragments of it remain, which were already separated from the rest before the papyrus was unrolled. It is therefore impossible to say what, if anything, originally stood between the blank fragments and the first line of writing. M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that the missing date must have come at the end, after the statement about the scribe, and refers to *CIS.*, nos. 64–71. But the end of the papyrus presents a clean, straight edge, evidently as originally finished off by the manufacturer. Moreover the end was the innermost part of the roll, and therefore completely protected from the time when it was first rolled up until it was unrolled in the Bodleian Library. The beginning was injured because it was on the outside of the roll. In all the other deeds the date is at the beginning, and we might therefore expect that the same would be the case here. It is not certain, however, because this deed differs in some respects from the others, e.g. the mention of the scribe is after, not before, the names of the witnesses. As stated in *PSBA.*, it is quite uncertain how the fragments of letters at the top are to be arranged. They must belong to the beginning because they are on fragments which had become detached from the papyrus before it was unrolled. After many attempts at reconstruction we have come to the following conclusions about them: the first fragment has a ח, which may be part of a name; the second fragment, containing traces too small to be identified, does not belong to it; the third has the remnants of what might be [לכסלו] and might have belonged to the date in the missing line; the fourth looks like יש or ש, and, if so, must have belonged to the beginning of the present l. 2; the last contains a clear ר preceded by what can only be the remnant of a מ, which must either be part of אמר, required at the beginning of the present l. 1, or, more probably, from the appearance of the papyrus, part of לאמר restored in l. 1 before נתנת. If a whole line is lost at the beginning, the missing parts might be restored with some probability as follows:—

0 ב . . . לכסלו הו יום . . . לסמודע שנת . . . ארתחשסס סלבא
1 אמר . . . . בר . . . . ל . . . . בר יתמא לאמר נתנת לי כספ
2 שקלן III I באבני מתח

It is difficult, however, to believe that a line can have disappeared so completely, leaving no traces (e.g. of ב or ת) on the blank space above l. 1. The alternative is equally difficult, but on the whole preferable, that the deed began with the present l. 1, and that the date, if any, was somehow expressed in the lost part of l. 1. With regard to the date it may be observed that in B 18, written in the first year of Artaxerxes, one of the witnesses is a Gemariah b. Ahio, who may reasonably be identified with the scribe of this deed (l. 16), and one of the contracting parties in B, מחסיה ב' ידניה, is a witness here (l. 14). Both Gemariah and Mahseiah must therefore have been of full age in 465 B.C., and the date of the deed, though it may be earlier, can hardly be much later than this, for the writing is not at all that of an old man. Unfortunately the names of the witnesses were written by the scribe, so that we cannot compare Mahseiah's signature here with that in E 17 (about eighteen years later than B) evidently written by an old man. Gemariah does not appear in any deed dated later than B (465 B.C.). From 460 to 455 B.C. Egypt was in revolt against the Persian rule. If we suppose that L was written during that period (cf. on באבני מתח l. 2) the date would probably be expressed as 'year 1' &c., as in l. 8, without any king's name: cf. the inscriptions on the Jewish coins of the revolt, in *NSI.*, pp. 356, 358. Since the debt was to be paid at the beginning of the year, it was probably contracted at the end of a year (see on l. 8) and the mention of the month would be unnecessary. Putting the year as late as possible, we may perhaps venture to fill up the beginning thus:—

בשנת III II אמר . . . . ל . . . . בר יתמא

1. יתמא possibly occurs also in N 5.

לאמר. The end of the ל is visible, and the completion is required by the sense and by the analogy of the other deeds.

2. Whether the יש on the fragment mentioned above belongs here or not, the statement of the amount of the loan must have stood at the beginning of this line.

The first stroke may be a I, part of the numeral stating the amount lent. If we read 8 ḥallurin in l. 4, the loan will be 4 shekels. M. Clermont-Ganneau proposes בנסבא (or -ל) at the beginning of l. 2, and refers to M *b* 1.

באבני is supplied on the analogy of באבני מלכא, and admits of little doubt when once it is suggested. The tail of each ב is quite clear, and can hardly be anything else. Of the weight or standard of Ptaḥ we know no more than of the 'Royal weight' generally used. If the deed was written during the revolt, as suggested above, the weight of Ptaḥ may have been used because there was no king. It would be the national standard, in use before the Persian conquest, and reintroduced at the time of the revolt. As Ptaḥ was the god specially worshipped at Memphis, it would be the standard of Memphis, but does not necessarily show that the deed was drawn up there.

יש was read as שו in *PSBA.* As the stroke is like that used in the other deeds, where it cannot be ו, there is no doubt that it is here only a mark of abbreviation, so that the difficult word שו disappears. The ש is no doubt for שקל.

לרי was read לי in *PSBA.* which seemed impossible in an Aramaic document. M. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that it was a sign for 1000, but the analogy of the other deeds would make it represent לעשרתא. The argument therefore for 1000 shekels being the amount of the loan derived from this passage falls to the ground.

ירבה עלי *shall produce interest from me.*

חלרן. See *PSBA.*, pp. 206, 207. The rate of interest is 2 ḥallurin per shekel. In later times 20 to 30 per cent. was the usual rate. If it is here 20 per cent. the shekel would be worth 120 ḥallurin; at 30 per cent. it would be worth 80 ḥallurin. But see above, p. 22. M. Clermont-Ganneau, on the basis of Josephus' statement (*Ant.* iii. 8, 2), ingeniously argues that if 1 shekel = 4 drachmae = 24 obols = 192 χαλκοῦς, and if a ḥallur = 2 χαλκοῦς, the interest would be at the moderate rate of 12½ per cent., which in eight years (see on l. 8) would produce an amount, at simple interest, equal to the original loan.

4. The entire numeral may be III III or possibly II III III. The small fragment following seems not to belong here.

לרה ן. The stroke may be a numeral or merely a mark of punctuation.

לא is on a fragment which has accidentally been shifted to the line below. Considering the state of the papyrus, it was thought better not to attempt to rearrange any of the displaced fragments.

6. פרסי, properly *my share*, probably meaning *my wages*.

יתנן was read in *PSBA.* יתנן, but in the other deeds the נ is never assimilated, and here the space requires נת.

נבו, as has been pointed out by Dr. Poznański (in a private communication) and by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*RAO.*, p. 150),

occurs in the Samaritan Targum on Lev. xvi. 8–10, for the Heb. עזאזל. If it is connected with Arab. نبذ it should mean a *scrap*, something thrown aside and rejected—not a very suitable word for a receipt, unless it means *casting off an obligation* by paying one's debt. Even then ز ought to be represented in Aramaic by ד. Perhaps, after all, the words are distinct, the Samaritan נבז being a loan-word from Arabic, written phonetically, something *thrown*, i.e. a *lot*, while here it is much more likely to be a Persian legal term from نوشتن (as suggested in *PSBA.*), something *written*, a formal receipt. Cf. Haug in Ewald's *Jahrb.* 1853, p. 160.

8. III III . . . שנת. As M. Clermont-Ganneau very justly observes, this cannot be the year of a king, because before the time expired the king might be dead and the date meaningless. It might, however, be the number of years after the revolt. Supposing the deed to have been so dated at the beginning, the number of the year could not be greater than five. Here the smallest number which would suit the space is nine. From the end of year 5 to the first day of Thoth (the first month) in year 9, is three years—a reasonable period for a loan. M. Clermont-Ganneau also reads nine here, but takes it as the ninth year after the drawing up of the deed. He points out that the term is then eight years, in which time the simple interest at 12½ per cent. (see on l. 2) would have accumulated to the amount of the original capital.

יסגא was rendered in *PSBA.* *shall be doubled*, but it more probably means (as M. Clermont-Ganneau proposes), *shall accumulate*, i.e. overdue interest was to be added to the principal, and interest was then to be paid on the whole, so that in case of non-payment the debt would increase by compound interest. There is, however, no evidence for this meaning of the root.

13. יהוהרי. There seems to be no other way of reading this strange name.

16. כסרא. Both M. Clermont-Ganneau and M. Halévy prefer to take this as *scribe* rather than *document*.

על פם, generally בפם. *In the presence of* (*PSBA.*) is not quite accurate.

The arrangement of the end of the deed is different from that of the others in having half of l. 10 left blank, the word סרירא and names of the witnesses being on separate lines, while the mention of the scribe comes at the end.

The reading of the ostraca is still too uncertain to admit of a translation. The texts, however, are reprinted here (from the *PSBA.*, pp. 264, 311, 312, 314), with some corrections, for the sake of completeness, as they seem to belong to the same group of documents as the papyri. In fact, M and N were found together with L.

M (apparently complete).

a. Seems to refer to the transaction in papyrus L. Perhaps the writer was the borrower in L.

3. The stroke after לאמר was read as ד in *PSBA*. It is more probably the mark of interpunctuation, as in K 4, 5. M. Clermont-Ganneau (*RAO.*, p. 150) translates ll. 3–6: *Dis que vous entendrez dire que les . . . donnent le solde à Sylne, envoyez-moi avis*, taking יתבן as participle and פרס as in L.

4. קמיריא is probable, but the ק has an unusual shape. Perhaps *papyrus!*

5. בן is written over a flaw in the earthenware. The ב is fairly certain. M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests ביב, but the last letter can hardly be a ב.

הוקריתי from יקר or אקר (*C.-G.*) in the sense of *ratifying* a document.

8, 9. M. Clermont-Ganneau would read these together, הוקריתי, taking דא (l. 9) as a mistake for הדי.

b. This side of the ostracon is palimpsest, and traces of the first text are visible between ll. 1 and 2 (לאמר) and between ll. 4 and 5 (ל נמריה). There are traces elsewhere but they are illegible.

1. חנתא. M. Clermont-Ganneau takes this as חנותא *shop*.

נסמא he takes as Heb. נשך *usury*, and translates: *donnez à Gemaryah la louïque que m'a donné Ourîyah en garantie de mon prêt: qu'il en perçoive le loyer et qu'il en crédite Ourîyah* (i.e. as part interest on the loan). This again, like the other side, would seem to refer to L, though here the writer appears to be the lender. On the other hand, what follows might well refer to K, if K and L were not probably of very different dates.

3. ובלמ; in Ezra iv. 13 בלי is a *dax*.

תמסרי is written in a strange manner but fairly certain; ת is clear, מס are run together and the ס has a curious form; רי is above the line.

4. ריל, on the original this seems to be the most likely reading, but רלק, חלק are not impossible; hardly חלי.

דרקה. M. Clermont-Ganneau thinks this cannot be = Heb. דרכן, and proposes to identify it with תרע the *door* of the shop (l. 1), but cf. note on K 4.

N. This ostracon is much obliterated, but the readings are fairly certain, and give a sense.

1. באלא, uncertain: apparently a proper name.

3. אנתתא, perhaps אנתתי.

5. יא is probable and, if right, shows that this and the following lines have lost something at the beginning. The rest of the line is very faint, but is possibly as printed. If בר יזמא is right, we might restore יא[אור] as on M, and identify both with the person mentioned in L.

The hand is like that of *CIS.*, 155. The contents may have some relation to *CIS.*, 137 B.

O. *a*. Perhaps the address of the letter on the other side.

The fragment is palimpsest. Above l. 3 is מבן belonging to the first text, of which there are other traces. It is in a different hand from the others.

P. 3. ומרס *part, share*, or *half*.

4. למחסיה. Since the writing is like that of M, and both appear to be of the same date (c. 450 B.C.) as most of the papyri, this may well be Malasiah son of Yedoniah.

5. הרשרי as in M *a* 8.

Q. *a*. 3. סך may be סו.

4. Very uncertain. עת may be עק.

b. 2. רע very doubtful.

4. Or . . . יסם.

It is in a different hand from the others, somewhat resembling O.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

GLOSSARY

אב *father.*
אבוה J 7.
אבוכם H 6.
אב pr. n. month *Ab.* F 1.
אב=יב C 2.
אבד *to be forfeited.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יאבד G 27 (fem. תאבד *CIS.*, 145 D 4).
אבה pr. n. B 16 (*CIS.*, 122, 1, 2).
אבירנא (prob. Persian) *fine, compensation.* H 14. J 15. K 10.
אבן *stone* G 16; *weight* in the phrases באבני סלעא A 7. B 14. 15. C 15. D 14. 21. F 10. G 5. 6. 9. 10. 14. 34. 36. H 15. J. 16 (cf. באבן הסלע 2 Sam. xiv. 26); באבני פתח L 2.
אגורא *altar* (Targ.), *chapel* (?) E 14. J 6.
אגר *brick-wall* (?) A 4, where see note.
אגרא A 4. 5. 6. 7. 10. 20.
אדין *at that time* (BA. id.). F 4. H 1. J 1.
אדנבו pr. n. H 2.
או conj. *or.* A 6. 8. 9. C 8. 13. D 18. 20. 26. G 17. 20. 22. 26. H 14. J 11. 14. K 9.
אוצר *treasury.*
אוצרא L 6.
אודיה pr. n. B 9. C 2. D 7. G 38. J 2. 4. 5. 13. 17. 20. M *b* 1. 3 (יא-).
אוסנ pr. n. E 14.
אוסניה pr. n. H 18.
אח *brother.* A 8. B 13. D 10. E 10. J 11. K 8.
אחוה J 3.
אחוהי J 21. K 15. 17.
אחוך O *b* 1 (?).
plur. אחן (*our brothers*) H 10.
אחיכם H 12.
אחה (Targ. אחת) *sister.* A 8. B 13. D 10. E 10. J 11. K 8.
אחיו pr. n. A 15. B 18. L 16. M *b* 2 (2 Sam. vi. 3. 1 Chron. viii. 14 &c. אחיו).
אחיו ב' נתן pr. n. J 19.
אחר prep. *after, concerning.*
אחרהי C 4. E 7.
אחריך C 13. K 7. 12.
אחריהי D 9. 15. E 8.
אחריכם C 8. J 9. 16.
adv. *afterwards.* C 8. H 8. 15. K 10.
in consequence. E 5.
(adj. *other* fem. אחרה *RÉS.*, 246, 3, 4).
אחרן 1. *other.* D 11. 16. E 9. 11. G 10. 33 (mistake for אחרנן). 36.
אחרנא C 11.
fem. אחרנה G 32.
pl. אחרנן D 10. G 32.
2. *later*, always in the phrase כמה או יום אחרן A 6. 8. C 8. 13. D 18. 20. 26. G 17. 22. 26. (In plur. ובזמן אחרנן *CIS.*, 145, 4).
3. subst. ואחרן *and the rest.* H 6. 12.
pl. אחרנן *others.* C 7. 9. D 19.
אטר pr. n. E 3 (Ezra ii. 16 &c. אטר).
איש *man, a dependant.* D 11. 12. 16. H 10. 11. 13. 14. J 10–14 (*CIS.*, 141, 2. 145 A 2. 6. 7. D 5. Str. C 8).
איתי *there is.* C 3. D 23. G 19. 32. 33. H 5. 7. K 12. (Str. A 4. B 1). Preceded by אל, D 10. G 18. 21. N 2 (*RÉS.*, 247, 4).
איתן ב' אבה pr. n. B 16.
אלה *God.* E 14 (Str. A 3).
אלהא B 4. J 6 (*CIS.*, 141, 1. 142. Str. C 5 *l*).
fem. אלהתה *Goddess.* F 5.
pl. אלהיא E 15.
אלה see זך.
אלל pr. n. month *Elul.* A 1. H 1.
אלך see under זך.
אם *mother.*
אמה K 4. 5.
אמהם J 3. K 13.
אמן (*our mother*) K 3.
אם mistake for אמם E 11.
אמה *cubit* (*RÉS.*, 246).
pl. אמן (BA. אמין) C 4. D 4. 5. G 8. 9. 11 (*RÉS.*, 246).
אמר *to say.* A 1. B 2. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1. G 2. H 1. 7. J 2. K 2.
3rd sing. perf. fem. Pe. אמרת N 3.
1st sing. perf. Pe. אמרת C 5.
(3rd plur. perf. Pe. אמרו, *RÉS.*, 247, 2).
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יאמר G 27.
2nd sing. fut. fem. Pe. תאמר G 23.
1st sing. fut. Pe. אמר A 12. C 14. D 20. G 31. 33.
inf. Pe. (=Qal). לאמר A 3. 12. B 4. C 3. D 3. E 2. G 3. H 4–6. J 4. K 2. L 1. M *a* 3. *b* 5.
ptcp. fem. אמרה P 1.
(ptcp. plur. אמרן Str. B 5).
אן *where.* G 25 (or לאן). 29.
אן? M *a* 2. *b* 3. N 2.
אנה pron. *I.* A 3. 11. B 5. 7. 8. 12. C 3. 5. 14. D 3. 8. 17. 18. 21. 25. E 2. 5. 8–10. 12. F 9. 11. G 3. 4. H 9. J 9. 12. K 5. 8.
plur. אנחנה H 4. 9. 10. 12. K 2. 9. 11 (Str. A 1. B 5. C 2. 10. 12).
אנף *face, surface.*
plur. אנפי G 19 (*CIS.*, 113, 14).
אנש *man.* K 8. 10.
אנת pron. *thou.* A 11. 14. B 4. 13. 15. C 6. 10. 11. 12. H 8. 11. J 8. K 3. 6.
fem. אנתי D 9. 11. 12. 26. F 7. P 1 *l*
(plur. אנתם *RÉS.*, 247).
אנתה *woman, wife.* D 10. G 32. 33. J 10–14.
אנתי G 3 (mistake for אנתה?).
אנתתא? N 3.
אנתתה G 18.
אנתתך B 4. C 4. 6.
אנתתי G 4. 27.
אסחור ב' צחא pr. n. (Cf. אסחנוס *CIS.*, 155 A 2). G 2. 17. 19. 21. 23. 24. 26. 30. 37. H 3. 6. 8. 20.
אספסת ב' מסמניה pr. n. B 10 (cf. אסמת *CIS.*, 155 A 1. B 1).
אספסת ב' מסמניה (= foregoing) D 7.
אף conj. *also.* B 7. D 18. 23. E 11. 13. H 6. J 10. K 12 (*RÉS.*, 247, 6).

אסל *to take in exchange?* cf. Assyr. *apālu.*
1st sing. perf. Pe. אסלת E 4.
אסם adv. *assuredly.* A 8 (see note). 11. B 15. D 13. 22. E 11 (אם). J 16.
אסמי pr. n. month *Epiphi.* G 1.
ארדיכל (Targ. id. Assyr. *arad-chalil?*) *architect, builder.* F 2. G 2.
אולמתכל pr. n. B 21.
ארח *a road.* J 6.
אליקים ב' אולמתכל pr. n. B 21.
ארך (probably a noun) *length.* G 8. 9. 11.
ארכה D 4.
ארמי *Aramaean.* A 2. E 2. 3. G 2. J 2.
pl. ארמין K 2.
ארמיא F 3.
ארמית *in Aramaic.* K 4. 6.
ארע *earth.*
ארעא A 5. B 16. G 19.
ארץ B 7. C 3. D 3. 8. E 15 (Zing. Had. 7. Pan. 14).
ארעא B 5. 6. 7. 12. 13. 14. 15. C 5. 8. 14. D 11. 12. 16. 19. 24 (Jer. x. 11).
ארתבנו pr. n. B 3.
ארתחשסתא (the Babylonian form, cf. *CIS.*, 67) pr. n. *Artaxerxes.* B 2. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1. G 1 (*RÉS.*, 438. 4).
ארתפרן pr. n. A 17.
אשר Ha. *to ratify.* תתשרוהי M *a* 5. 6. תתשרי M *a* 8. F 5.
אתי *to go, come.*
1st sing. perf. Pe. אתית עליך A 3. אתית ביתך G 3.
Perf. Ha. היתית M *a* 5.
(Inf. Ha. *להיתיה* Str. C. 4).
אתרא E 19 (see note on אתרה).
אתרה B 2, where see note.
אתרוסרן pr. n. B 9.
אתרלי pr. n. A 16. E 18 (? different person).

ב- prep. passim.
בה C 7. 10. 11. 13. D 9. G 15. L 4.
בבל pr. n.? N 1.
בב mistake for רבב. E 10.
בבלא *the Babylonian.* B 19.
בגיתה ב' נבוכדרי pr. n. A 18.
בהמתה *cattle.* C 5.
בי (=בית?) C 3. D 3. 35.
בין prep. *between.* A 13. M *a* 5.
בינתם E 14. J 7.
בינין A 13. 14. K 14.
בירה *fortress.*
ביריתא B 3. 4. 17. C 16. D 2. 28. F 2. 12. H 1. 2. J 2. K 1. 15 (*RÉS.*, 247, 6. Str. A 3. 5. B 1. 2. C 1).
בירת B 3. E 4 (for בירתא?). (Str. A 5).
בית *house.* A 5. 13. B 8. 9. 10. D 5–7. E 11. 13–15. J 4. 5. 7. 20.
ביתא A 3. 4. C 3. 4. 6. 11. 12. D 8. 15. 22. 27. E 2. 5. 7. 9. 13. 15. J 8. 11. 15. 16.
ביתי A 5. B 8.
ביתך G 3.
ביתכי D 15. 22.
ביתה G 18. 30.
בלא pr. n. K 5.
בלה? M *b* 3.
בן see under בר.
בנה *daughter.* See under ברה.
בנה *to build.* A 20 (Str. B 1).
2nd sing. perf. Pe. בניה C 12.
2nd sing. fut. Pe. תבנה C 8.
Inf. Pe. למבנה A 3. 6. 9. 11. C 14.
imperat. 2nd sing. בני C 5. D 19 (fem.).
(ptcp. pass. fem. בנה Str. B 1).

בניא *buildings.* C 12.
בנתרים ב' אפסוץ pr. n. A 19.
בעריה pr. n. J 18.
בעל *husband.*
בעלי G 23.
בעלכי D 7.
בעלה G 4. 21.
בעל קריה *citizen.* A 9. E 10. H 10.
בעל רגל *client.* A 9. E 10. See also רגל.
בר *son.* A 2. 8. 9. 15–19. B 2. 3. 8. 9. 10. 12. 13. 16–22. C 2. 16–22. D 2. 5–7. 10. 12. 23. 26. 28–35. E 1. 3. 13–15. 17–21. F 2. 7. 9. 11–13. G 2. 13. 20. 37. 38. H 2. 3. 6. 12. 13. 16–20. J 2–5. 10. 13. 14. 17–21. K 2. 8. 9. 14–17. L 1. 12–16. M *b* 5. N 5.
ברך B 5.
ברה K 13.
pl. בנין G 32. 33. J 17.
constr. בני H 2. 3. 8. 13. 17. 19. 20. J 9.
בניך C 7. 9. 12. J 9 (for בנם-). K 7. 8. 11. 12.
בניכי D 9. 11. 13. 15. E 7.
בנית G 34.
בנינם H 11. 13. 14. J 16.
בני E 8. F 9. J 9. 12. 13. K 9.
בנין (*our sons*) H 10. 13.
ברה (Targ. ברה) *daughter.* A 8. B 12. 13. D 10. 12. F 8. 9 (בריא). J 10. 13. 14. K 8. 10.
constr. ברת D 36. F 2. H 3. J 3. 7.
בריתי C 4. 7. 8. E 4.
בריתך G 3. 5. 6.
בריתה D 3. E 2. 21.
pl. בנתן H 10. 13.
בנתכם H 13.
ברבדי ב' ודני pr. n. E 19.
בש? *sound, healthy?* E 17.
ברכית pr. n. H 17. J 19.

גבר *man.* E 8. 11. J 11. K 14.
pl. גברן J 14.
גדול pr. n. H 17. J 18. 19. K 15.
גדול ב' אשנן pr. n. E 14.
גדול ב' בעדיה pr. n. J 18.
גדול ב' ברכיה pr. n. H 17. J 19.
גדול ב' יעל pr. n. B 18.
גדלה ב' עבדיה pr. n. B 20.
גו *midst.*
בגו adv. A 15. C 6. 17. D 28. E 17. F 12. G 6. 15. 37. H 9. J 18. K 15 (*CIS.*, 146 A 5 [for בגף], 153 A 2 [for בגר], cf. *RÉS.*, 246, and see note on A 15. In Str. B 2 it is a preposition).
גגא *papyrus?* G 15.
גדריה ב' אחיו pr. n. B 18. L 16. M *b* 2.
גדריה ב' מחסיה pr. n. C 18. D 19.
גרה Pa. *to stir up,* with accus. of the person (as in Assyr.) or double accus. In Targ. and Syr. with a preposition before the person. גרכי (*stir up against you*) F 9.
1st sing. perf. גריתכי F 8.
3rd sing. fut. יגרינך B 14. E 10 (-כי).
1st sing. fut. אגרנך B 12. J 10 (-כם). אגרנכי F 7.

ד (or ר) a sum of money. B 15. C 15. D 14. 21. G 7. 12–14. 24. H 15. J 16. L 2?
דבב *complaint.* B 12. C 13. 15. D 12. 14. 20. 22. E 9. 10. (בב). F 7. 9. 10. 11. G 26. 29. H 11. 16. J 10.
דבק *adjoin.* 3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תדבק A 5.
Ptcp. (?) Pe. דבק D 6. J 5. 8.
fem. דבקה A 4.
דבר *matter.* על ד' *concerning.* B 6. 16. K 8. 10. 11.
על דברה *concerning it.* B 5. 8.

דגל possible reading for רגל q.v.
דוסא pr. n. F 13. (The name דוקא occurs in Rab. Hebr.)
דוסדי.
דולבי E 7. 11. 16.
דין *law-suit.* B 12. 16. C 13. 15. D 12–14. 20. 21. 27. E 9. 10. F 7. 9. 10. 11. G 26 (ידין). 29. 31 (*l*). H 11. 14. 16. J 10. 15. 17. K 11. 12. 14.
דינא K 9.
law-court. D 17. 22. H 4.
דינא F 3.
ידין mistake for דין. G 26.
דין *judge.* G 31 f.
pl. דינין? K 8.
דינא B 6. D 24 (Str. B 4).
דכא *this.* F 6.
דכי F 9.
דכר *male.* G 13. 20.
דלגן (Talm. דלוקן) *guards.* N 6.
דלי, plur. constr. *value, price* (Targ. דלין always plur.). E 6. G 14.
דרסחי E 3.
דסולת pr. n. B 6.
דסגרין an official title, *lieutenant?* H 4.
דרגא pr. n. A 18.
דרגי pr. n. E 19.
דרגמן ב' חרשן pr. n. B 2. 7. 8. 17. 22. D 5. 23. 26.
דריהוש (BA. דָּרְיָוֶשׁ) pr. n. *Darius.* H 1. J 1. K 1 (Str. A 2).
דרע *arm.*
דרעה M *b* 4. 5.

הא *voici.* B 7. E 13. J 4. K 3. 5.
האן? *where.*
להאן ד *whithersoever* (or לה אן as G 29). G 25.
הדרטורי pr. n. B 19.
הו pron. A 1. 12. B 1. 14. C 1. 12. D 1. 14. E 1. 7. 16. F 1. G 21. H 1. 7. 15. J 1. 8. 15. K 1 (*CIS.*, 146 B 6).
fem. הי A 4. C 9. D 25. G 4. 18.
plur. הנו C 7. 10. 13. Accusative in E 5. G 35. K 13 (*CIS.*, 145 B 4).
הודויה ב' זכור ב' אושעיה pr. n. H 18 (cf. Ezra ii. 40 &c.).
הוה *to be.* D 3. G 8–10 (Str. A 4).
3rd sing. fem. perf. הות B 7 (Zing. Pan. 2).
1st sing. perf. הויה E 4. O *b* 3.
3rd sing. fut. יהוה. C 11. D 17. K 12. 13. L 5. 9.
3rd sing. fut. fem. תהוה L 3.
1st sing. fut. אהוה L 7. Q *b* 3.
(3rd pl. fut. יהוון *CIS.*, 145 D 3. Str. B 2).
הוסדת pr. n. C 2. D 2.
הושע pr. n. A 17. B 18. J 17. 20 (*CIS.*, 17, 1).
הושע ב' אוריה pr. n. (=הושעיה ב' א'). J 5. 17.
הושע ב' יעל pr. n. C 22. D 34.
הושע ב' מסחנום pr. n. B 17.
הושע ב' פלליה pr. n. C 17. D 30.
הושע ב' רעויה pr. n. C 21. D 33.
הושעיה pr. n. A 19.
הושעיה ב' אוריה pr. n. J 2.
הלו M *b* 5.
הלך *to go.*
3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תהך G 25. 28 (*CIS.*, 145 B 4. C 6).
1st sing. fut. Pe. אהך D 22.
הן conj. *if.* A 7. 8. 13. C 8. 10. 13. B 20. 26. F 8. G 29 (*l*). 33. 35. H 12. J 12. K 9. L 7. O *b* 3 (Str. B 2. 3. C 3. 12).
לן *but.* C 6. 7. 9. D 11 (Str. C 7).
except. E 12. G 32. 33.
הנרין *controller of water-supply?* E 4 (Str. B 2, הנרין, or הנראן?); mod. Persian نهرى; see note on E 4.
הסגל ב' זכריה pr. n. J 5.

-ו conj. passim.
ודרגנ pr. n. (for וידרגנ). J 4.
וידרגנ pr. n. H 4. J 2. 4 (ודרגנ) (Str. A 4, for וידגנ).
ויזבלו pr. n. G 39.
וריות pr. n. A 2. 3. B 4. 10. E 2. F 3. G 3. K 2.
ושתן pr. n. F 13.

זבן Pa. *to sell.*
(3rd sing. fut. יזבן? *CIS.*, 145 A 5).
(2nd sing. fut. fem. תזבני *CIS.*, 137 B 2).
2nd plur. fut. תזבנון J 11. 14.
infin. לזבנה C 6.
זוית *corner.* A 5.
לזיתה A 4.
ז pron. rel. *who, &c.* A 4. 5. 10. 12. 13. 14. 20. B 3. 5. 8. 12. 16. 22. C 2. 3. 12. D 13. 17. 23. 35. E 3. 4. 6. 9. 12. F 6. 8. 14. G 1. 19. 24. 25. 27. 29. 32. H 7. 15. 19. J 7. 8. 11. 14. 20. K 3. 5. 7. 9. 10. 12. 13. L 3. 4. 6. 7. 9. 10. 16. M *a* 5. 7. *b* 1. 5. N 3? F 4. Q *a* 1. *b* 1.
= *in,* M *b* 5. P 1.
pron. indef. *whoever, &c.* B 14. D 11. E 10. 12. H 14. J 15.
מן ז *whoever.* D 9. 19. E 8. 16. H 14. J 9. K 7. 12.
מי B 1. 7. D 24. 25. E 4. K 13. M *a* 2. N 3? (*CIS.*, 145 C 3. Str. A 2. B 2).
זילה A 10. D 26.
זילך A 3. 4. 6. 11. 12. B 15. C 3. K 10.
זילני D 12.
זילני D 19.
זילי A 4. B 5. 7. C 3. D 3. 25. E 8. K 8.
זילכם H 14. J 8. 16.
זילן H 10. 13.
ז mark of genitive. A 2. B 2. 11. D 8. E 2. 3. 14. 19. F 3. G 2. 7. 10–13. 15. 16. 19. 30. H 2. 12. 15. J 2–4. 6. 9. 13. 15–17. K 2. 3. 12. 13.
זך pron. *this (int).* A 4. 5. 6. 7 (=זילך?). 10. 11. 14. B 7. 8. 13. 14. 15. 16. C 4. 5. 8. 12. 14. D 11. 13. 16. 19. 24. 25. 27. E 7. 9. 13. 15. J 8. 11. 15. K 7. 10. 11 (*CIS.*, 151, 1–3. Str. B 1 &c.).
plur. אלך E 6. F 6. H 8. 15 (*CIS.*, 145 B 6. Str. B 3).
אלני F 8.
זכם (a strengthened form of זך, see note on C 2) *illic quoque.* C 2. H 4.
זכור pr. n. G 38.
זכור ב' אושעיה pr. n. H 18.
זכור ב' אמר pr. n. E 3.
זכור ב' צפניה pr. n. C 20[a]. D 32.
זכור ב' שלם pr. n. E 20.
זכם see זך.
זכריה pr. n. A 5. J 5. L 15.
זכריה ב' משלם pr. n. C 18. D 30.
זכריה ב' נתן pr. n. C 17. D 7. 29.
זלע (Targ. זלע, Syr. ܙܠܥܐ) *heel.* G 13.
זנה pron. *this (fem).* A 15. B 17. C 14. 16. D 9. 18. 22. 28. E 5. 7. 12. 17. F 7. 11. G 4. 31. 37. H 9. 10. 16. K 3. 5. 7. 15. L 16. N 4 (*CIS.*, 145 C 2. Str. A 3. B 5).
כנה K 4. 6.
(אנ *RÉS.*, 247, 6).
plur. אלה E 13. K 13 (*CIS.*, 139 B 4?).
זנך *into.* C 6. D 8.
זעיר *descendants.* E 8. *seed.* N 2. 6.

חלקן=ח G 15[a].
חוי pr. n. K 16.
חד *one.* G 28.
חדה G 28 (*RÉS.*, 246, 2. Str. B 1).
כחדה *unanimously.* K 3.
חדת *new.* D 16. E 12. G 7. 9. 16.

חוט *a thread.* G 25. 28.
חוי M *b* 1.
חוי M *a* 4. *b* 3.
חסב *striped, or embroidered.* G 5. Cf. חֲסֻבוֹת Prov. vii. 16 and Syr. ܚܘܫܒܐ.
חיין *life.*
חיי *my life.* D 3. 8.
חילא *garrison.* H 5. J 2. 4 (*RÉS.*, 247, 4. Str. B 2. C 10).
חלף prep. *in return for.* C 10. 11. E 4. 6 (*CIS.*, 153 B).
חלק *a part.* K 3. 5. 7. 9. 10. 12.
חלקא K 3. 5.
חלקה K 14.
חלר a small coin. *Assyr. Shallaru.* See Introd., pp. 21 sqq.
plur. חלרן G 14. L 2. 4.
חם? G 25. 28.
חנום (or חנם) pr. n. *Khnûm.* E 15.
חנן ב׳ חני pr. n. K 16.
חנתא M *b* 1.
חסן. Ha. *to hold property* (Dan. vii. 18 &c.).
3rd sing. perf. החסן H 7.
ptcp. מחסן D 2.
(ptcp. pl. מחסן *RÉS.*, 247, 5).
(ptcp. pl. emph.? מחסניא Str. C 1).
imperat. 2nd sing. fem. חחסני D 26.
1st pl. fut. נחסן K 14.
חסן *dowry?* (perhaps a loan-word from Arab. حصن, see Lane). G 16.
חסן same? H 6.
חרסמון *Charamûn.* B 2. חרסמיא D 23.
חרשן pr. n. B 2. 22. D 5. 23.
חשארש pr. n. *Xerxes.* A 1 (*CIS.*, 122, 3).
חתחור pr. n. month *Hathôr, Athyr.* K 1.

טיב *to be glad, satisfied,* always with לבב, cf. Heb. טוב לב. F 5. G 15. H 9.
טב G 5 (cf. Str. C 11).
טען Pe'il *to take (an oath).*
1st sing. perf. טעינת D 24.
Pa. *to impose (an oath).*
3rd pl. perf. טעינך B 6.

יאל[ר] ב׳ פטליה pr. n. E 13.
יב pr. n. *Elephantine.* B 3. 4. D 2. H 1. 2. J 1. 2. K 1. 15 (Str. A 3. 5. C 1).
יגיל pr. n. B 18.
pr. n. C 22. D 34.
יד *hand.*
ידה G 6. 7. 25. 28. K 4. 6.
ידכי D 18. 22.
dual or plur. ידין G 8.
ידניא pr. n. (=ידניה). F 2.
ידניה pr. n. A 2. B 3. C 2. D 2. E 2. 21. J 3. 18. L 14.
ידניה pr. n. C 19. D 31. 35.
ידניה ב׳ אסחור ב׳ צחא pr. n. H 3. 8. 11. 20.
ידניה ב׳ הרשע (=the following) pr. n. J 17. 20.
ידניה ב׳ השעיה ב׳ אוריה pr. n. J 2. 9. 12.
ידניה ב׳ מחסיה pr. n. C 20. D 31.
ידניה ב׳ מטלם pr. n. J 18.
ידניה ב׳ נתן pr. n. J 3. 8. 21. K 2. 3. 6. 15. 17.
ידע *know.*
3rd pl. fut. Pe. ידעו Q *a* 3.
יהב *to give.* D 25. 35. E 3. J 7. M *a* 7 *b* 1 (*CIS.*, 138 B 6).
3rd sing. perf. fem.? Pe. יהבת E 4.
2nd sing. perf. Pe. יהבת A 3.
1st sing. perf. Pe. יהבת C 3. 14. D 3. 8 (c. suff. ת-). 13. 20. 25 (+ת-). E 2. 4 (+ת-). 5. 6. 7 (+ת-). 9. 12. 16 (+ת-). G 4.
(3rd pl. perf. Pe. יהבו Str. A 4).

יהב *to give* (cont.).
Imperat. 2nd sing. fem. Pe. תבי D 19. תבתי E 16. M *b* 2.
ptcp. Pe. pl.? יתבן M *a* 3.
יהה pr. n. (=יהו). E 14.
יהתרמי pr. n. L 13.
יהו pr. n. B 4. 6. 11. J 6.
יהואחר (or יהואחר) pr. n. K 16.
יהודי *fem.* B 3. 9. 10. C 2. D 2. 35.
plur. יהודין H 2. 3.
יו the letter *Yôdh.* K 4. 5.
יום *day.* A 1. 6. 8. B 1. C 1. 8. 13. D 1. 18. 20. 26. E 1. F 1. G 17. 20. 22. 26. 28. J 1. K 1. L 3. 10 (*CIS.*, 146 B 6).
(st. constr. *CIS.*, 151, 3).
יומא D 9. F 7. G 4. H 9. 10. K 7. N 4 (*CIS.*, 113, 4).
יזן בר אוריה pr. n. (=יזניה ב׳ א׳) D 6. J 17.
יזניה pr. n. G 38.
יזניה ב׳ אוריה pr. n. B 9. C 2. G 38. J 4. 13. 20.
יזניה ב׳ פטליה pr. n. J 19.
יטב Ha. *to make glad, satisfy,* with לבב, cf. טיב.
2nd sing. perf. השבת B 11.
2nd pl. perf. הוטבתם H 8.
יכל *to be able:* only in fut. followed by fut.
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יכל (Dan. iii. 29 &c. יָכֵל) E 11.
1st sing. fut. Pe. אכל E 8. G 31. 35.
ילד *to bear children.*
3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תלד G 33.
יצא *to swear,*
2nd sing. perf. Pe. יצאת B 4. 8. 11. fem. יצאתי F 5. 8.
1st sing. perf. Pe. יצאת D 24.
inf. Pe. לצוא B 6.
מצא *oath.* D 24.
מצאה B 6. F 4. 6. 9.
ימן *right (hand).* K 4. 6.
יסלח ב׳ נחל pr. n. J 19.
יצא *to come forth, rise* (of the sun), Targ. Syr. id. Heb. יצא.
מצא *sun-rise, east* (cf. Zing. Pan. 14 מוקא = Heb. מזרח). D 4. E 14.
מזן B 8.
מצא שמש D 6.
מוקא שמש J 6.
ירח *month.* E 1. G 1. H 1. L 4. 5. 8. 9 (*RÉS.*, 438, 3).
ירחא L 3. 4.
ירת *inherit, succeed.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. ירתנה G 21.
ישעיה pr. n. A 16.
another person. C 21. D 33.
יתב *sit, dwell.* B 2.
imperat. 2nd sing. תב C 6.
יתמא pr. n. L 1. N 5.

כבש a sum of money. G 6. H 15. J 16. (Probably in *CIS.*, 153 A 6).
pl. כבשן A 7. B 14. C 15. D 14. 21. E 6. 11. F 10. G 8. 14. 31. 34. 36. H 15. J 15. K 11.
כדב *false.* D 17.
כהל *to be able,* only in fut. followed by fut. In Dan. (ii. 26, &c.) only participle followed by ל.
1st sing. fut. Pe. אכהל A 6. 11. B 12. F 7. J 9. 10. K 7.
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יכהל A 8.
3rd pl. fut. Pe. יכהלן D 15. H 11.
1st pl. fut. Pe. נכהל H 10. J 10.
כוין *windows (passages?).* J 6 (כ׳ פתיחין as Dan. vi. 11).
כל *all.* B 5. 16. F 4. 11. G 13. 19. 24. 27. H 2. 3. 16. 19. 20. J 8. 21. K 2. L 6. 7. Q *a* 1. *b* 2.
כלה G 20.

כלא *restrain.*
1st sing. perf. Pe. כליתך A 7. 13.
1st sing. fut. Pe. אכלאנך A 6.
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יכלא A 9. 10.
כמר *priest.* E 15.
(pl. emph. כמריא Str. A 3. B 3).
כן M *b* 5.
מכן *hence, therefore.* H 7.
כמותה *his colleague.* B 6 (Ezra iv. 9, &c., *CIS.*, 151, 2).
כס *cup.*
pl. כסן G 12.
כסלו pr. n. month *Chisleu.* B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. J 1.
כסף *money, sum.* A 7. B 14. 15. C 15. D 14. 21. E 5. 6. 11. F 3. 10. G 5–8. 10–14. 23. 24. 31. 34. 36. H 12. 15. J 15. K 10. L 1–3. 7. Q *b* 1 (Str. A 4).
כסף צריף *refined silver.* A 7.
כספא A 10. 13. G 13.
כספך L 4. 8.
כספי *silversmith.* E 18. 19.
כען adv. *now* (BA. id.). C 5 (*CIS.*, 137 A 1. B 1. Str. B 1. *RÉS.*, 247, 6 [and for בען? on the reverse]).
כענת adv. *now.* M *a* 1. *b* 1. N 1. O *b* 2.
כף *hand.* G 28.
pl. כפן *handles?* G 16.
כרסא *throne.*
כרסאה B 2.
כתב *to write.* A 15. 20. B 16. 22. C 16. D 23. 25. 27. E 3. 6. 16. 17. F 11. 14. G 37. H 16. 19. J 17. 20. K 14. 17. L 16.
1st sing. perf. Pe. כתבת C 4. 14. D 17 (with suff. ה-). E 9. 12. 12 (ה-).
2nd sing. fut. Pe. תכתב L 6.
1st pl. fut. Pe. נכתב K 14.
3rd pl. fut. Pe. יכתבה M *b* 4.
ptcp. pass. כתב A 10. 13.
pl. כתיבן J 8.
infin. Pe. לכתבה M *a* 2.
מכתבה? M *b* 5.
כתבתא *writing.* M *b* 4.
כתן *linen.* H 5.

ל- prep. passim.
לה A 9. 10. B 9. 10. 11. C 4. 11. D 5–7. 24. E 13–15. G 7. 18. 19. 21. 25 (or לתאן). 29 (or לתאן). 30. 31. H 7. J 5–8. 11. 14. M *a* 9.
לך A 7. 13. B 13. 14. C 5. 14. 15. E 16 (for לכי). G 4. K 10. 12. L 3–5. 7. 10.
לכי D 3. 8. 12. 13. 20. 21. 25. E 2. 5–7. 9. 11. 12. F 8. N 3.
לכם H 12. 14. J 10. 11. 14. 15. M *a* 6?
(לן Str. A 2).
לי A 3. B 4. 6. 8. 11. 12. 13. D 10. 23. 25. E 3. 4. 7. F 5. 6. 8. 9. G 3. 32. 33. J 10. 12. 13. K 8. L 1. 6. M *a* 5. *b* 1. N 1.
ל- to mark the object of the verb. A 9. E 2. 5. G 3. 27.
לא adv. *not.* A 6. 8. 11. 12. B 7. 12. C 6. 9. 14. 15. D 10. 14. 15. 17. 18. 20–22. E 5. 8. 11. 12. F 7. 10. G 17. 20. 25. 26. 29. 31. 35. H 7. 10. 11. 16. J 9. 10. 17. K 7. 12–14. L 4. 7. M *b* 6. N 2. Q *a* 2. 3.
לבב *heart.*
לבבי B 12. F 5. G 15.
לבבך G 5.
לבבן H 8. 9.
לבוש *garment.* F 4.
לבש *garment.* G 7. 10.
pl. constr. לבשי H 5.
לחי ב' סנבי pr. n. F 13.
ללו pr. n. K 13.

לקח *to take, receive.* H 6 (Zing. Pan. 17).
(3rd pl. perf. Pe. לקחו Str. C 8).
(3rd sing. fut. Pe. יקח Zing. Had. 10).
(3rd pl. fut. Pe. יקחו Zing. Had. 12).
(2nd sing. fem. imperat. קחי *CIS.*, 141, 3).
infin. Pe. לקלקח C 11. לשלקחה C 9.
3rd sing. fut. Ithpe. יתלקח D 17.

מאן *a vessel.*
(pl. מאנן *CIS.*, 146 A 4).
constr. מאני H 5.
מבמחיה for מבמחיה D 36.
מבמחיה pr. n. C 3. 7. 10. 12. D 2. 36 (מבמת ב' מחסה). F 2. 10 (מבמחיה). 14. H 3. J 3. 7. K 3. 5. 6. See also מבמחיה.
מהר *price* (of a wife). G 4.
מהרה G 27.
מוזנא *the weighing machine.* G 24.
מות *to die.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. ימות G 17.
3rd sing. fut. fem. Pe. תמות G 20.
מות *death.*
מותי D 3. 8.
מחזי (Targ. מַקְזִיקָא) *mirror.* G 11.
מחסה pr. n. (=מחסיה ב' ידניה) A 9. 12. 20. D 35. 36.
מחסה ב' ישעיה pr. n. A 16. C 21. D 33.
מחסיה pr. n. C 18. 20. D 29. 31. H 3. P 4.
מחסיה ב' אסחור ב' צחא pr. n. H 3. 8. 11. 20.
מחסיה בר ידניה pr. n. A 2. B 3. 22. C 1. 5. 16. D 1. 18. 28. E 1. 17. 21. F 2. G 2. J 3. 7. 18. L 14.
מחסיה ב' נתן pr. n. J 3. 8. 21. K 2. 5. 8. 9. 15. 17.
מחר *to-morrow.* A 6. 8. C 8. 13. D 18. 20. 26. G 17. 20. 22. 26 (always in the phrase מחר או יום אחרן).
מטא *to happen to, fall to* (as a share).
3rd sing. perf. Pe. מטאך K 3. 7. 9. 10. 12.
" " מטאני K 5.
" " fem. מטאה F 5.
מטחיה mistake for מבמחיה pr. n. F 10.
מין *water* (Str. B 2).
מיא B 11. D 8 (Str. B 3).
מית *die.* 3rd sing. perf. Pe. A 8.
, , מלא? G 1.
מלא *sailor.* B 11. D 8.
מלתא A 13.
מלך *king.*
מלכא A 1. 7. B 2. 15. C 1. 15. D 1. 14. 21. E 1. F 1. 10. G 1. 2. 5. 7. 9. 10. 15. 35. 36. H 1. 15. J 1. 7. 16. K 1. 11 (*CIS.*, 145 B 1, &c. Str. A 2. 3. 5. *RÉS.*, 438, 4).
מלכה *kingship.*
מלכותא B 1.
מלכיה pr. n. C 19. D 31. M *a* 2 (?) 8.
מלכיה ב' זכריה pr. n. L 15.
מן pron. indef. *whoever.*
לכן ד' *to whomsoever.* D 9. 19. E 8. 16. H 14. J 9. K 7. 12.
מן prep. *from.* A 5. 10. 13. B 15. C 7. 9. 12. D 4. 9. E 8. F 6. 11. G 4. 18. 21. 25. 28. 29 (?). 30. 35. H 3. 6. 9. 10. 15. J 4. 6. 13. 16. K 7. 11. L 6. M *a* 6 (?) *b* 2. 4. N 1 (?).
מנה B 8. E 7. 16. G 36.
מנך C 9. 11. H 9. K 11.
מנכי D 19. F 6.
מנכם J 4.
מנתם A 10.
מכן *hence, therefore.* H 7.
מכעל *above.* J 8.
מנתם ב' נחל ב' בעריה pr. n. J 18. K 15.

מתתם ב' זכור pr. n. G 38.
מתתם ב' מתתם ב' משלם ב' שלומם pr. n. H 2. 9. 16. 19.
מתתם ב' עזריה pr. n. H 17.
מתתם ב' שלם pr. n. J 18.
מתתם ב' שלומם pr. n. (mistake for משלם ב' ש'). H 19.
מנמי pr. n. F 13.
מסורץ pr. n. month *Mesore*. C 1. D 1. E 1.
מעזיה ב' נתן pr. n. H 16. J 17.
מעזיה ב' מלכיה pr. n. (Neh. x. 9). C 19. D 30.
מפמאיה ברית מחוסה (=מכמ'). E 2. 4. 21. G 5. 6. 18. 20. 22. 27. 29. 33–36.
מפמיה pr. n. mistake for מכמאיה. G 3. 32.
מלאלוך ב' אלמו pr. n. E 15.
מרי? M *a* 2.
מרן P 2.
משאן? G 15*.
משיא *adj.* P 3.
משחת *measurement.*
משחת C 4.
משחתה D 4.
משלם pr. n. C 18. D 30. J 18.
משלם ב' חשע pr. n. B 18.
משלם ב' זכור ב' אסר pr. n. E 3. 7.
משלם pr. n. H 2. 17. 19 (written מתתם ב' ש').
משלם ב' שלומם pr. n. H 2. 17. 19 (written מתתם ב' ש').
מתלסרה ב' מתלסרה pr. n. E 18.

נבוראבן pr. n. C 16. D 28. K 14.
נבוכדרי pr. n. A 18.
נבול ב' דרגא pr. n. A 18.
נבתתן pr. n. F 11. 12 (*CIS.*, 154, 4).
נבוממסכן pr. n. B 19.
נבורעי ב' ושתן pr. n. F 13.
נבורעי ב' נבתתן pr. n. F 12.
נבוחלף ב' נבוראבן pr. n. K 14.
נבו (perhaps from Persian نوشتی something *written, a receipt.* L 6. (In the Samaritan Targum, Lev. xvi. 8–10 נבו = נזל seems to be different).
נתם ב' נזל (מנתם?) pr. n. H 17.
נחש *brass.* F 4. G 11–13. H 5.
נחת M *a* 4.
נכסן *goods.* E 5. F 4. H 12 (Str. A 4).
נכסיא E 4. F 6. 8. G 14. H 5. 8. 15.
נכסי G 35.
נכסיך E 6.
נכסית G 19. 21.
נכסוי G 30.
נמבא M *b* 1.
נמבאן? G 15.
נפא in ברין נפא, H 4, seems to be a pr. n., perhaps *Memphis*, Egyp. (*Me-*)*nfr* = Copt. ⲙⲉⲛⲫⲓ. The Biblical נף (7 times) would then be right as against מף (once), the latter being an easy corruption of נף in an alphabet like that of these deeds, and favoured by the Assyr. *Mimpi*. But final א should represent *a* as in פתיגא *ex Trée*. The form ought to be נפי as in קתיגפי *CIS.*, 146 B 11; cf., ممم *CIS.*, vol. i, 102 *c*, *from Memphis* (!). Also evidence is required that the *Me-* was ever (popularly) dropped.
נפק *to go out.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. fem. תנפק C 9.
2nd sing. fut. Pe. תנפק A 12.
infin. Pe. למנפק A 14.
3rd sing. fut. Ha. יתנפק (cf. BA.) D 15. E 11. 12 (יסגר?) (*CIS.*, 113, 21).
3rd sing. fut. Ha. fem. תתנפק G 25. 28 (!).
3rd pl. fut. Ha. יתנפקן D 17.
imperat. 2nd sing. fem. Ha. תנפקי D 27.

נפש *soul, self.*
נפשה E 18 (*CIS.*, 147, 7).
נצל *to take away.*
3rd sing. fem. Ha. fut. תתנצל C 10.
1st sing. fut. Ha. אתנצל D 18.
נקבה *female.* G 17. 20.
נקן *maiden?* D 2, where see note.
נתן *to give.*
2nd sing. perf. Pe. נתנת L 1.
1st sing. fut. Pe. אנתן A 7. 13. B 14. C 15. D 21. F 4. 10. G 34. 36. J. 15. L 4.
3rd pl. perf. Pe. נתנו F 1.
3rd sing. fut. Pe. (as in BA.) יתן A 10. D 13. E 11. G 30. H 14 (*CIS.*, 145 D 1. *RÉS.*, 247).
2nd sing. fut. Pe. תנתן K 7. 12.
fem. תנתנן D 10. E 8 (-מה).
3rd pl. fut. Pe. יתנתן L 6.
2nd pl. fut. Pe. תנתנתה J 9.
" " תנתנן J 11 (wrongly תנתנן). 14.
1st pl. fut. Pe. נתן K 10.
infin. Pe. למנתן C 6. D 16. 19. G 3.
" למנתנה C 9.
נתן pr. n. C 17. D 7. H 16. J 3. 9. 17. 19. 21. K 2. 16. 17.
נתן ב' יהואדר pr. n. K 16.
נתן ב' ענניה pr. n. C 20. D 32. E 17. G 37.
נתר Ha. *to take away.*
1st sing. fut. אנתר (!) G 35.

סגן (Dan. iii. 2, &c., Assyr. *šaknu*), *prefect, governor.* D 13.
סן pr. n. *Syene* (Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6 סנה). A 2. B 17. C 16. D 28. E 2. 3. F 2. 3. 12. G 2. J 2–4. K 2. M *a* 4 (*RÉS.*, 438, 2).
סיעכשר ב' נבוממסכן pr. n. B 19.
סלק *to rise up?* G 16.
סם mistake for סמר E 12.
סמר *dead.* A 20. B 22. C 4. D 16. 23. 25. 35. E 3. 11. 12 (סם) 21. F 4. 14. G 38. H 19. J 20. K 14. 17.
סמרא A 15. B 16. C 14. 16. D 16. 18. 22. 25. 27. 28. E 6. 9. 12. 17. F 11. G 31. 37. H 16. K 15. L 16 (possibly *scribe?*).
סתי pr. n. *Sati.* E 15. F 5 (*RÉS.*, 438, 5 תי אלוה . . .).

עבד *to do, work* (*RÉS.*, 438, 2). Q *a* 2?
2nd sing. perf. Pe. עברת C 10 (*CIS.*, 141, 2. 145 C 3).
2nd sing. perf. Pe. fem. עברתי F 6.
(3rd pl. perf. Pe. עברו Str. A 3).
(infin. Pe. לעבר Str. C 5).
(3rd sing. fut. Ithp. יתעבר Str. B 4).
עבד *a slave.* K 4. 5. 17.
עבדא K 7. 9. 10.
pl. עבדיה K 3.
עביד *a slave.* B 3.
עבידה *work.*
עבידתא C 10.
עבר *corn.* F 4. H 6. 12.
עברן *Hebrews.* F 3.
עד prep. *till.* A 5. 11. D 9. 11. E 16. F 7. G 4. 25. 28. H 9. 10. J 9. 16. K 7. L 3. 8. 10.
(conj. *CIS.*, 145 A 3).
עד (Hebr. עוד) adv. לא עד *not yet.* K 13.
עדה *congregation.* G 22. 26.
עדי Ha. *to take away.*
1st sing. perf. הענדת G 35.
עדן *time.* K 13.
עדלטר ב' הוסא pr. n. F 13.
עדריה pr. n. H 6. 12. 13. 17.
על prep. *upon, concerning.* B 5. 6. 12. 13. 14. 16. D 16. 23. 27. F 3. 6. G 19. 23. 29. J 20. K 4. 6. 8. 10. 11. L 6. 16. M *b* 4. 5. 7 (Str. A 3. C 9. 12 = אל).

עליה D 24.
עליך A 3. B 5. 16. G 5. K 8.
עליכי D 13. 15. 17. E 11. 12. F 5.
עלי G 15. L 2. 9. M *a* 4. Q *b* 4.
עליהם F 5. 8. H 16.
עלין (*against us*). K 3. 13. 14.
עלא *adv. upward.* A 5. 10. 11. 13. J 6. M *b* 4.
therein, concerning it. E 3. 10. H 14. K 9 (cf. the use of בנו and see note on A 15).
עלי pl. st. constr. (Targ. עילי, Syr. ܥܠܝܐ *the upper part of* =) *above.* A 6. 9.
עליה A 11.
עלה (cf. Syr. ܥܠܝܐ) *upper end.* A 4. 5. D 4. J 5.
עלה לי D 5. E 13.
לעלה לי B 11.
עלל *to go in.*
3rd sing. perf. Pe. (ל"י, עלי) על G 5. 15 (Dan. ii. 16).
1st sing. perf. Hasphel הועלה G 6. 7. 24. 27 (cf. Dan. ii. 25).
עלם in the phrase עד עלם *for ever.* D 9. 11. E 16. F 7. G 4. H 9. 10. J 9. 16. K 7.
עלם *lad.*
עלמיא K 13.
עלמתא *maid.* M *b* 6.
עם prep. *with.* C 6.
עמה D 27.
עמד *to stand, hold good.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יעמד G 31.
עמר (Dan. vii. 9) *wool.* G 7. 10.
ענגיה pr. n. B 20. G 37.
another person C 20. D 32. E 17.
ענגיה ב' מסלם ב' שלומם pr. n. H 2. 9. 16. 19.
עץ (BA. אָץ, Heb. עֵץ) *wood.* H 5.
עקבן ב' שמשגרי pr. n. L 12.
עקף *to accumulate.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יעקף L 8.
ערב *evening.* למערב *at the west.* D 5.
מערב שמש *the west.* B 9. E 15. J 7.
מערב ל- *at the west of.* C 3. D 7.
ערך *assess.* 3rd sing. fut. Pe. יערכה M *b* 2.
ערר *to set in motion* (a law-suit). Talm. id., used absolutely, *to protest*, cf. late Heb. עירער.
imperat. 2nd sing. fem. Pe. עורי D 27.
עשרה *ten.* D 14. H 15. J 15. K 11.
עשרתא *ten.* B 15. C 15. D 14. 21.
עשרן *tenth.* B 14.
עשתא *measuring-rod* (? Heb. עשת). C 5. D 5.
עתר (or עתר ?).
imperat. 2nd sing. עתר C 5.
עתק *old* (=עתיק). E 12.
עתיק *old.* D 16.
עתיקא E 6.
עתרשורי ב' נבוזראבן pr. n. C 16. D 27.

[מא]ני pr. n. month *Payni.* H 1.
מטעניה pr. n. (cf. ממטעניה). B 10.
פחי pr. n. F 2. 12 (cf. פתה *CIS.*, 146 A 11, but פחי Zing. Pan. 12 = Ass. *pakhîtu, governor*).
פחנס pr. n. month *Pahons.* A 1. F 1.
פמאסי ב' נבוזתן pr. n. F 11 (*CIS.*, 147, 148).
פמחסידי pr. n. K 4. 6. 8. 10. 12. 17 (*CIS.*, 138 A 4).
פמחתום pr. n. B 17 (*CIS.*, 155 A 4).
פיא ב' פחי pr. n. F 1. 9. 12. 14.
פלג *to divide, share.*
1st pl. perf. Pe. פלגן K 3.
1st pl. fut. Pe. נפלג K 13.

פלג *a part.* C 11 (*CIS.*, 145 D 9. In *RÉS.*, 246, 3 = *half*).
פלגא C 11. 12.
פלגן *division.* K 17.
פלגנן (*our partition*) K 14.
פלטי pr. n. E 15.
פלטיה ב' אחיו pr. n. A 15.
פלי? Q *a* 2.
פללה pr. n. C 17. D 30.
פם *mouth.*
בפם A 15. B 17. C 16. D 28. E 17. F 12. G 37. H 16. J 17. K 15.
על פם L 16.
פטליה pr. n. E 13. J 19.
פטליה בר יונה pr. n. G 38.
פמטעניה pr. n. (cf. מטעניה). A 13. D 7.
פס ? G 16.
פקד *to deposit.*
3rd pl. perf. (passive ?) פקדו. H 7.
פקדון *a deposit, trust ?* H 7.
פרזל *iron.* F 4. H 5.
פרכם *paint-box ?* G 16 (cf. Talm. פרקם *to paint the face*).
פרס *share, payment.* M *a* 3 (*part*). F 3.
פרסי L 6.
פרה (Targ. Syr. *to break up*) *divide, come to an agreement ?*
1st pl. fut. Pe. נפרה F 3.
פרתרך Persian official title, *governor* (cf. פרתמים Est. i. 3, from O. Pers. *fratama, foremost*). H 4 (Str. A 4).
פרתמרן ב' ארתמרן pr. n. A 17.
פשך (Targ. Syr. id.) *a span.* C 4. D 4.
(pl. פשכן *RÉS.*, 246, 2).
פתח *to open.*
inf. Pe. לפתחה A 14.
pticp. pass. pl. פתיחן J 6.
פתח pr. n. *Pish.* L 2.
פתי *breadth.* D 4. (*RÉS.*, 246, Dan. iii. 1, Ezr. vi. 3).

צבי *to wish.*
3rd sing. fem. perf. Pe. צבית G 25 (?). 29.
2nd sing. perf. Pe. צבית K 7. 12.
(2nd sing. perf. fem. Pe.? צבתי *CIS.*, 137, B 1).
2nd sing. fut. fem. Pe. תצבין E 16.
צבע *dyed.* G 8.
צדק *to be justified, receive a favourable verdict.*
1st sing. fut. Pe. אצדק D 22.
צדק pr. n. A 2. B 8. D 6.
צחא pr. n. G 2. H 3. 20 (*CIS.*, 138 B 1. 146. 152).
צעניה pr. n. C 20*. D 32.
צריף *refined (silver).* A 7. K 11.

קבל (Targ., Syr. id.) *to complain, invocavit (judicem).*
1st sing. perf. Pe. קבלת עליך B 5.
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יקבל עליכי דין וסמן D 13.
3rd pl. fut. Pe. יקבלון דין עליך B 16.
קבל prep. *before, against.* G 36.
(לקבל זנה Sir. B 5).
לקבלית D 27.
קדם prep. *before.* B 5. D 24. H 4. J 2. 3 (*CIS.*, 146 &c.).
קום *to arise.*
3rd sing. fut. Pe. יקום G 26. 29.
3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תקום G 22.
" " ? תקום G 15*.
קוטה בר צדק pr. n. A 2. 8. 11. 15. 20. B 8. D 6.
קטין (Targ. קטין) *cucumbers.* N 2 (*CIS.*, 137 B 6).
קטר (= עטר, Heb. עטר, see above, p. 15) *wool.* H 5.

קנין *possessions.* F 4.
קנינה G 19. 22. 30.
קניני G 35.
קסרא M *a* 5.
קסירא M *a* 4. 6. 7.
קצרי ב' יהודי pr. n. L 13.
(קרא)
מקרא *writing (legend).* K 4. 6.
קרב *a relative.* E 10.
קריב *near (related).* A 9. B 13. H 10.
קריה *city.* A 9. E 10. H 11 (*CIS.*, 145 A 3?).
קשי *hard.*
pl. קשיא B 11. D 8.

ר (?) a sum of money, see ד.
ראש *beginning.* B 1.
head ראשה G 23.
principal (money). L 5.
רב *master.*
רב חילא *commanding the garrison.* H 5. J 2. 4 (*RÉS.*, 438, 2).
רבא *large.* M *a* 7.
רבה Pa. *to bear interest.* 3rd sing. fut. ירבה L 2. 5.
ptcp. רבה L 9.
מרבי *interest.* L 7.
מרבית L 3. 5.
מרביתה L 8. 9.
רגל (or רגל?) *climbs.* A 2. 3. B 3. 4. 9. 10. C 2. D 2. E 2. F 3. G 2. H 2. K 2.
בעל רגל *claim.* A 9. E 10.
רגלא C 2. H 4.
רחם *to wish.*
2nd sing. fem. perf. Pe. רחמתי. D 10. 19. E 8.
2nd pl. perf. Pe. רחמתן J 9.
רחמן (=רחמה) *a present.* J 11. 14.
רחמה *a present.* C 7.
רחמין pr. n. A 19. (Perhaps to be read in *CIS.*, 154, 7).
רחק *to depart from, withdraw one's claim.*
1st sing. perf. Pe. רחקת E 7. 16. F 6. J 4.
רחיק (Ezra vi. 6 רַחִיק) *afar* (=*not related*). A 9. B 13. E 10.
removed from. B 15. F 11. H 15.
pl. רחיקן H 9. K 11.
מרחק (*deed of*) *conveyance.* B 22. D 23. 25. F 14. J 20.
רעוה (cf. Heb. רעואל) pr. n. C 21. D 33.
רשה (Syr. ܪܫܐ *to blame*) Pe. or Pa. *to bring an action,* with double accus., cf. ערה. 3rd sing. perf. D 24. J 1 (רשכם).
1st sing. perf. רשיתכם J 12.
1st pl. perf. רשן H 6. 16.
" " רשינ K 9.
" " רשינכם H 4. 7.
3rd sing. fut. ירשה D 26 (Zing. Had. 27, 28 ירשי *cause*).
3rd sing. fut. ירשבי D 12. E 9.
" ירשכם J 15.
1st sing. fut. ארשנך C 13. D 20 (כ.).
3rd pl. fut. ירשן H 11. 13. 14. J 14.
" ירשינכם H 11. 13.
1st pl. fut. נרשה J 10. K 9.
inf. Pe. למרשה K 8.

ש for שקל L 2. 3 (*CIS.*, 64, 2. 153).
שאל *to ask back?*
2nd pl. perf. Pe. שאלתם H 8.
שאר *to remain over.*
3rd sing. fut. Ithp. ישתאר L 9.
שבט pr. n. month *Shebat.* K 1.

שבט (Talm. שבב *to weave closely*) *woven fabric.* G 9.
שדר *witness.* A 16–19. B 17–21. C 17–22. D 29–34. E 19. G 39. H 17. 18. K 16.
pl. שדריא A 15. C 16. D 28. E 17. F 12. G 37. J 17. K 15. L 11. 16.
שוה *to be worth, equal to.*
ptcp. שוה G 8. 9. 11. 13.
fem. שויה G 12.
pl. שוין G 13.
1st pl. perf. Ithp. אשתוין (*we have agreed*). K 2.
שי *a bed?* (Targ. שִׁיָא, Syr. ܫܝܐ). G 15.
שוק *street, bazaar.*
שוקא A 12. 14.
שקא E 14. P 1?
שחט *to draw out, spin?*
ptcp. Niphal? נשחט G 10, where see note.
שטר *side.* A 5.
שטר מן *on the side of, on behalf of?* (Syr. ܥܠ ܦܬܓܡ?) J 13. 16.
שכח *to find.*
3rd pl. fut. Pe. ישכחן M *b* 6.
1st sing. perf. Ha. השכחת E 5.
(3rd sing. perf. Ithp. אשתכח Str. A 2. C 3).
שכרא M *b* 3.
שלום pr. n. J 18.
שלומם pr. n. H 2. 17. 19.
שלומם ב' עזריה pr. n. H 6. 12. 13.
שלח *send.* M *b* 5.
שלחא M *a* 4.
שלט *having mastery* or *authority* (BA. שַׁלִּיט). A 11. 14. C 6. 11. D 11. K 6
fem. שלטה C 9. D 9. G 18.
pl. שלטין C 7. 10. 13.
שלם Pa. *to pay.*
1st sing. perf. שלמת L 7.
1st sing. fut. אשלמנה L 3. 5. 10.
infin. לשלמה E 5.
ptcp. משלם L 7.
שלם *greeting.* N 1.
שלם pr. n. E 20 (*CIS.*, 154, 1).
שלם ב' חרשעיה pr. n. A 19.
שלם ב' נתן pr. n. K 16.
שם *name.* בשם *concerning, on behalf of.* D 12. E 9. F 8. 9. H 12. J 12. 13. Q *b* 4.
בשמי *on my behalf.* B 14. D 16. J 12. 13.
שמה K 4. 5. 9. 13. M *b* 8.
שמך? O *b* 4.
שמע *hear.*
2nd pl. fut. Pe. תשמעון M *a* 3.
שמעיה pr. n. E 19.
שמעיה ב' חרשע pr. n. A 17.
שמעיה ב' ירחיה pr. n. C 19. D 31.
שמש *sun.* B 8. 9. D 6. E 15. J 6. 7.
שמשגרי pr. n. L 12.
שנא *hate, divorce.*
1st sing. perf. Pe. שנאת G 23. 27.
3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תשנאך C 8.
שנאה *divorce.* G 23.
שנה *year.*
שנה A 1. B 1. C 1. D 1. E 1. F 1. G 1. H 1. J 1. K 1. L 8 (*CIS.*, 122, 3. *RÉS.*, 438, 4. Str. A 2).
שני *to tattoo?*
2nd sing. perf. Pa. שנית K 4.
1st sing. perf. Pa. שנית K 6.
שניתה *tattooing?* K 4. 6.
שנן? G 15.
שקא see שוקא.
שקל *a shekel.* G 12. 14 (*for* שקלין).
pl. שקלין G 5. 6. 8. 10. 11. 13. 24 (*CIS.*, 13 *a.* 14 *&c.*).

שליך M *a* 3.
שתבון ב׳ אתרלי pr. n. A 16. E 18.

תבא pr. n. K 4. 5. 12 (*CIS.*, 141, 1. 147, 8).
תוב *to return.*
3rd sing. fem. fut. תתב G 23.
3rd sing. perf. Ha. (Hi.) תתיב H 7.
תוב adv. *further.* C 12.
תחום *boundary.*
pl. תחומי B 7. E 13.
תחומי D 5. J 4. 8.
תחות pr. n. month *Thoth.* B 1. J 1. L 8.
תחתה (cf. Syr. ܬܚܬܝܐ) *lower part, end.* D 4. J 6.
לתחתה D 6. J 5.
לתחתה B 10.
לתחתא E 13.

תמוסרי pr. n. M *b* 3.
תבונה (cf. Nahum ii. 10) *outfit.* G 6.
תמה adv. *there.* A 4. J 6 (*CIS.*, 141, 2. Str. C 5).
תמחי *a tray, dish.* G 12 (Talm. תמחוי. Cf. Assyr. *tamḥiu*).
תקל *to weigh.*
(3rd sing. fut. Pe. יתקלתי *CIS.*, 145 A 6).
3rd sing. fem. fut. Pe. תתקל G 24.
מתקלה *weight.* constr. מתקלה K 11.
תרך (Targ. id.) Pa. *to drive away.*
infin. לתרכותה G 30.
תרע *gate.* A 3.
תרעא A 12. 14.
תשרי pr. n. month *Tishri.* G 1.

TEXTS

PAPYRUS A.

MS. Aram. b. 1 (P) in the Bodleian Library.

1 בי״ III II לאלול הו יום ד III III II לפתנס שנת י״ III I חשיארש מלכא אמר
2 קניה בר צדק ארמי זי סן לרגל וריות למחסיה בר ידניה ארמי זי סן
3 לרגל וריות לאמר אנה אתית עליך ויהבת לי תרע ביתא זילך למבנה
4 אנר ו תמה אנרא זך זילך הי זי דבקה לביתא זילי לזוזתה זי לעליה
5 אנרא זך תדבק לשטר ביתי מן ארעא ועד עלא מן זוית ביתי זי לעליה ועד בית זבריה
6 מחר או יום אחרן לא אכהל אכלאנך למבנה עלוי אנרא זך זילך
7 הן כליתך אנתן לך כסף כבשן III II באבני מלכא כסף צריף ואנרא זך
8 אפם והן מית קניה מחר או יום אחרן לא יכהל בר ובריה אח ואחה
9 קריב ורחיק בעל תגל וקריה יכלא למחסה או לבר לה למבנה עלוי
10 אנרא זך זילה זי יכלא מנהם יתן לה כספא זי כתיב מן עלא ואנרא
11 זילך אפם ואנת שליט למבנה עליה עד עלא ואנה קניה לא אכהל
12 אמר למחסה לאמר תרעא זך לא זילך הו ולא תנפק בשוקא זי
13 בינין ובין בית ספסעונית מלחא הן כליתך אנתן לך כספא זי כתיב מן עלא
14 ואנת שליט למפתח תרעא זך ולמנפק בשוקא זי בינין
15 כתב פלטיה בר אחיו ספרא זנה כפם קניה שהדיא בנו
16 שהד מחסה בר ישעיה שהד שתברזן בר אתרלי
17 שהד שמעיה בר הושע שהד פרתפרן בר ארתפרן
18 שהד בגרת בר נבוכדרי נבולי בר דרנא
19 שהד בגתרש בר הסרע שהד שלם בר הושעיה
20 ספר אנרא זי בנה זי כתב קניה למחסה *Docket :*

PAPYRUS B.

Bought by Lady William Cecil. No. 37107 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב ר III II לכסלו הו יו[ם III] III \ לתחות שנת ד \ ראש מלוכתא כזי
2 ארתחשסש מלכא יתב בברסאה אמר דרגמן בר תרשין חרזמי זי אתרה
3 ביב בירתא עביד לרגל ארתבנו למחסיה בר ידניה יהודי זי בבירת יב
4 לרגל וריזת לאמר י[מא]ת לי ביהו אלהא ביב בירתא אנת ואנתתך
5 וברך כל III על ארקא זילי זי אנת קבלת עליך על דברה קדם
6 דמירת וכנותה דיניא ושענך לי מומאה למומא ביהו על דבר ארקא
7 זך כזי לא הות ארק לדרגמן זילי הא אנה אף הא תחומי ארקא זך
8 זי ימאת לי על דברה ביתי דרגמן למע שמש מנ[ה] ובית קוניה בר צדק אנה
9 יהודי לרגל אתרופרן למערב שמש לה ובית [יז]ניה בר אוריה
10 יהודי לרגל וריזת לתחתיה לה ובית אספמת בר פוטעונית
11 מלח זי מיא קשיא לעליה לה ימאת לי ביהו והוטבת
12 לבבי על ארקא זי לא אכהל אגרנך דין ודבב אנה ובר לי וברה
13 לי על ארקא זך אנת ובר לך וברה לך אח ואחה לך קריב ורחיק אח ואחה לי קריב ורחיק
14 זי יגרנך בשמי על ארקא זך אנתן לך כסף כבשן ד הו עשרן באבני
15 מלכא כסף ד II לעשרתא וארקא זך אפם זילך ואנת רחיק מן
16 כל דין זי יקבלון עליך על דבר ארעא זך כתב איתן בר אבה ספרא
17 זנה בסון בירתא כפם דרגמן שהד הושע בר פטחנום שהד
18 גדול בר יגדל שהד נטריה בר אחיז משלם בר הושע
19 סינכשד בר נבוסמסכן שהד הרדגורי בבליא
20 שהד גדליה בר עגניה
21 שהד אליישא בר אלסתמר
22 ספר מרחק זי כתב [דרגמן] בר תרשין ל מחסיה *Docket:*

PAPYRUS C.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond. No. 37106 in the Cairo Museum.

(*Reverse.*)

1 ב[ד ו] ל[כס]לו הו יום ו] ל[ממר]ע שנת III III ארתחשסש מלכא אמר מחסיה
2 בר ידניה י[הודי ז ב]אב לרגל הומרת ליוניה בר אוריה בזכם רגלא
3 לאמר איתי ארק בי ו זילי מערב לביתא זילך ז אנה יהבת למבטחיה
4 ברתי אנתתך וספר כתבת לה אתרוהי משחת ביתא זך אמן יי III ופשך
5 בי־ו בעשתא כען אנה מחסיה אמרת לך ארקא זך בני ועתר בהמתה
6 ותב בנו עם אנתתך להן ביתא זנך לא שליט אנת לזבנה ולמנתן
7 רחמת לאחרנן להן בנך מן מבטחיה ברתי המו שלימן בה
8 אחריכם הן מחר או יום אחרן ארקא זך תבנה אחר ברתי תשנאנך
9 ותנפק מנך לא שליטה הי למלקחה ולמנתנה לאחרנן להן בנך מן
10 מבטחיה המו שלימן בה חלף עבידתא זי אנת עבדת הן תהנצל
11 מנך פלג ביתא [יהוה] לה למלקח ופלגא אחר[נ]א אנת שליט בה חלף

(*Obverse.*)

12 בנויא זי אנת בנית בביתא זך ותוב פלגא הו בנך מן מבטחיה
13 המו שלימן בה אחריך הן מחר או יום אחרן ארשנך דין ודבב
14 ואמר לא יהבת לך ארקא זך למבנה ולא כתבת לך ספרא זנה אנה
15 אנתן לך כסף כבשן יי באבני מלכא כסף ד II לעשרתא ולא דין ולא דבב
16 כתב עתרשורי בר [נ]בזראבן ספרא זנה בסן בירתא כפם מחסיה שהדיא
17 בנו שהד הושע בר פלליה שהד זכריה בר נתן
18 שהד גמריה [ב]ר מחסיה שהד זכריה בר משלם
19 שהד מעזיה בר מלכיה שהד שמעיה בר ידניה
20 שהד ידניה בר מחסיה שהד נתן בר ענניה
21 שהד הושע [בר] רעויה שהד מחסה בר ישעיה שהד זכור בר צפניה
22 שהד הו[שע בר יגר]ל

PAPYRUS D.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond. No. 37114 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב ד ו לכסלו הו יום ו למטורע שנת III ו III ארתחשסש מלכא אמר מחסיה
2 בר ידניה יהודן מתחסן ביב בירתא לרגל הומרת לנשן מבטחיה
3 ברתה לאמר אנת יהבת לכי בחיי ובמותי בי ו ארק זילי הוה
4 משתתה ארכת מן תתתיה לעליה אמן ר III ופשך ו פתי מן מזנא
5 למערב אמן ר ו ב[ע]שתא תחומוהי עליה לה בית דרגמן בר חרשין
6 דבק תחתיה לה בית קוניה בר צדק מזנא שמש לה בית יון בר
7 אוריה בעלכי ובית זכריה בר נתן מערב לה בית אספמת בר פפטעונית
8 מלה זי מא קשיא ביתא זנך ארק אנה יהבתה לכי בחיי ובמותי
9 אנתי שליטה בה מן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניכי אחריכי למן זי
10 רחמתי תנתנן לא איתי לי בר וברה אחרנן אח ואחה ואנתה
11 ואיש אחרן שליט בארקא זך לתן אנתי ובניכי עד עלם זי
12 ירשנכי דין ד[ב]ב אנתי ובר וברה לכי ואיש זילכי בשם ארקא
13 זך זי יהבת לכי ויקבל עליכי מנן ודין ינתן לכי ולבניכי
14 כסף כבשן ר הו עשרה באבני מלכא כסף ד II לעשרתא ולא דין ולא דבב
15 וביתא ביתכי אפם ולבניכי אחריכי ולא יכהלון יהנפקון עליכי
16 ספר חדת ועתיק בשמי על ארקא זך למנתן לאיש אחרן זך ספרא
17 זי יהנפקן עליכי כדב יהוה לא אנה כתבתה ולא יתלקח בדין
18 וספרא זנה בידכי ואף אנה מחסיה מחר או יום אחרן לא אהנצל
19 מנכי למנתן לאחרנן ארקא זך זילכי בני והבי למן זי רחמתי
20 הן מחר או יום אחרן ארשנכי דין ודבב ואמר לא יהבת לכי
21 אנה אנתן לכי כסף כבשן ר באבני מלכא כסף ד II לעשרתא ולא דין
22 ולא דבב וביתא ביתכי אפם ואהך בדין ולא אצדק וספרא זנה בידכי
23 אף איתי ספר מרחק ו זי דרגמן בר חרשין חרזמא כתב לי על
24 ארקא זך כזי רשה עליה קדם דיניא וטומא מעינת לה ומאת לה
25 כזי זילי הי וספר מרחק כתב והב לי ספרא זך אנת יהבתה לכי
26 אנתי הסנהי הן מחר או יום אחרן דרגמן או בר זילה ירשה
27 על ביתא זך ספרא זך הנפקי ולקבלה דין עזרי עמה כתב עתרשורי
28 בר נבחראבן ספרא זנה בסון בירתא כפם מחסיה שהדיא בנו
29 שהד גטריה בר מחסיה שהד זכריה בר נתן
30 שהד הושע בר פלליה שהד זכריה בר משלם שהד מעזיה בר
31 מלכיה שהד שמעיה בר ידניה שהד ידניה בר מחסיה
32 שהד נתן בר עגניה זכור בר צפניה
33 שהד הושע בר רעויה שהד מחסה בר ישעיה
34 שהד הושע בר יגדל

Docket :

35 ספר בן ו זי יהב מחסה בר ידנ[יה]
36 למבטח ברת מחסה

PAPYRUS E.

Bought by Lady William Cecil. No. 37108 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב III לכסלו הו יום ר לירח מסורע שנת ר III III III ארתחשסש מלכא אסר מחסיה בר
2 ידניה ארמי זי סן לרגל וריזת למפטחיה ברתה לאמר אנה יהבת לכי לביתא
3 זי יהב לי משלם בר זכור בר אמר ארמי זי סן ברמוח[ין] וספר כתב לי עלא
4 ויהבתה למפטחיה ברתי חלף נכסיא זי יהבת לי כזי הנדן הוית בבירת אפלת
5 המו ולא השכחת כסף ונכסן לשלמה לכי אחר אנה יהבת לכי לביתא זנה
6 חלף נכסיך אלך דמי כסף בכשן III II ויהבת לכי ספרא עתיקא זי [כתב]
7 לי משלם זך אתרוהי זנה ביתא יהבתה לכי ורחקת מנה דילכי הו ולבניכ[ין]
8 מן אחריכי ול[מן זי רחמת]ן תנתנה לא אכל אנה ובני זרע זילי ונבר
9 אחרן ירשנכי דין ודבב בשם ביתא זך זי אנה יהבת לכ[ין] וספרא כתבת לכי
10 עלא זי ינרנכי דין ובב אנה ואח ואחה קרב ורחי[ק בע]ל רגל ובעל קריה
11 ינתן לכי כסף כבשן ר ובית אם דילכי אף לא יכל גבר אחרן יהנפק עליכי ספר
12 חדת ועתק להן זנת ספרא זי אנה כתבת ויהבת לכי [ו]ן [ינפ]ק עליכי ספ לא אנה כ[תבתה]
13 אף הא אלה תחומי ביתא זך עליה לה בית יא[ו]ר בר פ[נ]ליה תחתיא לה
14 אגורא זי יהה אלה מטעא לה בית גרול בר אושע ושקא בניהם
15 מערב שמש לה [ארק] מ[ד]ו[ך] בר פלטו כמר [לחנ]ם [וס]תי א[ל]הי[א] זך ביתא
16 יהבתה לך ורחקת מנה דילכי הו עד עלם ולמן [זי] תצבין הבחי כתב
17 נתן בר עגניה ספרא זנה כפם מחסיה ושחדיא בנו כלב מחסיה בר[ה]
18 נפשה מתח[ס]רה בר מתח[ס]רה ו[שתברן] בר אתרלי כספי
19 שחד ברבדי בר דרני כספי זי אתרא [שחד . . . .] בר שמעיה
20 זכור בר שלם
21 ספר במחסיה בר ידניה [למפטחי]ה ברתה *Docket:*

PAPYRUS F.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond. No. 37112 in the Cairo Museum.

1 בי־III \ לאב הו יום י־III III לפחנס שנת ד־III II ארתחשסש מלכא אמר פיא

2 בר פחי ארדיכל לסן בירתא למבטחיה ברת מחסיה בר ידניא

3 ארמיא זי סן לרגל וריזת על דינא זי עברן בסן נפרת על כסף

4 ועבור ולבוש ונחש ופרזל כל נכסן וקנין וספר אתן ארין מומאה

5 ממאה עליכי ימאתי לי עלידם בסתי אלהתה ושיב לבבי

6 במומאה דכא זי עברתי לי על נכסיא אלך ורחקת מנבי מן

7 יומא זנה ועד עלם לא אכהל אנרנבי דין ודבב אנתי ובר

8 וברה לכי בשם נכסיא אלכי זי ימאתי לי עלידם הן נריתבי

9 דין ודבב ונרכי ברלי ובראלי בשם מומאה דכי אנה פיא ובני

10 אנתן למטחיה כסף כבשן III II באבני מלכא ולא דין ולא דבב

11 ואנה רחיק מן כל דין ודבב כתב פטאסי בר נבונתן ספרא זנה

12 בסן בירתא כפם פיא בר פחי שהדיא בנו נבורעי בר נבונתן

13 לוחי בר מנבי עזלנהר בר דוסא נבורעי בר ושתן

14 ספר מרחק זי כתב פיא למבטחיה] *Docket:*

PAPYRUS G.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond and Lady William Cecil. No. 37110 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב ד[III III] ת[ש]ע [ו]ן סלא . . . III III לירח אפ[נ]י שנת ד III II לארתחשסת מלכא]
2 אמר אסחור בר [צתא] ארדיכל זי מלכא למת[סיה א]רמי זי סן לרגל
3 וריזת לאמר אנה [א]תית ביתך למנתן לי [ל]בהתך מפטיה לאנתו
4 הי אנתתי ואנה בעלה מן יומא זנה ועד עלם יהבת לך מהר
5 ברתך מפטחיה [כסף] שקלן III II באבני מלכ[א] על עליך וטב לבבך
שקלן II
6 בנו הנעלת ל[ברתך] מפטחיה בידה כס[ף] תבונה כבש I באבני
7 מלכא כסף ד II ליי [ה]נעלת לה בידה לבש I זי עמר חדת חטב
II III III
8 צבע ידין הוה ארך אמן III III II ב III II [ש]ה כסף כבשן II שקלן
9 באבני מלכא שבים I חדת הוה ארך אמן III III I ב III II שוה
10 כסף שקלן III III II [בא]בני מלכא לבש אחרן זי עמר נשחט הוה
11 ארך אמן III III ב III \ שוה כסף שקלן III III I מחזי I זי נחש שוה
12 כסף שקל I ד II תמ[חי] I זי נחש שויה כסף שקל I ד II כסן זי נחש II
13 שוין כסף שקלן II[II ז]לע I זי נחש שוה כסף ד II כל כספא
14 ודמי נכסיא כסף כבשן III III שקל III II חלדן ד כסף ד II ליי באבני
15 מלכא על עלי [וט]יב לבבי בנו שוי I זי נמא בה נעבצן
15ª תקם ח III II שנן משאן I
16 זי אבן III I פק I זי סלק כפן II פרכם I [זי] חצן חדת
17 מחר או יום א[חר] ימות אסחור ובר דכר ונקבה לא
18 איתי לה מן מ[פמח]יה אנתתה מפטחיה הי שליטה בביתה
19 זי אסחור ונכ[סיה] וקנינה וכל זי איתי [ל]ה על אנפי ארעא
20 כלה מחר או יום תמות מפטחיה ובר דכר ונקבה לא
21 איתי לה מן אסחור בעלה אסחור הו ירתנה בנכסיה
22 וקנינת מחר [או י]ום אחרן תקום [מפ]טחיה בעדה
23 ותאמר שנאת לאסחור בעלי כסף שנאה בראשה תתב על
24 מזונא ותתקל ל[אס]חור כסף שקלן III II I ד II וכל זי הנעלת
25 בידה תהנפק [מן] חם עד חוט ותהך [ל]האן זי צבית ולא
26 ידין ולא דבב מחר או יום אחרן יקום אסחור בעדה
27 ויאמר שנאת [לאנ]תתי מפטחיה מחרה [י]אבד וכל זי הנעלת
28 בידה תהנפק מן חם עד חוט ביום חר בכף חדת ותהך
29 לה אן זי צבית מן לא דין ולא דבב [ה]ן יקום על מפטחיה
30 לתרבותה מן ביתה זי אסחור ונכסוהי וקנינה ינתן לה
31 כסף כבשן ד ויע[מר] לה דין ספרא זנה ולא אכל אמר
32 איתי לי אנתה א[חרנ]ה להן מפטיה ובנן אחרנן להן בנן זי
33 תלד לי מפטחיה הן אמר איתי לי ב[נן] ואנתה אחרן להן
34 מפטחיה ובניה אנתן למפטחיה כס[ף] כבשן ד באבני
35 מלכא ולא אכל [אחנ]תה נכסי וקניני מן מפ[טח]יה והן העדת הפו
36 מנה (קבל ס[פר אחר]) אנתן למפטחיה [כסף] כבשן ד באבני מל[כא]
37 כתב נתן בר ענניה [ספרא זנה כפם אסחור] ושהדיא בנו
38 פנוליה בר יזניה [יזנ]יה בר אר[ריה] מנחם בר [ז]בור
39 שהד ויזבלו . . . . . .

PAPYRUS H.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond. No. 37111 in the Cairo Museum.

1 בירח אלול רו פאנ̇י ש̇נת III ו דריוהוש מלכא ארין ביב בירתא אמר
2 מנחם וענניה כל [II בני] משלם בר שלומם יהודין זי יב בירתא לתל ארנגבו
3 לידניה ומחסיה כל II בני אסחור בר צחא מן מבטחיה ברת מחסיה יהודין
4 לזכם רגלא לאמר [אנחנ]ה רשינכם בדין נפא קדם דמנדין פרתדך וידרנג
5 רב חילא לאמר איתי̇ נכסיא לבשי קמר וכתן מאני נחש ופרזל מאני עק
6 וחוצן עבור ואחרן דחשן לאמר אסחור אבוכם לקח מן שלומם בר עזריה אף
7 אמר איתי זי בפק[דון] דפקדו והו החסן ולא תתיב לה ומנבן רשינכם
8 אחר שאילתם ואנת ידניה ומחסיה בני אסחור הומבתם לבבן באלך נכסיא
9 ומיב לבבן בנו מן [יומ]א זנה עד עלם אנה מנחם וענניה רחיקן אנחנה מגך
10 מן יומא זנה עד על[ם] ל[א] נכהל אנחנה ובנין ובנתן ואחין ואיש זילן קריב ובעל
11 קריה לא יכהלון ירשו[נב]ם אנת ידניה ומחסיה דין ודבב ולא יכהלון ירשון לבניכם
12 ואחיכם ואיש לכם [בש]ם נכסן וכסף עבור ואחרן זי שלומם בר עזריה והן אנחנה
13 ובנין ובנתן ואיש ז[ל]ן ובני שלומם בר עזריה ירשונכם ורשון לבניכם ובנתכם
14 ואיש זילכם ו[ן] ירש[ן] דין עלא ינתן לכם או לבניכם או למן זי ירשון אבינרנא
15 זי כסף כבשן עשרה ב[אבג]י מלכא כסף ד II לכבש \ והו אחר רחיק מן אלך נכסיא זי
16 רשין עליהם ולא דין ולא דב[ב] כתב מעזיה בר נתן ספרא זנה כפם מנחם וענניה כל II
17 בני משלם בר שלומם שחר [ס]נחם בר גדול גדול בר ברכיה מנחם בר עזריה
18 שחר הודויה בר זכו[ר בר] אושעיה

Docket:

19 ספר זי כתב מנחם וענניה כל [II] בני מנחם בר שלומם
20 [לידני]ה ומחסיה כל II בני אסחור בר צחא

PAPYRUS J.

Bought by Mr. Robert Mond. No. 37113 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב III לכסלו שנת III IIII III הו יום י״II לתחות שנת III II III דריוהוש מלכא ארין ביב
2 בירתא אמר ידניה בר הושעיה בר אוריה ארמי זי יב בירתא קדם ודרנג רב חילא
3 זי סון לידניה בר נתן ומחסיה בר נתן אחוה אמהם מבטחיה ברת מחסיה בר ידניה קדם
4 ודרנג רב חילא זי סון לאמר רחקת מנכם מן בית יזניה בר אוריה הא תחומוהי
5 עליה בית הושע בר אוריה דבק לה תחתיה לה בית הפגל בר זבריה דבק לה
6 בתחתיה ומן עלא כדן פתיחן תמה מזעה שמש לה אנורא זי יהו אלהא וארח
7 מלכא בניהם מערב שמש [לה] בית מבטחיה ברת מחסיה זי יהב לה מחסיה אבוה
8 דבק לה זך ביתא זי תחומוהי כתיבן מגעל זילכם הו אנת ידניה ומחסיה כל II
9 בני נתן עד עלם ווי בניך אחריכם ולמן זי רחמתן תנתנונה לא אכהל אנה ידניה ובני
10 ואנתה ואיש לי לא אכהל אנרנבם דין ודבב אף לא נבהל נרשה לבר וברה לכם
11 אח ואחה אנתה ואיש [לכ]ם או נבר זי תזבנון לה ביתא זך או זי ברחמן תנתון לה
12 בשמי אנה ידניה ובשם בני ואנתה ואיש לי וחן אנה ידניה רשיתכם ורשכם
13 בר לי וברה אנתה ואיש בשמי ובשם בני שטר מן בר וברה זי יזניה בר אוריה
14 ורשון לבר וברה ואנתה ואיש לכם או נברן זי תזבנון לה או זי ברחמן תנתנו לה
15 ביתא זך ווי ירשכם דין אנתן לכם אבינרנא זי כסף כבשן עשרה הו כבשן י״ כסף
16 ד II לכבש I באבני מלכא וביתא אפם זילכם עד עלם ווי בניכם אחריכם שטר מן
17 בגן זי יזן בר אוריה ולא דין כתב מעזיה בר נתן כפם ידניה בר הושע ושהריא
18 בנו מנחם בר שלום מחסיה בר ידניה מנחם בר גרן[ל] בר בעדיה ידניה בר משלם
19 יסלח בר גרול גרול בר ברכיה יזניה בר פגוליה אחיו בר נתן

Docket:
20 ספר מרחק זי כתב ידניה בר הושע על בית יזניה בר אוריה
21 לידניה בר נתן ומחסיה אחוהי כל II

PAPYRUS K.

Bought by Lady William Cecil. No. 37109 in the Cairo Museum.

1 ב ד ///ו לשכמ שנת ר III הו יום III III III לחתחור שנת ר ///ו דריותרש מלכא ביב בירתא
2 אמר מחסיה בר נתן ו ידניה בר נתן \ כל ו ארמין ז סון לרגל ה[ן]ת לאמר אנחנה אשתון
3 כחדה ופלגן עלין עבדיה ז מבטחיה אמן והא זנה חלקא ז [מ]טאך בחלק אנת ידניה
4 פטוסירי שמה אמה תבא עבר יוד \ שנית על ידה בימן שניתת מקרא ארמית כזנה
5 למבטחיה והא זנה חלקא ז מטאני בחלק אנה מחסיה בלא שמה אמה תבא עבר יוד \
6 שנית על ידה בימן שניתת מקרא ארמית כזנה למבטחיה אנת [יד]ניה שליט בפטוסירי
7 עבדא זך ז מטאך בחלק מן יומא זנה ועד עלם ובניך אחריך ולמן ז צבית תנתן לא אכהל
8 אנה מחסיה בר׳ ובדה לי אח ואתה לי ואנש זילי ז׳ינן למרשה עלי[ך] ועל בניך על דבר פטוסירי
9 שמה עבדא ז מטאך בחלק הן רשיך דינא עלא אנחנה מחסיה ובני או נרשה לבר
10 ובדה לך ולאנש זילך על דבר פטוסירי עבדא זך ז מטאך בחלק אחר ננתן לך אבינדנא כסף
11 צדיף כבשן עשרה במתקלת מלכא ורחיקן אנחנה מנך ומן בניך מן דין על דבר פטוסירי זך
12 ז מטאך בחלק לך יהוה וז בניך אחריך ולמן ז צבית תנתן ולא דין אף איתי תבא
13 שמה אטרם ז עלימיא אלה ולילו ברה ז לא עד נפלג עלי[ן] כז [ע]דן יהוה נפלג המו
14 עלין וגבר חלקה נהחסן וספר פלגנן נכתב כינין ולא דין כתב נבוחבלתי בר נבוזראבן
15 ספרא זנה ביב בירתא כפם מחסיה וידניה אחוהי שהדיא בנו מנחם בר גדול
16 שהד חנן בר חני שהד נתן בר יהואדר שהד שלם בר נתן

Docket: 17 ספר פלגן עבד פטוסירי כתב מחסיה בר נתן לידנ[יה] בר נתן אחוהי

PAPYRUS L.

MS. Aram. c. 1 (P), in the Bodleian Library.

1 . . . . . ר בר יתמא [לאמר] נתנת לי כסף
2 [שקלן III]ן [בא]נ̄י פתח כסף ש\ ל־ ורבה עלי כסף חלרן II
3 לכסף ש\ לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך] ותהוה מרבית
4 כספך חלרן III [II III] לירח ו ורחא זי לא אנתן לך בה
5 מרבית יהוה ראש ורבה ואשלמ[נה]ן לך ירח בירח
6 מן פרסי זי יק[ת]ן לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבז על כל
7 כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך וחן לא שלמת לך כל
8 כספך ומרביתה עד ירח תרות שנת [III] III יעקף כספך
9 ומרביתה זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח
10 עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך
11 שהריא
12 עקבן בר שמשגורי
13 קצרי בר יההדרי
14 מחסיה בר ירניה
15 מלכיה בר זכריה
16 כתב ספרא נמריה בר אחיו על פם שהריא זי על ספרא זנה

M (*PSBA.*, p. 264. *RÉS.*, no. 492).

Ostrakon (Aram. Inscr. 1) in the Bodleian Library.

a (*convex side*).

1 כענת . . . . . הנוחרי
2 למל[כי]ה מרי למכתבה אן כזי
3 תשמעון לאמר שליך יהבן פרס
4 בסון שלחא עלי חזי נחת קפירא
5 זי היתת בין הושרוחי לי וקפרא זי
6 הושרת לכם מן קפירא
7 וקפירא רבא זי יהב
8 לם מלכיה הושרי
9 הוי לה

b (*concave side*).

1 כענת חזו חנתא זי יהב לי אוריה לנסבא
2 הביה לנטריה בר אחיו ויערכה מן
3 שכרא ובלוה לאוריא אן חזי תטוסרי
4 וילן יכתבוה על דרעה עלא מן כתבתא
5 זי על דרעה הלו כן שלח לאמר זי
6 לא ישבחן עליתא
7 מכתבה על
8 שמה

N (*PSBA.*, p. 311. *RÉS.*, no. 493).

Ostrakon (Aram. Inscr. 2) in the Bodleian Library.

Concave side.

1 [ש]לם [מן] באלף כענת . .
2 [א]ן לא איתי זרע קטין
3 [כ]י אמרת לכי אנתתא . .
4 לך יומא זנה ועל . .
5 . . יא בר יתמא . . . . .
6 . . זרע דלען אב אן
7 . . . . . י תת . . . .
8 . . . לם עד . . . .
9 . . . זמן

The convex side is blank.

O (*PSBA.*, p. 312. *RÉS.*, no. 494).

Ostrakon (Aram. Inscr. 3) in the Bodleian Library.

a (*convex side*).

1 . . . לבני שרף . . .
2 . . . רשע לי
3 . . שע . . . . . .
4 . . . . . .

b (*concave side*).

1 . . . לאחוך מי . . .
2 . . . . . אלך כענת ש . . .
3 . . . הית הן א . . .
4 . . . לי לשמך ש . . .
5 . . . . לבית . . . .

P (*PSBA.*, p. 314. *RÉS.*, no. 496).

Ostrakon (P 8763) in the Berlin Museum.

1 אנתי אסרה זי נתנו שקא
2 . . זא . . . נך הניתא טרן לס
3 . . ושרס משחא
4 . . [ז]י למחסיה
5 . . והושרי
6 . . סי

Q (*PSBA.*, p. 314. *RÉS.*, no. 497).

Ostrakon (Aram. Inscr. 4) in the Bodleian Library.

a (*convex side*).

1 . . . . . וכל ז . .
2 . . . ולא פלי עבר .
3 . . . כך לא ידעו . . .
4 . . . . . לפות אל עת . . .

b (*concave side*).

1 . . . . . כ[ס]ף ז אמ . . .
2 . . . כל דע למי . . .
3 . . . . . לו אתוה . . .
4 . . . . . עלי שם . . .

The following two texts, to which frequent reference is made above, are added here for convenience.

RÉS., no. 246.

1 . . . . . .

2 בנו חרה אמן 12 פתי אמה 1 דורה פשכן 4

3 בנו לוח אחרה אמן 9 ופלג פתי אמה 1 דור[ה פשכן .]

4 לוח אחרה אמן 5 פתי א[מה 1] דורה פש[כן .]

THE STRASSBURG PAPYRUS (= *RÉS.*, no. 361)

A.

1 . . . תגן אנחנה בין דגן זי מצריא מרדו אנחנה מן טראן לא שבקן

2 ומגרעם מחבל [לא] אשתבח לן בשנת יי III 1 דריוהוש פלכא כזי מראן ארשם

3 אזל על מלכא זנה דושכרתא זי כמריא זי חנוב אלה עבדו ביב בירתא

4 המונית עם וידרנג זי פרתדך תנה הוה כסף ונכסן יהבו לה איתי קצת

5 מן יובנא זי מלכא זי זבו בירתא נרש ?? ושור חד . . . במפציעת בירה יב

B.

1 וכען שורא זך בנה במפציעת בירתא איתי באר חדה זי בניה

2 בנו בירתא ומין לא חסרה להשקיא חילא כזי הן הנדיז יהון

3 בברא זך מיא שתין כמריא זי חנוב אלך ברא זך סברו הן אזד

4 יתעבד מן דינא תיפתיא נשכיא זי ממגין במדינת תשמרים

5 יתידע למראן לקבל זנה זי אנחנה אמרן או פרישן אנחנה

A 5, read probably
מן נ[ו]יא זי מלכא זי ב[כ] בירתא ת[מ] ושור בנ[ית] זי במפציעת בירה יב

B 2, for הנדיז read probably הנראז

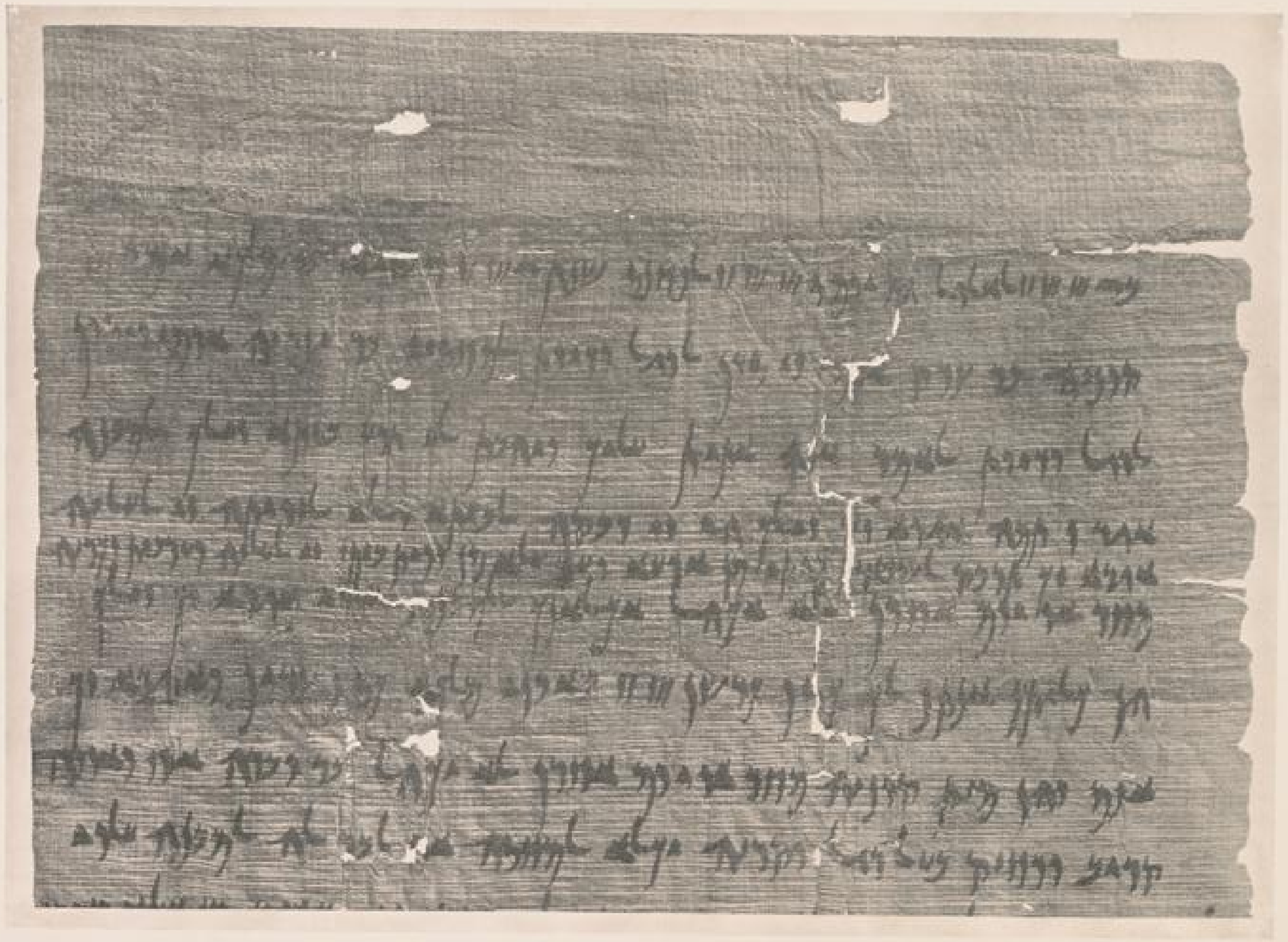
C.

1 ·ך ס̈חפניא ד ביב ל
2 . . אנחנה . . . ין
3 . הן לא אשתכח א
4 [מצ]ריא להתיה מן
5 למעבר תמה ליהו א
6 . . . . . ב . . . ה . . . .
7 להן אתבורן חנה
8 [א]יש בפא לקחו לנפיש
8* טב
9 ·ן על מראן שגיא עיש
10 ע̈ אנחנה מן חילא
11 מראן טב יתשים
12 אנחנה הן על ס̈
13 נגון למנדעמתא ד א
14 -א ד לן ד נדישו ל

C 1, read probably
.ך ס̈חפניא ד ביב ל[ירתא]

C 5, read probably
ליהו א[לוא]

PAPYRUS A, 1—9. MS. Aram. b. 1 (P) in the Bodleian Library.



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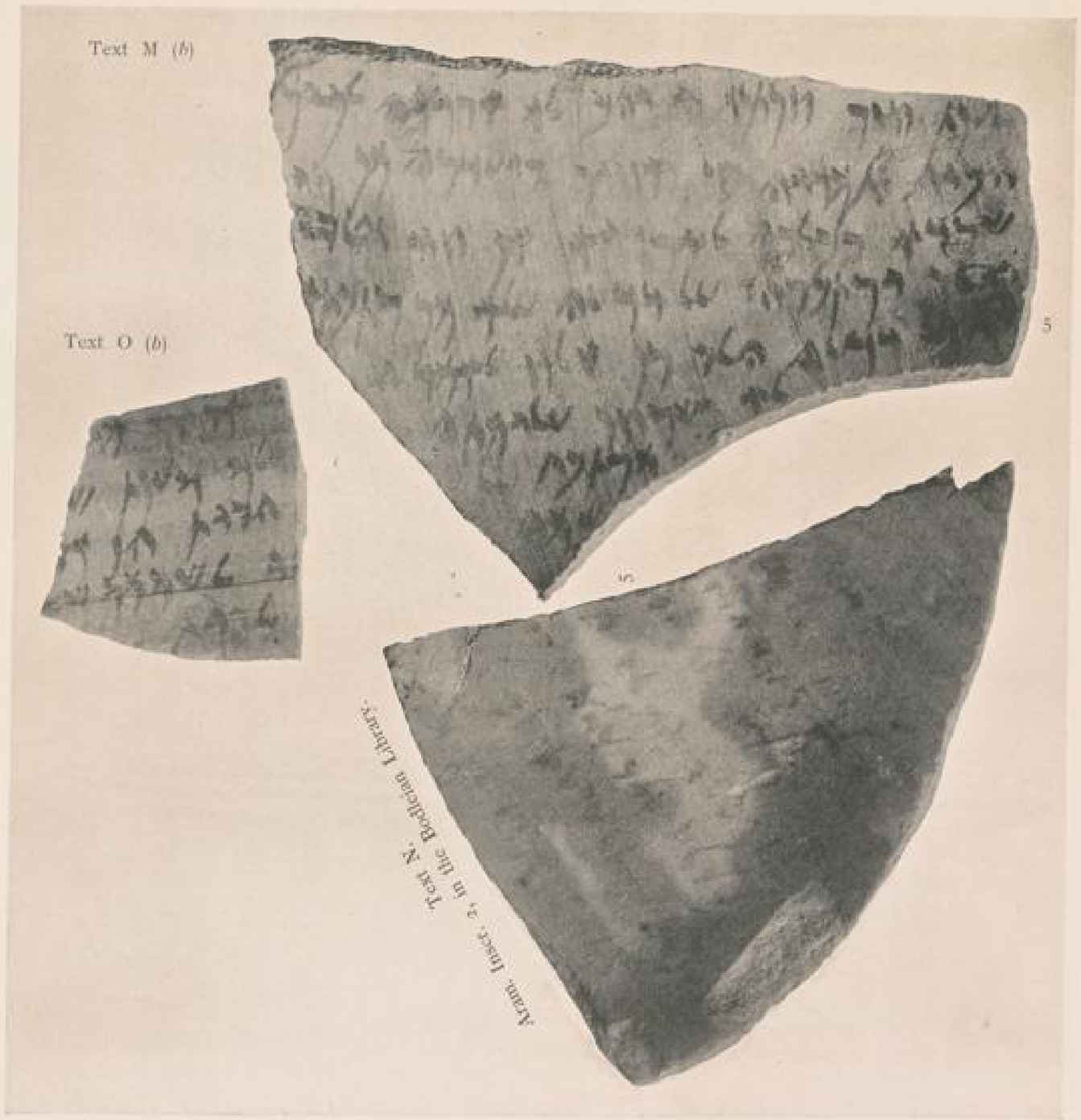
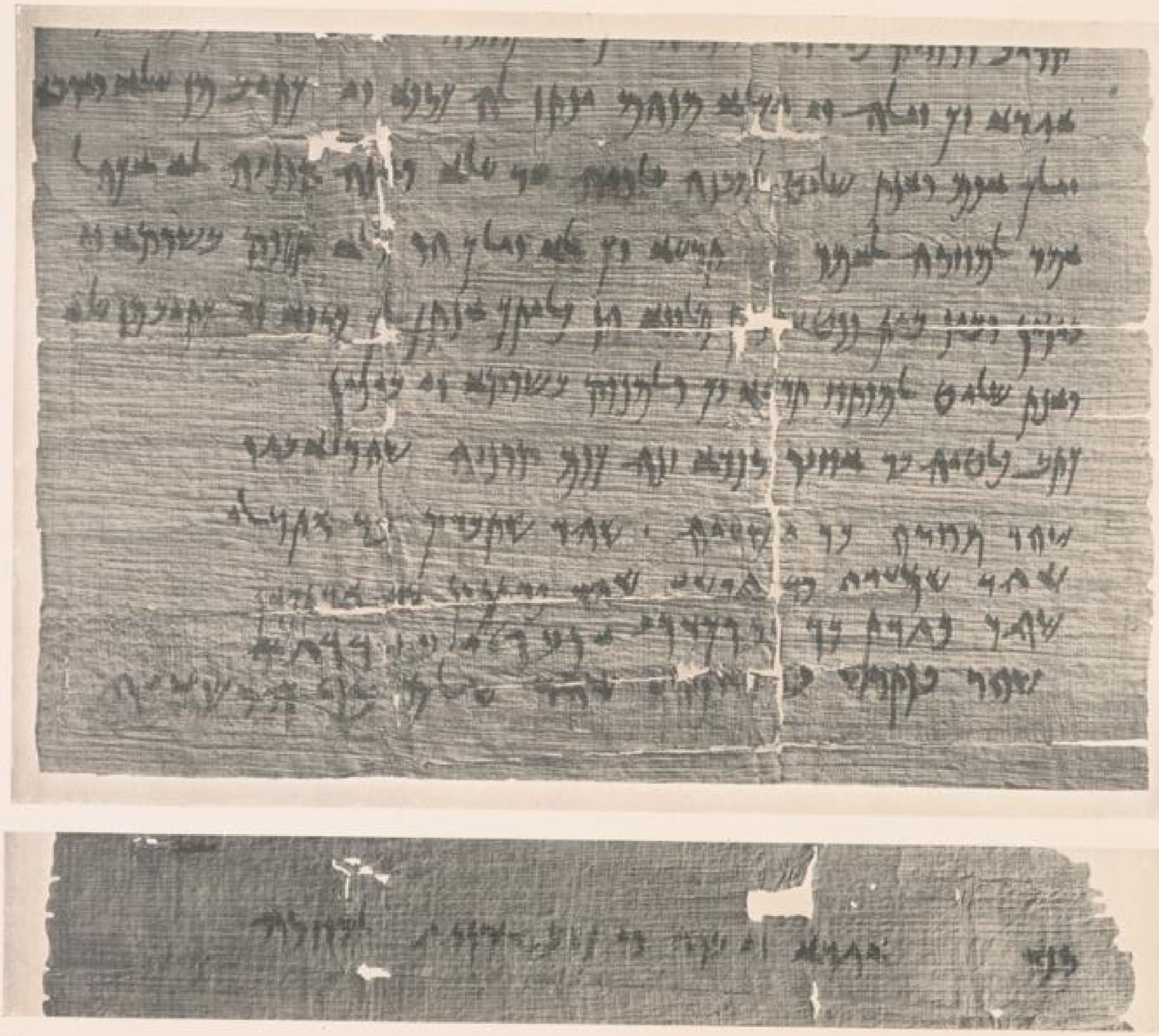


Azmi. Inscr. 2, in the Bodleian Library.

Text N.



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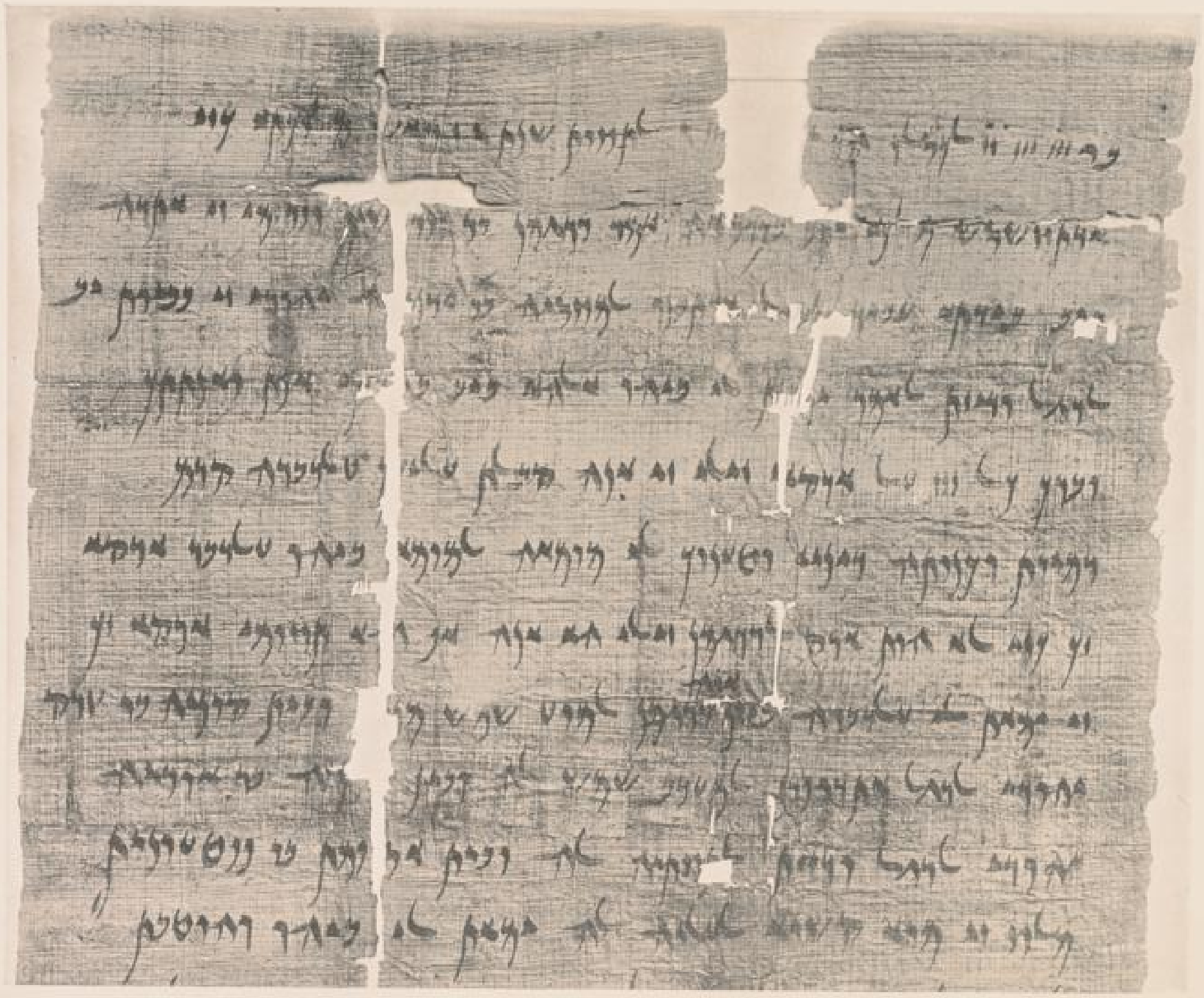
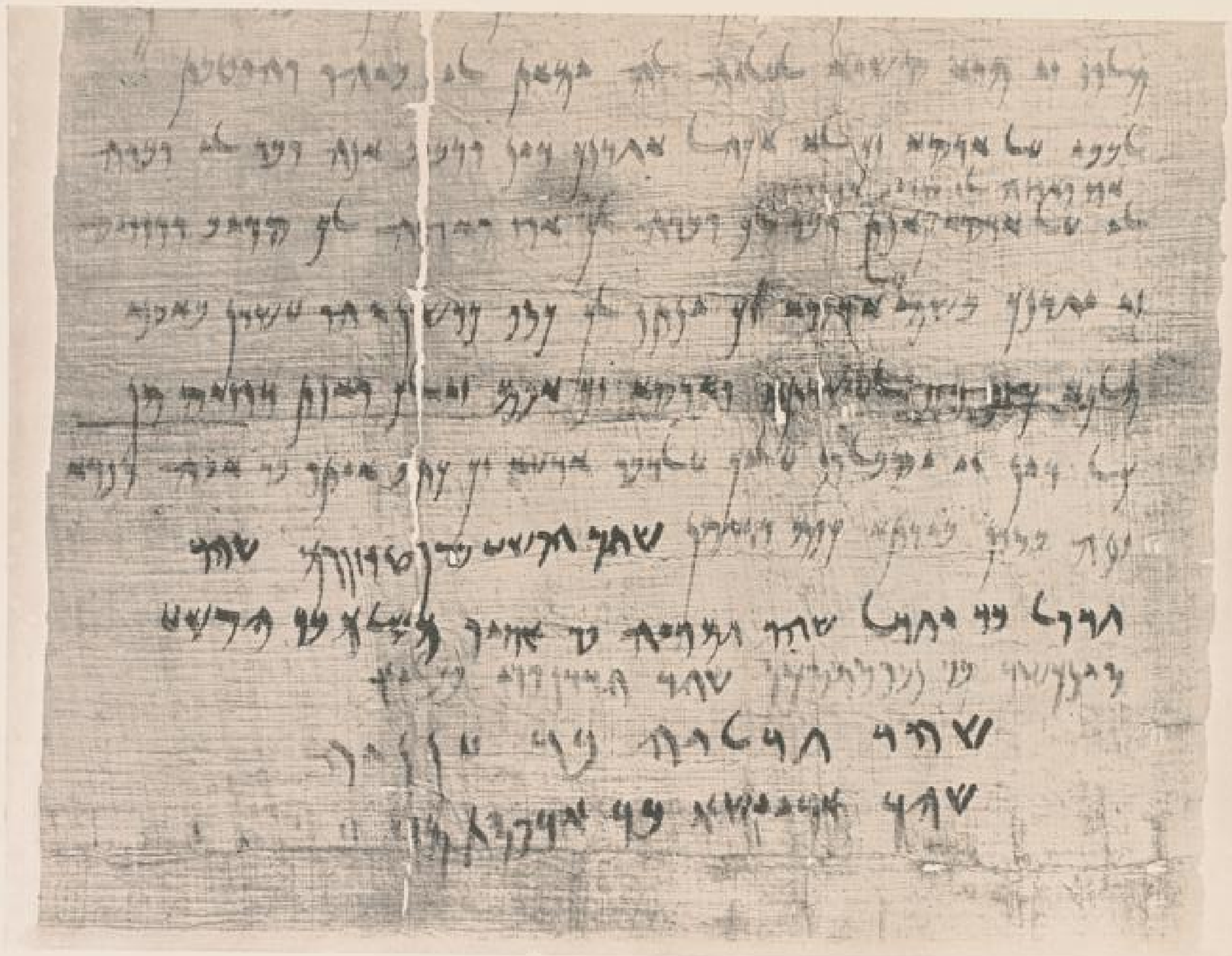
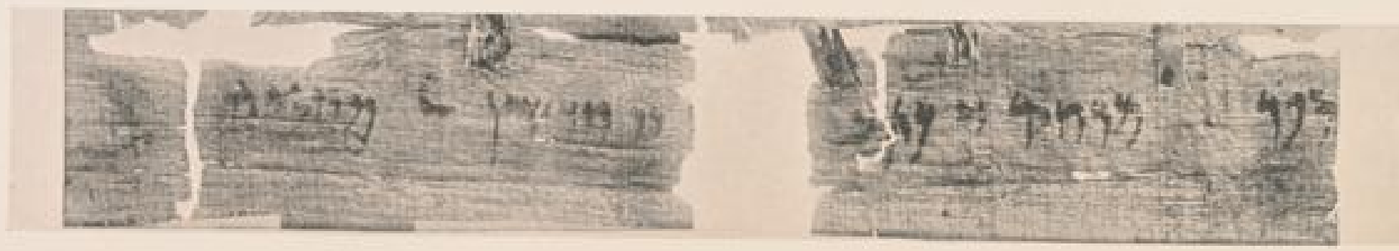
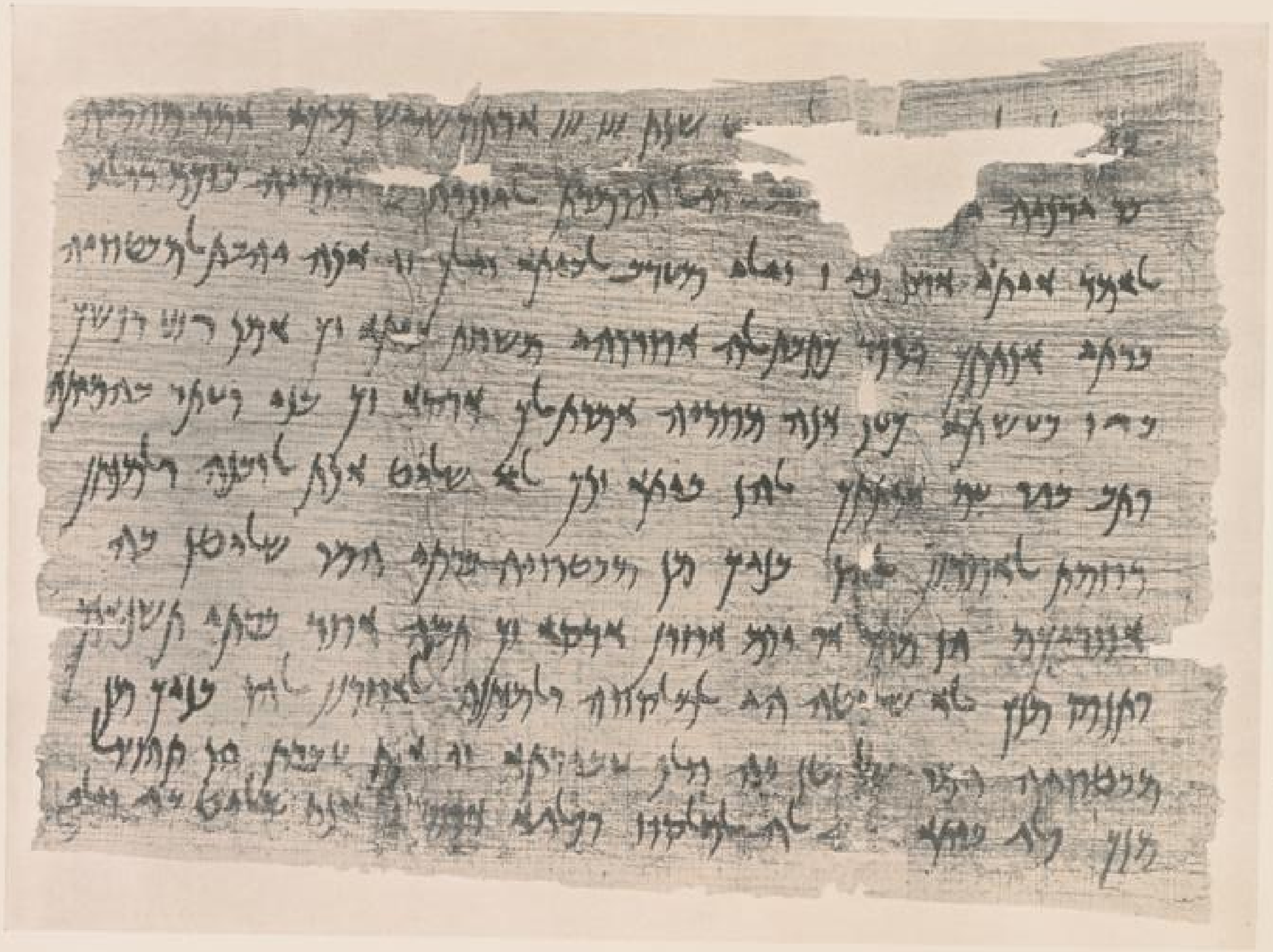






PAPYRUS C, 1—11. No. 37106 in the Cairo Museum.



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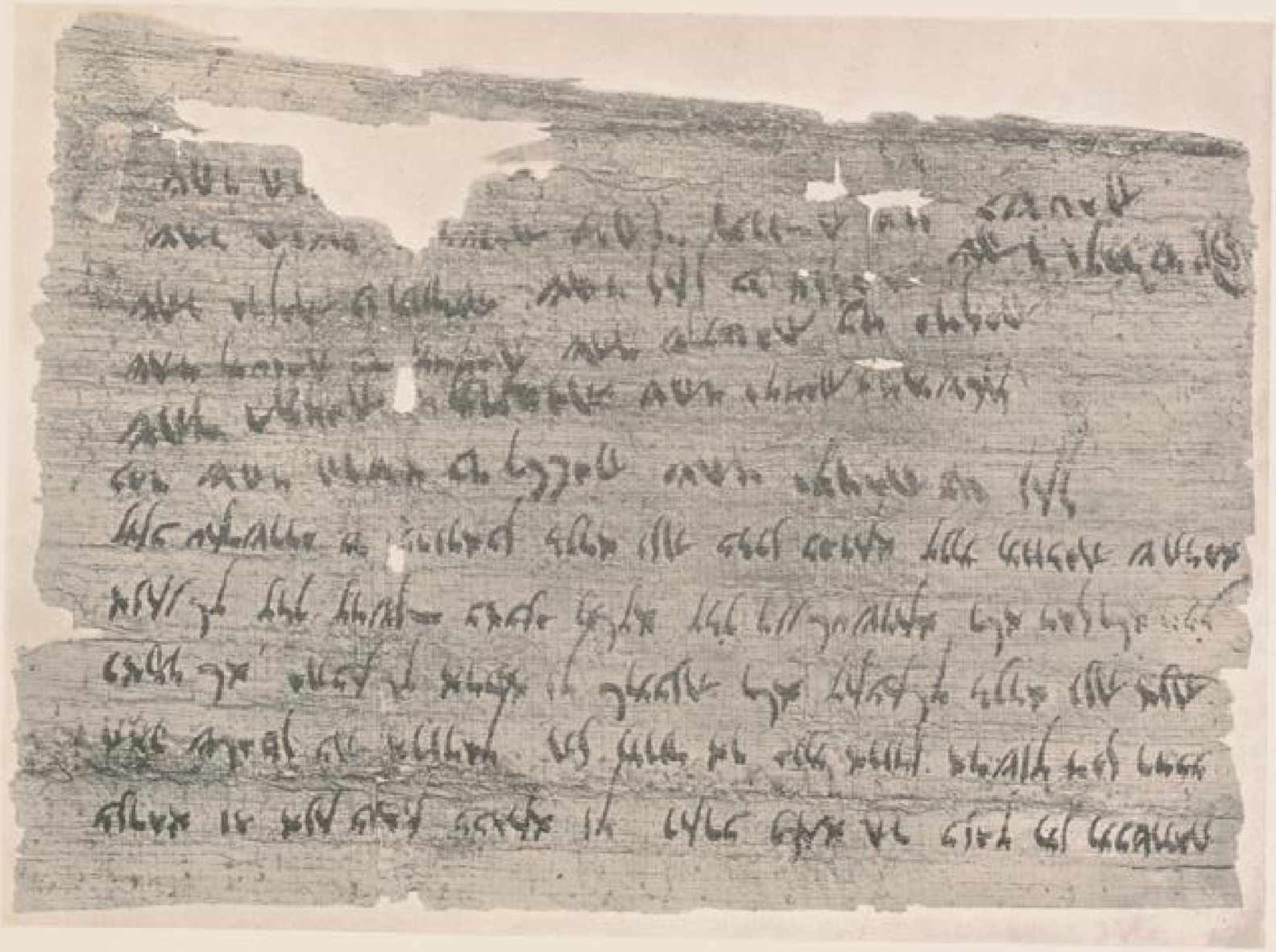
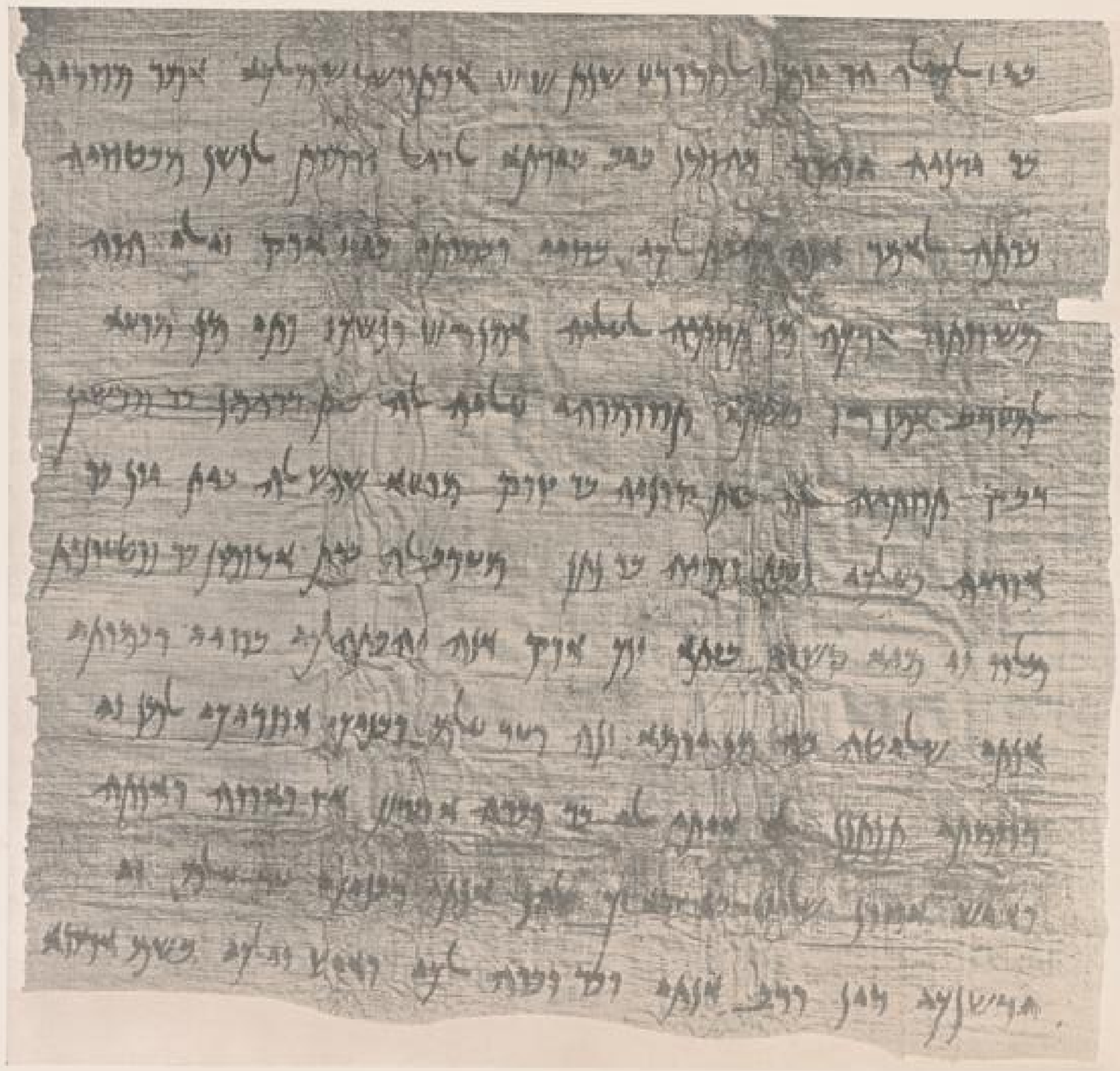


PAPYRUS C, 10—22.



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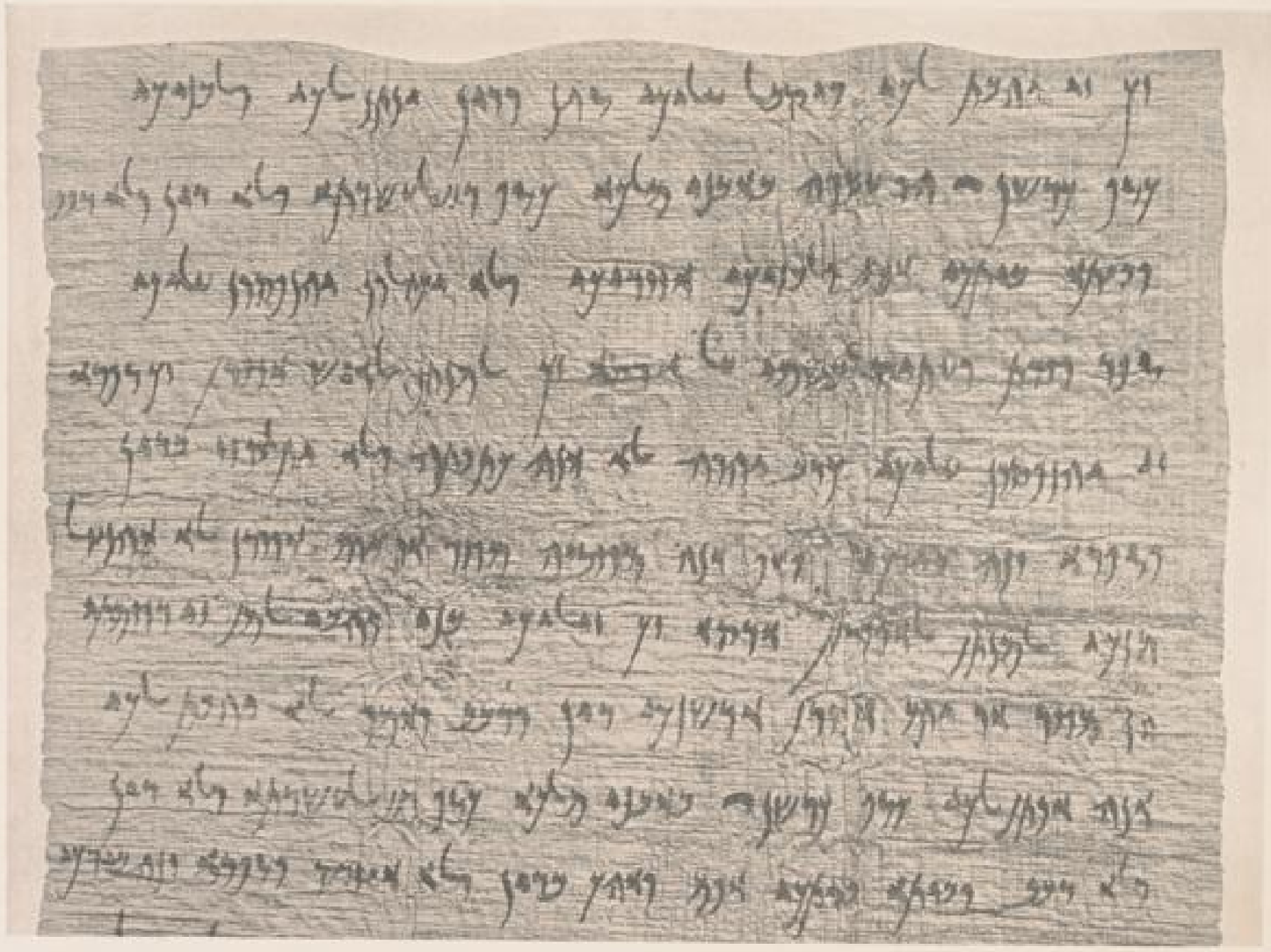

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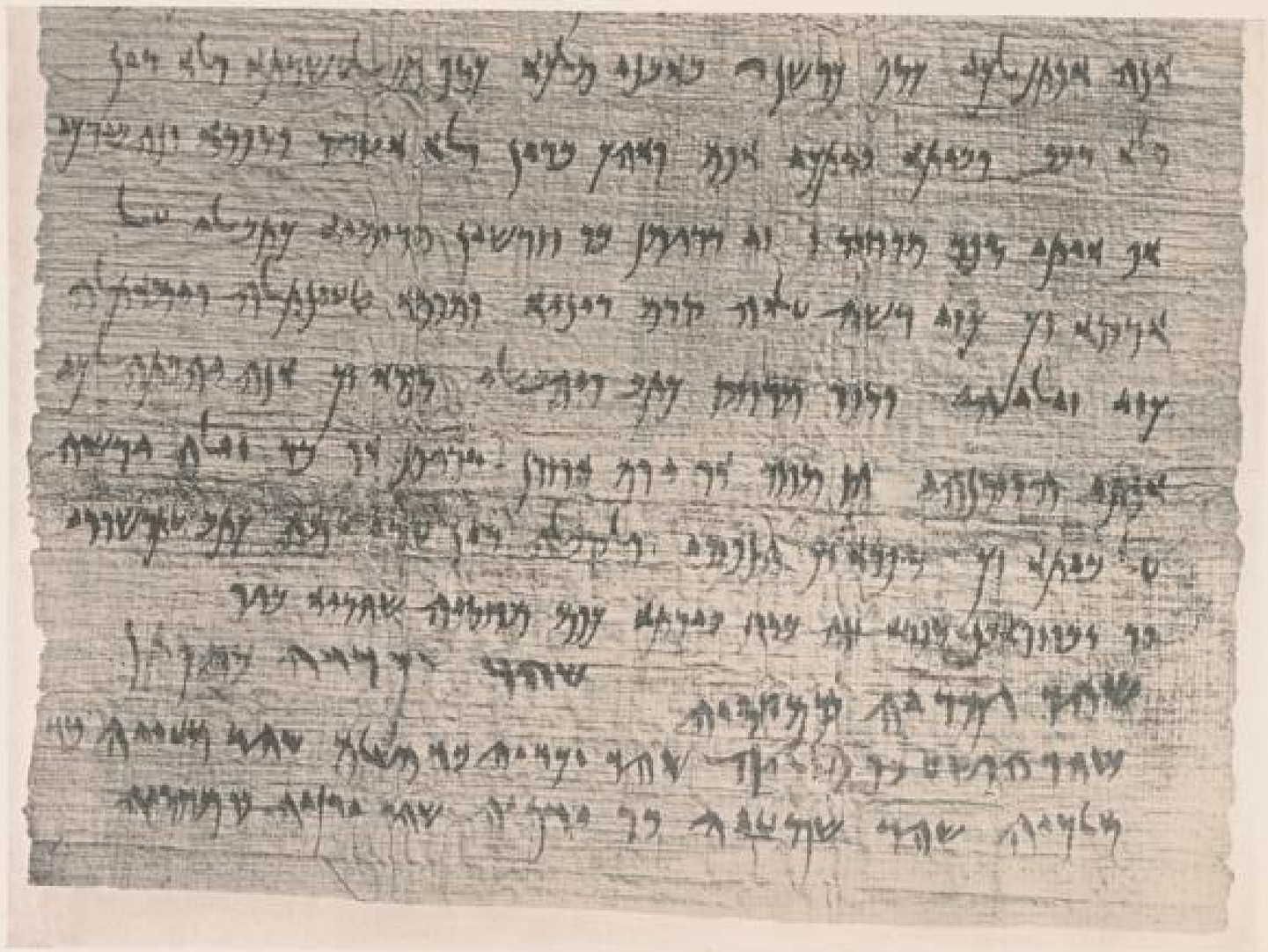

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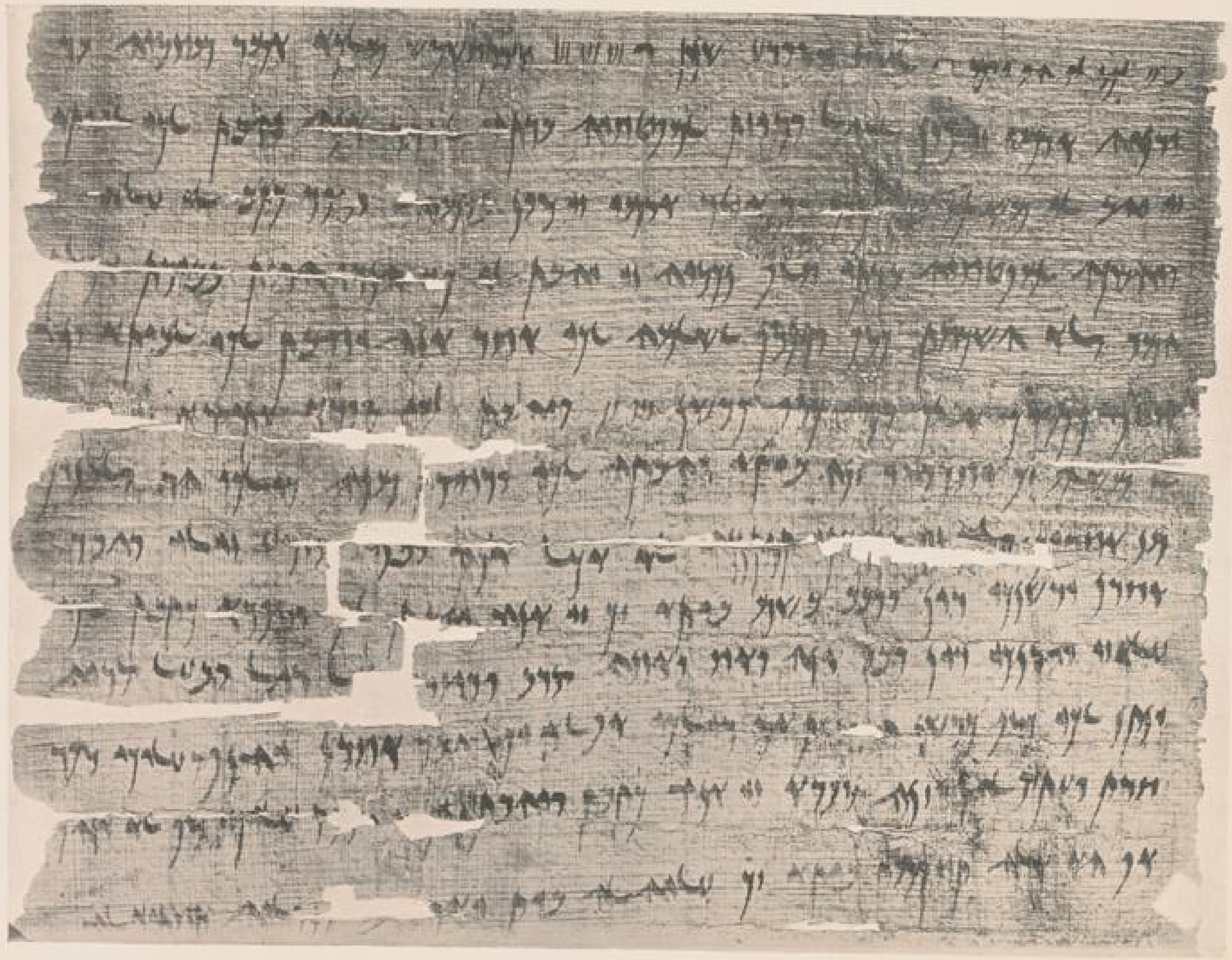
PAPYRUS E, 1—13. No. 37108 in the Cairo Museum.



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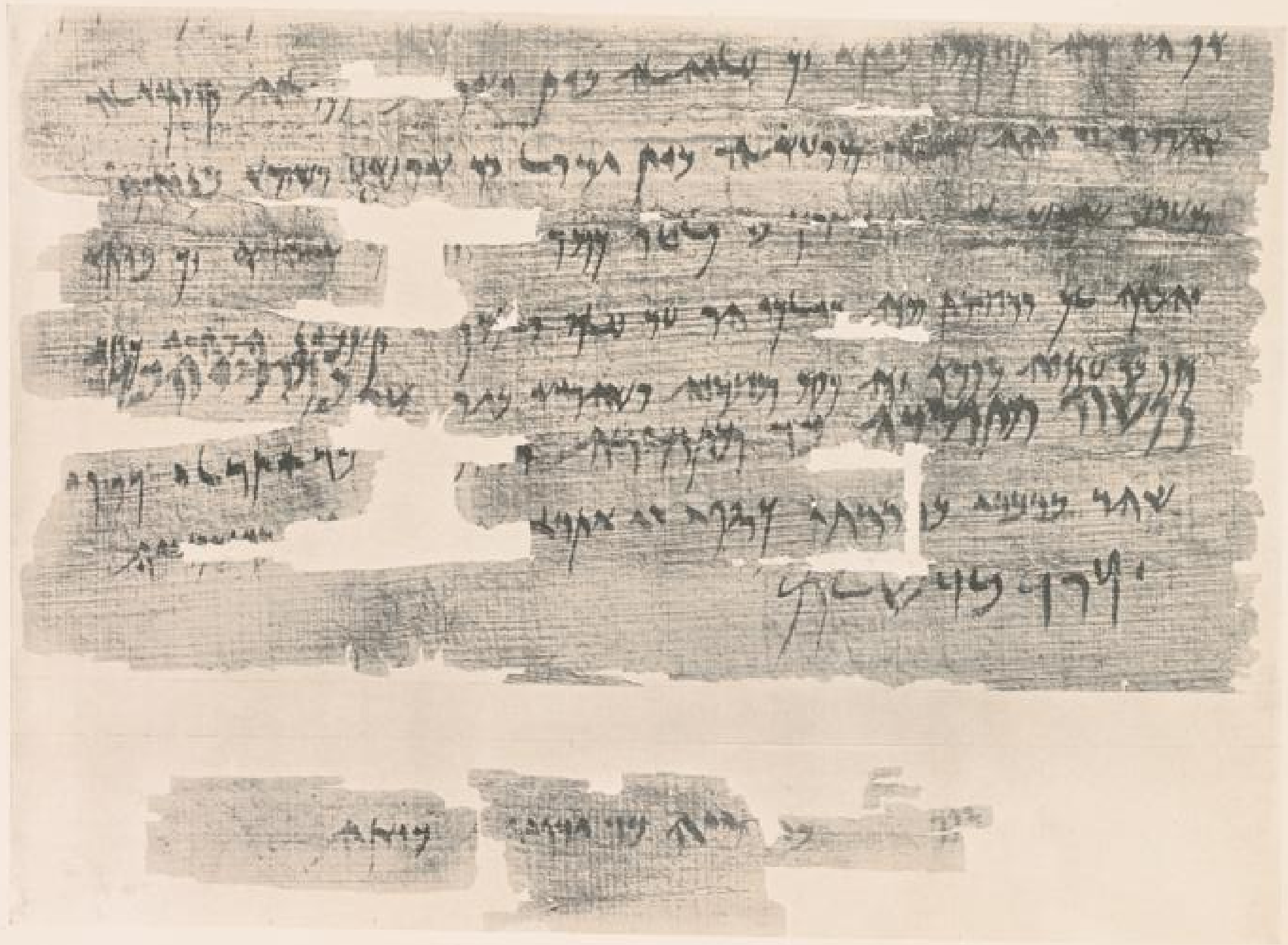

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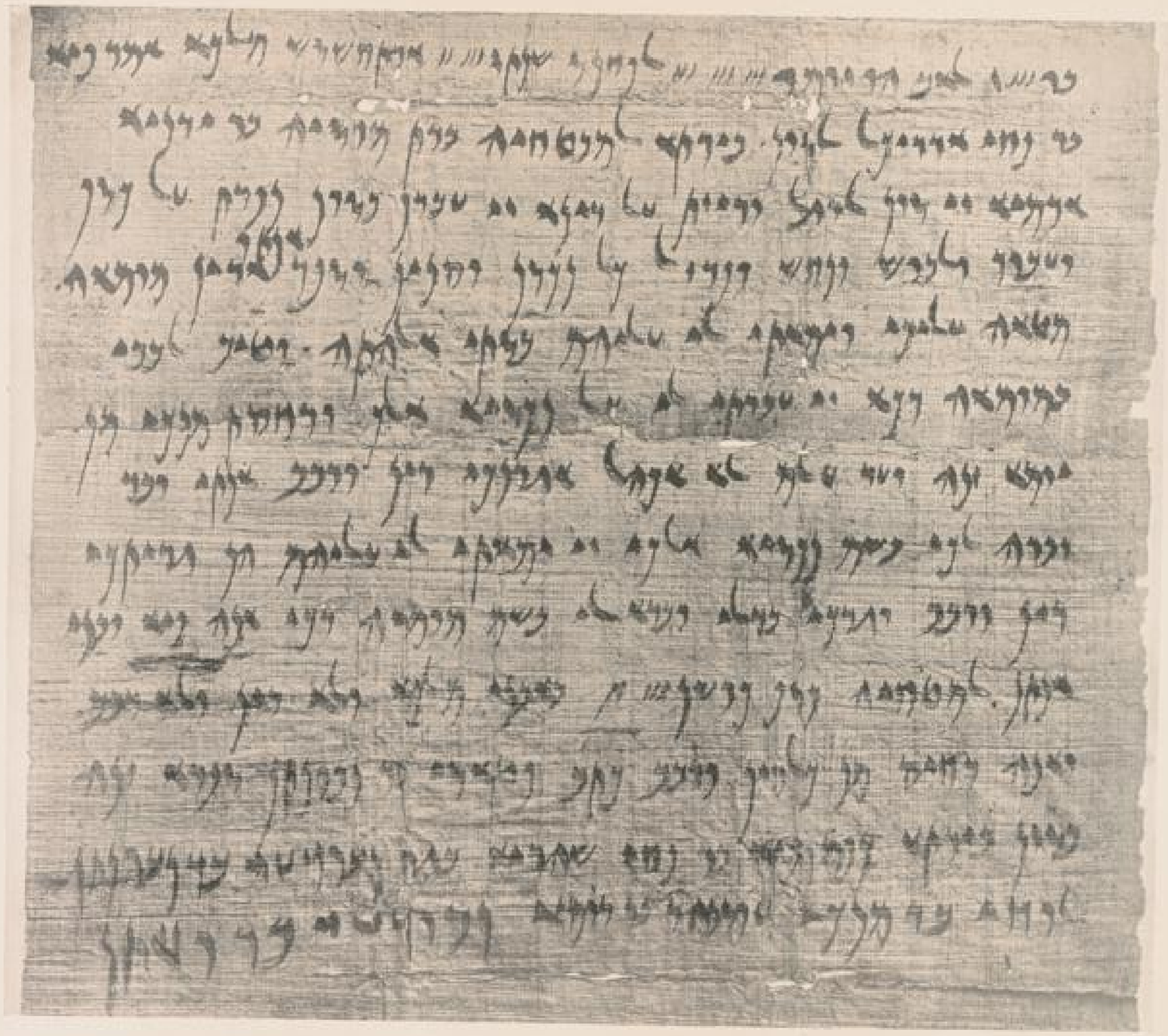
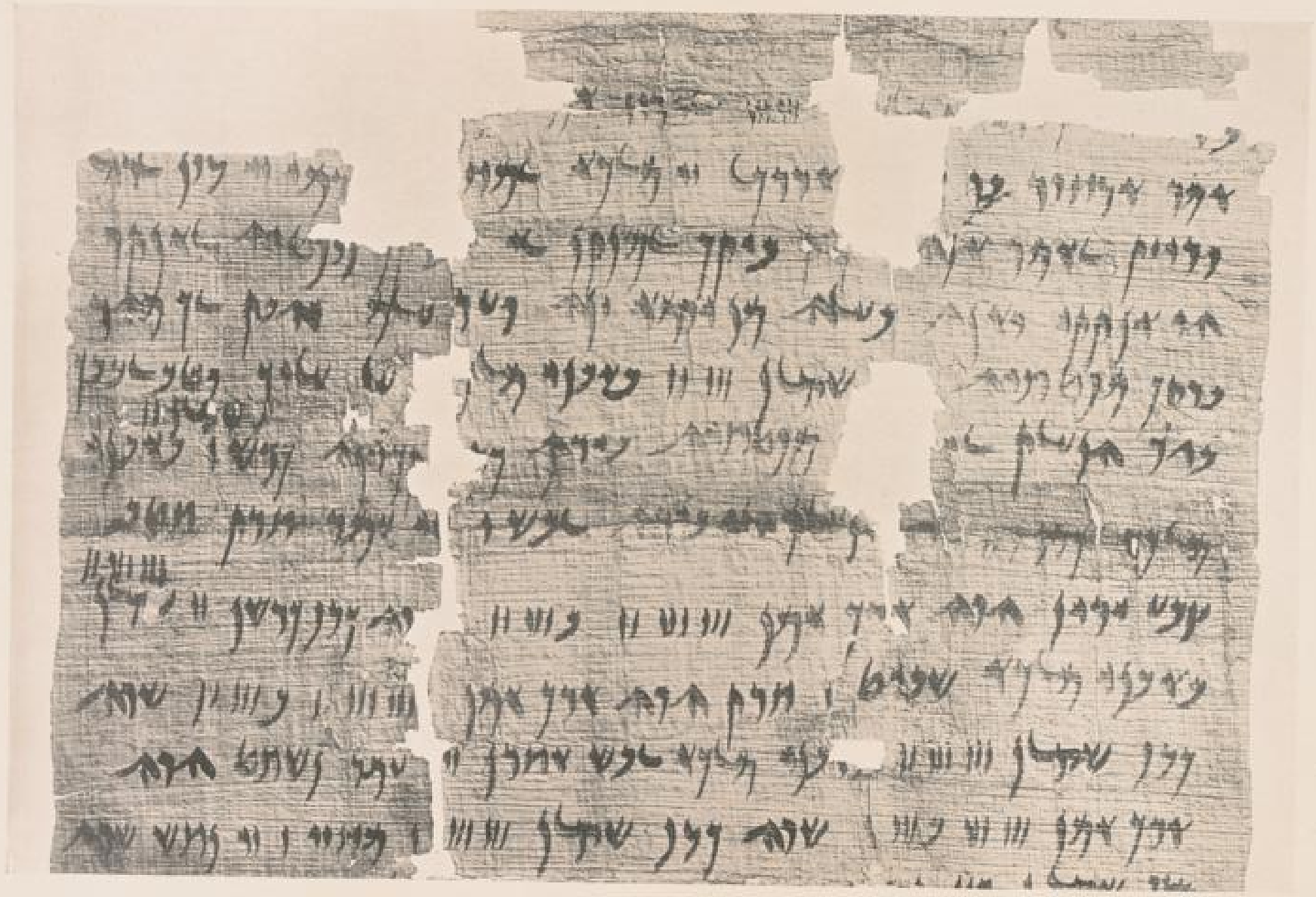


PAPYRUS G, 1—11. No. 37110 in the Cairo Museum.



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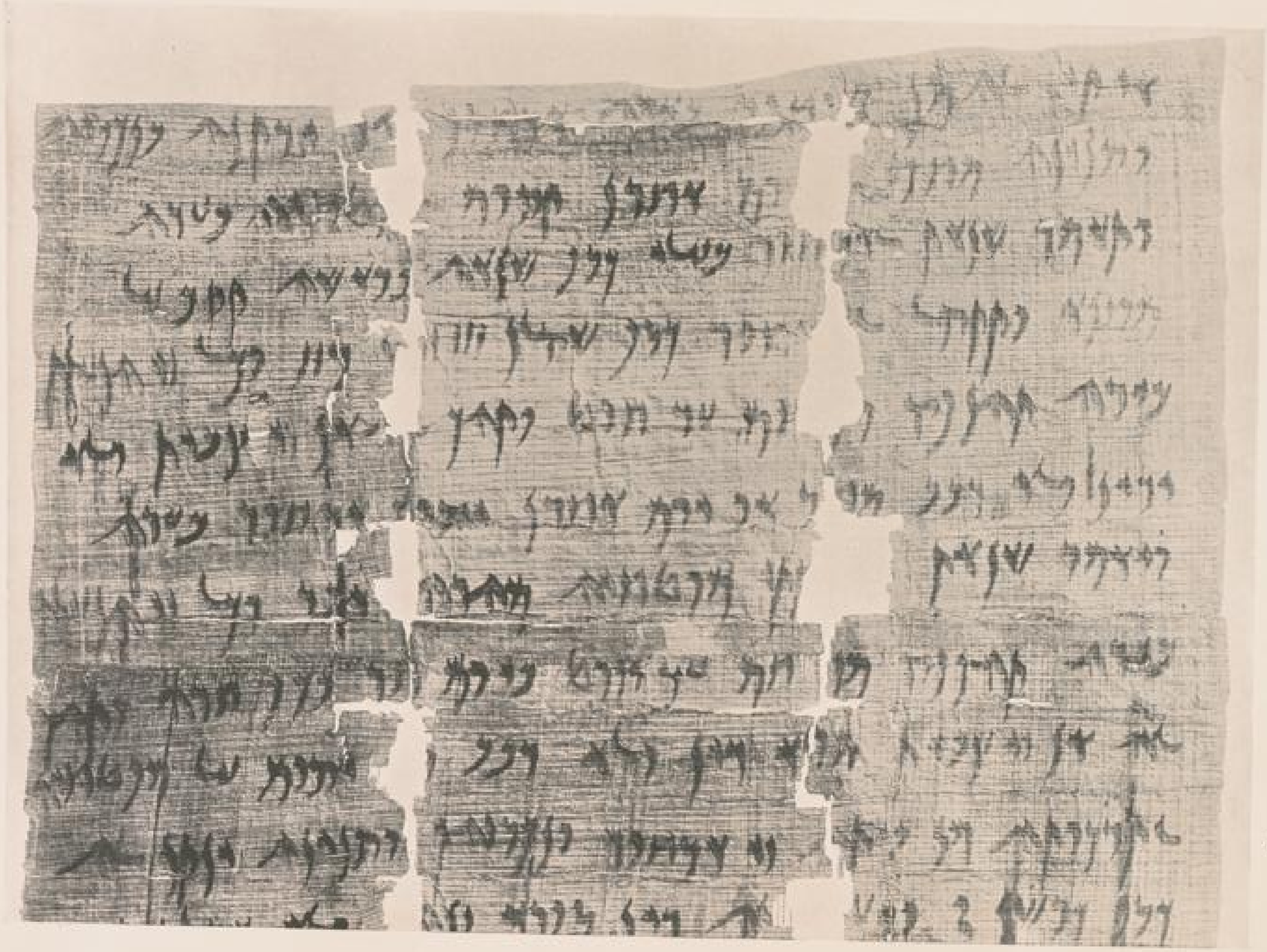

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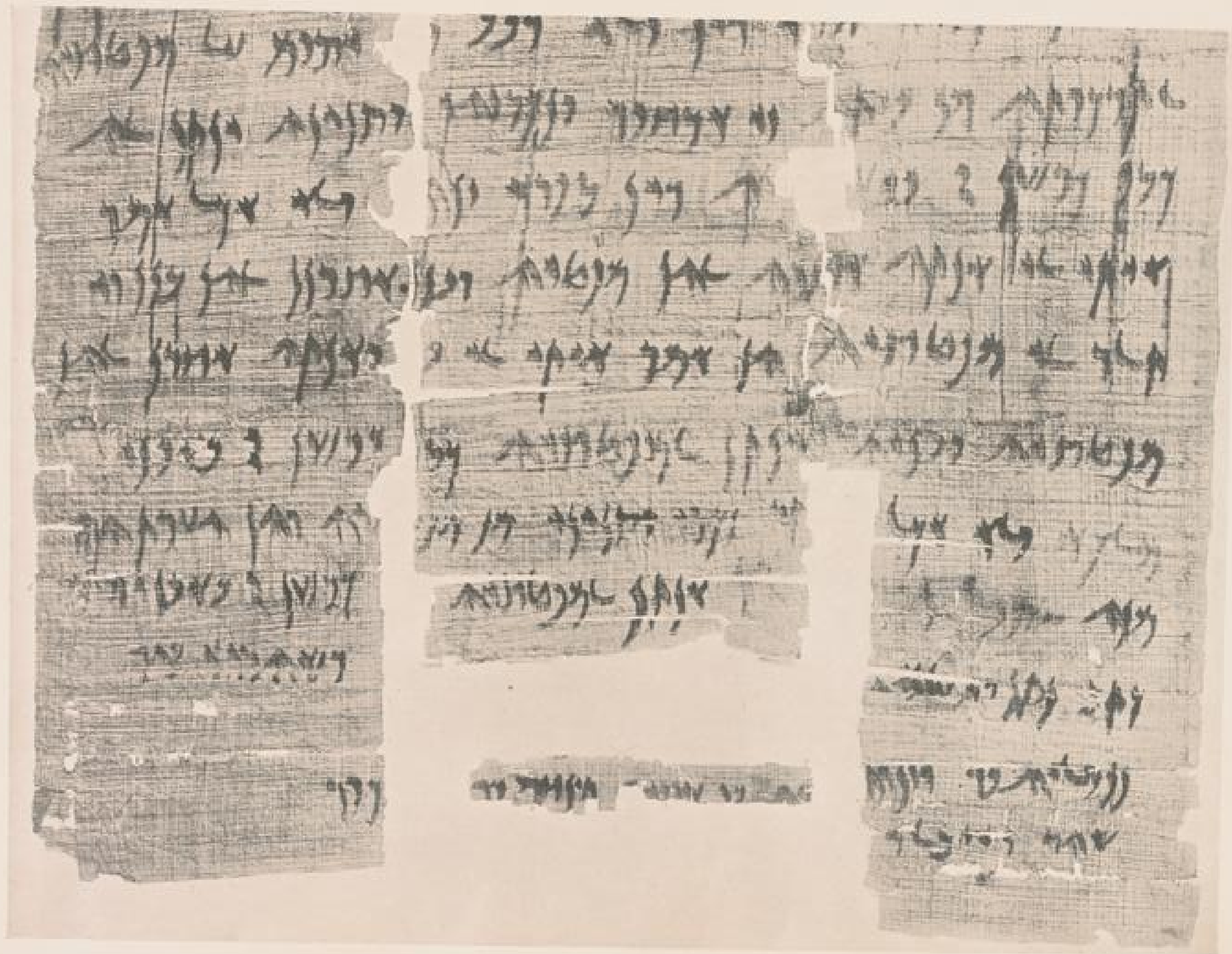

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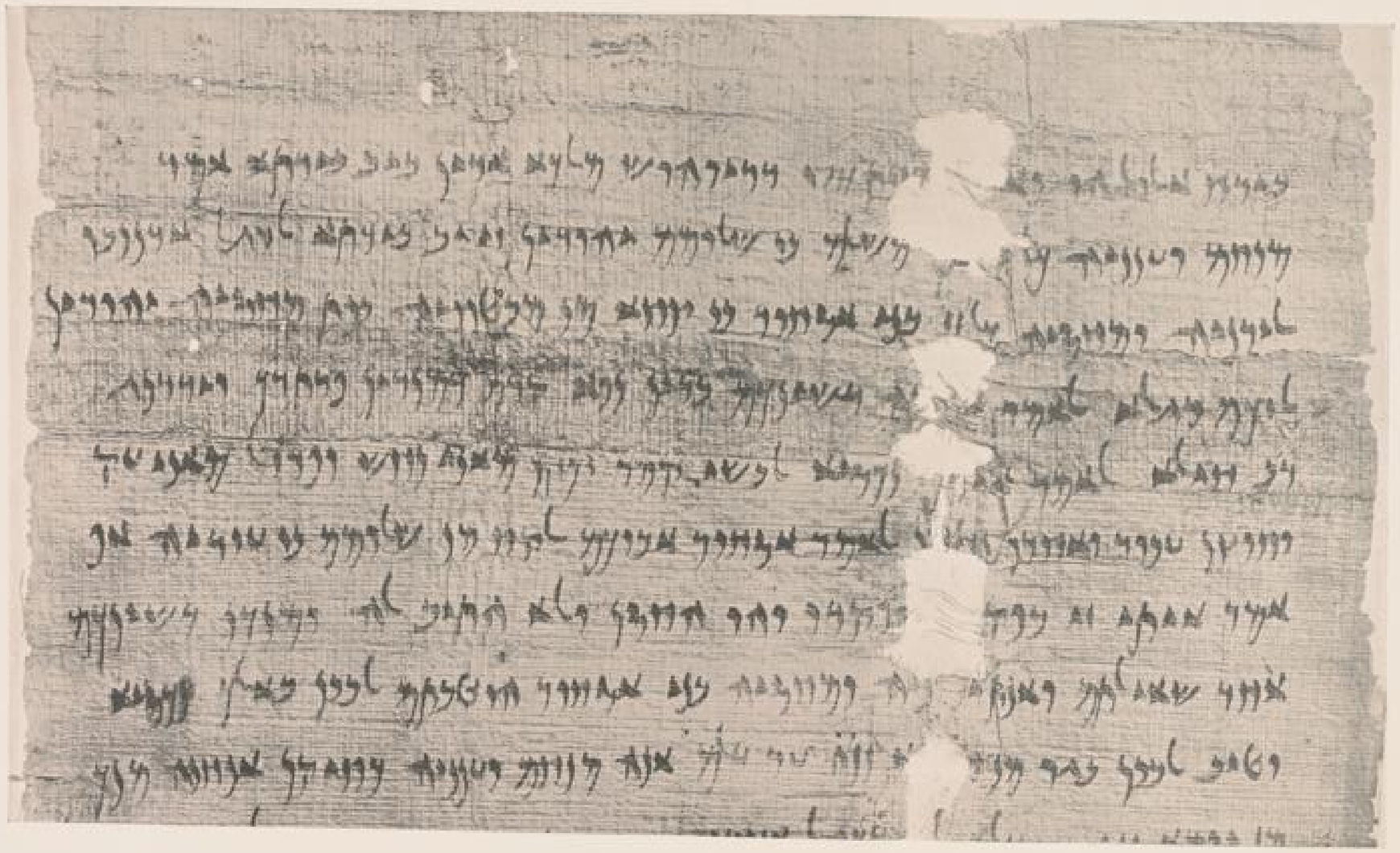
PAPYRUS H, 1—9. No. 37111 in the Cairo Museum.



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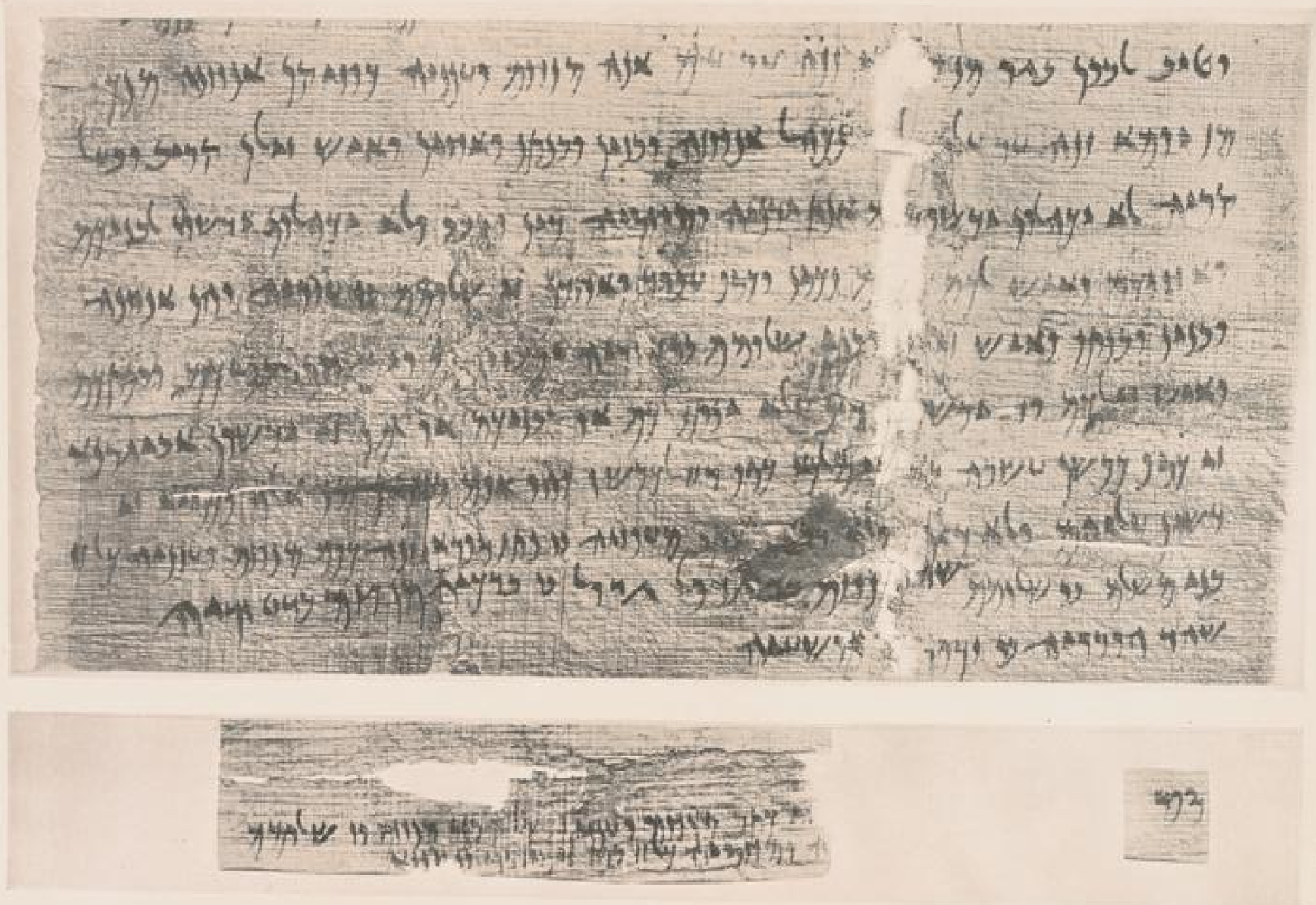

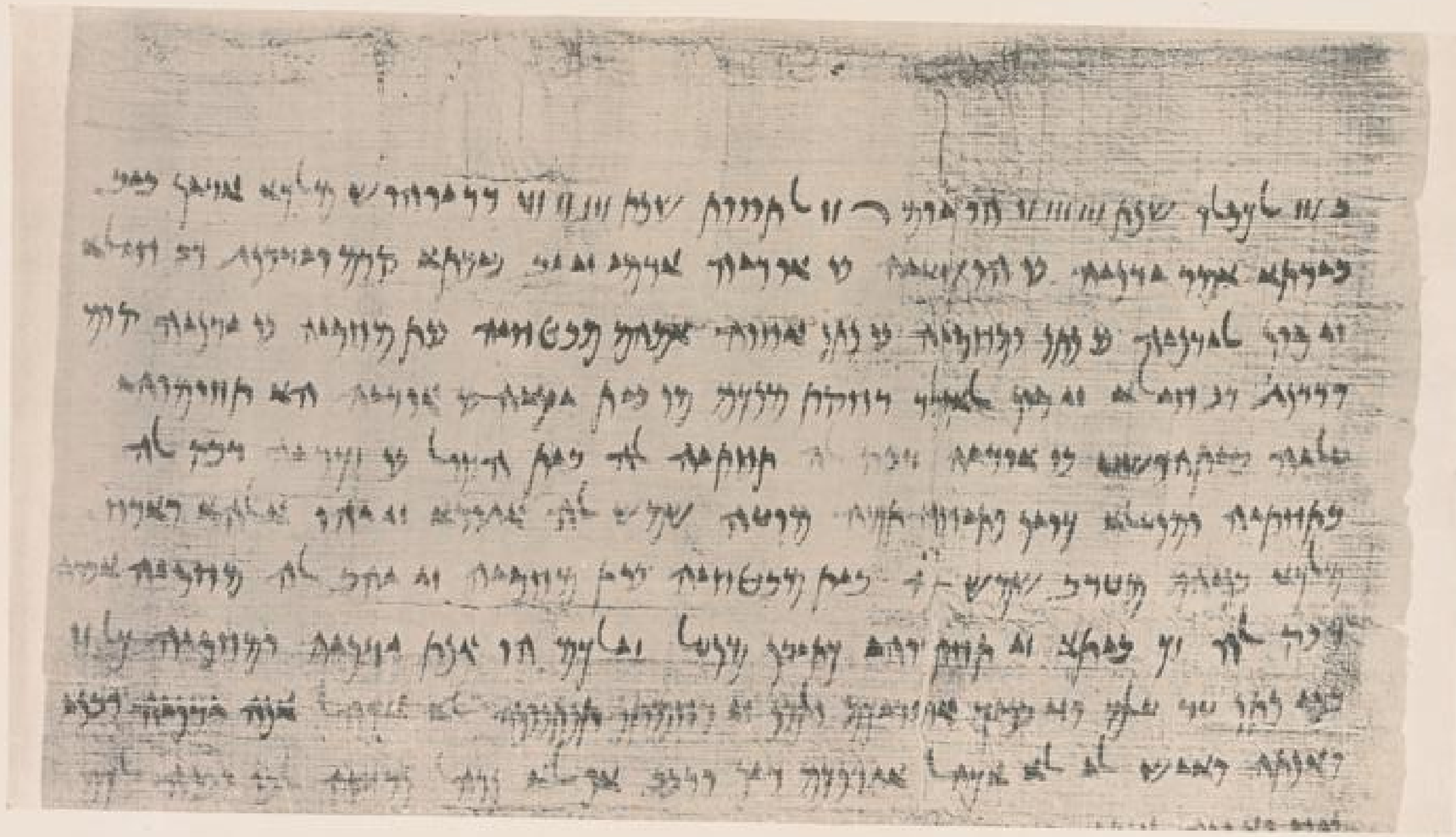

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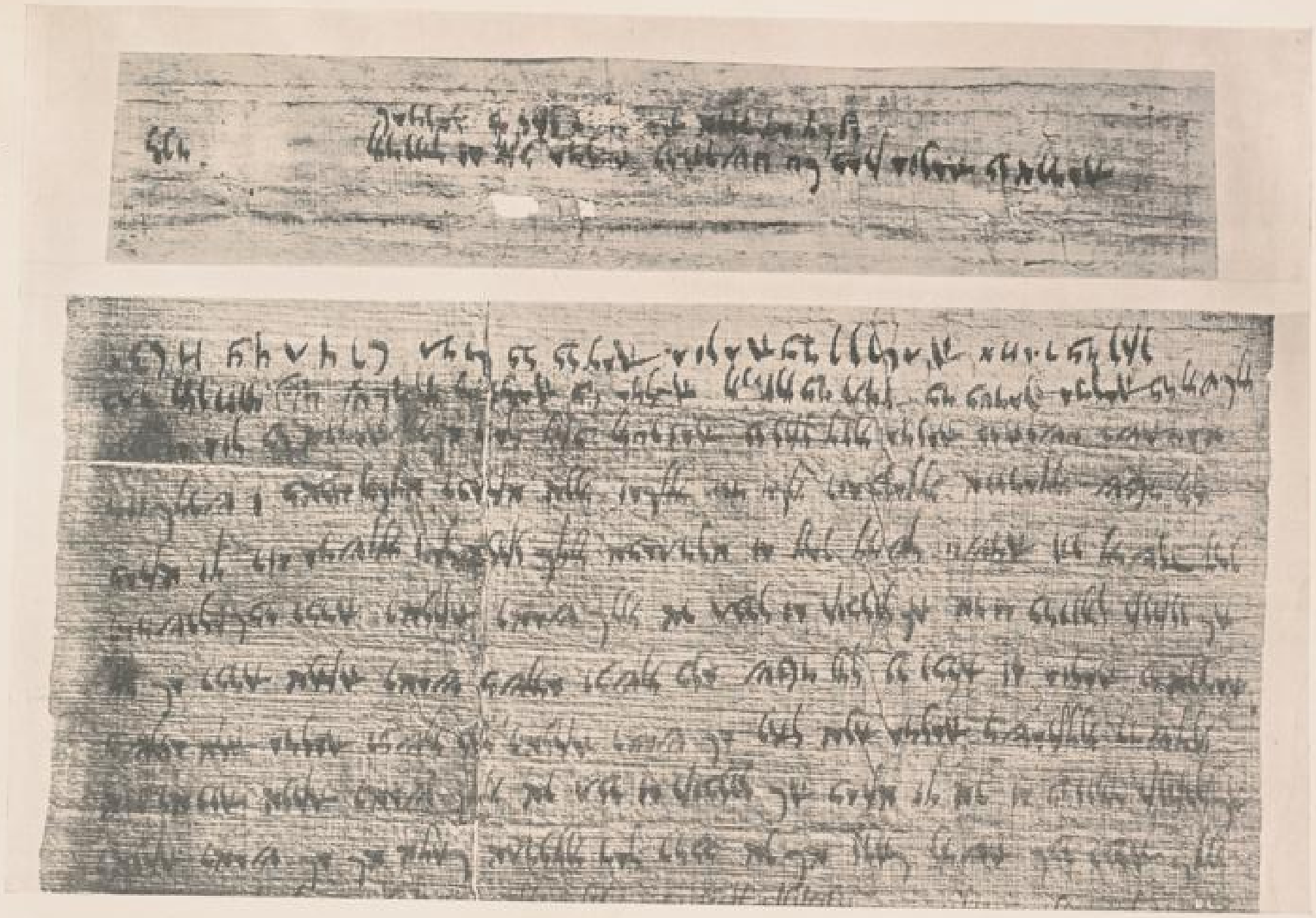
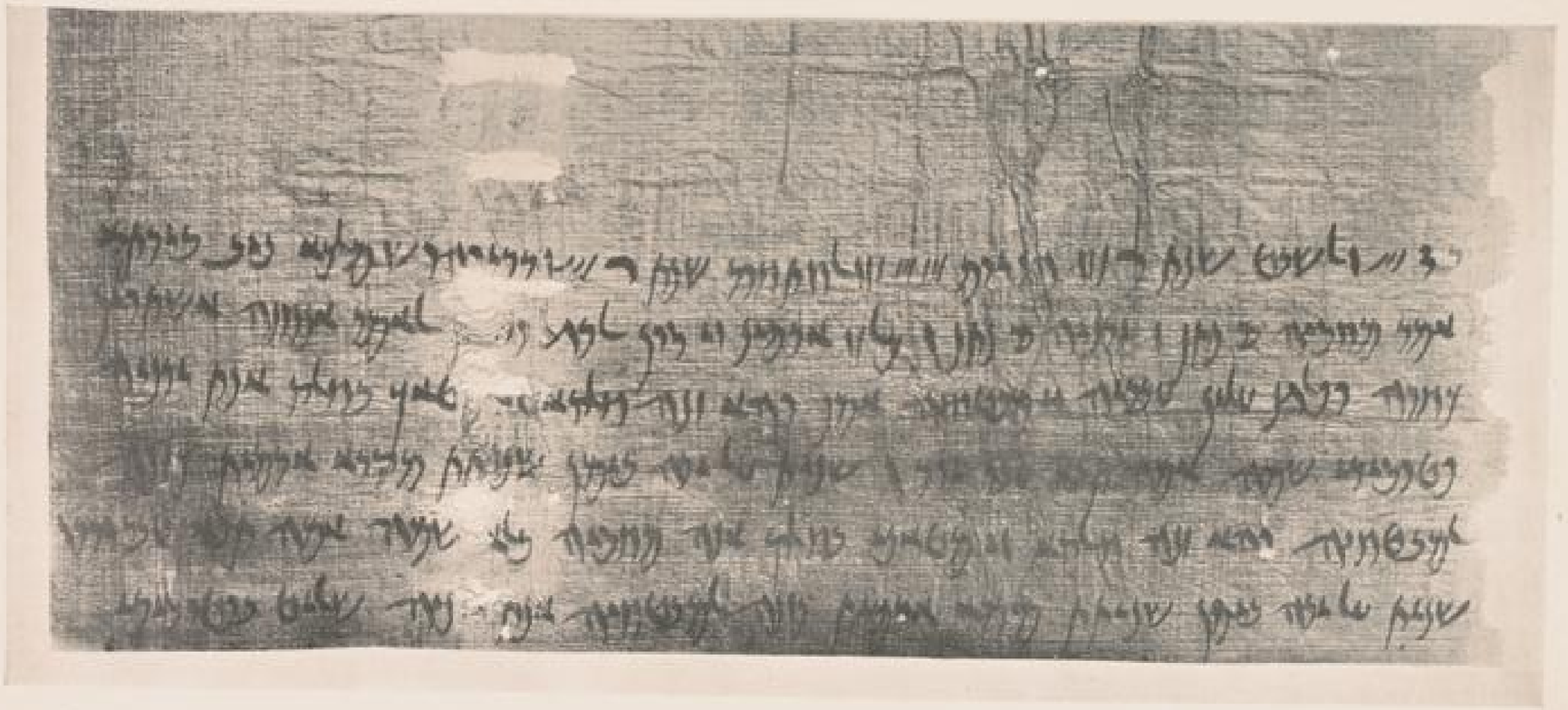
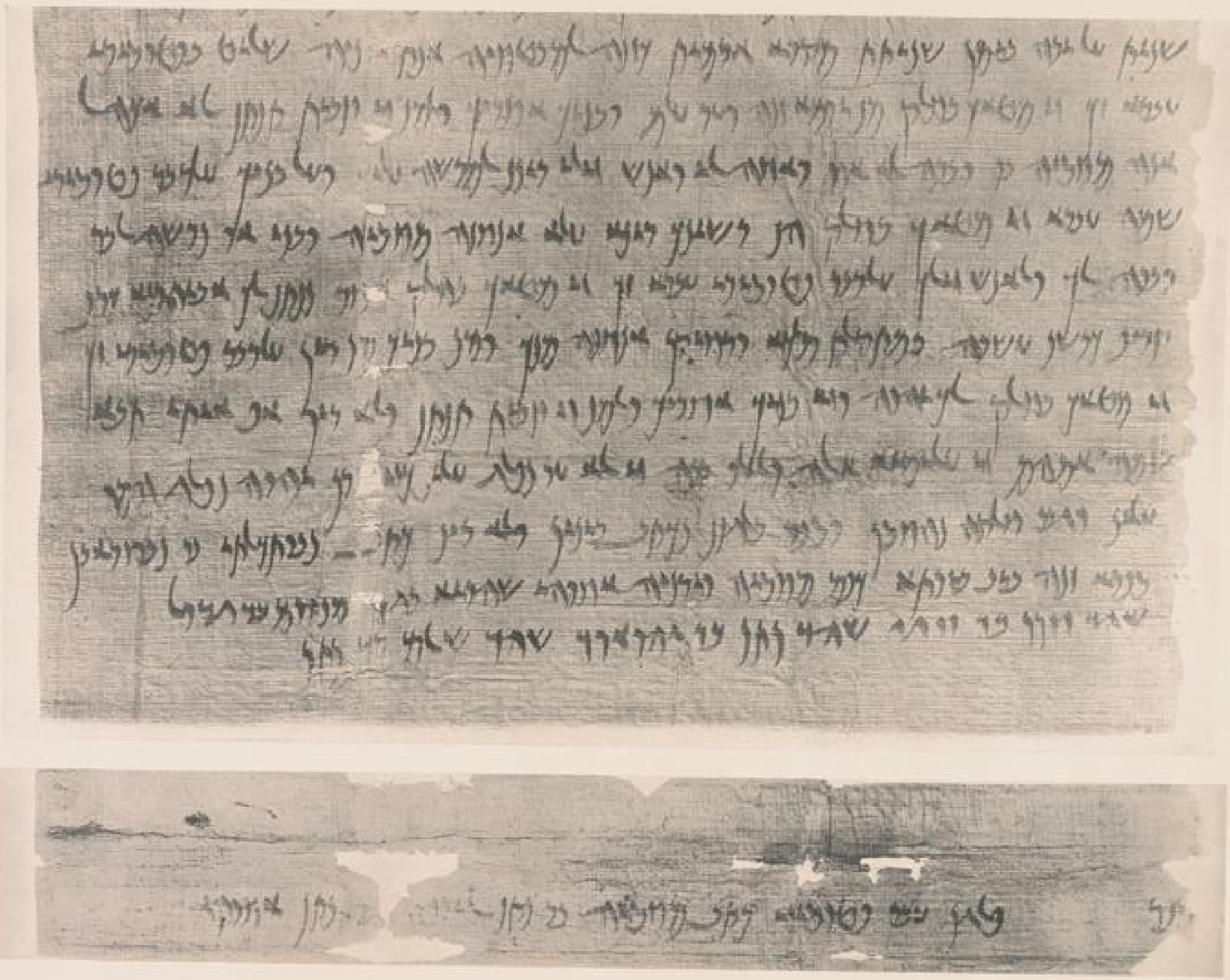
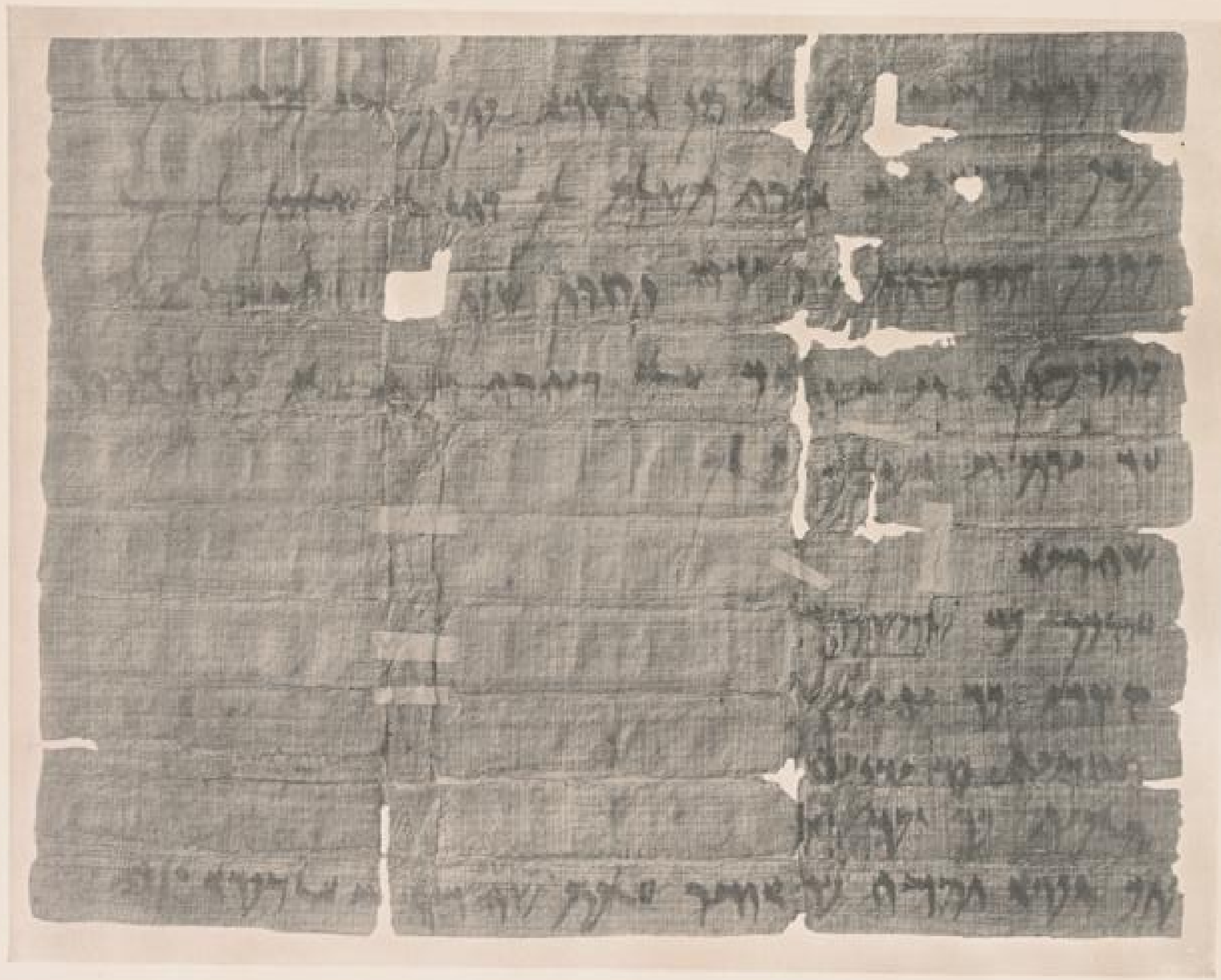


PAPYRUS K, 1—6. No. 37109 in the Cairo Museum.





PAPYRUS L, 1—5. MS. Aram. c. 1 (P) in the Bodleian Library.



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