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1. מן ארשם על נחתחור וכעת קדמן כזי מצריא מרדו אדין סמשך פקידא קדמיא גרדא

ונכסיא

2. זילנא [זי] במצריין חסין נטר כן כזי מנדעם כסנתו לא הוה מן ביתא זילי אף מן אתר

אחרן גרד

3. אמנן וספזן ונכ[ס]ן אחרנן שפיק בעה ועבר על ביתא זילי וכען תנה כן שמיע לי כזי

פקידיא זי

4. [בתח]תיתא בשוויא מתנצחן גרדא ונכסי מראיהם חסין נטרן אף אחרנן בעי[ן] מן אתר

אחרן

5. ומהוס[פן ע]ל בית מראיהם ואנתם כן לא עבדן כען אף קדמן שלחת עליכם על זנה

אנתם [א]תנצחו גרדא

6. ונכסי[א] זילי חסין טרו כן כזי מ[נ]רעם כסנתו לא יהוה מן ביתא זילי אף מן אתר

אחרן גרד אמנן

7. וספזן שפיק בעו והנעלו בתרבצא זילי וסטרו בשנתא זילי ועברו על ביתא זילי כן כזי

פקידיא

8. [קד]מיא הוו עבדן כן ידיע יהוי לך הן מן גרדא או מן נכסיא אחרנן זילי

מנדעם כסנתו יהוה

9. ומן אתר אחרן לא תבעון ולא תהוספון על ביתא זילי חסין תשתאלון וגסת פתגם

יתעבר

10. לך [אר]תחי ידע טעמא זנה רשת ספרא

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11. מן ארשם על נחתחור פקידא זי במצריין בתחתיתא

12. על הנדרזא

13. זי [ ]

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1. מן ארשם על נחתחור וכעת קדמן כזי מצריא מרדו אדין סמשך פקידא קדמיא גרדא ונכסיא
2. זילנאן זי [במצריין חסין נטר כן כזי מנדעם כסנתו לא הוה מן ביתא זילי אף מן אתר אחרן גרד
3. אמגן וספון ונכ[ס]ן אחרנן שפיק בעה ועבד על ביתא זילי וכען תנה כן שמיע לי כזי פקידיא זי
4. [בתח]תילא בשוויא מתנצחן גרדא ונכסי מראיהם חסין נטרן אף אחרנן בעי[ן] מן אתר אחרן
5. ומהוס[פן ע]ל בית מראיהם ואנתם כן לא עבדן כען אף קדמן שלחת עליכם על זנה אנתם [א]תנצחו גרדא
6. ונכסי[א זיל]י חסין טרו כן כזי מ[נ]דעם כסנתו לא יהוה מן ביתא זילי אף מן אתר אחרן גרד אמגן
7. וספון שפיק בעו והנעלו בתרבצא זילי וסטרו בשנתא זילי ועבדו על ביתא זילי כן כזי פקידיא
8. [קד]מיא הוור עבדן כן ידיע יהוי לך הן מן גרדא או מן נכסיא אחרנן זילי מנדעם כסנתו יהוה
9. ומן אתר אחרן לא תבעון ולא תהוספון על ביתא זילי חסין השתאלון וגסת פתגם יתעבד
10. לך [אר]תחי ידע טעמא זנה רשת ספרא

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11. מן ארשם על נחתחור פקידא זי במצריין בתחיתא
12. על הנדרזא
13. זי .....

Order to Preserve and Enhance the Estates  
Late 5th Century B.C.E.

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<sup>1</sup>From Arsames to Nakthor.

And now, formerly, when the Egyptians rebelled, then Samshek, the former official, <sup>2</sup>strictly guarded our <sup>1</sup>domestic staff and goods <sup>2</sup>[which are] in Egypt so that there was not any decrease in my estate. Moreover, from elsewhere <sup>3</sup>he sought <sup>2</sup>domestic staff <sup>3</sup>of craftsmen of all kinds and other go[o]ds in sufficient numbers and made (them over) to my estate.

And now, thus have I heard here, that the officials who are <sup>4</sup>[in Low]er (Egypt) are being diligent during the TROUBLES. They are strictly guarding the domestic staff and goods of their lords. Moreover, they are seek[ing] others from elsewhere <sup>5</sup>and add[ing (them) t]o the estate of their lords. But you are not doing so.

Now, even formerly I sent (word) to you about this: "You, [be] diligent. <sup>6</sup>Strictly guard m[y] <sup>5</sup>domestic staff <sup>6</sup>and good[s] so that there will not be a[n]ly decrease in my estate. Moreover, from elsewhere <sup>7</sup>seek <sup>6</sup>domestic staff of craftsmen <sup>7</sup>of all kinds in sufficient numbers, and bring them into my court, and mark them with my brand, and make (them over) to my estate just as <sup>8</sup>the [for]mer <sup>7</sup>officials <sup>8</sup>had been doing".

Thus let it be known to you: if there be any decrease in the domestic staff or in my other goods <sup>9</sup>and from elsewhere you do not seek and you do not add to my estate, you will be strictly called to account and a harsh word will be directed <sup>10</sup>at you.

[Ar]tahaya knows this order. Rashta is the scribe.

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<sup>11</sup>From Arsames to Nakthor the official who is in Lower Egypt.

(ADDRESS)

<sup>12</sup>Concerning the instruction <sup>13</sup>which ...

(SUMMARY)

צו לשמור על האחוזות

פנים

<sup>1</sup>מארשם אל נחתחור.

ועתה, לפניכם, כאשר המצרים מרדו, אז סמשך, הפקיד הקודם, (את) המשרתים והנכסים <sup>2</sup>שלנו [ש]במצרים שמר בחזקה, כך שחסר כלשהו לא היה מהבית שלי. ואף ממקום אחר, משרתים <sup>3</sup>אמנים, מכל הסוגים, ונכ[ס]ים אחרים, (בכמות) מספקת, חיפש ועשה על (=העביר אל) הבית שלי. ועתה, כאן כן שמעתי שהפקידים אשר <sup>4</sup>(במצרים) תח[ת]ית, בזמן הפרעות מצטיינים. (את) המשרתים ונכסי אדוניהם שומרים בחזקה. אף אחרים מחפשי[ם] ממקום אחר, <sup>5</sup>ומוסי[פים ע]ל בית אדוניהם. ואתם אינכם עושים כן.

עתה, אף לפניכם שלחתי אליכם על זה: אתם הצטיינו! המשרתים <sup>6</sup>ו[ה]נכסי[ם של]י שמרו בחזקה, כך שחסר כל[ש]הו לא היה מהבית שלי. אף ממקום אחר משרתים אמנים, <sup>7</sup>מכל הסוגים, (בכמות) מספקת, חפשו והכניסו בחצר שלי, וסמנו בסימן שלי, והעבירו אל הבית שלי, כמו שהפקידים <sup>8</sup>ה[קוד]מים היו עושים.

כן ידוע יהי לך: אם מהמשרתים או מהנכסים האחרים שלי חסר כלשהו יהיה <sup>9</sup>וממקום אחר לא תחפשו ולא תוסיפו על הבית שלי, בקפידה תיחקרו ונזיפה קשה תינזף.

<sup>10</sup>[אר]תחי יודע צו זה. רשת הסופר.

חוצ'

(כתובת)

מן ארשם אל נחתחור הפקיד אשר במצרים התחתית.

<sup>11</sup>על ההוראה <sup>12</sup>אשר ...

והן יהוה באתר חד יתיר מן יום חד אחר זי יומיא אלך  
 יתיר פתף אל תנתנו להם בגסרו ידע טעמא זנה רשת  
 ספר[א]

<sup>1</sup> From 'Aršam to Marduk the officer who is at . . . , Nabû-dalâni the officer who is at La'ir, Zâtôhi the officer who is [at] 'Arzûhin, 'Upastabar the officer who is at Arbel, Ḥalšu (?) and Mât-âl-Ubaš (?), Bagafarna the officer <sup>2</sup> who is at Sa'lam, Frādafarna and Gavazāna (?) the officers who are at Damascus.

And now:—behold! one named Neḥtiḥūr, [my] officer, is going to Egypt.

Do you give [him] (as) provisions from my estate in your provinces <sup>3</sup> every day two measures of white meal, three measures of inferior (?) meal, two measures of wine or beer, and one sheep, and for his servants, 10 men, <sup>4</sup> one measure of meal daily for each, (and) hay according to (the number of) his horses; and give provisions for two Cilicians (and) one craftsman, all three my servants who are going with him to Egypt, for each and <sup>5</sup> every man daily one measure of meal; give them these provisions, each officer of you in turn, in accordance with (the stages of) his journey from province to province until he reaches Egypt; <sup>6</sup> and, if he is more than one day in (any) one place, do not thereafter assign them more provisions for those days.

Bagasrava is cognizant of this order: Rāšt is the clerk.

## VII

מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל נַחְתַּחֹר פְּקִידָא זִי עַל[וֹ] יְהוּהָה כְּסֻתּוֹ  
 בְּמִצְרַיִן בְּתַחְתִּיתָא מִן בֵּיתִי זִי בְּמִצְרַיִן

מִן אַרְשָׁם עַל נַחְתַּחֹר וּכְעַת קְדַמָּן כֹּזִי מִצְרַיָא מְרֻדוֹ אַדִּין  
 (פ) סַמְשַׁךְ פְּקִידָא קְדַמִּיא גְרָדָא וּנְכַסִּיא

זילנא [זין] בְּמִצְרַיִן חֲסִין נָטַר כֵּן כֹּזִי מְנַדְעָם כְּסֻתּוֹ לֹא הוּהוּ  
 מִן בֵּיתָא זִילִי אַף מִן אַתְרֵךְ אַחֲרֵךְ גָּרַד  
 אַמְנִן וְסַפְזֵן וְנְכַסִּין אַחֲרֵנִן שְׂפִיק בַּעֲהָ וְעַבְדוּ עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי  
 וּכְעַן תְּנֵה כֵּן שְׂמִיעַ לִי כֹזִי פְּקִידָא זִי  
 [בְּתַחְתִּיתָא] בְּשׁוּזִיא מִתְנַצְחֵן גְּרָדָא וְנְכַסִּי מְרַאֲיָהֶם חֲסִין נָטַר  
 אַף אַחֲרֵךְ בְּעִינֵךְ מִן אַתְרֵךְ אַחֲרֵךְ  
 וּמַהוֹסֵפֶן עַל בֵּית מְרַאֲיָהֶם וְאַנְתָּם כֵּן לֹא עַבְדֵן כְּעַן אַף  
 קְדַמָּן שְׁלַחַת עֲלֵיכֶם עֲלוּנָה אַנְתָּם [א] תְּנַצְחוּ גְרָדָא  
 וּנְכַסִּיא [זִילִי] חֲסִין טְרוּ כֵּן כֹּזִי מְנַדְעָם כְּסֻתּוֹ לֹא יְהוּהוּ מִן  
 בֵּיתָא זִילִי אַף מִן אַתְרֵךְ אַחֲרֵךְ גָּרַד אַמְנִן  
 אֶסְפֹּן שְׂפִיק בַּעֲוֹ וְהַנְעֵלוּ בְּתַרְבַּצָא זִילִי וְסֵטְרוּ בְּשַׁנְתָא זִילִי  
 וְעַבְדוּ עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי כֵּן כֹּזִי פְּקִידָא  
 [קְדַ]מִּיא הֵוּ עַבְדֵן כֵּן יִדְעַ יְהוּי לֶךְ הֵן מִן גְּרָדָא אִוּ מִן  
 נְכַסִּיא אַחֲרֵךְ זִילִי מְנַדְעָם כְּסֻתּוֹ יְהוּהוּ  
 וּמִן אַתְרֵךְ אַחֲרֵךְ לֹא תַבְעוֹן וְלֹא תְהוֹסְפוֹן עַל בֵּיתָא זִילִי חֲסִין  
 תַּשְׁתַּאֲלוֹן וְגַסְתָּ פַתְגָם יִתְעַבְדוּ  
 לְכַם [א]ר[תְּ]חִי יִדְעַ טַעְמָא זְנַה רֶשֶׁת סְפְרָא

<sup>2\*</sup> From 'Aršam to Neḥtiḥūr the officer who is in Lower Egypt.

Concerning there being (any) loss from my estate which is in Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> From 'Aršam to Neḥtiḥūr:

And now:—previously, when the Egyptians revolted, then Psamšek the former officer took strict care of our domestic staff and property <sup>2</sup> which were in Egypt, so that my estate suffered no sort of loss; from elsewhere too he sought out enough staff <sup>3</sup> of craftsmen of various kinds and other property and appropriated them to my estate; and here now I hear that the officers who are

<sup>4</sup> [in] Lower Egypt are showing themselves active in (the circumstances of) the disturbances (?) (and) are taking strict care of their lord's staff and property and are also seeking out others from elsewhere <sup>5</sup> and adding them to their lord's estate, while you are not doing so.

Now also I have previously sent (word) to you concerning this matter. Do you show yourselves active <sup>6</sup> (and) take such strict care of my domestic staff and property, that my estate may suffer no sort of loss; from elsewhere too seek out enough staff <sup>7</sup> of craftsmen of various kinds and bring them into my court and mark them with my brand and attach them to my estate, just as the former <sup>8</sup> officers used to do.

Thus let it be known to thee: if my domestic staff or other property suffer any sort of loss <sup>9</sup> and you do not seek out (others) from elsewhere and appropriate them to my estate, you will be called strictly to account and reprimanded.

<sup>10</sup> 'Artahay is cognizant of this order; Rāšt is the clerk.

## VIII

מן ארשם על נחתחור פקידא כַּנְנֹסְרִים וכנותה  
הַמְרֵכְרִיא זי במצרין

מן ארשם על נחתחור כְּנוֹסְרִים וכנותה וכעת פטוסרי שמה  
ורשבר עלים זילי שלח עלי כן אמר איתי פמון שַׁמְנָה  
אבי כזין

יִזָּא בְּמִצְרִינָא הוּוּ זך אבד ובגה זי הִוָּה מהחסן פמון שמה  
אבי בית זרע אֵ אֵ זֵ אֵשְׁתַּבַּק בגו כזי נשי ביתן כלא  
אֵנְבִדוּ כען הב

לי בגה זי פמון אבי אתעשת לי ינתנו לי אהחסן כעת  
ארשם] כן אמר הן כן הִוָּה כמליא אלה זי פטוסרי שלח  
עֲלִי על פמון

שמה אבוהי זך כזי יוזא הוה במצרין אבד עם נשי נביתה  
ובגה זי פמון [זך] אבוהי בית זרע אֵ אֵ זֵ זך אשתבַּק  
[ועל ביתא זילי]

לא עביד ולעלים אחרן זילי מני לא יהיב אחר אנה בגה זי  
פמון זך יהבת לפטוסרי אתם החוהי יהִוָּה סֶן הֵלְכָא  
לְקַבַּל זי קדמן פמון אבוהי הוה חשל יחשל על ביתא זילי  
ארתוהי ידע טעמא זנה רשת ספרא

<sup>1\*</sup> From 'Aršam to Neḥtiḥūr the officer, the comptroller (?) and his colleagues the accountants, who are in Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> From 'Aršam to Neḥtiḥūr, the comptroller (?) and his colleagues.

And now:—one named Peṭōsīrī, a forester, my servant, has sent (word) to me (and) said thus:

There is one named Pāmûn [my father: when] <sup>2</sup> the rebellion occurred in Egypt, that man perished, and his domain, of which one named Pāmûn my father was in possession, a farm of 30 'ardab, was thereupon abandoned when the women of our house perished altogether. [Now give] <sup>3</sup> the domain of Pāmûn my father to me; bear me in mind (and command that) they assign it to me, (that) I may take possession (of it).

Now 'Aršam says thus:

If it is as (described in) this account which Peṭōsīrī has sent [to me] concerning that (man) named [Pāmûn] <sup>4</sup> his father (and if), when the rebellion occurred in Egypt, he perished with the women of [his house and] the domain of that Pāmûn his father, that farm of 30 'ardab, was abandoned and was not attached [to my estate] <sup>5</sup> nor given by me to any other of my servants, I forthwith give the domain of that Pāmûn to Peṭōsīrī. Do you notify him (that) he take possession (of it) and pay the land-tax <sup>6</sup> to my estate according to (the rate) which Pāmûn his father used indeed formerly to pay.

'Artōhī is cognizant of this order; Rāšt is the clerk.

here (cp. Cp 83 2; cp. DL 11 5) or be introduced by ל (Cp 38 3) as after **לָגַלְגַּל** 'reached' (Brockelmann).

6. יהוה. The subject of the sing. verb is **נֹחַתְחֹרֵר**, who is mentioned alone as he is in charge of the party.

וַיְיָמִיָּא. The genit. particle recalls the Acc. *ša ūmi* 'for the day' (Meissner in *MAoG.* xi/i-ii 52-53).

תַּחְנוּנוּ. Uncontracted forms of **תַּחְנוּ** are the rule in Eg.-Aram. texts (cp. DL 8 3 12 2; s. Cowley 'AP.' 300); contracted forms are late (Cp 81 24, 64 82 8, 9).

לְהֵם. The plur. pronoun refers to **נֹחַתְחֹרֵר** and his party of 10 persons. **רֶשֶׁת . . . בְּגִסְרוֹ**. The first name, whose pronunciation the N.-Bab. *Ba-ga(-)sa-ru-ū* or *Ba-ag-ga<sub>5</sub>-sa/su-ru-ū* (Tallqvist *NbNb.* 18) exhibits, is of Pers. origin (Eilers in *ZDMG.* xc 169<sup>2</sup>), reproducing an O.-Iran. \**Baga-sravah-* composed of *baga* 'God' and *sra<sub>5</sub>vah-* = *kléos* and so meaning 'having (good/bad) repute before God'.<sup>1</sup> The second name may be read **רֶשֶׁת**;<sup>2</sup> this will be the O.-Iran. *rāšta* 'straight, true' = *rāsta-* 'right, just, true' (Bartholomae *ibid.* 1514, 1526-7, and Nyberg *HbP.* ii 193); cp. *aršta-* 'upright' (Kent 'O.-Pers. Lex.' 171). The M.-Pers. *Rāstī* (Justi *ibid.* 259) as a proper name is derived from this root; any connexion of the Av. *Arāstyā* = O.-Pers. *Arāstī* (Justi *ibid.* 20) and the Ass. *A-ra-aš-tu(-a)*, *A-raš-tu-a* (Tallqvist 'APN.' 28, 306) with it may be doubted (s. Eilers in *AOJ.* xvii 332).

## LETTER VII

[Edited by Kutscher in *Kedem* II 66-74]

### OUTSIDE

#### Address.

1\*. **בְּמִצְרַיִן בְּחַתְחִיתָא**. That **בְּמִצְרַיִן** is here prefixed shows that there is an ellipse not of **מִצְרַיִן** but of **אֶרְעָא** or **אֶרְקָא** (s. Cowley 'AP.' 277) before **חַתְחִיתָא** here as before **חַתְחִיתָא** in the corresponding phrase (cp. DL 5 6; cp. 2 3).

#### Summary of contents.

The summary is almost illegible and what is restored is largely matter of conjecture based on the contents of the letter.

3\*. **וַיְיָמִיָּא בְּמִצְרַיִן** rather than **בְּמִצְרַיִן** [בְּמִצְרַיִן] rather than **בְּמִצְרַיִן**; for there does not seem to be room for the relat. particle (cp. DL 5 2).

### INSIDE

1. **מִצְרַיִא מִרְדֵּי**. The Eg. *papyri* have this same phrase (Cp 27 1; cp. DL 5 6), apparently in reference to the same event (s. p. 9).

<sup>1</sup> Formed like Skt. *deva-śrū* 'having a (good/bad) repute before God' (Monier-Williams 'Sanskrit-Engl. Dict.'<sup>2</sup> 494).

<sup>2</sup> An Aram. *דִּשְׁת*, even if palaeographically possible, cannot be identified with the O.-Pers. *daštā* 'friend'; and a comparison of **בְּגִדְשֶׁת** (K 3 2, 10, 23, 25 4 3 12 4, 12, 31) with **בְּגִדְשֶׁת** (K 4 3), cited to support it (Menasce in *BO.* xi 162), is not permissible, since *Bagazūštā-* (not *Bagazauštā-*) is the original form of that name (Henning; cp. Frye in 'HJAS.' xviii 460).

**סַמְשָׁר** (פ). As this name is always written with initial **פ** (cp. Cp 74 2 DL 2 4 3 4, 7 4 1, 2, 3 12 4), its omission probably does not represent a variant spelling of a foreign name (Kutscher) but is a scribal error.

**גַּרְדָּא**. The Aram. **גַּרְדָּא** (cp. DL 7 2, 4, 6, 8 9 2 12 8, 9, 10) can only be the same word as the N.-Bab. *gardu* (Kutscher), which is certainly of Iran. origin. Its source may be traced to the Av. *gərəda-* (cp. Skt. *grha-*) 'house', from which an O.-Iran. \**garda-* or \**grda-* > O.-Pers. *garda-* may be inferred and which the Bab. *gardu* will clearly represent; and the Elam. *kurtaš*, of which the sense is *oikéτης* (cp. Skt. *grhya-* 'domestic servant') and which is used to render the O.-Pers. *māniya-* 'domestic staff', shows what *gardu* = **גַּרְדָּא** must have meant. So too the Bab. *Lūgardupatu* corresponds to the Elam. *kurtapattiš* (Henning *ap.* Gershevitz in *AM.*, n.s. ii 141-2). The Bab. *Lūgardu* is a collective term, since individual members of it are termed *šābū* (King & Thompson 'CT.' xxii 15 74 26) and when named are described as *ša Lūgardu* (Clay 'PBS.' ii/i 91 U.E. 1-2 202 O. 6). Various officers are mentioned in connexion with them, such as a *Lūšaknu* (*ibid.* 2 7), a *Lū ḫatri* (Clay 'BEUP.' x/i 92 7) and a *Lū sipiri* (*ibid.* 95 6), and especially a *Lū pitipabagā* or *pitipibaga* (Hilprecht & Clay 'BEUP.' ix 15 4-5, 8-9, Clay *ibid.* x/i 95 7; s. n. on DL 6 4); but their own proper officer seems to have been the *Lūgardu/apatu/a'* (Clay 'BEUP.' x/i 95 11 118 34 and 'PBS.' ii/i 160 5), who once bears an Eg. name (*ibid.* 91 3-4). The *Lūgardu* are once described as *ša šarri* (Clay 'BEUP.' x/i 127 4), as also the *Lūgardupatu* once is (Krückmann *NbR-Vt.* 184 19), and they once have a territorial designation (Hilprecht & Clay 'BEUP.' ix 15 4-5, 8-9). Further, they own fields (Clay 'PBS.' ii/i 2 1, 13 204 7-8) and corn-land (Hilprecht & Clay 'BEUP.' ix 101 3, Clay *ibid.* x 32 10 92 3-4) and receive allowances in kind for their maintenance (Ungnad *VaŠd.* iii 138 1-2 139 1-2). Nothing, however, is known of any duties which the *Lūgardu* or any of these officers may have performed, even though once the *Lū pitipibagā* is found acting as an intermediary in the collection of certain dues in kind (Hilprecht & Clay 'BEUP.' ix 15 1-12); but they are chiefly mentioned in connexion with the king or highly placed persons (s. Eilers in *ZDMG.* xc 193-6 and *IBn.* i 63-7 and Cardascia *AM.* 79<sup>1</sup>).

1-2. **וּנְכִסְיָא זִילְנָא** [וַיְיָמִיָּא]. The final **א** with **זִילְנָא** is unusual but not unparalleled; for, although the suffix of the plur. 1st person is normally **ן** in Ass. and Eg. texts but **נָא** in the O.T. (Schaefer *IB.* i 42-43, Rowley 'AOT.' 52), exceptions occur, e.g. in other Eg. texts both **זִילְן** (Cp 20 10 30 20) and **זִילְנָא** (Cp 81 32, 38) and in one of the fragments of this collection the possibly doubtful **לְנָא** (Df 3 131). Alternatively **וּנְכִסְיָא זִילְן** has been suggested (Kutscher); but this reading is open to the objection that there is hardly room for **וּנְכִסְיָא** in the gap and that the order of the words is wrong, as shown by **וּנְכִסְיָא אַחְרַיִן**.

<sup>1</sup> The component elements of this title are the N.-Bab. *gardu* and the O.-Pers. *patay-* > M.-Pers. *pat* 'lord' (Bartholomae *AiWb.* 821; s. Eilers *IBn.* i 66-67); this fact strengthens the suspicion that the first like the second element in this title is of Iran. origin.

ייל below. Further, the **א** is written so close to the **ל** or **ך** that it seems to belong rather to the preceding than to the following word. In any case, the plur. זילנא is awkward before the following יילי, for which it is perhaps an error (s. n. on 10).

2. כסנתו. The Aram. כסנתו, if derived from an Iran. source, may be connected with the Av. *kasu-* 'little, small', to which the M.-Pers. *kāhūšn* 'diminution' and Pers. *kāstan* (pres. *kāh-*) 'to diminish' belong (Bartholomae *AiWb.* 460-1, Nyberg *HbP.* II 125). The form, however, is unusual; is it based on an O.-Iran. \**kasant-* formed on the analogy of the O.-Iran. *mazant-* 'big, great' with the addition of the O.-Iran. abstract ending *-θva*,<sup>1</sup> here appended to \**kasant-* formed like *masant-* 'great' (Henning)? Syntactically כסנתו is predicate to הוה, so that מנדעם כסנתו לא הוה means literally 'nothing became a loss'.

3. וספון. The Aram. וספון represents the O.-Pers. *vispazana-* 'of all races' (cp. M.-Pers. *wyspznng* and Sogd. *wyspznčw*, *wyspznčm* 'of all kinds') composed of the O.-Pers. *vispa-* and *zana-* *yénos* (Bartholomae *AiWb.* 1464 and Benveniste *TS.* 277, 279); so the Bab. *li-ša-nu ga-ab-bi* 'all tongues, languages' is used to translate the O.-Pers. [vīs]pazanā in a bilingual inscription (Weissbach in *ZA.* XLIV 159 2 9 = 163 2 6). The word here means not so much כל עמים or בני כל שונים (Kutscher) as 'of various kinds' (Kent 'O.-Pers. Lex.' 208).

[ונכסן] (Kutscher): cp. DL 12 9.

עבד על ביתא זילי. The sense of עבד על 'made over to, attached to' is brought out by comparing the analogous עבד לנפשה (DL 12 6; cp. Cp 30 12-13), while the use of על in place of ל may be due to the analogy of הוסף על below (cp. Cp 26 18) beside ל הוסף (Dan. iv 33); the idiom may be due to Iran. influence (s. Nyberg *HbP.* II 123).

3-5. עבדן . . . כוי. Clearly כוי is not a temporal but a subordinating particle introducing indirect oration after שמיע (cp. DL 11 3 w. DL 10 3), on which the participles down to עבדן depend; elsewhere it is followed by a command or a prayer expressed by the impf. tense (DL 5 8 10 3).

4. בתח[ת]תתא (Kutscher): cp. DL 5 6 7 1\*.

בשוויא. The sense of שוויא is uncertain, since it occurs nowhere else; is it a common noun meaning 'rebellion' or the like (Mittwoch) or perhaps the name of a place (Kutscher)? No place so called has been found in Egypt, so that it may be assumed to be a common noun; and, if so, its form suggests neither an Iran. nor an Eg. but a Sem. origin. One verb then that may be thought to explain it is the Acc. *ezū* 'to deviate', which seems, however, to be used only of the moon going out of its course (Rawlinson 'CIWA.' III 54 ii 16, Thompson 'Reports' 153 O. 7); and the sense so won hardly suits the present context, while the doubt about the weak initial and final letters increases the uncertainty of the equation. Another verb is the Arab. وَزَى III 'was opposite, matched', which is presumably cognate with the Syr. ܘܘܝܘܢ = ܘܘܢ *calcitravit*, whence ܘܘܢ,

<sup>1</sup> This termination has no connexion with the Aram. ܘܘܢ (s. n. on DL 3 6).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Phoen. . . . על . . . על 'added . . . to . . .' (Karatepe 11-12).

ܘܘܢ *calcitratio, rixatio* (Payne Smith) is derived; for a word meaning 'recalcitrance, refractoriness' may have come to denote 'disaffection, revolt' or the like. The noun will then be a masc. *š-* form from a *w-* root like the fem. ܘܘܢܐ 'destruction' in the Targ. dialect.<sup>1</sup>

מתנצחן. The obvious translation of מתנצחן is perhaps 'distinguishing themselves' (Kutscher) as in the O.T. (Dan. vi 4); so the Targ.-Aram. אתנצח renders the Hebr. נראה (Ezek. xix 11), ארך and יפה (Ezek. xxxi 5, 7). This sense, however, is unlikely in the following line, where the verb occurs in a command; it may therefore rather mean 'showing themselves active, vigorous', like the Syr. ܘܘܢ *valuit, viguit* (Brockelmann)<sup>2</sup> but hardly 'taking the initiative' after the Hebr. נצח 'superintended' (Cazelles in *Syria* xxxii 94<sup>1</sup>), since this is a specialized use. The former rendering is supported by the fact that ἀνδριζόμενοι, συναθρούντες, and ἐνασθλήσαντες are all translated ܘܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ (Payne Smith). Another, not so likely, sense is 'showing themselves loyal' after the Arab. نَصَحَ *purus et sincerus, fidelis et ingenuus fuit, recte vereque se habuit* (Freitag). The verb here hardly corresponds to an O.-Pers. *ham-taxš-* 'to strive, make an effort' (Benveniste in *JAs.* ccxlii 305; s. Kent 'O.-Pers. Lex.' 185-6).

5. ומהוסן ע[ל] בית מראיהם (Kutscher): cp. 9.

Apparently מראיהם is a compromise (Kutscher) between the old \*מראהם, for which forms like מראה are evidence (Cooke 'N-SI.' 62 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, Dunand in *BMB.* III 733, Cowley 'AP.' p 71 7 A 198-9), and the new מריהם (Cp 34 6); in the O.T. מריא-שמיא (Dan. v 23) stands beside מריא מלדין (Dan. ii 47), while the K. מריא is twice corrected to the Q. מרי (Dan. iv 16, 21). That א is proper to the root is proved by the Ass. *ma-ri-* (Abel in Schrader's *KB.* I 190-1 3 15 and Unger *Reliefstele Adadirari III* 10-11 ii 19; s. Oppenheim in *RHA.* v 112), which the cognate Arab. مَرِي 'man' confirms (s. Bauer in *ZDMG.* LXVII 342-3). A similar mixed form may be seen in נשאית (CA 111-12; s. Leander *L-FlA-A.* § 42 b).<sup>3</sup> In the Achaemenid empire מרא is almost a technical term for the governor of a province (Andreas in *NKGWG.*, *Ph.-h. Kl.* 1932 i 15-16).

5-8. אתנח . . . עבדן. This clause probably contains not the old order to which קדמן שלחת refers but the new order which is the purpose of the present letter.

5. עלונה. These two words seem to be written as one here and elsewhere (cp. Cp 26 6 DL 12 8).

[א]תנצחן (Kutscher): cp. DL 11 3 13 1.

6. ונכסיא [זילי] (Mittwoch). The restoration of [זילי] is certain, since a trace of י is clearly visible; consequently an alternative [זילי] (Kutscher) may be discarded.

<sup>1</sup> Or is שוויא connected with יווא (Eilers in *Aof.* xvii 334)?

<sup>2</sup> The Aram. ܘܘܢܐܘܢܐ serves as an ideogram for the Pahl. *paryoš* = M.-Pers. *pērōš* > N.-Pers. *fīrūš* 'victorious' (Nyberg in *Eranos* XLIV 233-5; s. 238).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cross & Freedman 'Early Hebrew Orthography' 51-52.



מ[נ]דעם (Kutscher): cp. 3.

7. בתרביצא. The Acc. *tarbāšu* 'stable, stall' for cattle and 'resting place' for those tending them means also 'court' of a house or temple as well as 'lodging place' for a king, when it may be applied even to a town (Muss-Arnolt); it reappears in the M.-Aram. תרביצא 'courtyard' of a house (Buckler *Sardis* vi/ii 2 1 7) and the Targ.-Aram. תרביצא 'hall' (Jastrow). Further, the Aram. רב תרביץ = Gr. *ἐπιτροπος* is the title of a high officer of the Sassan. court in the trilingual inscription from Armazi (Nyberg in *Eranos* XLIV 233 Aram. 4-6 = Gr. 6). Here תרביץ denotes the court of the satrap as the representative of the Pers. king in Egypt.

סטרו בשתא זילי. The verb seems to be not the Acc. *šaṭāru* 'to write', even though this is used in such similar expressions as *šā ritti imittišu* or *šumēlišu ana šumi* . . . *šaṭrat* 'whose right' or 'left hand is inscribed by the name of . . .' and the like (San Nicolò & Ungnad *NbR-Vu.* I Gl. 136), since this word is not otherwise known in the Aram. language (although the Hebr. שוטר 'officer' is derived from it), but rather the Syr. *ܫܘܬܪܐ* *concidit, dissecuit* (Brockelmann), since marks of ownership were commonly incised or scratched in the flesh (Strassmaier *BT., Camb.* 290 3, 5 *Dar.* 492 2, Dougherty 'GCCl.' I 194 3 +). The noun is the Acc. *šimtu/šintu/šindu* 'mark of ownership', whence *šamātu* 'to mark' (s. San Nicolò & Ungnad *ibid.* 152-3) is derived; the M.-Aram. שנית 'marked' (Cp 28 4, 6) and שנתות 'measuring marks' on vessels (Levy, Jastrow) come from the same root. Such marks were put not only on beasts and slaves (Ebeling *NbBU.* 117 13-14 125 38) but also on buildings (Landsberger & Bauer in *ZA.* xxxvii 93).

8. [קד]מיא (Kutscher): cp. 1.

עבדן על ביתא זילי. Here the verb may stand elliptically for *עבדן* (cp. 7) or may have the absolute sense of 'doing' (cp. 5; s. n. on DL 4 3).

כן ידיע יהוי לך. This phrase probably reproduces something like an O.-Pers. *\*avaθātaiy azdā biyā* (Benveniste in *JAs.* ccxlii 305).

10. לכ(ם). If לך is retained, there must be an arbitrary change of person as in זילנא (s. n. on 1-2), since Neḥtiḥūr is otherwise addressed in the plur. number, which includes his colleagues with him.

[אר]תחי (Kutscher): cp. DL 13 1\*.

## LETTER VIII

[Edited by M. Kâmil in *BFAC.* x/ii 113-13.]

### OUTSIDE

Address.

1\*. כ[נ]ז סרם: cp. DL 8 1 9 1\*, 1 10 1\*, 1 (s. n. on 1).

המרקריא, not [פקיד]א (Kâmil): cp. DL 10 1\*, 3 (s. n. on DL 10 1\*).

Summary of contents.

The extreme edges of the two lower strips of leather have been frayed and have become so thin that the last signs preserved on ll. 1-3 of the

inside are visible on the outside in the photograph. The ends of these two strips have been torn away, carrying the summary of contents with them.

### INSIDE

1. כנוזרם וכנותה. The Aram. כנוזרם, which is scarcely an Iran. word and for which no satisfactory derivation has been proposed,<sup>1</sup> means from the context something like 'treasurer'. The term is not a title borne by נחתחור but describes a distinct officer, presumably the chief of the המרקריא, since the copula separates it from the proper name in one letter (DL 11 1\*, 1); the copula then before כנותה connects this last of three to the two preceding nouns here as elsewhere (Cp 31 21 70 2), although it may be prefixed to both the last two of three nouns (Cp 30 21).

פטוסרי. The Aram. פטוסרי as it is written here (cp. Ungnad *APE.* 94 A 4, Giron in *ASAÉ.* xxvi 23-27 I B 4) or פטוסרי as in 5 or פטוסרי (Cp 28 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 17) or פטוסרי as in 3 (cp. Cooke 'N-SI.' 69 9, 11, 21, Lidzbarski *ESE.* III 113-14 B i 1) is the Eg. *P3-di-wsirī* = Copt. *πα/ετοϋσιρε* and Gr. *Παρουσίρις, Περωσίρις, Περο(ε)ίρις* (Preisigke *Nb.* 290, 319-20), meaning 'whom Osiris has given' (Ranke *ÄPn.* I 123/1; s. Spiegelberg in *Nöldeke* II 1103).

ורשב. The sing. שלה shows that the 1 in ורשב is not the copula followed by another name but a single term qualifying פטוסרי (cp. DL 1 2, where it similarly describes כוסכן), but its meaning is uncertain. The second and fifth letters may be either 7 or 7, so that several explanations of this term are possible. The obvious explanation is that an Aram. ורשב represents an O.-Iran. *\*varšabara-*, compounded of O.-Iran. *varša-* = Av. *varša-* 'tree' or (according to the tradition) 'forest' and the common Iran. *bara-* 'bearing' in the sense of 'caring for, looking after'; the word will then mean 'one who looks after the trees/forest, forester'. Another, though remote, possibility (since the Iran. *č*, of which the sound was unfamiliar to speakers of the Aram. language, was often rendered by the Aram. *š*) is that the first element is the O.-Iran. *varčah-* = Av. *varčah-* 'power, energy' and that the second is the same as before (Kâmil); but 'looking after' or 'bearing/being charged with power' yields a barely acceptable sense which cannot be paraphrased as *chargé d'affaires* (Henning).

עלים. The possessive זילי- requires the noun to be in the emphatic state when definite, as in עלימא זילי 'my lad' (CA 63) but in the absolute state when indefinite, as in סריס זילי 'an eunuch belonging to me' (CA 61; cp. Cp 8 12, 26 13 8 20 10, 13, 14 28 8, 10 40 4).

פמון. The Aram. פמון is the Eg. *P3-n-imm* = Copt. *ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲛ* meaning 'the (man) of (the god) Amun' (Ranke *ÄPn.* 106/8), a god mentioned in the O.T. under the name of אַמֹּן (Jer. xli 25 Nah. iii 8); the Bab. *Pa-mu-nu* (Clay 'PBS.' II/i 104 9) and the Gr. *Παμ(μ)ων, Παμῶνιος, and Παμῶνιος*, and so on (Preisigke *Nb.* 263-4) are the same name. It must be distinguished from the Aram. פמן (CIS. II/i 122 A 4 148 3) = Eg.

<sup>1</sup> The initial כנוזר-/כנד-/כנד- can have no connexion with an O.-Pers. *\*ganza-* 'treasure' nor the final ס(י)רם with the Av. *sāra-* = N.-Pers. سر (sar) 'head', as Kâmil suggests (Henning). Is a personal name meant (Eilers in *AOf.* xvii 326)?