

The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: Text, Translation, and Notes

Richard C. Steiner and Charles F. Nims

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Acknowledgments

These acknowledgments are incomplete, reflecting the debts of only one author, Richard C. Steiner. The other author, Charles F. Nims, would no doubt have wished to include additional names, but he passed away on Nov. 19, 1988, seven and a half years after we began our collaboration in the spring of 1981. It was an honor and a pleasure to work with him during that period. Charlie's work on Papyrus Amherst 63, beginning in 1936, was as productive as it was selfless. Unlike his predecessors, he took it upon himself to prepare serious research tools for the benefit of others, laying the foundation for the work of Raymond A. Bowman and, later, that of the present author.

At the Oriental Institute, Charlie was able to consult with many demoticists in deciphering the many non-alphabetic signs used in the papyrus. From the very beginning, he worked with his close friend, George R. Hughes. Later on, he turned to Janet H. Johnson, Richard Jasnow, and Robert K. Ritner. Ritner's suggestions were crucial for our progress; he succeeded in identifying ten multiconsonantal signs that had stymied the demoticists who worked on this text since the twenties.

On the Semitic side, there have been many consultants, almost all of them during the eighties and nineties. The first of them was Joshua Blau. It was from him that I first learned of the existence of what he likes to call the "Demonic Papyrus." Among the others were Moshe Bar-Asher, Robert D. Biggs, Daniel Boyarin, J. A. Brinkman, Sol Cohen, H. Z. Dimitrovsky, Aaron Dotan, Barry Eichler, M. Elat, Moshe Greenberg, J. C. Greenfield, Victor Hurowitz, John Huehnergard, Stephen A. Kaufman, S. Z. Leiman, Peter Machinist, Alan R. Millard, S. Shaked, Matthew Stolper, and H. Tadmor. I am grateful to all of them, and I deeply regret that a number of them are no longer here to accept my thanks. I am likewise grateful to the scholars who have prepared Aramaic dictionaries in recent decades: Michael Sokoloff, Abraham Tal, and (once again), Stephen Kaufman. My early work on the papyrus was enormously time-consuming and frustrating, in part because these tools were not yet available. Nowadays, thanks to these scholars, work on the text is far more manageable and pleasant, and the prospects for progress are far greater than before. I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the important contributions of S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius to the study of this text in the eighties.

Unfortunately, I am unable to footnote individually the contributions of the aforementioned scholars because the software package created for this project decades ago lacks the ability to generate footnotes. It was only very recently, in preparing this edition for online publication, that I hit upon the idea of inserting a few notes between the lines. These notes began as minor expansions of the biblical references that accompany the interim translation published in *The Context of Scripture*, but many of them have grown into short discussions. Even so, they do not constitute a full commentary; they should be used in conjunction with earlier publications (including the glossary in *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*), bearing in mind that some of the earlier material is now obsolete.

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I am indebted to all of these people for their generosity. To paraphrase the paganized version of Ps 20 republished below, they "fulfilled every request of my heart" and more.

Editorial Symbols

In the descriptions below, (1) marks a symbol used in the left column, (2) marks a symbol used in the middle column, and (3) marks a symbol used in the right column. When a symbol is used in more than one column, the description given below applies primarily to the first column number listed in parentheses.

[] enclose signs whose reading is uncertain because they are damaged, rare, or not written with care (1, 2, 3). In some cases, the traces of a damaged sign are compatible with only a few readings; in other cases, the traces are so minute or faint that many readings are possible. I have spent months examining the minute traces on the papyrus, at first using an industrial microscope, purchased for my use by the Pierpoint Morgan Library, and more recently with the aid of close-up digital images prepared for me by West Semitic Research. I have spent even more time staring at barely visible, shadowy traces in the Spiegelberg photographs. This painstaking work has led me to reject many seductive ideas.

[] enclose signs restored by the editor in places where no traces remain, based on parallels (in the papyrus and elsewhere) or context (1, 2, 3). In each case, I have spent a great deal of time ensuring that the restoration fits the space and accords with the scribe's usual spelling, using nearby controls wherever possible. The most conjectural restorations should be viewed as a kind of commentary—a rough guide to the content of fragmentary passages—not as reliable, exact reconstructions of the lost text.

[] enclose signs restored by the editor based on loose fragments in the Spiegelberg photographs and on fragments stuck to the papyrus that were torn from their proper place when the papyrus was unrolled (1). The horizontal displacement of these patches (overlays) is normally equal to the circumference of the original roll (which, of course, decreases as one moves from the outermost layer to the innermost layer). This fact makes it possible to determine with reasonable certainty where the patches belong.

< > enclose signs added by the editor, based on parallel passages or contextual conjecture (2, 3). The assumption is that the scribe inadvertently omitted these signs, through a slip of the pen or mishearing.

This assumption is justified by scribe's own corrections (see below). By contrast, many of the errors in the story at the end of the papyrus—errors of gender, number, and prepositional usage—cannot be attributed to the scribe. They are usually left unemended in this edition. It appears that the person who dictated the story had a poor knowledge of Aramaic or that he was reading from a poor text.

<< >> enclose signs inserted by the scribe on the line between the original signs, as well as longer insertions written between the lines (1). As a rule, shorter insertions added above the line are printed there, in their proper position, but the dot that represents Dem. *aleph* (which would look like a diacritic if printed above the line) is normally raised only a small amount to indicate that the *aleph* is superlinear. These insertions are corrections of errors made by either the scribe or the person who dictated the text—no doubt a priest for most of the text.

{ } enclose signs deleted by the editor (2).

{{ →}} enclose signs overwritten by the scribe (1). These overwritings are corrections. The sign substituted by the scribe is given to the right, outside of the braces.

() enclose explanatory editorial additions that involve no emendation (2). These additions are intended solely to help the Semitist by making the transcription more transparent. In most cases, they bring the Aramaic forms closer to the orthography of Standard Literary Aramaic, an orthography that uses *matres lectionis* (especially in word-final position) and that ignores casual speech phenomena, such as the sandhi coalescence of identical consonants ("shared letters"), the sandhi assimilation of non-identical consonants, the deletion of /' / and /h /, etc. For the most part, I have dispensed with internal *matres lectionis*, inserting them only sporadically, without aiming for consistency.

(X) enclose words in which the scribe has inadvertently transposed sounds or signs (2). If I have counted correctly, there are 36 cases below, most of which involve misplaced *y* (16 cases) and/or misplaced ' (10 cases). These statistics should be kept in mind when evaluating individual examples.

- connects words that, in contemporary Aramaic texts, are normally separated by a space but in the Demotic text are treated as a single word (2). In other words, the hyphen marks the absence of an expected determinative. It should be noted, however, that the scribe does not normally add a determinative to words ending in a sign that contains its own internal determinative (e.g. \bar{r} , \bar{rn} , and \bar{Mn}) or a sign that comes after the determinative in normal Demotic writing (e.g. \bar{w}); nor does he add a second determinative to words that contain a non-final determinative (e.g. 'r^w y = 'ry).

| indicates the occurrence of a (non-internal) determinative in a position where a contemporary Aramaic scribe would not normally have left a space.

/ separates alternatives (1, 2, 3). A space is left before and after this symbol to avoid confusion or to indicate that at least one of the two alternatives consists of more than one word. This symbol is also used to separate line numbers from column numbers in citations from the papyrus. These cross-references provide important clues.

x represents a sign whose traces cannot be read. 'x' represents a small mark that cannot be read and may not even be a sign. [x] represents a sign that is completely lost.

Italics are used to indicate problematic translations (3).

Finally, it should be noted that this edition is still incomplete in various ways. For example, the Transliterated Demotic Text (1) has not yet been systematically proofread; in all likelihood, it still contains careless errors. And references to Streck's *Assurbanipal*, used extensively in preparing the notes on the "Tale," have yet to be added. Despite these flaws, I am releasing the edition now because of commitments that I made to a number of colleagues, including the organizer of a conference, scheduled for March, in which the text is to be discussed.

<i>Transliterated</i>	<i>Reconstructed</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<i>Demotic Text</i>	<i>Aramaic Text</i>	

A Near Year's liturgy imported from Bethel to Egypt by Exiles from Rash (I/1-XVII/4)

Col. I

A hymn to Mar (I/1-4)

(1)]'k ¹ mr ^m t[.r. ^m]] [[w.k'š/m ^m]] rx[x ^m]]	(1) ... mr d(')r ...	... Mar dwells
(2)]k ¹ . ¹ b.ṛ [[k]]].[^m]] [[b.m]]ṛ ^m	(2) ... brk bmr	... bless/blessed by Mar.
(3)]'y ¹ .t.'yk ¹ . ¹ [[^m]] [[¹ w̄ ¹ .]]][[¹ .ṛ]]. ^m 'yk ¹ . ^m	(3) ... 'y ¹ d'yk 'w ¹ 'r'yk ¹	... your 'fr ¹ iends 'and your ¹ adversari ¹ es ¹

If correctly interpreted, the spelling 'r, instead of hr or hr, suggests that this word (and its

BH counterpart) is derived from *'-r-r "dispute" rather than *š'-r-r.

(4)]ṛš ¹ . ¹ p ^m h[. ^m]]	(4) ... ršplh	... His flame
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Cf. Song 8:6, Hab 3:5?

' ^m . ¹ y.t.r ¹ ^m	' ^m ytr	is surpassing
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Cf. Dan 2:31, 3:22.

[w̄.] ¹ rm ¹ [. ^m x] ¹ . ^m	[w] ¹ rm ¹ ...	[and] 'exalted ¹ ...
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The recording of the liturgy under royal auspices (I/5-7)

(5)] ^m 'r ny ^m ṛ[.][[k. ^m]]	(5) ... 'l nylrk on your papyrus,
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Cf. MH and JBA *nyyr* "sheet (of papyrus or leather)" < Akk. *niāru* "papyrus" < Eg. *nš* 'r.w

"the scrolls (of papyrus or leather)." The Eg. word was borrowed together with its definite article, a fairly common occurrence with Eg. nouns and names in Semitic; cf. the Arab. definite article in Eng. *alcohol*, *algebra*, etc. The failure to recognize the etymology of the Akk. word is no doubt due, in part, to the loss of 'ayin in that language. A related Eg. word borrowed by Hebrew has not suffered from that problem: 'r.w "rushes, reeds" > 'rwt "id." (Isa 19:7).

[[n.ṛ]][. ^m][xxx ^m]]	n<y>r	the pa<py>rus of ...
(6)]'b ¹ . ¹ b.b.[^m]]	(6) ... 'b ¹ bb	... 'in ¹ the gate of
[h.][[¹ y ¹ k.r.[^m]]] [m.rk. ^m]]	[h] ¹ y ¹ kl [mlk](')	of [the king's] [p] ¹ al ¹ ace.

Cf. XVIII/17.

(7)] ¹ . ^m ṛ.k.t. ¹ b ¹ ^m [(7) ... tkt ¹ b ¹ you shall wri ¹ te ¹ ...
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Cf. the earlier project, commissioned by Darius I, to "write" the Egyptian laws on "a papyrus" in Demotic and Aramaic.

A prayer to bring the community back to Rash (I/8-13)

(8) [t.y.r]. ^m .r̄b.r ^m Cf. IVB/10; XVII/4.	(8) [tyr](h) 'rb(y)-l(y)	Show me much [compassion],
'mr ¹ [^m ] [	'mr ¹ ...	'Mar ¹ ...
(9)]. ^m m.rk. ^m mr ^m 'm ¹ m ^m [	(9) ... mlk(') mr 'm ¹ ...	... the king, Mar, with ...
(10)] 'y ¹ ky ^m n. 'r ¹ . ^m	(10) ... 'y ¹ ky n 'r ¹ (y)	... your ... 's ¹ , my Fi 're ¹
<i>e</i> w.y[	...	...
(11)] [n] b.r ^m w̄.k.n.r̄ [xxxxxx] [[^m]]	(11) ... [n] bl wknr ...	... [h] arp and lyre ...
(12)] [b.] 'tr ¹ .y ^m k.r ^m m·[try].k. ^m	(12) ... [b] 'tr ¹ y ¹ kl m[dry]k	... [In] the 'gates of ¹ all your (= Mar's) [dwelling] place[s]
'b. ¹ [[y ^m]]	by(n)	among
(13) [k.r.] ky r.š. [^s w] [n.t.] r. ^m	(13) [kr] ky rš [nd]r	the [citad]els of Rash [let us dw]ell.
The parallel prayer at the beginning of the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 129-30; ANET, 331; cf. XVII/1) is recited before sunrise on the second day of Nisan.		
The exaltation of the goods (I/13-15)		
'n ¹ .r [[^m]] (14) [m. ^m] [m̄r].n ^m k.r ^m .r ¹ h ¹ [n ^s w] [.r.h] y.k. [[^m]]	'n ¹ r ¹ m ¹ (14) [m] [mr]n kl 'l ¹ h ¹ [n] ['lh]yk	'Let us ¹ ex ¹ al ¹ [t], our [lord], all the go ¹ d ¹ [s]. Your [god]s
(15) 'r̄ . [mn] ^m rm ^m m.r̄[.ty] [r̄.m]. ^m mr ^m . ^m	(15) 'r ¹ [mn] rm(h) mr[ty] [rm] mr'(y)	are 'exa ¹ [l]ted; exalted is [my] lad[y], [exalted] is my lord.
A plea to Marah to accept the morning sacrifice (I/16-17)		
(16) ' 'y.r.k. ^m t. 'b ¹ [. ^m h.n. ^m] [m] 'r. ^m w̄ 'y ¹ (17) [nyk] ^m t.bh.n ¹ . ¹ [^m] [y.r̄.m.sw]	(16) ' 'y l k (y) d ¹ b ¹ [[hn]] [m] r (h) w ¹ 'y ¹ (17) [nyk] dbhn [yrmzw]	Your 'nour ¹ ishment [we have] sac ¹ rif ¹ [iced], [Ma]rah, and may [your] e ¹ ye ¹ [s] [glance at] our sacrifice.
Marah's contemptuous rebuff (I/17-20)		
[e] t̄m ^m (18) [m.] r̄. r.b.r̄ [w.š.m.'ny ^m]	['] (t) t̄m (18) r lbr [wšm'ny]	Hide yourself outside, [and hear me!]

[r]ʿ.ʿm ^m (19) [e.n. ^m]	[r]m(h) (19) [ʿn](h)	[I am exa]ltd.
ṛbʿyʿt.[k. ^m]	rbʿyʿt[k]	I reaʿrʿed [you],
[t.ty ^m n.k.]t.ʿ ^m	[tdy (y)nk]t	you [sucked my breast,]
(20) [rḥ m̄r]	(20) [lh mr](h)	[the sap of Marah]
[ʿr r.k. ^m]	[ʿllk]/[ʿll{l}k]	[nourished you,]
[ʿe.t.ṛ]	[tʿdr]	[she strengthens,]
[thyr. ^m]	[thy]l	[she empowers]
[h]yr[h ^m]	[h]yl[h]	(with) [her] [po]wer.

Col. II

A dialogue between Marah and the king (II/1-11)

(1) pṛkny ^m wṣmy ^m	(1) pṛk(y)-ny wsm̄y	Come out and make
k.ʿbʿ[<i>r.ky</i> ^m xxxxx]ʿ ^m	kʿbʿ[<i>rky</i>] ...	[your] gʿraʿ[ve] ...
(2) ns.m ^m k.b.ṛ.kʿyʿ[^m]	(2) nsm kbrkʿyʿ	we will make youʿrʿ grave ...
Cf. Isa 65:4; XVI/11.		
[xxxx]e.ʿhʿr.k ^m	...	...
(3) k.r ^m ʿ.ʿ b.[t].r. ^m	(3) kl ʿlb[d]-ʿʿl	Every serva[nt] of El
yʿnʿ[<i>s.</i>] ^m	y(t)ʿnʿ[<i>s</i>](y)	is ʿcaʿ[<i>rri</i>]ed;
[y]sm.k. ^m (4) ṛsyb. ^m	[y](t)smk (4) dsyb	he who is old, ʿin a
ʿb-irʿ.ʿ. ^m	ʿbrʿ.ʿ	baʿd state, is supported.

Cf. Isa 46:4; TAD B3.10:17; XVII/12. The total assimilation of passive-reflexive *t*, known from the Late Aramaic dialects, is the norm in our papyrus. As a rule, colloquial pronunciations appear much earlier in transcriptions than in texts written in their usual writing system. For assimilation preempting ("bleeding") metathesis in *y(t)smk*, cf. Mand. *tisimkun* "you will support yourselves," *mismikitun* "you are supported." Such forms, occurring sporadically in JBA as well (e.g., ʿyzbn "was sold", ʿyzryk "was sprinkled"), are much more regular in the dialect of our text.

<i>h.ky</i> ^m [<i>mt</i> ^m]	<i>hkyl</i> [<i>mt</i>](ʿ)	The wis[e] one
ṛsb.rʿ.ʿk ^m	<i>tsblk/tsbl</i> -(l)k	carries you / for you;
Cf. Isa 46:4; TAD B3.10:17.		
(5) ʿhʿ.ʿ ṛsb.r	(5) ʿhʿ(y) ʿtʿsbl-	ʿsheʿ bears
tʿʿeʿy.n.k. ^m	tʿʿ{ʿ}ʿynk	your burden
w.n.[t].nk. ^m	wn[t]nk	and your <i>l[oa]d</i> .
Cf. <i>yhb</i> "load," derived from a verb meaning "give," in Ps 55:23.		
(6) b.ṛ. ^m	(6) br(ʿh)/br<y>(h)	The creatress—
ʿr k.s.y. ^m [ṛ].ṛ.k. ^m	ʿl gzy|[<i>r</i>]tk	at your (= the king's)
Cf. XXI/5, 6.		decr[ee],
e. ^m (7) b.ny	ʿ(y) (= hy) (7) bny(h)	she builds

<i>w.ns.</i> ^{‘‘} [’] ^m	<i>wns</i> [‘] [‘] ^(h)	and upro [‘] ot [’] s.
Cf. <i>n-s-</i> "uproot" in BH, Ugar., and Phoen.		
<i>t.t.</i> [‘] ^h ^[m]	<i>td</i> [‘] ^h	(With) [‘] her [’] breast
[<i>ty</i>] [‘] ⁿ ^{.k} ^m (8) [‘] ^{ey} [’] ^{t.k} ^m	[<i>ty</i>] [‘] ⁿ ^k (8) [‘] ^y [’] ^{tk}	she [su] [‘] ck [’] les [‘] y [’] ou (= the king).
<i>s.r.</i> ^m ^{ty} ^{t.k} ^[r] [‘] ^m	<i>srlty</i> ^t ^(’) ^k ^[l]	My Princess ea[t]s
[‘] ^w ^[.ts] ^{.b.} [‘] ^m	[‘] ^w ^[ts] ^b [‘]	[and is s]ated
(9) [‘] ^w ^{.t} ^m ^{n.m} ^m	(9) [‘] ^w [’] ^{tlnm}	[‘] and [’] sleeps.
Cf. 1 Kgs 18:27; Ps 121:3-4.		
<i>w.t</i> ^[.] [‘] ^s [’] ^{.k.b.} ^[m]	<i>wt</i> [‘] ^{škb}	And she [‘] lies [’]
[‘] ^b ^{šwh.} ^m	[‘] ^b ^{šwh} ^(h)	[‘] in [’] a pit,
(10) <i>b.myp.ry.</i> ^m	(10) <i>bmy-pry</i> ^(h)	in the waters of fertility,
[<i>p̄</i>]. <i>r̄.</i> [‘] ^p [’] ^{ry.} ^m	[<i>p</i>] ^r ^(y) [‘] ^p [’] ^{ry} ^(h)	[be]aring her [‘] fr [’] uit
<i>er</i> ^m ^{mr} ^m	[’] ^l ^{mr}	for Mar,
(11) <i>w.w.</i> ^m ^{b.s.m} ^m	(11) <i>w(h)w bs(y)m</i>	and it is sweet
<i>k.k.</i> ^m	<i>kk</i>	like you.

Cf. "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (Vanstiphout): "To him who was suckled by the teat of the true cow, ..., to Enmerkar, ..., in his Gipar, bearing fruit like a young MES-tree." The gipar is Inanna's bower, often taken to be a bridal chamber. Aratta is thought to be a region in Iran. Was the temple of Inanna in Aratta the ancestor of the temple of Nana/Nanai in Arash/Rash? Was the native name of the region **Aratt-*, yielding *Aratta* in Sumerian and *Araši* > *Raši* in Akkadian? If so, the Aram. name of the region must be a borrowing from Akkadian.

Another plea to accept the offering (II/11-13)

<i>m.r.</i> ^[m]	<i>mr</i> ^(h)	Marah,
[<i>b.</i>] ^m ^{š.m.yn} ^š	[<i>b</i>] ^{šmyn}	[in] heaven
(12) [<i>tš</i>]. <i>k.n</i> ^m	(12) [<i>tš</i>] ^{kn} ^(y)	[you] [re]side;
<i>t.t̄r.</i> ^m ^{š.} [‘] ^k [’] ^m [‘] ^{m̄r} [’]	<i>tdr</i> ^(y) ^š [‘] ^k [’] ^(h) [‘] ^{mr} [’] ^(h)	you dwell on hi [‘] gh [’] , [‘] Mar [’] (ah).

Cf. Isa 57:15; Akk. *šaḳātu šubti* "my dwelling is lofty."

[[‘]]. <i>yr.k.</i> ^m	[[‘]] ^{ylk} ^(y)	Your [nour]ishment
(13) [<i>t</i>]. [‘] ^b [’] ^{.h.n.} ^m	(13) [<i>d</i>] [‘] ^b [’] ^{hn}	we have [sac] [‘] rif [’] iced,
<i>m.r.</i> ^m	<i>mr</i> ^(h)	Marah,
<i>w̄.</i> [‘] ^{yn} [‘] ^[yk] [‘] ^m	<i>w’yn</i> ^[yk] ^(y)	and may [your] eye[s]
<i>t.b.</i> ^m (14) <i>h.n.</i> ^m	<i>db</i> (14) <i>hn</i>	g[lan]ce at
<i>y.ṛ</i> ^[.m] ^m [‘] ^{s.w} [’]	<i>yr</i> ^[m] ^{zw}	our sacrifice.

Marah's contemptuous rebuff (II/14-22)

$\overline{etmm}.\bar{r}^m$	'(t)tmr	Hide yourself
r^m (15) $b.\bar{r}^m$	l (15) br	outside
'w' [. ^m š.m]. 'ny [^m]	'w' [lšm] 'ny	'and' [hea]r me!
$r.m^m$ $e.n.^m$	$rm(h)$ 'n(h)	I am exalted.
(16) r^m $by[t.k.^m]$	(16) $rlby[tk]$	[I] reared [you],
[t.]t ^m $e.n.k.t.^m$	[t]dy (y) { ' } nkt	you sucked my [bre]ast,
\overline{rh} (17) \overline{mr}	lh (17) $mr(h)$	the sap of Marah
'r r.[k.^m]	'll[k]/'ll{l}[k]	nourished [you].
[i.e.t.]r̄.	[t'd]r	[She streng]thens,
t.hyr. ^m	thyl	she empowers
hyr ^m (18) . ^m	hyl (18) (h)	(with) her power.
\overline{sp}		
.r ^m k[xxxxxxxxxxxxx]' ^m	'l ...	To ...
k.r ^m .nt ^y	kry(h) 'nty	you call:
(19) š.m' [ny ^m] [xxxxxxxx]	(19) šm' [ny] ...	"Hear [me] ...
[e] ' . ¹ n.hy ^m p.r̄[t ^m]	' ¹ n(h)-hy pr[t](')	I am the Co[w].
Cf. XIX/12.		
(20) y.ky[r. ^m en. ^m]	(20) yky[r](h) ['n](h)	[I am] glorio[us].
[ewr.k ^m]	['wrk]	[Wait]
[r].p.r[t]' ^m	[l]pr[t](')	[for] the Co[w]
r.b̄r	lbr	outside."
(21) $b.\bar{r}[\text{.}ytky^m]$	(21) $br('h)/bry(h)$	Creatr[ess]!
[xxxxxxxx]xk' ¹ y' ¹ [^m]	...k' ¹ y' ¹	you ' ¹ r' ...
[xxxxxxxx] ^m xx	...	...
(22) 'rm ^m	(22) 'rm ¹	'exalted ¹
'r ¹ x[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]' ¹ . ^m	...	...
's ¹ [xxxxxxxx ^m]	...	...

Col. III

An attempt to pacify an angry goddess with music and praise (III/1-3)

(1) $n.b'$ r.¹ [n.^m] (1) nb' l¹ [n] (With) har' p¹ [s]
 For the absence of instrumental *b-*, here and in III/12, cf. Isa 26:9; Hos 14:3; Ps 3:5, 44:3; II/18; III/6; V/13.

[t̄y.ky]' ^m n.k. ^m	[dy(n)gy]lnk(y)	[that seren]ade you,
es.k. ^m (2) k. ^m	'sk (2) k(y)	let me exalt you—
t̄.h.[r̄]	th[r](h)	pu[re] one
[t̄.'ts.]'k ¹ .t ^m	[d(')ts]'k ¹ t (= d't'skt)	[who] has become [ve]'x ¹ [ed]
e.b'r.t	'(t)b'rt ^m	(and) become inflamed,

$\text{e}^1 \text{sy}^m (3) \text{m.t.}^m$	$\text{'}^1 (t) \text{sy} (3) \text{mt}$	(and) launched an attack—
$\text{r}^1 \text{kr.}^1 \text{h}^1 [\text{n}^s \text{w}]$	$\text{'l kl-}^1 < \text{t} > \text{'h}^1 [\text{n}]$	above all g ¹ od ¹ [s].

Cf. the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 138-39; *ANET*, 333):

"My merciful Lady—My Lady be calm! My Lady, who does not become angry, who is calm"; and "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (*COS*, 1:555): "Fine men, eminent ladies, ... who hold harps and calming instruments, ... before holy Inanna ... they are parading." In our text, too, "calming instruments" are needed for a goddess whose wrath the Rashan exiles continue to experience.

Marah's contemptuous rebuff (III/3-6)

$[e] \overline{\text{tm}}^1 \text{m}^1 . \text{r.}^m$	$[\text{'}] (t) \text{tmr}$	Hide [yourself]
$\text{r.}^m \text{b.}^m (4) \overline{\text{r.}}^m$	$\text{lb} (4) \text{r}$	outside,
$\text{w.}^{\check{s}} \text{m.}^1 \text{ny}^m$	$\text{w}^{\check{s}} \text{m}^1 \text{ny}$	and hear me!
$\text{r.m.}^m \text{e.n.}^m$	$\text{rm}(\text{h}) \text{'n}(\text{h})$	I am exalted.
$\overline{\text{r.}}^m (5) \text{byt.k.}^m$	$\text{r} (5) \text{bytk}$	I reared you,
t.tyn.k.t^m	$\text{tdy-}(\text{y}) \text{nk}t$	you sucked my breast,
$\overline{\text{rh}} \overline{\text{mr}}$	$\text{lh} \text{mr}(\text{h})$	the sap of Marah
$\text{r}^1 \text{r.k.}^m$	$\text{'llk/}^1 \text{'ll} \{ \text{l} \} \text{k}$	nourished you.
(6) $\text{'t}^1 \text{et.}^{\overline{\text{r}}}$	(6) $\text{'t}^1 \text{'dr}$	'She' strengthens,
t.hyr^m	thyl	she empowers
$\text{hy.}^m \text{.r}^m$	$\text{hyl} \{ \text{'} \} \text{l}(\text{h})$	(with) her power.

The king denied entrance (III/6-12)

$\overline{\text{ty.n.m.}}^m$	$\text{dynm} (= \text{dynn})$	Our judge
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Before the New Year's rituals begin, the leader of the Rashan community in exile is called "our judge," no doubt an accurate description of his official rank. Subsequently, however, he is called "our king" (IVA/15) or "(the) king" (III/9; VI/1; XIII/18), because no one but a king can perform those rituals. For the replacement of word-final *n* by *m*, cf. VII/12, 14; VIII/13, 22; XI/1, 5; XVI/5. In the majority of these examples, the next word begins with a bilabial.

$\text{b}^1 . \text{' }^m (7) \text{r.b.}^1 \text{b}^1 . \text{' }^m$	$\text{b}(\text{'}) (7) \text{lb}^1 \text{b}^1$	comes/came to the ga ¹ te ¹
$\text{w}^1 . \text{' }^1 \text{y.}^1 \text{.m.t.}^m$	$\text{wy}^1 \text{md}$	and stands/stood still.

Both verbs are Hebrew; if they are in the past tense, the second one may have a *waw*-consecutive; cf. IVA/6-7.

$\text{mr}^m \text{'m}^1 . \text{b}^m \text{rk}^m$	$\text{mr}^1 \text{'m}^1 \text{blrk}$	"Mar is bless ¹ ed ¹
(8) $\text{s.b}^1 [\text{' }^m]$	(8) $\text{s}^1 \text{b}^1$	sevenfold (the number of)

Cf. Lev 26:18, etc.

$\text{kr}^m \text{'te}^1 . \text{m.r.}^m \text{pym.}^m$	$\text{kl}^1 \text{'d}^1 \text{mr} \text{pym}(\text{y})$	all (the blessings) 'that'
	my mouth 'ut' ters."	

Here and in VI/3, 9, VIII/4 (cf. XVI/12), we find the word ^{for} "mouth" written with *y* (as in Late Western Aramaic) in an open syllable, rather than *w* (as in Late Eastern Aramaic). The latter form, which agrees with the cuneiform rendering of the word in the Uruk incantation, is usually considered to be older, but we cannot exclude the possibility that an original /e/, flanked by bilabial consonants, shifted to /o/ or /u/. Cf. XVI/12 and the note there.

<i>w.y.</i> ^m [s] ^r ^m (9) <i>'k.</i> ^m	<i>wyl</i> [z] (9) <i>'k</i>	And he (= Mar) [c]ries/ [c]ried out:
<i>m̄nn</i> ^r ^h ^r ^m <i>īh̄.r</i> ^m	<i>mn</i> ^r ^g (l)-l(°) <i>tḡl</i>	"You may cert ^r ain ^l ly not enter,
<i>m.rk.</i> ^m	<i>mlk</i> (°)	king.
<i>r.bṛ.</i> ^m [ew] ^m (10) <i>ṛ.k.</i> ^m	<i>lbr</i> [^r w] (10) <i>rk</i>	[Wa]it outside.
<i>k.m</i> ^m <i>ṛ m̄nky</i> ^m <i>m.t.k.</i> ^m	<i>km</i> ^r <i>l m̄kylmtk</i>	Stay at your station."
Cf. Dan 10:11; Neh 9:3; 2 Chr 34:31; 35:10.		
<i>ṛ.</i> ^m (11) <i>h.k</i> ^m	<i>r</i> (11) <i>hḱ</i>	He (= the king) washes/ washed
<i>y.t.why</i> ^m	<i>ydwhy</i>	his hands
<i>k.w̄ t.ṛ.</i> ^m	<i>gw dr</i> (h)	inside the courtyard.

The parallel to these three lines (9-11) in the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 140; *ANET*, 333) takes place two hours after sunrise on the fifth day of Nisan: "(The priest) shall remain (?) inside the courtyard (*ina libbi tarbaši*); he must not enter the cella of Bēl and Bēltija."

<i>mr</i> ^m [k]ṛ. ^m (12) <i>b.</i> ^m	<i>mr</i> [k]r (12) <i>b</i>	Mar, [bri]ng near
^r [^r] [^r] ^r ^b ⁿ .	^r ^b ⁿ -	our ^r lord ^r ;
<i>b.k</i> ^m <i>n̄b</i>	<i>bk nb</i> (w)	to you, Nebo.
An attempt to pacify an angry goddess with music and praise (III/12-14)		
^r ⁿ ^b [^r n ^m]	^r ⁿ ^b [^r n]	(With) ^r har ^r [ps]
[ṫ] ^r ^y ^m (13) <i>k</i> ^r ^y ^m ^r ⁿ [^r .k]. ^m	[d] ^r ^y (13) (n)g ^r ^y ^r ⁿ [^r .k]	[that] <i>seren</i> ^r ^a ^d ^e [you],
<i>e.s.k.k.</i> ^m	^r ^s ^k ^k (y)	let me exalt you—
<i>t.h.</i> ^r ^m	<i>tḫr</i> (h)	pure one
[ṫ.t ^r skt] ^m	[d(°)t ^r skt]	[who has become vexed]
(14) ^r ^e ^b [^r .t]	(14) ^r (t) ^b [^r .t]	(and) ^r become infl ^r [amed],
[e]. <i>sym</i> ^r ^t ^m	^r (t) <i>sym</i> ^r ^t	(and) launched an attack—
^r ^k ^r ^h ^r ⁿ [^r .s ^w]	^r ^l ^{kl} - ^r < ^r ^h ^r ⁿ	above all god ^r ^s .

Marah's contemptuous rebuff (III/14-19)

[<i>etmm.ṛ.</i> ^m]	[^r (t) <i>tḫmr</i>]	[Hide yourself]
(15) ^r [^r . <i>b.ṛ.</i> ^m]	(15) ^r ^l [^r . <i>br</i>]	outside,

[w]ʳ.ʳ.š.mm.ʿny ^m	[w]šm{m}ʿny	[and] hear me!
r.ʳmʳ [ᵐ] [e.n.ᵐ]	rʳmʳ(h) [ʳn(h)]	[I am] exaʳlʳtedʳ.
[r̄.ᵐ] (16) [byt.k.]ʳᵐ¹	[r] (16) [bytk]	[I reared you]
ʳt̄.tyᵐ nkt.ʳᵐ¹	ʳt̄dy-(y)nkt	You sucked my ʳbreʳast,
[rḥ m̄r]	[lḥ mr(h)]	[the sap of Marah]
[ʳr.k.ᵐ]	[ʳllk]/[ʳll{l}k]	[nourished you.]
(17) [te.t.r̄]	(17) [tʳdr]	[She strengthens,]
[t.hyr]ʳᵐ¹	[tḥyl]	[she empowers]
ḥyr.ᵐ.ᵐ	ḥyll{ʳ}(h)	(with) her power.
b.ᵐ[...	...
(18)]ʳt̄.ᵐ.b.r̄[(18)
(19)].ʳrʳ.ʳkʳ[(19)

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An attempt to pacify an angry goddess with music and praise (IVA/1-3)

(1) [xxxxxxx] [n.brn]ʳᵐ¹	(1) ... [nbln]	... (With) [harps]
t̄y.kyn.[kᵐ]	dy(n)gyn[k]	that <i>serenade</i> [you],
(2) [es.kk.ᵐ]	(2) [ʳskk(y)]	[let me exalt you]—
[t.hr]ʳᵐ¹	[thr(h)]	[pure one]
t̄.tsktᵐ	d(ʳ)tʳskt (X dʳʳtskt)	who has become vexed
e.ʳbʳ[ʳ.r.t]	ʳ(t)ʳbʳ[ʳrt]	(and) become ʳinflʳ[amed],
[e.syᵐ (3) mtᵐ]	[ʳ(t)sy (3) mt]	(and) [launched an attack]—
ʳrkʳ.ʳr̄.rḥn ^{s w}	ʳlkʳlʳ-ʳlhn	above aʳllʳ gods.

Marah's contemptuous rebuff (IVA/3-6)

e.tmm.ʳrʳ.ʳᵐ¹	ʳ(t)tmr	Hi ʳdeʳ yourself
[rbḥ.ᵐ]	[lbr]	[outside,]
(4) w̄.š.m.ʿnyᵐ	(4) wšmʿny	and hear me!
r.mᵐ e.n.ᵐ	rm(h)ʳn(h)	I am exalted.
r.byᵐ [t.k.ᵐ]	rbyl[t]k	[I] reared you,
(5) t̄.tyᵐ n.k.tᵐ	(5) tdy (y)nkt	you sucked my breast,
[rḥ m̄r]	[lḥ mr(h)]	the sap of Marah
ʳrkᵐ	ʳ<l>kʳ/lk	nourished you.
ʳn̄ʳ t̄et.r̄.ᵐ	tʳdr	She strengthens,
(6) t̄.tḥyyʳ.ʳᵐ¹	(6) tḥyy<l>	she empow<er>s
ḥyr.ᵐ.h.ᵐ	ḥyll{ʳ}h	(with) her power.
sḫ		

Marah-Nanai seated in the assembly (IVA/6-24)

h.swk[y]ᵐ m.r.k.nᵐ	ḥzwk[y] mlkn	Kings saw yo[u]
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(7) wy. ^m y.t.h.rw ñ.ny ^m	(7) wyl{y}dhlw nny	and they were afraid, Nanai;
Cf. Hab 3:10; Ps 77:17; Song 6:9; Job 29:8. The second verb in this clause may have a <i>waw</i> -consecutive.		
nšty[y] ^m ‘.n.n ^m	nštyl‘nn	we (= Nanai and the king) frighten them
(8) kwt.m ^m r.byh.n. ^m b.r.[wh. ^m e].ym. ^m	(8) kwdm rbyhn br[wh] [‘]ym(h)	in front of their officials with a sp[irit of te]rror,
(9) r̄.m ^m	(9) rm(h)	exalted one.
w̄n.nh.n. ^m h.s.y‘n ¹ [^m] [m.r.k]t ^m	w(‘)nhn(h) hzy‘n ¹ [mlk]t(‘)	But we saw the [quee]n;
m.rkt ^m (10) r̄.[š]. ^{s w}	mlkt (10) r[š]	the queen of Ra[sh]
mn̄h.r ^m	mngl(h)	brought in;
m̄r b.yn.[^m .r]. ^m ‘h ¹ .n ^m	mr(h) byn [‘l]l‘h ¹ n	Marah, among the [go]‘d’s.
(11) w̄ykwmw‘n ^{m1} ‘Mn ¹ .nk.r̄‘s ¹ h.n ^m	(11) wykwmw‘n ¹ ‘m ¹ n-kr‘s ¹ <y>hn	And they rise ‘from ¹ their thro‘ne ¹ s:
t̄wt‘.‘[b.]‘ ^{m1} m̄r byn ^m (12) .rhn ^{s w}	twt[b] mr(h) byn (12) ‘lhn	"Let Marah be sea[t]ed among the gods;
[k].r̄s.hy ^m	[k]rsyh (X krshy)	let her [th]rone
y.k.‘r̄[. ^m]y.hw. ^m	yḱ‘r ¹ yhw(y)	be glo‘ri‘ous;
(13) b.r̄[.š]. ^{s w}	(13) brš	in Rash
k.bš.r.kr[h ^m] [y].k. ^m ‘r̄ ¹	kbš-lgr[h] [y]kl‘r ¹	let [her] footstool [be] glor‘ious ¹ ."
(14) r̄ye.[n]. ^m	(14) r’y[n] (X ry’n)	[We] saw
t̄.wt.bt ^m ‘m̄r ¹ ‘.‘r[^m kw‘].t.t‘.‘[^m] / ‘.‘r[m.w‘].t.t‘.‘[^m]	‘.‘l [gw] [‘]dt(‘) / ‘.‘l-[mw‘d(‘)-‘]t[t]	that ‘Mar(ah) ¹ was seated; in the [midst] of the [ass]embly. / [she] came to the [divine assem]bly.

Cf. Ugar. *m‘d* "divine assembly"; BH (Isa 14:13) and Deir ‘Alla *mw‘d* "id."; Eg. *mw‘d* "assembly"; V/3; XX/14. For the seating of a goddess during this festival, cf. "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (COS, 1:555): "With An she has taken her seat on the great throne dais"; "Tomorrow is the banquet of the gods—afterwards Tašmētu will go out (and) take her seat in the *akītu*-temple" (CAD A1/268).

(15) m.r.k.n ^m h.s.k ^m ‘m̄r ¹ [	(15) mlkn hsk(y) ‘mr(h) ¹ ...	Allow our king to come up, ‘Marah ¹ ...
(16) h.t̄.k.t.r ^m r.kr̄[b.n ^m][	(16) hd(‘) kt(y)r lkr[bn] ...	Here, this one is tied up as an offe[ring] ...

Cf. Ps 118:27.

(17) *īs.t. m y.b-irk. m* [(17) *šd<k>(‘) ybrk ...* may he bless the righte<ous>
man ...

The "righteous man" is perhaps the chosen one, as in IVB/10, 13.

(18) *n. m* (18) ...
m̄r [b.-ir¹ r̄¹.k¹ [m] [(18) *mr(h)* [b¹ r¹ k¹ (y) ... Marah, [b¹ le¹ ss¹ ...
(19) *y.b.-ir.k.ky m y.[hw]* [(19) *ybrkky y[hw]* may Ya[ho] bless you ...

Cf. XI/17.

(20) [b.]r̄.k. m sšp [(20) [b]rk s(m)pš [b]less(,) Shamash ...

Cf. VIII/11; XIII/6; XVIII/6.

(21) [y.]b.r̄[k. m] [(21) [y]br[k] ... [will¹ ble[ss] ...
(22) [e.¹ t. m n¹.¹ [y^m] [/ (22) [‘¹ dln[y] ... [A¹ don[ai] ... /
[e.¹ t. m n¹.¹ [ny^m] [[‘¹ t<y> n[ny] ... [Co¹ me, Na[nai] ...
(23) [n¹. m b.n. m] [(23) [n¹ |bn(y) [We shall¹ build ...
(24) [p¹ rt w̄.] [(24) [p¹ rt(‘) w ... [C¹ ow and ...

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+ Loose Fragment Next to Column I

New Year's festivities at Marah's temple(IVB/1-10)

(1)] [xxxxxxxxxxxxm.]r̄.t. m (1) ... [m]rt(y) ... my [la]dy
[y.¹ [...
(2)]. m w.k.n[xxxxx]m/š. m (2) ...
m̄rty. [h.¹ [m] [xxxxx] *mrtty-h(y)...* She is my lady ...
[xxxxx]n.k. m ...
r.m̄r [e.] [k.¹ r̄.¹ m¹] *lmr(h)* [‘] [k¹ r(y) to Marah [I] [ca¹ ll
(3)]xr.m̄rty m̄r (3) ... *lmrty mr(h)* ... to my lady, Marah,
š¹ my¹ n^m š¹ my¹ n belong the he¹ aven¹ s.
h.r̄. [m¹] [h. m tm. m] (n)/<z>hr(h) [h(y) tm(h)] [She] shines [there]
[w.n/s] [‘¹ h.r̄. m [wn/z]hr(h) [and sh]ines
[r.r̄.k. m [‘l-(‘)rk(‘) upon the earth.
(4)].t. m h.r. [k¹ w̄ (4) ... (‘)t<w> hl¹ k¹ w̄ ... come, wal¹ k¹
k.īm [y¹. m *kdm* [y¹ before [me¹
[r kr m š.b[r. m] [‘l kl šb[l] on every pat[h]

Cf. Deut 1:33; Gen 17:1, 1 Sam 2:30, 1 Kgs 2:4, 8:25, 9:4.

[xxxxxxxxxxxx] ...
[h̄t¹.t^m k.y.h. m k^m [‘h̄t¹ tlky-hlk(‘) Your [sin-offer¹ ings
are here,
m̄rty *mrtty* my lady.
(5)]n^m r̄ (5) ... [‘ ... upon/over

<i>m.</i> ¹ <i>s</i> ¹ . ^m <i>e.</i> ¹ <i>n</i> ¹ . ^y	<i>m</i> ¹ <i>s</i> ¹||<i>n</i> ¹ ' <i>y</i> - (X <i>ms</i> ' <i>ny</i>)	my ¹ <i>enem</i> ¹ ies
<i>k.t.m.</i> ^m <i>k</i> [<i>r</i> ^m <i>k</i> . <i>ryky</i>] ¹ <i>m</i> ¹	<i>k</i> <i>d</i> <i>m</i> <i>k</i> [<i>l</i> <i>k</i> <i>ryky</i>] ¹	in front of a[ll who call upon you]
Cf. Targ. 2 Sam 5:20; VI/15.		
¹ <i>e</i> ¹ . <i>r̄y</i> <i>k</i> . <i>t.</i> ¹ <i>m.</i> ¹ <i>m</i> ¹ <i>'m</i>	¹ ' <i>ry</i> - <i>k</i> <i>d</i> ¹ <i>m</i> ¹ <i>'m</i> (¹)	¹ Be ¹ hold, in fro ¹ nt ¹ of the people
(6) [<i>n.tn.</i>] <i>y</i> ^m <i>b.tw̄r.</i> ^m	(6) [<i>ndn</i>] <i>y</i> <i>btwl</i> (<i>h</i>)	[the dowr] <i>y</i> of a virgin
<i>k.t.</i> ¹ <i>b</i> ¹ . <i>n</i> ^m	<i>kt</i> ¹ <i>b</i> ¹ <i>n</i>	we have reco ¹ rd ¹ ed (in a <i>ktwbh</i>).

Cf. JBA *ndwny* "dowry" < Akk. *nudunnû* "id."; BH *ndn* "gift"; Exod 22:16; m.Ketubbot 1:2. Marah = Nanai is portrayed as having the dowry of a virgin, which is larger than that of a widow. In later years, the sacred marriage dowry of Nanea sparked a major international incident at her temple in Elymais = Elam: "Antiochus, on the pretext of intending to marry [the goddess], came into the place with his Friends to claim the greater part of their treasure as a dowry" (2 Macc 1:14). Even the location of the incident is relevant, since Rashi appears to have been swallowed up by Elam during the Neo-Assyrian period; cf. the discussion at X/18.

<i>b.r̄</i> [<i>š̄.š̄n.</i>] ¹ <i>n</i> ¹ . ^m ¹ <i>e</i> ¹ [<i>].r̄</i>	<i>br</i> [<i>š̄-š̄n</i>] ¹ <i>n</i> ¹ ¹ ' <i>t</i> (<i>y</i>)-	¹ Co ¹ me on Ne[<i>w</i> Year] (festival) ¹ s ¹ ,
<i>n</i> <i>r̄k</i> . <i>ty</i> ^m	<i>nr</i> -(<i>r</i>) <i>gty</i>	Fire of my desire.
<i>.n.ty</i> ^m	¹ <i>nty</i>	You are
(7) [¹ . ¹ <i>m̄nn</i> ¹ . <i>bt.</i> ^m	(7) ... <i>mn</i> - ¹ <i>bd</i>	... from the maker of
<i>y.p</i> [¹]. <i>t.</i> ^m	<i>yp</i> [¹] <i>t</i> (¹)	splen[<i>dor</i>]s
<i>w̄.m.</i> [<i>xxxxxxx</i>] ¹ <i>m</i> ¹	<i>wm</i> ...	and....
<i>t̄mm</i> [<i>r</i>] ¹ <i>m</i> ¹	<i>t̄m</i> [<i>r</i>]	Shelt[er] (<i>lit.</i> , hide)
<i>k.r̄yk</i> ¹ <i>y</i> ¹ <i>m</i>	<i>kryk</i> ¹ <i>y</i> ¹	those who call upon yo[<i>u</i>],
Cf. Ps 86:5; 145:18; VIII/24; XII/12.		
¹ <i>š̄</i> ¹ . <i>r̄.r̄</i> ⁸	¹ <i>š̄</i> ¹ <i>rr</i> (<i>h</i>)	¹ mig ¹ hty one.
(8) [<i>m.</i>] ¹ <i>š̄</i> ¹ . <i>r.r.n</i> ^m <i>s.m</i> ¹ . ^m	(8) [<i>m</i>] ¹ <i>š̄</i> ¹ <i>rrn</i> ¹ <i>sm</i> ¹ (<i>y</i>)	¹ Station ¹ [<i>mu</i>] ¹ <i>si</i> ¹ cians
Cf. BH <i>mšrr</i> "singer"; XVII/2.		
<i>b.t</i> ¹ <i>r</i> ¹ . <i>t.ky</i> ^m	<i>bd</i> ¹ <i>r</i> ¹ <i>tky</i>	in your cou ¹ rty ¹ ard.
<i>p̄.</i> ¹ <i>e</i> ¹ [<i>r</i> ^m]	<i>p</i> ¹ ' ¹ [<i>r</i>]	Fr ¹ u ¹ [<i>it</i>]
Cf. Syr. <i>p'r</i> "fruit."		
<i>l̄mnk</i> ¹ . <i>r</i> ¹ <i>my</i> ^m	<i>mn</i> - <i>k</i> ¹ <i>r</i> ¹ <i>my</i> (¹)	from the vin ¹ eya ¹ rds
[<i>ep</i>]. <i>k</i> [¹]. ^m	[¹] <i>p</i>] <i>k</i> (<i>y</i>)	[take] out
<i>b.r̄š̄.š̄.n.n</i> ^m	<i>brš̄-š̄nn</i>	on New Year (festival)s;
(9) [<i>en.n</i> ^m] ¹ <i>m</i> ¹ <i>'r</i> ¹ . ¹ <i>t.n.n.</i> ^m	(9) [¹ <i>nn</i>] ¹ <i>m</i> ¹ <i>'dnn</i>	[they] gladd ¹ en ¹
<i>r.b.p</i> ^m <i>r.b.k</i> ¹ .	<i>lb</i> (<i>y</i>)- <i>plbk</i> (<i>y</i>)-	my heart and your heart,
Cf. Jud 9:13.		
<i>n.r</i> ¹ . ¹ <i>m</i>	<i>nr</i> (<i>y</i>)	my Fire.

<i>s</i> [.m. ^m em̄]ᵀ .n. ^m	<i>s</i> [m](y) [ʾmr]ᵀ t̄ n	P[ut] our [wor]ᵀ ds̄
<i>b.r.b.r.</i> ^m	<i>blb</i> -(ʿ)l	in El's heart;
(10) [<i>b.rb</i>].ᵀ tw̄ [r ^m]	(10) [<i>blb</i>]-ᵀ tw̄ [r]ᵀ (ʿ)	[in] the ʿBū [II]ʿs [heart]

For the parallel pair 'l // twr, cf. Ugar. *tr il* "the bull Il."

<i>t</i> ^m s.m ^m	<i>tism</i> (y)	may you put
ʿem̄ r̄ t̄ ^m [ʿm.]ᵀ k̄ ^m	ʿm̄ r̄ t̄ ^m [ʿm]ᵀ k̄ ^m (y)	the ʿwō r̄ ds̄ of ʿyour̄ [people].

The chosen one: righteous and handsome (IVB/10-13)

<i>m</i> ᵀ r̄ .m ^m mr ^m	<i>m</i> ᵀ r̄ m mr	Mar li ᵀ ft̄ s up
ᵀ ts̄ .t̄ .ᵀ [k ^m]	ᵀ s̄ d[k]ᵀ (ʿ)	the ʿriḡ hte[ous] man;
[<i>erb.</i> ^m] t̄ r̄ y	[ʿrb](y) tyr(h)- (X try)	[show much] compassion
<i>r.</i> ᵀ b.tyk ^m	<i>lʿbdyk</i>	to your servants

Cf. I/8; XVII/4.

(11) [<i>w̄.bh.rk</i> ^m]	(11) [<i>wbhrk</i>]	[and your chosen one],
<i>e.t.ry</i>	ʿdry	my mighty one,
t̄ .ᵀ b̄ [r]ᵀ yk̄ [.]ᵀ m̄	d̄ b̄ [r]ᵀ yk̄	who is ʿbl̄ [es]ᵀ sed̄ (with a blessing)
<i>k.tyy</i> ᵀ .ᵀ r̄ .ᵀ [ᵀ m̄]	<i>kdy</i> -(ʿ)l	worthy of / fit for El.

Cf. XV/3; XVII/17. The parallel to these two lines (10-11) in the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 135; ANET, 332) is recited before sunrise on the fourth day of Nisan: "Show mercy to the servant who blesses you."

[<i>b.ryk</i> ^m] .r̄ .h̄ .n̄ .ᵀ s̄ w̄	[<i>bryk</i>] ʿlhn	[Blessed] by the gods
<i>e.ny</i> ^m	ʿny	am I.

Cf. Sam. Aram. ʿny "I." If this interpretation is correct, the speaker must be the chosen one.

(12)][ᵀ s̄].p̄ .r̄ .ᵀ m̄	(12) ... [ᵀ s̄]pr	... [Ha]ndsome
<i>b.h.r̄</i>	<i>bhr</i> (ʿ)	is the chosen one
[[<i>mnkr</i> ^m]]	<i>mn-kl</i>	more than any (other)
[[[<i>b</i>]ᵀ h̄ y]]ᵀ r̄ .ᵀ m̄ [.]ᵀ r̄ [ᵀ m̄]	[<i>b</i>]ᵀ h̄ y r̄ ʿl	one [ch]ᵀ os̄ en by ʿEl̄ . / ʿa god̄ .

Cf. 2 Sam 21:6; Ps 89:3; XVI/10.

[xxxxxx] ^m	...	...
r̄ Mn̄	<i>rmn</i>	are exalted/lofty
[xx] ^m kr̄ .ᵀ m̄	<i>kl</i>	all
(13)]k̄ .ᵀ m̄	(13),
m̄ t̄	<i>mt</i> (y)	my land.

Recording for posterity the name of the righteous chosen one (IVB/13-19)

š.m.h¹yk¹[n][[^m]]
[[y.k.t.¹.¹^m]]
Cf. Ps 69:29.
[k]r^[^m] š.m[.hykn^m]

[yt.]¹kr^{m1}
¹kr¹ [šmh]¹y¹
īs.t.ky[^m]
(14)][m̄r̄]y^m
.nty^m nnw̄/¹ny¹
[e.][[tm̄ e.n¹.^{m1}]]
[x]h¹b¹[xxxxxxxxxxxxx]
[š.]m.k.n^m
(15)]r̄.n^m
mp[.^m][[r¹t¹[.k¹y¹^m]]
[[m̄r̄]]
[[¹p.¹]][r̄.t.^m][
(16)]¹.t¹[.r̄[r].[n^m]]
[[hw̄ yk.r̄]]
(17)]r¹.¹[xxxx]
[[xxn.ty^m ¹y/s¹[x]¹h̄¹]][
(18)][[¹.r.^{m1} rm.^m x]][
(19)][[t^m ¹b¹[x]x]]

šmh¹yk¹[n]
y(t)kt(w)
[k]l šm[hykn]
[y(t)d]¹kr¹(w)
¹kl¹-[šmh]¹y¹-
šdky(°)
(14) ... [mrt]y
'nty nn{w}/n¹ny¹
[']dm ¹n(h)
...
[š]mkn
(15) ...
mplr¹t¹k¹y¹
mr(h)
¹p¹[rt] ...
(16) ... ¹'d¹r [¹l]n
hw̄ ykr
(17) ...
...
(18) ... ¹'l¹(h) rm(h) / ¹'l¹ rm
(19) ...

Col. V

The destruction of Rash and its temple-servants (V/1-11)

(1) ¹s¹.m.t^m mr^m
¹e¹[ym.^m b.rk^m]
[m.]rt^m e.ym.
m.t¹^{m1}
[xxxx]y[x]xx[xxx^m]
(2) [š].h.tw̄ r.k.^m
kr^m k.r̄¹yt¹.k.^m
b.m.t^m
s.w̄¹.t^m t̄.r̄.^m
(3) [b].s.k.^m
y.s.h̄.r̄.k.^m
k.r^m ¹.t.t^m

(1) ¹s¹mt mr
¹'¹[ym(h) b(°)rk(°)]
[m]lt ¹ym(h)-
mt(°)
...
(2) [š]htw̄ (°)rk(°)
kl kr¹yt¹k
bmt(°)
zw̄¹t(°) d(°)r(h)
(3) [b]zk
yzḡrk
kl ¹dt

Let ¹your¹ names
be writ<ten>
[Let a]ll of [your]
nam[es]
[be rem]¹ember¹[ed]—
¹all¹ the [name]¹'s of¹
the righteous.
... My [lady],
you are Nana/Na¹nai¹;
I am (but) a man.
...
your [na]me
...
from you ¹r¹ Co¹w¹,
Marah,
the ¹C¹[ow] of ...
... ¹Migh¹ty is [our god];
he is glorious/dear.
...
...
... exalted ¹goddess¹ / ¹god¹
...

You, Mar, ¹p¹ut
¹te¹ [rror in the land];
terror [fi]lled
the country.
...
They [de]stroyed the land—
all of your cit¹ies¹;
in the country
trembling dwells.
Your [desp]oiler
belittles you,
your entire assembly of

<i>n.s.y^m ky.k.^m</i>	<i>nsylkyk</i>	princes.
(4) 'k' .ny	(4) 'g' ny	He 're' viled
<i>b.nyk.^m w.m^m m.h.t.k.^m</i>	<i>bnyk w(')ml{m}htk</i>	your sons and mothers;
š.ṛ	šr	with shackles
<i>yt.h.n.^m .rb.š^m</i>	<i>ydhn 'lbš</i>	he clothed their hands.
(5) <i>n.sy^m t.s.t^m</i>	(5) <i>nsy(') šd</i>	He hunted the chiefs;
<i>krh.n^m b.s.ṛ.^m</i>	<i>klhn bsr</i>	he treated them all with contempt.
<i>ṛ.k.m.^m nḥ.t^m m.k.^m</i>	<i>rgm nḥtlmk</i>	He stoned your baker,
(6) <i>y.k.t.m^m r.m.^m</i>	(6) <i>ykḍm l<h>m(')</i>	who used to present b<re>ad
<i>p.^m y.'b.t^m</i>	<i>ply'bd</i>	and make
<i>kr.^m kr^m k.n.t.k.^m</i>	<i>kl knlkṛtk (X kṛkntk)</i>	all your loaves;
<i>wṗ</i>		
(7) 't' b.ḥ.t ^m	(7) 't' bḥ{t}<k>	your 'bu' tcher,
<i>y.k.t.m^m e.y.^m b.r.^m</i>	<i>ykḍm 'ybl</i>	who used to present a ram—
<i>y.'m' ḥ.^m s.w.ṛ.^m</i>	<i>y' m' ḥ(y) šwr(')</i>	he would 'str' ike the neck,
<i>y.mḥ.^m (8) sn.ṛ.^m</i>	<i>ymḥ(y) (8) šnr(')</i>	he would strike the <i>windpipe,</i>
Cf. BH-MH <i>šnwr</i> "water pipe, spout." In this noun and the preceding one, Aram. <i>š</i> is rendered with Dem. <i>s</i> instead of <i>ts</i> ; contrast <i>šw'r</i> in VI/15.		
<i>y.'b.t^m kr^m</i>	<i>y'bd k/kr(h)</i>	he would make a (wedding) banquet
<i>.p.t^m t/t.n.t.k.^m</i>	'pḍl{d}n{t}k	<in> your palace;
<i>k</i>		
<i>.m.ṛ.yk.^m</i>	<i>kmr{y}k</i>	your priest{s},
(9) <i>y't' k.m^m</i>	(9) <i>yk' d' m (X ydkm)</i>	who used to pr' es' ent
<i>t.m^m n.ḥ.^m</i>	<i>tmlnḥ(')</i>	the devotee— / the meal offering—
<i>y.h.t^m r.k.^m</i>	<i>yḥt lk</i>	he would put down for you (= for your nuptial bed)
<i>n.ḥṛn w̄.s.rr.^m</i>	<i>nḥrn wzll</i>	fragrances and reeds;
Cf. Syr. <i>zl'</i> "reed," <i>zlyl'</i> "tendrill"; XVI/7; XVII/3.		
<i>wṗ</i>		
(10) 's' [m.]ṛy'k. ^m	(10) 'z' [m]r{y}'k'	'your' 'mus' [ici]an{s},

$y.k..m^m h.t.w.^m$	$ykd\dot{a}m h\dot{d}w(h)$	who used to present joyous music (at the banquet)—
$y\bar{n}n\bar{s}y n.b.r^m$	$y\bar{n}sy nbl$	he would carry the harp,
$y\bar{n}n\bar{s}y k.n.r^m$	$y\bar{n}sy knr$	he would carry the lyre.
(11) $e[b.d.^m] \text{ } ^\dagger \check{s} \text{ } ^\dagger ky^m$	(11) $^\dagger [bd] \text{ } ^\dagger \check{s} \text{ } ^\dagger ky(\text{ } ^\dagger)$	He ki[lled] the † but † lers;
$y.n..n^m \check{s}.ky \text{ } ^\dagger .n^m$	$(\text{ } ^\dagger)ynn \check{s}ky \text{ } ^\dagger n^m$	they would pour
$^\dagger m^1 .s. \text{ } ^\dagger k^1 .^m my \text{ } ^\dagger why^m$	$^\dagger m^1 z \text{ } ^\dagger g^1 my \text{ } ^\dagger why$	the $^\dagger d^1 ri \text{ } ^\dagger nk^1$ of his (= Mar's) belly (at the banquet).

Cf. VIII/6-7.

$\bar{s}p$

Kissing the calves of Bethel (V/12-22)

(12) $x[xxxxxxx]^m$	(12) ...	...
$y.\check{s}.k.^m \bar{i}.r[yk] \text{ } ^\dagger m^1$	$y\check{s}k(w) tr[yk]$	let them kiss [your] bull[s],
$^\dagger y\check{h} \text{ } ^\dagger m.\bar{t}w \text{ } ^\dagger kryk.^m$	$^\dagger y\check{h} \text{ } ^\dagger mdw \text{ } ^\dagger glyk$	† let them de † sire your calves.
Cf. 1 Kgs 12:28; Hos 13:2.		
$r.m.^m$	rm	Exalted One,
(13) $^\dagger n^1 [\check{s}.k^m]$	(13) $^\dagger n^1 [\check{s}k]$	† we † (do) [kiss]
$[\text{ } ^\dagger kry] \text{ } ^\dagger y.k.^m$	$[\text{ } ^\dagger kry] \text{ } ^\dagger \{y\}k$	your [calve]s
$p. \text{ } ^\dagger m^1 \text{ } ^m$	$p \text{ } ^\dagger m^1$	(with our) mo † uth † ;

For the absence of instrumental *b-*, cf. Isa 26:9; Hos 14:3; Ps 3:5, 44:3; II/7-8, 18; III/6, 12. It

is possible that this ritual was part of the New Year's festival at Bethel; cf. 1 Kgs 12:32.

$\text{ } ^\dagger .[nxx]x \text{ } ^\dagger .^m \text{ } ^\dagger b^1 [h] \text{ } ^\dagger .^m$	$d[n]... \text{ } ^\dagger b^1 [h]$	that † with † wh[ich we] ...
$w.n.p.t.s.^m$	$wnp\check{s}(y)$	and gape.

Cf. *p-s-y* "open wide (mouth)" in Qumr. Aram. and BH.

(14) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(14) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	...	...
$^\dagger y^1 . \text{ } ^\dagger \check{s}^1 k.h.^m$	$^\dagger y\check{s}^1 kh$	† he will f † ind
(15) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(15) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	...	...
$t..r^m \text{ } ^\dagger \check{t}^1 .r.\check{s} \text{ } ^s w$	$d'r(\text{ } ^\dagger) \text{ } ^\dagger d^1 (\text{ } ^\dagger)r\check{s}$	Resident † of † Rash
(16) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(16) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	...	...
$^\dagger y^1 .h.\bar{r} \text{ } ^m k.^m$	$^\dagger y^1 hr\check{r}k$	$^\dagger v^1$ aunt you
(17) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(17) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] $^\dagger h^1 .y^m$	...	...
(18) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(18) ...	...

[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] ^m	...	...
<i>b.r^m</i>	<i>blbr</i>	Bel / son of
(19) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(19) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] 'y ¹ [xx]t. ^m	...	...
(20) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(20) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] 'e ¹ .ny ^m	...	...
(21) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(21) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]r.t. ^m	...	...
(22) [xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	(22) ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx]	...	...
'b ¹ [y]'t ¹ .r ^g	'b ¹ [y]'t ¹ -(')l	'B ¹ [e]'th ¹ el

**Col. VI + Loose Fragment in Spiegelberg
Photographs Next to Columns XVII and XI**

The undeserved suffering of the king of Rash: a protest (VI/1-12)

(1) <i>dyb.why^m t̄.[[m.r.k.^m]]</i>	(1) <i>tybwhy dmlk(')</i>	'Proc ¹ [laim] the king's good deeds.
[['k ¹]][r].w. ^m	'k ¹ [r]w	among your 'peo ¹ ple
<i>b<< ' ' >> m.ky^m</i>	<i>b ' ' mky</i>	
Cf. Jud 7:3; Jer 11:6; Joel 4:9.		
[xxxxxxx] 'mr ¹ ^m	... 'mr ¹	... 'Mar ¹ .
(2) <i>mr^m .rḥ. ^{s w} t̄.b. ^m</i>	(2) <i>mr 'lh' tḥ'</i>	Mar, good god—
<i>.rḥ.[[' ^{s w} m]]. 'bt^m</i>	'lh(y) m(h)-'b(d)t	my god, what have I done (to deserve this suffering)?
<i>e.t. ^m 'e¹.myty^m</i>	'd' 'm-(m)ydy	Let me know if it is the result of my deeds (<i>lit.</i> , from my hands), my god.
Cf. Isa 50:11, Mal 1:9.		
<i>.rḥ ^{s w}</i>	'lh(y)	No evil is in my hands,
(3) <i>r.b.š. ^{s w} b.k.py^m</i>	(3) <i>lbš bkpy</i>	
Cf. Job 16:17.		
<i>.rḥ ^{s w}</i>	'lh(y)	my god;
<i>r.t.ṛ. ^m tyn. ^m</i>	<i>ltrltyn</i>	no duplicity/slander
<i>b.ḫym. ^m</i>	<i>bpym(y)</i>	in my mouth.
Cf. 1 Sam 24:11; Isa 53:9; Job 16:17.		
(4) <i>s.m^m t.ny^m</i>	(4) <i>smltny</i>	(But) you have made me into
<i>e.m.ṛ. ^m b.ḫ.nh.n. ^m</i>	'mr bḡnhn	a lamb in their flocks,
Cf. Ps 44:12; Targ. Ezek 45:15; Pesh. Ps 114:4, 6.		
<i>eyb.r^m bh̄ter^m (5) t.h.n^m</i>	'ybl bh̄t{' }r (5) <i>thn</i>	a ram in their folds.
Cf. Ps 44:12.		

<i>kr^m sMn y.k.šš.š.n.ny^m</i>	<i>kl zmn ygš{š}šnny</i>	They constantly feel me
<i>ñ.m.ty^m</i>	<i>nmt(h)y</i>	(saying:) "Let us kill him
<i>w.n.šm.n^m (6) w.n.k.s.^m</i>	<i>wnšmn (6) wnks(y)</i>	that we may become fat and
Cf. Deut 32:15.		corpulent.
<i>n.kr^m b.s.ř.^m</i>	<i>n(°)kl bsr(h)</i>	Let us eat his flesh
<i>w.n.š.m.n^m</i>	<i>wnšmn</i>	and become fat;
<i>nšty t.m.^m</i>	<i>nšty dm(h)</i>	let us drink his blood
(7) <i>w.n.řw.^m</i>	(7) <i>wnrw(y)</i>	and become sated/inebriated.
Cf. Jer 46:10; Ezek 39:17; Ps 50:13.		
<i>r.b.^m .rḥ.řš.^{s w} mr^m</i>	<i>rb 'lh-rš mr</i>	Lord, god of Rash, Mar—
<i>s.m.kẇ</i>	<i>sm-gw(y)</i>	Make my body into
Cf. Isa 51:23.		
<i>s.k.ř.t^m b.pmh.n^m</i>	<i>šk(y)rt(°) bpmhn</i>	odious things in their mouths,
(8) <i>m̄nr.r.^m y.^m</i>	(8) <i>mrrly(°)</i>	bitter things

In our papyrus, the Dem. signs *mn*, *Mn*, and *Imn* (with or without *n* as a phonetic complement) seem to render Aram. /m/ plus a nasalized vowel (i.e., a vowel pronounced with a lowered velum), irrespective of whether that vowel is followed by /n/ or not. Accordingly, the Aramaic normalization of these signs (in the middle column of this edition) varies between *mn* and *m*. The choice between these two has been made here on a purely ad hoc basis; no phonetic conclusions should be drawn from it. It should also be noted that the nasalization of vowels in our dialect of Aramaic may have more than one source. In some cases (III/9; VIII/6; cf. XI/5; XVIII/2), we may be dealing with a phenomenon characteristic of Official Aramaic: the dissimilatory nasalization of geminates. In others (III/10; XIII/11; XIV/3; XV/5; XVIII/2, 10; XIX/8; etc.), Aram. *m* probably nasalized the following vowel through partial assimilation—a development documented for Egyptian itself during this period (Peust, 248-50). In the case of *marrir* either explanation is possible; so too with *mahhīr* (VIII/5), *malleli* (XIX/7), etc.

<i>m̄nnt.ht^m r.šnh.n^m</i>	<i>mn-tht lšnhn</i>	under their tongues.
Cf. Ps 10:7; 66:17; Song 4:11; Job 20:12.		
<i>mr^m .rḥ.^{s w} t.b.^m</i>	<i>mr 'lh' tb'</i>	Mar, good god—
<i>.rḥ.^{s w} m.^m (9) 'bt^m</i>	<i>'lh(y) m(h) (9) 'b(d)t</i>	my god, what have I done (to
		deserve this suffering)?
<i>e.t.^m ñmyty^m</i>	<i>'d<'> (°)m-(m)ydy</i>	Let me know if it is the
		result of my deeds (<i>lit.</i> ,
		from my hands),
<i>.rḥ.^{s w}</i>	<i>'lh(y)</i>	my god.
<i>r.b.š^{s w} b.k.py^m</i>	<i>lbš bkpy</i>	No evil is in my hands,

$\bar{r}h.n^{s w}$	'lhn	our god;
$\bar{p}ym.^m$ $r.tr^m tyn^m b.$	ltrltn bpym(y)	no duplicity/slander in my mouth.
(10) $s.mt.n^m$	(10) $smtn(y)$	(But) you have made me into
$t.m.\bar{r}.^m b\{\{h\rightarrow\}\}.\bar{p}m$ $nh.n^m$	$tmr bpm\{n\}hn$	a date in their mouths,
The priest mistakenly dictated the word for "in their flocks" (line 4 above), and the scribe, in correcting the mistake, neglected to delete part of that word.		
$\bar{m}n\bar{h}.rw\bar{y}.^m$	$mn-hlwy(?)mhlwy(?)$	sweets
$\bar{m}n^{\lceil m/n^{\lceil} t.h.t^m r.\check{s}.n^m h.n.^m$	$mn-tht l\check{s}n\bar{h}n$	under their tongues.
(11) $r.b.^m .r\bar{h}r\check{s}.^{s w} mr^m$	(11) $rb 'lh-r\check{s} mr$	Lord, god of Rash, Mar—
$s.mk\bar{w}$	$sm-gw(y)$	Make my body into
$h.^{\lceil m^{\lceil} .^m b.\bar{p}.mh.n.^m$	$h^{\lceil m^{\lceil} (h) bpmhn$	ve ^l nom ^l in their mouths,
$\bar{m}nrry.^m$	$mryr(h) (X mrry)$	poison
$\bar{m}nnt.h.t^m r.\check{s}n^m (12) h.n^m$	$mn-tht l\check{s}n (12) hn$	under their tongues.

Cf. Ps 140:4.

The Heilsorakel: a reassuring reply (VI/12-18)

$mr^m 'ny.^m$	$mr 'ny$	Mar speaks up
$wr.e.m\bar{r}.^{\lceil m^{\lceil}$	$wl(y)-'mr$	and says to me:
$[e.\check{s}.r.]r^m$	$['(t)\check{s}r]r$	"[Be] ^l stro ^{ng} ,
$^{\lceil 'b\bar{t}y$	$^{\lceil 'b\bar{d}y$	my ^l se ^l rvant,
$r^m t.t.hr.[.]^{\lceil m^{\lceil}$	$'l tdhl$	fear not.

Cf. "fear not" (*la tapallah*) following the declaration of innocence ("negative confession") in the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 144; *ANET*, 334).

In our text, the declaration of innocence (lines 3 and 9) is interspersed with other material.

$[e].n^m (13) .^{\lceil tsyr^{\lceil} [^m]$	$[']n(h) (13) '^{\lceil syl^{\lceil}$	I will ^l save ^l
$[e]^{\lceil y^{\lceil} [t]k.^m$	$[']^{\lceil y^{\lceil} [t]k$	you.
Cf. Jer 1:8; 30:10; 42:11, 46:27.		
$r^m \bar{m}r e.n^m t^{\lceil sk.t^{\lceil} [.]^m$	$'l mr(h) 'n t^{\lceil sg\bar{d}^{\lceil}$	If you will ^l bow down ^l
Cf. VII/9		
$r^m mr^m$	$'l mr$	to Mar,
$\bar{m}nnt\bar{r}k.^m wr\check{s}.^{s w}$	$mn-(^{\lceil})trk wr\check{s}$	from your shrine and Rash;
Cf. XV/17.		
(14) $[e.h.wb.t.^m]$	(14) $['hwbd]$	[I shall destroy]
$[b]^{\lceil y.myk.^m \check{s}^{\lceil} [nk]^{\lceil} [.]^m$	$[b]ymyk \check{s}^{\lceil} [n(^{\lceil})k]$	[your] ^l en ^l [emy in] your

	(= <i>śn'k</i>)	days,
w. 'š.n ^r t ¹ .k. ^m	w'(l)-šn ^r t ¹ k	and during your year ^r s ¹
ymḥ. ^m ey. ^m (15) [b.k. ^m]	y(t)mḥ(y) 'y (15) [bk]	[your] fo[e] will
		be smitten.

[/h.r̄yk.] ^m	[/gryk]	[Your adversaries]
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Cf. I/3. For the parallelism, cf. Ps 139:20-22; Dan 4:16; and the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 145; *ANET*, 334), following "fear not": "Bel ... will destroy your enemy, fell your adversary."

e.n.e.kr. ^m	'n(h)-'kl(y)	I shall bring to an end
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k ^r t ¹		
. . myk. ^m	kḏmyk	in front of you;
r.kṛk. ^m	lgrk	your foot
'r tswērt.hn ^{s w}	'l šw'rthn	on their necks

In this occurrence of the word for "neck," unlike the one in V/7, the scribe heard a glottal stop. In BA and BH, the word is written with an *aleph*, which is left unvocalized in the Tiberian tradition. The original function of this *aleph* has been the subject of much controversy. The evidence of our text agrees with that of the Babylonian tradition of Hebrew, where the *aleph* is often, but not always, pointed. These data strongly suggest that the *aleph* in this word, in both BH and BA, originally represented a consonant—not, as some have claimed, a vowel.

(16) [t.s.m. ^m]	(16) [tsm]	[you will place].
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Cf. Josh 10:24. Cf. also the great rock relief of the Hittite sanctuary of Yazilikaya (13th century BCE), which portrays Teshub, the Hurrian weather god, standing on the bent necks of two standing mountain gods.

[e.tm.] ^r k ¹	['tm] ^r k ¹ -	[I shall suppo] ^r t ¹
'y ¹ .myn. ^r k ^{m1}	'y ¹ myn ^r k ¹	your ^r ight (hand)

Cf. Isa 41:8-13, paralleling lines 12-16 of our column.

e. ^r kṛ. ^r r ^r . ^r [n] ^r k ¹ ^m	' ^r kl ^r l[n] ^r k ¹	I shall ^r cro ^r wn ^r you ^r
b.š.rm. ^m	bšlm	with peace.

Cf. VII/16, 20.

by.t.k. ^m	bytk	Your house
(17) [xxxxxxxxx]	(17);
[m.tr.r]k. ^m ī[xxx]x ^m	[mṭll]k t...	your [roof] you will ...
'r ^r .w ^r yk. ^m	'l ^r w ^r yk	ov ^r e ^r you.
k.s.k. ^m [y.] ^r . ^r b.wn ^m	ksk [y] ^r ^r bwn	[They] will ^r en ^r large
		your cup.

Cf. Ps 23:5.

(18) [xxxxxxxxxxx]	(18)
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[xxxx]ᵀᵀ .nt[xxx] ...
 sp

Col. VII

Blessings of the gods (VII/1-7)

(1) k[xxxxxxxx]	(1)
b.-ir.kt.k. ^m	brtk	your blessings.
ᵀᵀ[.]ᵀᵀ rᵀᵀ ᵀᵀ[.ᵀᵀ]	ᵀᵀklᵀᵀ-(ᵀᵀ)lᵀᵀ hᵀᵀ[n]	May all gods
yb.-ir.k.k. ^m	ybrk(w)k	bless you.
(2) y.ᵀᵀ b-irk.kᵀᵀ[.]ᵀᵀ ^m	(2) yᵀᵀ brkkᵀᵀ mr	May Mar from Rash
mr ^m mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀ ^w	mn-ᵀᵀ	blᵀᵀ ess youᵀᵀ;
ᵀᵀᵀᵀ mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ	mr(h) mn-ᵀᵀᵀᵀ	Marah from Shur—
Cf. XII/12.		
[e.]ᵀᵀ ^m ᵀᵀ b.r.k.k. ^m	[ᵀᵀ](y) (= hy) tbrkk	[she] should bless you.
(3) yb-irk.k. ^m bᵀᵀᵀ	(3) ybrkk bᵀᵀ	May Baal from Zaphon
mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.p.n. ^m	mn-ᵀᵀpn	bless you;
For the syntax here, cf. "from GN" in the blessings of the goddesses and in XII/15—not in XI/13-14 and Ps 128:5.		
p.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀ [yᵀᵀ ^m] mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.rᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀ ^m	pdr[yᵀᵀ]/<y-> mn-rᵀᵀᵀ	Pidra[i]/<i> from Raphia—
Cf. XV/4.		
(4) e.ᵀᵀ b.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.k. ^m	(4) ᵀᵀ(y)- (= hy) tbrkk	she should bless you.
yb-ir.k.k. ^m bᵀᵀᵀ	ybrkk bl mn-bbl	May Bel from Babylon
mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.b.r		bless you;
bᵀᵀ ᵀᵀmnᵀᵀ ^m (5) ᵀᵀnk.r ^m	bllt-mn (5) ᵀᵀnᵀᵀ	Belit from Esangila—
Cf. Old Aram. <i>snᵀᵀ</i> (cited by Bowman); Hatr. <i>sgyl</i> , <i>sgl</i> .		
e.ᵀᵀ b.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.k.k. ^m	ᵀᵀ(y)- (= hy) tbrkk	she should bless you.
y.b-irk.k. ^m nb	ybrkk nb(w)	May Nebo from Borsippa
mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.r ^m (6) ᵀᵀ.p ^m	mn-br (6) ᵀᵀ	bless you;
n.ny ^m m.ny ^m y.k. ^m	nny mn-(ᵀᵀ)yᵀᵀ{y}k	Nanai from Ayakku—
e.ᵀᵀ b.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.k.k. ^m	ᵀᵀ(y)- (= hy) tbrkk	she should bless you.
yb-irk.k. ^m (7) kᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ ^g	ybrkk (7) kᵀᵀᵀ(y)-ᵀᵀᵀ	May the Throne of Horus
w.s.ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀ ^m mnᵀᵀᵀᵀ.b ^m	w(ᵀᵀ)sr(y) mn-	and Osiris from
	kᵀᵀ<ᵀᵀ>(w)/{k}<ᵀᵀ>b(h)	from Cop<ᵀᵀ>os/<Ed>fu
		bless you.

This clause seems to contain the only genuine mention of Egyptian deities in the papyrus. Aram. *kᵀᵀᵀᵀ ᵀᵀᵀ* is presumably a translation of Eg. *wᵀᵀᵀ.ᵀᵀ-ᵀᵀᵀᵀ.w* "Throne of Horus."

This Eg. phrase can refer to a number of things, including the temple of Horus at Edfu, the entire town of Edfu, and the entire nome that contains the town. In three inscrip-

tions from Edfu, the expression refers to the goddess Isis—the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus. From one of the three, we learn that she "has settled down under her son" and that she lifts him up to the horizon. This name of Isis may point to Edfu, since it is attested only there. However, it may have been known elsewhere, especially if K. Sethe was right in viewing the goddess Isis as a personification of the royal throne or if *ḳst* "Isis" is etymologically related to Eg. *st* "seat, throne." Even the existence of a folk etymology would be sufficient to suggest that our expression was not restricted to Edfu. The question is made more complicated by the addition of Osiris to the phrase, which creates a syntactic ambiguity. Two bracketings are possible: (1) [Throne of] [Horus and Osiris] and (2) [Throne of Horus] [and Osiris]. According to the second bracketing, two gods—Isis and Osiris—are invoked here. A papyrus from Thebes (Boulaq 3; Roman period) mentions both "Isis from Coptos" and (in one reading of a syntactically ambiguous sentence) "Osiris from Coptos." Isis and Osiris appear at Elephantine, the former as *'sy* and the latter as *'wsry*, *'sry*, and (with elision of the initial glottal stop following a prefix) *lwsry* "to Osiris" (*TAD* 3:lv, 4:lxi). (Edfu appears there too, rendered in Aramaic as *ṭbh*; *TAD* 3:lv, 4:lxi). According to this interpretation, we are dealing here with a pair of deities—one male and one female—as in the rest of the list. However, unlike the other paired deities in the list, they appear together in a single clause. This difference would seem to suggest that we are dealing with a late addition, tacked on to the end of the list.

Offerings to the gods (VII/7-19)

<i>e.šyt.n^m</i>	<i>'šy(')-tn</i>	Give the fire-offerings
<i>w.'ry b.š.^m</i>	<i>w(')'ly-b(')š(h)</i>	and offer (them) up in fire.
(8) <i>s.<<š>>k.ṛ</i>	(8) <i>s(y)-šgr</i>	<i>Pick up</i> , send
<i>š.^m eymr^m</i>	<i>š('h) 'ymr</i>	a lamb, a young sheep;
<i>škṛ š.</i>	<i>šgr š('h)</i>	send a lamb.
<i>s.k.^m</i>	<i>sg(y)</i>	Make abundant
<i>s.wt^m</i>	<i>swt</i>	holocaust-aroma
<i>e.r^m mr^m</i>	<i>'l mr</i>	for Mar;
(9) <i>y.b-irk.k.^m</i>	(9) <i>ybrkk</i>	he will / may he bless you
<i>s.k.^m</i>	<i>sg(y)</i>	abundantly.
<i>s.k.t^m r.^m 'nnt^m</i>	<i>sgd ll'nt</i>	Bow down to Anat;
<i>w.m.m.^m</i>	<i>(')wm{m}(y)</i>	take an oath
<i>.r^m nḅ</i>	<i>'l nb(w)</i>	to Nebo.
(10) <i>š.k.r^m</i>	(10) <i>šgr</i>	Send
<i>h.ṛ.m.t.^m</i>	<i>hrmt(')</i>	the consecrated animals.

<i>y</i> <i>s.řk.n^m</i>	<i>ys{r}<l>kn</i>	Let there come
<i>r.t.k.řw</i>	<i>ldkrw</i>	to mind,
Cf. BH ‘-l-y ‘l lb "come to mind" // z-k-r "remember" in Isa 65:17, Jer 51:50, etc.		
<i>mr^m</i>	<i>mr</i>	Mar,
(11) <i>š.t.n^m</i>	(11) <i>štn</i>	sixty
<i>b.ny^m s.m.řn</i>	<i>bny zmrn</i>	singers.
<i>ynsw</i>	<i>ynsw</i>	Let them lift
<i>krh.n.^m mr^m</i>	<i>klhn mr</i>	their voices, Mar;
<i>mr^m yb.irk.k.^m</i>	<i>mr ybrk(w)k</i>	Mar, let them bless you.
(12) <i>y.s.řk.n.^m</i>	(12) <i>ys{r}<l>kn</i>	Let there come
<i>r.t.k.řw</i>	<i>ldkrw</i>	to mind,
<i>mr^m</i>	<i>mr</i>	Mar,
<i>š.t.‘m^{m1}</i>	<i>št‘m¹ (= štn)</i>	six ‘ty ¹
<i>bny r.‘h¹.n.n^m</i>	<i>bny l‘h¹nn</i>	temple ser‘vit ¹ ors—
(13) <i>‘p.nwhy⁸</i>	(13) <i>‘pnwhy (= hpnwhy)</i>	their (<i>lit.</i> , his) handfuls
<i>m.r.^m r.bwn.^m</i>	<i>mr lbwn(h)</i>	of myrrh (and) frankin- cense
<i>‘r mnhr[y]‘.¹ m</i>	<i>‘l mnhr[y]‘()</i>	for the nostril[s]
<i>t‘.¹ bytr⁸</i>	<i>dbyt-()l</i>	of Bethel.
(14) <i>ys.řk.n.^m</i>	(14) <i>yslkn</i>	Let there come
<i>r.t.k.řw</i>	<i>ldkrw</i>	to mind,
<i>mr^m</i>	<i>mr</i>	Mar,
<i>š.t.m^m</i>	<i>štm (= štn)</i>	sixty
<i>b.nyyy[m].ř.^m</i>	<i>bny-()y[m]r</i>	la[m]bs.
(15) <i>.řh.t.tyk.^m</i>	(15) <i>‘rg(y)-ddyk</i>	Favor your loved ones,
<i>mr^m</i>	<i>mr</i>	Mar,
<i>.ř.h.t.ty.k[.]^m</i>	<i>‘rg(y)-ddyk</i>	favor your loved ones
<i>w.ř.š.^{s w}</i>	<i>wrš</i>	and Rash.
(16) <i>.ř.h.t.tyk.^m</i>	(16) <i>‘rg(y)-ddyk</i>	Favor your loved ones
<i>ř.š.^{s w}</i>	<i>řš</i>	(and) Rash.
<i>t.m.</i>	<i>dm()-</i>	The blood
<i>t.m.ř[.]^m .b.t^m</i>	<i>d()mr() ‘bd()</i>	of the <i>dead</i> sheep
<i>y.m^m (17) .r</i>	<i>ym (17) ‘l</i>	is a sea, god;
<i>smn</i>	<i>smn-</i>	we have made
<i>r.b.ř t‘.¹ m eym.ř.^m</i>	<i>lbr() dl’y mr()</i>	the lamb
<i>s.h.^m</i>	<i>sh(y)</i>	float (in a sea of blood)
<i>‘.r‘y¹ k.^m</i>	<i>‘l‘y¹ k</i>	to you,

<i>mṛ^s šmyn^s</i>	<i>mr šmyn</i>	lord of heaven.
(18) <i>h.nt^m</i>	(18) <i>hnt</i>	A <i>shopful</i>
<i>šs.ʿr.ʿn^m</i>	<i>dsʿrʿn¹</i>	of barley
<i>kṛ.b^m ʿryk.^m</i>	<i>kṛb(h) ʿlyk</i>	is offered to you,
<i>s.ʿknt¹ .ṛ.^m</i>	<i>sʿk¹(y)-ʿnt¹ r</i>	Wateʿhman ¹ , ʿGuard ¹ ian
(19) <i>ʿ.pṛ.^m</i>	(19) <i>ʿpr(ʿ)</i>	of the earth.
<i>t.ʿš¹ Imn</i>	<i>tʿš¹ mn</i>	May you become ʿfʿat,
<i>r.b.n.^m</i>	<i>rbn</i>	lord.
<i>yt^m t.r.kʿb^m</i>	<i>yd trkʿb¹</i>	May you laʿy ¹ a hand (on them),

Cf. BH *hrkyb yd* "he laid a hand (on a bow)" > Syr. *ʿrkb ʿyd* "id."

<i>ʿe¹ .dyk.n..n^m</i>	<i>ʿʿ¹(n)tyknn</i>	drag them away.
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Cf. BH *htyk* "drag away (animals)" in Jer 12:3; VIII/6.

A hymn to Mar (VII/20-22)

(20) <i>mṛnp.k.k.^m mr^m</i>	(20) <i>mnpkḳ mr</i>	Your going out, Mar, is
<i>ʿbhyr.t^m</i>	<i>ʿbhyr(w)t¹(ʿ)</i>	ʿbrilliant ¹ (<i>lit.</i> , brilliance);

Cf. Mand. *bihruta* "light, brightness"; BH *bhyr* "bright, brilliant (sky)"; "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (*COS*, 1:554): "Of her brilliant coming forth in the evening sky ... I will sing."

<i>mṛnhṛ.k.^m</i>	<i>mnglk</i>	your coming in is
[xx]ʿh ¹ [xxxx]	...	...
<i>ʿʿ¹s.s.^m (21) [yk]ʿ.¹^m</i>	<i>ʿʿ¹ ss (21) [yk](ʿ)</i>	ʿon ¹ [your] ʿho ¹ rse.
<i>ʿṛ š.byr[^m]</i>	<i>ʿl šbyl(ʿ)</i>	Onto the path
<i>ʿImnk¹ wtr.^m</i>	<i>ʿmn-g¹ w dr(h)</i>	ʿfrom ins ¹ ide the courtyard
Cf. III/11		
<i>kṵʿyk.¹^m</i>	<i>kṵʿyk¹</i>	ʿyour ¹ windowʿs ¹
[<i>m.sh.r.n^m / m.n.r.n^m</i>]	[<i>mzhrn/mnrrn</i>]	[shine].

Cf. Job 22:28.

(22) <i>..pʿetn¹ [k^m]</i>	(22) <i>ʿpʿ{ʿ}dn¹ [k]</i>	[Your] palʿace ¹ ,
<i>mr^m .[</i>	<i>mr ...</i>	Mar ...

Col. VIII

Eternal blessings of wisdom, beauty, and security (VIII/1-3)

(1) [<i>k]rb.-ir.k.t^m ʿn.¹[^m]</i>	(1) [<i>k]l-brktlʿn¹</i>	[Al]l of ʿour ¹ blessings
[<i>r.ṛr^m ʿṛr^m</i>]	[<i>ldr</i>] ʿdr ¹	are [for every] ʿgeneration ¹ ,
<i>ʿt^m ʿ.rMn ʿṛ¹ [bṛ.]ʿb¹n.</i>	<i>ʿd ʿlmn ʿr¹ [br]ʿb¹n</i>	for ʿm ¹ [an]ʿy ¹ eternities:
Cf. Ps 21:7, 106:31; IX/6, 9.		
<i>wēymṛ.ʿt¹ [hn^m]</i>	<i>wʿymrʿt¹ [hn]</i>	Wordʿs ¹ of [grace]—

Cf. Ps 45:3; Prov 22:11; Qoh 10:12; cf. *hn* // *špr* in XV/10 and Targ. Prov 31:30.

¹ k ¹ [.r][[h ¹ n ¹]] ^m	¹ k ¹ (¹)[l]h ¹ n ¹	'like ¹ (those of) [go]ds—
(2) [e]m. ¹ r ¹ t ^m b.nyk. ^m	(2) [¹]m ¹ r ¹ t bnyk	are the [w]o ¹ r ¹ ds of your sons;
w̄. ¹ mb.n. ^m t.k. ^m	w ¹ m-bnltk	and with your daughters,
š.p̄r̄.	špr(¹)	beauty—
¹ k.t. ¹ [.r.] ^m	k ¹ [¹][l](¹)	like (that of) the ¹ de ¹ [w]—
š.ry. ^m	šry	dwells.

Cf. Dan 2:22; Job 42:15.

r.b.š.t.	lbšt(¹)	The malevolent forces
(3) [e] ¹ šh ¹ . ^m	(3) [¹] ¹ šh ¹ (w)	[they have] ¹ brought low ¹ ;

Cf. XX/10; XXI/10.

w̄.k.b̄r̄. ^m .r̄h̄.r̄.š̄. ^{s w} r̄	wgbr 'lh-rš 'l	and the god of Rash has prevailed over all of them.
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¹r k̄r.h.n.^{s w}

¹l klhn

An invitation to the wedding banquet (VIII/3-8)

ep.k ¹ . ¹ t ^m	'pkt	I have taken out
ēr̄.n.k. ^m .r ^m	'rnk 'l(y)	your box, my god.
p̄{ {t→} } .t.h ^m	pth	Open
(4) w.p̄ym.k. ^m	(4) {w}pymk	your mouth
r.m.r̄. ^m	lmry	for the provider (<i>lit.</i> , owner) of your bread.

p̄.t.k.^m

ptk

Cf. JBA *bryk mryh dh'y pyt* "blessed is the provider (*lit.*, owner) of this bread"; XVII/8.

p̄.tw̄r̄.k. ^m	ptwrk	Your table
yh.w. ^m mn̄h̄.r.t ^m	yhw(y) mgl̄t	will be covered (<i>lit.</i> , concealed)

b.tr.^m b.yr.n^m

btrlb-(¹)yln

(5) yk̄w̄l̄mn̄ 'r.wh^m

(5) yk̄wmn̄ 'lw^hy

t.p.h̄.n^m

tphn (= t̄bh̄n)

by the fat of stags.
Butchers will wait (*lit.*,
(stand in attendance)
on it.

k̄rh.n.^{s w}

klhn

m̄nn¹h¹ .r̄y.tyn.^m

m¹h¹r(y)-ydyⁿ

All of them,
with sk¹ill¹ful hands,

For nasalization, cf. VI/8. For the same phrase without any indication of nasalization, cf. XV/13, 19.

y.t.r.pr.pwn.^m

ytrprpwn

will tremble.

k̄r.^m (6) .<<r>>p.^m

kl (6) 'lp(¹)

Every bull

t.n.t.k.^m

tntk

you will drag away,

Cf. VII/19.

t.ṛ h.m.t^m *d(°)r hmt* Resident of Hamath.

Cf. 2 Kgs 17:30.

e.k.n.k.^m *'gnk* Your krater
ṭ.hw.^m mnnsyk.t^m *thw(y) mnsyk-(°)t(h)* you will pour out
w.y.mr *wyml(°){-}* and it will be filled;
p.^m ykImn (7) 'r.why^g *plykmn (7) 'lwhy* and butlers will wait
š.k.yn^m *škyn* on it,

Cf. V/11.

k.rhn^{s w} mnnk.m^m *klhn mn-k(°)m* each of them standing

Cf. *mn* used to form adverbials in Late Western Aramaic, e.g., Gal. Aram. *mn k'y'm* "(while) standing."

p.'n.^m *p'n(y)* and speaking up:
b.k.ṛ e.nty^m *bk/kr(h) 'nty* "You are at a banquet.
eṛym. 'yhš *'rym-'y(n)-hz(y)* Look (*lit.*, lift an
 eye), see!
 (8) *yš.t.hy^m* (8) *(°)yšthy* Drink it!"

A hymn to Mar (VIII/8-10)

mr^m mnnh.ṛ.t.k.^m *mr mn-nhṛtk* Mar, from your snorts
ṭ.tm.^m k.r.p.r.^m *tdm/ttm kl-<>pr(°)* all the <ea>rth perishes;
k.t.n.n.^m r.bwn.^m *ktnn rbwn* like smoke, lord,
mnrw{{k→}}h.tk.^m *mn-rwhṭk* from your breaths.

Cf. Ps 18:16; Job 4:9.

(9) *ṭ.t.s.^m* (9) *tts* You fly
'r.rwy.{{h→}}k.^m *'l-lwyk* to your followers;

ṭk
ṭirk.p^m *t'rk-gp* you spread the wing
k.nš.r^m *knšr* like an eagle,

Cf. Dan 7:4; Targ. Ezek 17:2.

wyykwImn *wykwmn* and they arise.

Cf. Ps 18:10-11.

kšwrybyt.k.^m *gšwry-bytk* The beams of your house,
bytr^g *byt-(°)l* Bethel,
mnr.b.n.n^m *mn-lbnn* are from Lebanon;
 (10) *mnr.be.n.n.^m* (10) *mn-lb{' }nn* from Lebanon,
w.k.nky^m *wgnky* your garden,

Cf. the use of BH *w-* (and Palmyrene *p-*) to introduce appositives.

<i>y.n..n^m</i>	(^o) <i>yⁿn</i>	are they.
<i>w.t.ṛ hm.t.^m</i>	<i>wd(^o)r hmt</i>	And Resident of Hamath,
<i>h.r.ṛny.^m</i>	<i>hrnn(n)y</i>	cause me to sing joyously
<i>e.y.r.k.^m</i>	<i>'y^lk</i>	of your aid.

The selection of Mar's bride for the sacred marriage rite (VIII/10-11)

<i>r.mn^m (11) ḥ.r.m^m</i>	<i>lmn (11) ḡlm(h)</i>	Who has a lass?
<i>mḤmn ḥr.mṫ</i>	<i>mn ḡlmt(^o)</i>	Who is the lass?
<i>ḵrmy^o.^m t.k.^m</i>	<i>kl-myp^ol^tk</i>	All of your splendors
<i>ḥrt.n.^m</i>	<i>ḡlṫn</i>	are concealed.
<i>ṣp</i>		

Mar's bed brought down from heaven to Bethel for the rite (VIII/11-13)

<i>y.tm.^m mr^m ksṣp</i>	<i>ydm(y)/yṫm<sup>o</sup> mr ks(m)pṣ</i>	Mar is/se^ts like the sun
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The assumption underlying this reading is that *smṣ* was realized [*smpṣ*] with an excrescent (parasitic) [p]; cf. LXX Σαμψων and Ugar. *ṣpṣ*; IVA/20; XIII/6; XVIII/6. I am unable to explain why Dem. *ṣp* is used here instead of Dem. *pṣ*.

<i>w.t.n.h.^m ks.n.^m</i>	<i>wdn^h ksn</i>	and rises like the moon,
(12) <i>k.s.n^m</i>	(12) <i>ksn</i>	like the moon
<i>b.rk^m ṣ.m.wh^y^m</i>	<i>b(^o)rk ṣmwh^y</i>	along the length of his heavens.

<i>eh.y.bnṫ</i>	<i>'h-ybnw</i>	Oh, let them build,
<i>b.ṣ.myn^g</i>	<i>bṣmyn</i>	in heaven,
<i>byt.k.^m</i>	<i>bytk</i>	your house,
<i>ḥ.rt.^m 'm^m kwk.b.n.^m</i>	<i>ḡlṫ 'm kwkbn</i>	concealed, with stars;

This is a poetic reference to the building of the chamber for the sacred marriage on a high mountain; cf. XI/1-3, XV/6.

(13) <i>ywhṫb.p.p.^m</i>	(13) <i>ywhṫ-b(^o)pp</i>	let your bed be brought
<i>'r.s.k.^m</i>	<i>'rsk</i>	down in (the month of) Epiph (for the marriage).

Cf. XV/2, 5.

<i>bhyk.ryk.^m</i>	<i>bhyklyk</i>	In your temples
<i>y.bnṫ</i>	<i>ybnw</i>	let them build,
<i>r.bytr^g</i>	<i>rb-(b)yt-(^o)l</i>	lord of Bethel,

Cf. Hatr. *rbyt'* = *rbbyt'* "major domo"; XI/18.

<i>.rpMnt.bh.^m ḥtm</i>	<i>'lp-mdbḥ ḥ(d)tm (= ḥdtn)</i>	a thousand <i>new</i> altars.
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Cf. 1 Kgs 18:31-33.

The selection of Mar's bride, continued (VIII/13-16)

<i>ghn^m (14) ṣ.pṛ e.r.m.^m</i>	<i>khn(h) (14) ṣpr(h) 'rm</i>	Elevate a beautiful priestess,
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<i>w'.r.'w'.t.m kry. m t.h.b. m</i>	<i>w'l'w't kꜣry(h) thb</i>	and let her offer the burnt offer'ing's of the city;
<i>b.r.š. s w</i>	<i>brš</i>	in Rash
<i>s.k. m t.r.n. m</i>	<i>sgy trn</i>	let her jubilate greatly.
(15) <i>h.t.</i>	(15) <i>hd(?)</i>	"Here, this one
<i>'šp'.r. m</i>	<i>'šp'r(h)</i>	is 'beauti'ful;
<i>k.ne.in.py^f h. m</i>	<i>kn-'npylh</i>	<i>so (too)</i> her face.
<i>r.k'k'.t. m</i>	<i>rg(y)'g'(h)-(')t(y)</i>	You are love'ly' (<i>lit.</i> , desired)."

<i>r.m.nh.r.m m</i>	<i>lmn-glm(h)</i>	Who has a lass?
<i>m.nhr.mt</i>	<i>mn-glmt(')</i>	Who is the lass?
<i>krmyp.'. m (16) t.k.[m]</i>	<i>kl-myp' (16) tk</i>	All of your splendors
<i>hrt.n. m</i>	<i>gltn</i>	are concealed.

Cf. "The Installation of the storm god's high priestess" (*COS*, 427: "When the sons of Emar elevate the high priestess to the storm god ... the daughter of any son of Emar may be designated.")

šp

Mar's crown of peace and the crown of his temple tower (VIII/16-25)

<i>iw-y'tb' s.r.n m</i>	<i>'y'tb' srn</i>	Our Prince has 'been good' to
<i>b.n.t m e.r.š. s w</i>	<i>bnt 'rš</i>	the daughters of Arash:
<i>'n' [.].t.n^g mr m</i>	<i>'n' tn mr</i>	Mar has 'gi'ven
<i>krr.šrm m</i>	<i>kll-šlm</i>	the crown of peace;
<i>.rh.š. s w</i>	<i>'lh-<r>š</i>	the god of <Ra>sh
<i>k.rr. m</i>	<i>kll(h)</i>	has crowned her
(17) <i>b.by[t]. m</i>	(17) <i>bby[t](h)</i>	in his hou[se],
<i>w'h'.y.šr.r.</i>	<i>w'h'(w)-yšrr(h)-</i>	and 'he' makes her rule
Cf. Est 1:22.		
<i>b.hyk.rwhy m</i>	<i>bhyklwhy</i>	in his palaces.
<i>y.r'y.m' m</i>	<i>yr'ym'(h)</i>	He ra'ise's her up—
<i>k.y.m. m</i>	<i>kym(')</i>	like the sea—
Cf. IX/9.		
<i>b. m byt. m</i>	<i>blbyt(h)</i>	in his hou[se];
<i>b'h'[ykr. m]</i>	<i>b'h'[ykl](h)</i>	in his 'p'[alace],
<i>k</i>		
(18) <i>k.r.'nwhy' m</i>	(18) <i>kkr'nwhy' /</i>	like 'his' hor'ns'; /
Cf. X/3-4	<i>kgl' {n}why'</i>	like 'its' wave's';

sr^m [.k].	sr^1 [k](h)	ri^1 [s]ing
$k.n.nh.\bar{r}$	$knhr(^)$	like the river.

Cf. 'yk nhr' slk "rises like the river" in Pesh. Jer 46:7, 8.

$\text{w}^1 \overline{iw-ytb} s.\bar{r}.n^m$	$\text{w}^1 \text{'y}tb srn$	'And^1 our Prince, the god
$.r\bar{h}.[\bar{s}]^{s w}$	$\text{'lh-} <r> [\bar{s}]$	of <Ra>[sh], has done good
\overline{bmww}^m	$bmw(h) <y>$	with <his> water;

The sign transliterated as \overline{mw} is Dem. mw "water." Of the dozen occurrences of the sign, this may be the only one that agrees with the meaning of an Aramaic word it is used to write.

$.r\bar{h}.\bar{s}^{s w}$	$\text{'lh-} <r> \bar{s}$	the god of <Ra>sh,
bym^m	$bym(^)$	with the sea.
$w\bar{r}[xxxx]$	...	...
(19) $w.t.k.^{m1}$	(19) $wtg(^)$	and the crown
$[f]e.s.t.^{k1} .^m$	$[d]'s(y)t'^k1$	[of] 'your^1 tower

Cf. Akk. $asitu$ "tower (of city wall)"; BH 'sywt "id. (plur.)" (Jer 50:15); Hatr., JBA, Mand. 'syrt "wall"; Syr. 'st "wall" (with $s!$) and 'syrt "column, pillar." In the dialect of our text, this Akk. loanword can probably refer to any type of tower; cf. the continuation of this passage in XIII/3-5, where $mgdl$ refers to the tower of a temple.

$b.ny^m .ry$	$bny \text{'ly-}$	build up for me.
$\overline{bmw}^1 t^1 .^m$	$bmw^1 t^1 (^)$	(And then) in dea 'th^1
$es.hr.^m kr^1 h^1 n^{s w}$	$\text{'zhr } k(^)l^1 h^1 n$	(you will) shine like go $\text{'d}^1 s$,

Cf. Dan 12:3

$\overline{nmt} w.r.h.^m$	$m(w)t wr(w)h$	dying and reviving (<i>lit.</i> , die and revive).
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The sign transliterated as \overline{mt} is Dem. mwt "die, death." Of the eight occurrences of the sign, this is the only one that agrees with the meaning (and the vowel) of an Aramaic word it is used to write.

$e\overline{Imn}$	'mn	Enduring will be
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The scribe has deliberately written the Imn sign twice its normal height, reaching down into the line below. Is it merely a coincidence that the name in the colophon (XIV/8) is Imn "Amon"? Or did the priest instruct the scribe to highlight his name here, in a word implying immortality? The practice of embedding signatures within texts is known from later Hebrew manuscripts. In the early 7th century CE, poets began including acrostic signatures in their liturgical poetry. Later on, copyists signed their names by enlarging letters of the copied text.

$k.br.^m$	$gbr(^)$	the man
$\overline{ty}ib.bnwhy^1 m1$	$dy/dbn\{w\}hy$	who has built it.
xxx	...	...
(20) $e.t.\bar{r}^1 .k^1 s mr^m$	(20) $\text{'tr}^1 k^1 mr$	'Your^1 shrine, Mar,

<i>tmm</i> . ^m	<i>tmm</i>	is perfect (as it is);
š.trm k. 'n' [^m]	(')š(y)t(')-rm(') k' n'	so (too) the high tower—
m̄n.nš.p̄r	mn-špr(h)	who has (ever) improved it?
kr. ^m mr ^m .rh [^{s w}]	kl(h) mr 'lh(y)	Finish, Mar, my god,
[krr] [^k]	[kl] [^k]	'your' (other) [crown]—
kršrm ^m [^b] m' yt ^m	kl-šlm [^{m b}] yt	the crown of peace [at ho] me.
Cf. Job 21:9; BH <i>mby</i> "indoors, inside"; XIII/4.		
b.šw.š' [^w] .w. ^m	bšwš' [^w] (')	In the turmoil (outside),
Cf. Syr. šwš' "disorder, disturbance" > Arab. šawāš "id."		
(21) eyry	(21) 'yly-	my help / my god,
e. [^p] n. ^m r.b.r ^m	' [^p] n(y) lbl	I [^{tu}] rn to Bel.
Cf. Lev 19:4, 31, 20:6, Deut 31:18, 20, Isa 45:22, Hos 3:1, Job 5:1.		
h.n.b.r ^m	hn-bl	Spare, Bel,
hm[r]. ^m šntyn ^m	hm[l] šntyn	our yearly harv[est] (lit., ingathering),
For the syntax, cf. XII/4; for the form of the suffixed pronoun, cf. Heb. -ēnū.		
t' [^m] .k. ^m	d' [^m] k	because your peo [^p] ple'
[xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx] ^m	...	...
h. ^m [xxxxxxxxx]	h(w) ...	He
(22) mšhytm [^m] m ^m	(22) mš(y)-hytm (= hytn)	a gleaner of wheat
wmš. ^m h.r.t.n. ^m	wmš(y) ...	and a gleaner of;
m.š. [^m]	mš(y)	a gleaner of
[xx] [^{k m} ]	...	...
[^w ] [	[ ^w] ...	[^{and}] ...
(23) ysrk [ⁿ] m ^m	(23) yslk-n(y)	Let ascend
[^m] [^r] y ^m	[^m] [^l] y	the [^{ful}] [^{lne}] ss of
k.nyk [ⁿ] m ^m	gnyk/knyk	your gardens/nests,
t.t ^m [	d(')t(h) ...	that you ...
(24) t.kr ^m	(24) dkr	Remember
kry.k. [^m ] [	kryk ...	those who call upon you ...
(25) [^r] m ^m m̄n̄p̄r [^m]	(25) [^{r m}] mnpl'	[^{who}] topples the haughty'
Cf. IX/19		

Col. IX

A prayer for rain (IX/1-7)

(1) [ⁿ] [ⁿ] neny'	(1) [ⁿ { ⁿ } ny'	[^{Answer}] me'
[xx].[x].[x]. ^m	...	...

$\overline{mn}nr.\check{s}.\overset{s}{w}$
 ʿ[\overline{r}] [y.]t. ^m
 $\overline{tn}y$ (^m)
 (2) ʿb \overline{r} . ^m n.h. \overline{r} . ^m
 $\check{s}.rhy$ ^m
 w.m. \overline{r}
 r. ^m r..^m (3) n.rh. ^m
 h. \check{s} . ^m b.k. ^m

Cf. XV/2.

$\check{h}.t.m$ ^m
 mr ^m
 $\check{s}.rh.ny$ ^m r.
 ʿb. ^m (4) k. ^m
 rm ^m
 ʿrr. ^m ʿr ^m
 \overline{mr}
 $\check{h}.rt$ ^m nnsr. ^m
 $\check{h}sr$ ^m b.by \check{t} . ^m
 \overline{mr}

(5) $\check{h}.s.n$ ^m
 .. \check{h} . ^{s w} m.r.k.t ^m
 k.m. ^m
 n.s.y \check{n} ^m
 $\check{h}r.t$. ^m
 (6) b.t.r. ^m \overline{tr}
 .t ^m $\check{s}.rr$. ^m
 bhyk.ryh. ^m
 bhyk.ryk. ^m

Cf. Est 1:22.

w ^m . ^m (7) w.t. ^m
 k.rt ^m

n \check{m} . ^m n.t ^m

k.r ^m
 n.t ^m

Family sin-offerings to Mar-Nebo (IX/7-8)

mn-rš
 ʿ[\overline{t}] [y]d(y)
 (ʿ)dny
 (2) ʿbr nhr(ʿ)
 (ʿt)šlhy
 wmr(y)
 l(ʿ) rʿm (3) nhr(ʿ) (X nrh)
 $\check{h}\check{s}l\check{b}k$

$\check{h}tm$
 mr
 šlh-ny l(y)-
 ʿb (4) k
 rm
 ʿr-l(y) ʿr
 mr(h)
 $\check{h}lt$ (ʿ) ns(y)-l(y)
 $\check{h}z$ (y)-l(y) b(w)byt(ʿ)
 mr(h)
 (5) $\check{h}z$ (y)-n(y)
 ʿ<l>h(y) mlkt(y)
 (ʿ)gm(ʿ)
 nsy-n(y)
 $\check{h}lt$ (h)
 (6) bdr dr
 ʿt(y) šrr(h) (= šrrh)
 {bhyklyh}
 bhyklyk(y)

{wʿ} (7) w(ʿ)t(y)
 krt(y)/klt(y)

mnlt(y)

kl
 nd

from Rash.
 ʿAtʿ my [si]de,
 Adonai,
 the river is vanishing;
 it has become exhausted.
 And my lord—
 the river is not rising.
 Your mind (*lit.*, thought)

is a mystery (*lit.*, sealed),
 Mar.
 Send to me
 your cloud.
 Exalted One,
 awake for me, awake.
 Marah,
 lift up the bucket for me;
 inspect the canals for me,
 Marah.
 Inspect,
 my g<o>d, my queen,
 the pool;
 lift up,
 the bucket.
 In every generation
 you rule
 {in her palaces}
 in your palaces,

 {and} and you
 have proclaimed, /
 , my bride,
 you have ordained
 (*lit.*, apportioned)
 (the contents of) every
 waterskin.

$\overline{.bny}$	'(h)-bny	Oh, my sons
$w..nt.t.^m$	$w'ntt(y)$	and my wife!
(8) $t.kr ey\overline{ty}$	(8) $dkr 'yty$	Bring a ram
$.r^m mr^m$	'l mr	to Mar;
\overline{mn}	mn	whoever (among you)
$s.\overline{r}.h.^m \overline{nb}$	$srh nb(w)$	has offended Nebo,
$\overline{.b.ny}$	'(h)-bny	oh, my sons.
Cf. Job 1:5.		
\overline{sp} vacat		
Another prayer for rain (IX/9-13)		
(9) $.bytr^s$	(9) '(h)-byt-(')l	Oh, Bethel,
$.rh'r$	'lh-'l	nourishing god / god on high
Cf. 2 Sam 23:1.		
$m\overline{ry}.m^m y.m.^m$	$mrym ym(')$	who causes the sea to rise
Cf. VIII/17.		
$t.r.^m \overline{dyry}$	$dr d\{y\}ry(')$	generation after generation—
$kr^m ' .^m by^m (10) \overline{ry}$	$kl 'lby (10) ry$	all the clouds of moisture,
Cf. Job 37:11.		
$b.nye.t^m$	$bny-'d$	the offspring of the primeval mist,
Cf. Job 36:27.		
$r.ky^m \overline{tmn}.\overline{r}.n^m$	$lky tmrn$	are hidden away for you.
$.em.t.r.n.^m mr^m$	' $mtr-n(y)/(l)n$	Make it rain / rain for us,
mr^m	mr	Mar.
(11) $b\overline{mwn}$	(11) $bmwn-$	A ... of
Cf. XIII/9, where we find what may be a variant of this word in the plural.		
$\overline{gm\check{s}}$	$g\check{s}m- (X gm\check{s})$	rain
$\overline{.ht}$	(') ht	send down.
$r.k.ks.p.n^m$	$lk-kspn$	(Then) our silver will be yours
$w.t.h.b^m \dot{n}.n.^m$	$wdhblnn$	and our gold;
Cf. Hag 2:8.		
$r.k^m (12) m.r<<w>>kw\check{h}yn.^m$	$lk (12) ml\{w\}k\check{h}yn$	our possessions will yours;
$r.k.^m t.w\overline{ry}.n.^m$	$lk twryn$	our mature cattle will be yours,
$kmb.ky^m (13) \overline{r}.yn^m$	$kmbky (13) ryn$	as well as our heifers

<i>e.kryb.ny^m š.n^m</i>	<i>'gly-bny šn⁴</i>	(and) <i>yearling calves.</i>
Cf. Mic 6:6.	(= <i>'gly-bny šnh</i>)	
Chorus: a credo for the crowd (IX/13-17)		
<i>hw.y.s.^m t.n.^m</i>	<i>hw-ys⁴ldn</i>	He will help us.
(14) <i>b.š.r.m^m n.r.m.^m</i>	(14) <i>bšlm nrm</i>	We shall be raised up in safety.
Cf. Ps 27:5		He will guard our rear.
<i>y.ṯr h.rt^m syn.^m</i>	<i>yṯr ḥllrṯsyn</i>	
Cf. Syr. <i>nṯry ḥṣ'</i> "rear-guard"; <i>ḥṣ'</i> "loin, haunch, behind."		
<i>y.s.^m t.n.^m (15) .rh.rš.^{s w}</i>	<i>ys⁴dn (15) 'lh-rš</i>	The god of Rash will help us.
		Let us ponder/imagine
<i>nh.khk^m</i>	<i>nhghg</i>	his mysteries (<i>lit.</i> , closed things).
Cf. Aram. and BH <i>h-g-y</i> "meditate on"; Syr. <i>h-g-g</i> "imagine."		
<i>edymt</i>	<i>'tymt(h)</i>	
Cf. GA <i>stym</i> "secret (<i>lit.</i> , closed thing)."		
<i>.b^p wtr.^m mr^m</i>	<i>'by wtr(y)/w(')dr(y) mr</i>	Mar is my father and my bull / mighty one.
Cf. Ugar. <i>tr il aby</i> "the bull II, my father."		
<i>yṯmn.mnn.^m</i>	<i>yrmnn</i>	He will raise me/us up.
(16) <i>eyh.r.n^m</i>	(16) <i>'yhr-n(y)</i>	Let me vaunt
<i>e.tr.t.^m</i>	<i>'drt(h)</i>	his mighty deeds.
<i>tmmnn</i>	<i>tmn-</i>	He shelters (<i>lit.</i> , hides)
<i>.bt^m b.k⁴w¹</i>	<i>'bd bg⁴w¹</i>	those perishing in the mid ⁴ st ¹
<i>š⁴.^{s w} š.w.^m</i>	<i>š<w>lšw</i>	of turmoil.
<i>y^mr^m (17) h.my^m</i>	<i>y(')mr (17) hmy(')</i>	Let the tumultuous crowd say,
<i>mnlmn</i>	<i>(')mn (')mn</i>	Amen, Amen.
Cf. Ps 106:48.		
<i>sp</i>		
A hymn to Mar (IX/17-20)		
<i>mr^m .rh^m</i>	<i>mr 'lh(y)</i>	Mar, my god—
<i>b.y⁴t¹ m.^m</i>	<i>(')b-y⁴t¹lm(')</i>	father of the or ⁴ ph ¹ an,
<i>dyyn.^m r̄.mm.^m r.t^m</i>	<i>dyn (')rm{m}llt(')</i>	champion of the widow.
Cf. Ps 68:6.		
(18) <i>ṯ'.ryk.^m n.st^m</i>	(18) <i>d⁴lyk nst</i>	She who has lifted up her h ⁴ a ¹ nds
		to you,
<i>e⁴y¹.tyh.^m</i>	<i>'⁴y¹dyh</i>	you calm in her anguish.
<i>ṯš.bḥ^m bmr̄pwhyt.^m</i>	<i>t{s}šbḥ bmr̄pwhyt(h)</i>	

Cf. BH *hišbiah* "cause to be calm"; Arab. *rufūh* "misfortunes"; XV/5.

<<h. ^m n.st ^m eytyh. ^m >>	<i>h(y) nst 'ydyh</i>	She has lifted up her hands—
<<'t' šb' h'>>	't' šb' h'	'you' ca'lm'
<<nmrpw' hyt'. ^m >>	<i>mrpw' hyt' (h)</i>	her angu'ish'.
(19) m.š.p.ryt.ř'y ^m mr ^m	(19) <i>mr mšpl-ytr'y' (')</i>	Mar humbles the haughty.

Cf. VIII/25.

<i>isk.bhy^m</i>	<i>tsgbhy</i>	May you exalt him
<i>b.[kr^m] [xxxxxxx]'y^m</i>	<i>b[kl] ...'y'</i>	with [all] the ...'s' of

(20) ^{b'} r' .k. ^m	(20) 'lb' k	your 'heart' ;
<i>b.{k→}'k' r. [k^m]</i>	<i>bk' r' [k]</i>	[your] catt'le'
<i>[w]'kr' [m] tb.'y' wt.k. [m]</i>	<i>[w]'kl' t'y' bwtk (X tbywtk)</i>	[and] 'all' your bounty.

Chorus: a credo for the crowd (IX/20-23)

<i>[why]'s' tny'</i>	<i>[wh(w)-y]'s' dny' {-}</i>	[And he will] 'help me'.
<i>'bšr.m^m (21) .rm^m</i>	<i>'bšlm' (21) 'rm</i>	I shall be raised up
		'in safety'.
<i>ytr.^m h' . [rtsyn^m]</i>	<i>ytr h [llrşyn]</i>	He will guard [our] r[ear].
<i>ys.'t' n.rhr' š' s' w</i>	<i>ys' d' n-(')lh-r' š'</i>	The god of R'ash' will
		hel'p' us.
<i>'b'y^p</i>	<i>'b'y' (= 'b'y')</i>	Mar is 'my' father and my
(22) <i>wtry^m mr</i>	(22) <i>wtry/w' dry mr</i>	bull / mighty one.
<i>yř[mn̄mn̄n]'^m</i>	<i>yr[mmn]</i>	He will ra[ise me up].
<i>e'y' [J^m]h.r.n^m</i>	<i>'y' hr-n(y)</i>	Let me 'va'unt
<i>edy' r' [.]'t' . [m]</i>	<i>'dy' rt' (h)</i>	his migh'ty deeds'
<i>[tm̄mn̄.n]</i>	<i>tmn-</i>	[He shelters] (<i>lit.</i> , hides)
<i>[.bt^m] (23) bkw̄</i>	<i>'bd (23) bgw</i>	[those perishing] in the midst
<i>š.'w' . š' . 'w' [.^m]</i>	<i>š' wšw'</i>	of tu'rmoil'.
<i>[ymr^m h.my^m]</i>	<i>[y' mr hmy' (']</i>	[Let the tumultuous crowd say,]
<i>[mn̄l̄mn̄]</i>	<i>(')mn (')mn</i>	[Amen, Amen.]

Col. X

A farmer's prayer for the rising of the Nile (X/1-6)

(1) <i>[[t]]' .b' .b.n.n.^m</i>	(1) <i>(')t' b' -(')bnn</i>	Be go'od', our father,
<i>[[mr^m 'e']]'rš' . s' w</i>	<i>mr 'rš'</i>	Mar of 'Arash',
<i>.ř.s' k' . r' wt' .k.^m</i>	<i>'r(y)s- 'g' l' wt' k</i>	to your 'e'x' il'ed tenant farmer
		(<i>lit.</i> , the tenant farmer
		of your exile).
(2) <i>š.my^g .m̄mtt.h^m</i>	(2) <i>šmy' (/)šmy(n)</i>	You stretched out the heavens,

Cf. Isa 40:22.	'mtht	
mr ^m	mr	Mar,
kṽk.b.n s. 'mt ¹ . ^m	kwkbn s' mt ¹	'you ¹ s'et ¹ the stars in place,
t.t.ṛ. ^m (3) bkr	tdr (3) bkl-	you dwell throughout
r.š.m.t ^m	rš-mt(')	the land of Rash,
.rh.n. ^m	'lhn	our god.
y.ṛ.k.m ^m y.ṛ.m. ^m	y(')r (')gm yrm(w)	Let canal (and) pool rise,
b. (4) k.r.why ^m	b (4) glwhy	(each one) in its waves.
y.ṛm ^m y.ṛ.k.m	yrm y(')r 'gm	Let canal (and) pool rise,
b.k.r.why ^m	bglwhy	(each one) in its waves.
Cf. Exod 7:19, 8:1.		
nhr. ^m	nhr(')	The river is
(5) b.šmṛw.t ^m	(5) bš-mrwt(')	poor in floodwater.
Cf. Syr. rw' "was inundated," used of fields, and the causative 'rwy, used of the Nile supplying water to its fields.		
ym. ^m t.nh.ṛ	ymt-nhr	The river will die
w.ymṛ. ^m	wymr	and it will be bitter.
't ^m yk.t.nw ^m mr ^m	'd yktnw mr	They will become thin again,
		Mar;
(6) y.ktnw .rhṛš. ^{s w}	(6) yktnw 'lh-rš	as thin, god of Rash,
k.psy-t.n.r ^m	kpsy-tnr	as splinters of flint.
Cf. BH p-s-s "shatter (rock)" (Jer 23:29; Hab 3:6); Syr. pšt' "piece."		
Chorus: a credo for the crowd (X/6-8)		
.by ^p wtry ^m mr ^m	'by wtry/w(')dry mr	Mar is my father and my
		bull / mighty one.
yṛmnmn ⁸	yrmmn	He will raise me/us up.
(7) n.yh.r.n ^m	(7) nyhr-n(y)	Let us vaunt
edyṛt. ^m	'dyrt(h)	his mighty deeds.
tmn.n	tmn-	He shelters (<i>lit.</i> , hides)
.bt ^m b.kw	'bd bgw	those perishing in the midst
š.w. ^m š.w. ^m	šwlšw	of turmoil.
ymr ^m (8) h.my ^m	y(')mr (8) hmy(')	Let the tumultuous crowd say,
mnlmn	(')mn (')mn	Amen, Amen.
sp		
A dream about Rash (X/8-13)		
b.h.rm. ^m	bhlm(y)	In my dream,
Cf. Gen 40:9; 41:17.		

<i>e.n. m b.hrm.y m</i>	<i>'n(h) bglmy</i>	I was in my youth;
<i>e.n. m b.rš. s w mt</i>	<i>'n(h) brš mt(')</i>	I was in the land of Rash.
(9) <i>.b.n kry. m</i>	(9) <i>'bn(y) kry(h)</i>	I was building a city,
<i>b.r.š. s w</i>	<i>brš</i>	in Rash
<i>ehyk.m. ' m</i>	<i>'hkym' (X 'hykm')</i> (= <i>'hkymh</i>)	I was <i>erecting it</i> ;
<i>š.mh. m</i>	<i>šmh</i>	its name was
<i>.r m p. m (10) p.yt m</i>	<i>'rpl (10) pyt</i>	Arrapi Pit.

No toponym resembling *'rpl'lp pyt* appears among the four "fortified settlements of the land of Rashi" mentioned in Sargon II's annals: Til-Humba, Dunni-Shamash, Bube, Hamanu (Fuchs, 152, 330). However, in three inscriptions of Sennacherib, there is a longer list including these four cities and many others in the region. In that list, Hamanu is immediately followed by a city named Bit Arrabi (Grayson & Novotny, 153, 180, 197). The same toponym occurs twice in Ashurbanipal's annals. One of the occurrences is in a list that also includes the four cities of Rashi mentioned by Sargon. According to Streck (1:cccxlili n. 2), most of the 21 cities on this list belong to Rashi. That the second component of this toponym is the common noun *arrabu* "dormouse" (rather than the personal name derived from it) seems clear from a second toponym that occurs in the same lists: Akbarina (Ashurbanipal) and its variant Akkabarina (Sennacherib). This toponym, too, is derived from the name of a rodent. If it is from Akk. *akbarulakkabaru*, it means "two jerboas"; if it is from Aram. *'kbr*, the meaning is "mice." In short, Akk. *bīt arrabi* means "home of the dormouse." I suggest that the Akkadian toponym was borrowed into the ancestral language of the Rashans as *arrapi pīt* "dormouse home," with the attributive noun first, as in English. The substitution of /p/ for /b/ in the borrowing is reminiscent of *pty = bty* "houses of" (XI/9), as well as *tphn = tbn* "butchers" (VIII/5) and *dhp = dnb* "gold" (XV/6). It is also reminiscent of Elamite borrowings from Akkadian: *pi-it-ri-tu-ti < bīt-ridūti* and *pi-it-na-ap-pa-he-e < Bīt-Nappāhē* (Reiner, "Elamite," 114). Even so, the language of the Rashans cannot be Elamite, since the latter puts attributive nouns after their head. For the location and importance of this town, see the discussion at XVI/18.

<i>r.š. s w s.m.kt m</i>	<i>rš smkt</i>	Rash was supported;
<i>r.b.n. m</i>	<i>rbn(y)</i>	my lord
<i>s.m.r. m</i>	<i>smr</i>	took care of
<i>.r m (11) p. m p.yt m</i>	<i>'rp (11) pyt</i>	Arrapi Pit.
<i>ymh. m k.r.yh. m</i>	<i>ymh(y) gryh</i>	He would cause its trouble- maker (<i>lit.</i> , instigator) to be beaten
<i>b.styh. m</i>	<i>bsdyh</i>	in its stocks,
<i>yṗ.k. m</i>	<i>ypk(hy)/ypk(hy)</i>	breaking him / bringing

b.š^m (12) r̄wšy^m

bš (12) rwšy

ī.s.t.k.^m

šdk(')

ys. 't.hy^m

ys'dhy

m.rwhy^m

mlwhy

r̄.k.k.why^m

'l k̄kwhy

(13) ītrm^m

(13) dtlm

m̄r̄h̄.b^m

mr(y) ḥb(')

mr^m

ml(')/(')mr

Chorus: a credo for the crowd (X/13-16)

wh.^m ys.t.ny^m

wh(w) ys<'>dny

b.š.rm.^m .r.m^m

bšlm 'rm

ytr̄.^m (14) h̄.rt^m s.y.n.^m

ytr (14) ḥl/r̄l̄syn

ys. 't.ny^m .rh.r̄.š.^{s w}

ys'dny 'lh-rš

n̄nh.khk.^m

nhghg

edȳmt

'tymt(h)

(15) .by^p wt̄r mr^m

(15) 'by wtr(y)/w(')dr(y) mr

ȳr̄m̄n̄.m̄n̄.n^s

yrm̄n̄

eyh.r.n^m

'yhr-n(y)

edȳ.r̄t.^m

'dyrt(h)

t̄mm̄n̄n̄

t̄mn̄-

b.t^m b.kw̄

(')bd bgw

(16) š.w.^m š.w.^m

(16) šwlšw

y.mr^m hymy^m

y(')mr hymy(')

m̄n̄l̄m̄n̄

(')mn̄ (')mn̄

s̄p̄

A prayer for the destruction of Rash's enemies (X/16-20)

mr^m n.p. 'k¹.^m

mr np 'k¹

m̄n̄r̄.š.^{s w}

mn-rš

(17) m̄n̄nk.k.^m

(17) mn-kk

m̄n̄h̄. 'y¹.s^m m̄n̄.k.^m

mn-h̄ 'y¹s mnk

him out

through/for corporal
punishment.

The righteous man

he would help,

escorting him

in the face of his troubles—

him whom the oppression

of the creditor

has filled/embittered.

And he will h<el>p me;

I shall be raised up

in safety.

He will guard our rear.

The god of Rash will

help me.

Let us ponder/imagine

his mysteries (*lit.*, closed

things).

Mar is my father and my

bull / mighty one.

He will raise me/us up.

Let me vaunt

his mighty deeds.

He shelters (*lit.*, hides)

those perishing in the midst

of turmoil.

Let the tumultuous crowd say,

Amen, Amen.

Mar who goes 'out¹

from Rash,

who is like you,

who is more comp¹assi¹onate

than you?

$\overline{mn}\dot{s}.n..^m$ $\text{'ty}^m k.r.y^m$	$m\dot{s}n'(\text{'})$ $(\text{'})^{\text{'}} dy kly$	'Tak ¹ e away, destroy the enemy.
$k.m^m mr^m$	$km mr$	Arise, Mar,
$\text{'ty}^m (18) k.r.^m$	$(\text{'})^{\text{'}} dy (18) kl(y)$	take away, destroy
$\dot{s}.n.n.^m$	$\dot{s}n(\text{'})n (= \dot{s}n'n)$	our enemy,
$m.nryr.k.^m$	$mn-lyr(\text{'})k$	whoever does not fear you,

Cf. the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 135; ANET, 332): "who fells the enemy that does fear her divinity."

$\text{'t}^1 ryb.t.n^m k.\dot{s}w'y.r.^m$	$\text{'d}^1 ly(\text{'})bdn k\dot{s}-w'y l^1 m^1$	'that ¹ the Kassites and Ela ¹ m ¹ ites not destroy us.
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Cf. XV/15, where Elam, the eastern neighbor of Rash(i), is called "the oppressor." The Kassite enemy also lived in Iran. It is remarkable that Assyria is not mentioned here as an enemy. Indeed, the Rashans were apparently fond of a story portraying Sarbanabal = Ashurbanipal in very flattering terms (XVII/4-XXII/9), even though he was probably the very king that deported them from their land! It appears that Rashi had been annexed by Elam between the reigns of Sargon II and Ashurbanipal. The former includes Hamanu in a list of "strongholds of the land of Rashi" (Fuchs, 152, 330); the latter, by contrast, refers to "Hamanu, a royal city of the land of Elam" (Streck 2:318). After the Elamites conquered Rash and desecrated its temple(s), the Rashans beseeched Mar to avenge that act of impiety with his hammer (XV/15). They may well have viewed Ashurbanipal as the hammer of Mar's wrath.

$\text{'t}^1 rp.ny$	$\text{'t}^1 rp(y)-ny-$	May 'you ¹ heal,
$\text{'h}^1 .^m (19) mr^m$	$\text{'h}^1 (w) (19) mr$	'O ¹ Mar,
$k^1 r^1 byk.^m$	$k^1 r^1 byk$	those c ¹ lo ¹ se to you,
$\bar{t}ryb.h/\bar{t}^1 n.^m$	$dlybh n /$ $dly(\text{'})b^1 d^1 n$	that they not <i>be weak</i> . / that they not per ¹ ish ¹ .

For the first interpretation, cf. Syr *b-w-h* "be weak," but cf. also Arab. *b-w-h* "become fatigued," with *h*, not *h*. For the second reading, cf. ' *b-d* in the previous sentence. Paleographically, it is inferior but not impossible.

$\text{'we}^1 .s.b.^{\text{'}} n.^m$	$\text{'w}^1 sb^{\text{'}}-n^1 (y)$	Sate
$\text{'s}^1 n^1 y^m h^1 .^1 n^m$	$\text{'s}^1 n(\text{'})^1 y^1 |hn$	their 'en ¹ emi ¹ es ¹
$kr.^m m$	$kl m(h)$	with all that
(20) $\text{'t}^1 [sb^{\text{'}}]^{\text{'}} n.^m n.^m yk.^m$	(20) $\text{'d}^1 [sb^{\text{'}}](w)^1 nyk$ (X ny ¹ k)	with 'which ¹ your oppressed ones [were sated.]

Col. XI

The bridal chamber for the sacred marriage (XI/1-3)

(1) $\text{'n}^1 [t.r]^1 .^m$	(1) $\text{'n}^1 [dr]^1 m^1 (= 'ndrn)$	A 'wedd ¹ [ing bo]oth
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Cf. Mand. 'nd(i)runa "wedding booth"; Targ. Joel 2:16 'drwn // gnwn.

b.s.n^r b^l [r.]^m bsn^r b^l [r] from lapis 'laz^l [uli]

Cf. XI/9-10; XV/7; "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (Vanstiphout): "And the Gipar of Holy

Inana ... the holy place was [replete with] polished lapis lazuli."

k.mn.m^m kmm erect;

r̄ [[r.m^m]] 'l rm(h) on a height

Cf. Ezek 6:13.

[[r̄]]k.^m ny^m tkln(h)y construct it.

(2) k^r.^l [n.]ny^m (2) g[n]ny My bri[dal ch]amber

Cf. XVI/8.

t.h.t^m .r[s].n^m r̄.Mn̄ tht 'r[z]n rmn under lofty ced[ar]s—

Cf. Ezek 6:13; XVII/2.

tmm.^m h[.][[^rs^l.n]]y^m tm(h) h^rs^lny there, my po^rwer^lful one, is

t.t.^m (3) t̄.t̄k.n[y]^m d^(r)t(y) (3) tt̄k(n)[y] where you shall construct [it],

t̄.n.š.ky^m tnš̄k(h)y (= tnš̄khy) you shall raise it.

Father not old, brothers not frail (XI/3-6)

[er]wy^m t̄sn^m [r]wy d̄sn Satu[rate], invigorate
(lit., oil)

e.b.k[y]^m 'bk[y] you[r] father.

[[e]].b.k.y^m 'bky Your father

(4) s.b^m .k.h.r^m (4) sb <l>khl is a disabled old man,

Cf. sb l' khl in TAD B3.10:17.

r.ehyky^m {l}'hyky your brothers

t̄.k^m t̄.k.n^m dk̄ldk̄n are frail.

e.b.^m 'b(y) My father

r.s.bw̄ r.^m (5) k.h.r^m lsb{w} l (5) khl is not a disabled old
man,

.^rn^l hy '^rn^l hy- my brothers

For nasalization, cf. VI/8.

r.t.k^m t̄.k.m.^m ldk̄ldk̄m (= ldk̄dk̄n) are not frail,

t̄e.b.^m d^rb(y) for my father

k.b.yt^m r̄.k.š.^m kbyt rk̄š is like a stable (full) of
steeds;

(6) e.hy^m (6) 'hy my brothers,

k^r.^l n.š.r̄n̄ knš̄rn̄ like eagles

w.r̄wt.n^m w<'>rwdn̄ and <wi>ld asses.

For the scribe's failure to hear Aram. /'/, cf. VI/9, VIII/8, X/13, XIII/14, XV/15, etc.

A drought in Bethel (XI/6-11)

<i>m.s.k^m n.n.[†]t[†]</i>	<i>mshn-([†])n[†]t[†](h)</i>	"You are poor,
<i>e.hy^m</i>	<i>'hy</i>	my brother.
<i>'r(7)m.^m 'b[†].r̄.t^m</i>	<i>'l(7)m(h) 'b[†]rt</i>	Why has the flow of the
<i>s.b^m nns.k.^m</i>	<i>zb nsk([†])</i>	spring 'va [†] ni shed?"
<i>s.bw</i>	<i>zbw</i>	"They (= the waters) flowed
<i>w̄.e[†].[†]b.t.^m</i>	<i>w'bd(w)</i>	and were lost,
<i>w̄.^m(8) 'b̄r.^m</i>	<i>w(8) 'br</i>	and its flow vanished.
<i>ys.b.^m</i>	<i>zby(h) (X yzb)</i>	
<i>s.b^m e.b.r̄^g</i>	<i>zb b'r (X 'br)</i>	The well flowed,
<i>e.bt^m m.yh.^m</i>	<i>'bd(w) myh</i>	its waters were lost;
<i>brt(9) e.p.yn.^m</i>	<i>blt([†])blt(9) 'pyn</i>	our faces wasted away /
		<i>dried out.</i>
<i>mḥ.ky^m k.r̄y.^m</i>	<i>mḥ(y)k(h)-(h)y k̄ry(h)</i>	Stricken is a city
<i>t̄.p̄t̄yⁿ š.^m m.ry.^m</i>	<i>dpty (= dbty) šn mly(h)</i>	full of ivory houses
Cf. Amos 3:14-15.		
<i>'w[†].ḥr^m</i>	<i>'w[†] ḥr</i>	'and [†] with linen
<i>w.snm^m(10) p.r.^m</i>	<i>wsnm(10) pr</i>	and lapis lazuli
<i>r.k.wyh.^m</i>	<i>lkwyh</i>	on (<i>lit.</i> , belonging to)
		her windows;
<i>k.wyh.^m</i>	<i>kwyh</i>	her windows,
<i>t̄.r̄.k.r[†].r[†]^m</i>	<i>t̄r gl[†]l[†]</i>	a mountain of marb [†] le [†] ,
<i>š.w̄r̄.yh.^m</i>	<i>šwryh</i>	her walls,
<i>(11) p̄r̄.^m s.r.n^m</i>	<i>(11) prlzln</i>	iron plates
Cf. XVII/11.		
<i>w.nḥ.[†]š[†].^m</i>	<i>wnḥ[†]š[†]</i>	and bron [†] ze [†] ."
<i>sp̄</i>		

Psalm 20 in Bethel (XI/11-19)

y.'n.n.^m .HR^g *y'nn YHW(H)^{†DNY}* May the LORD answer us

The Horus sign occurs six times in this column, in a prayer that parallels Ps 20:2-3, 5-6, 8, 10 + Ps 46:10, 12. A glance at the parallel texts reveals that all six occurrences of the Horus sign correspond either to the tetragrammaton or to a pronoun referring to the tetragrammaton. The sign is regularly preceded by an initial Dem. *aleph*, representing an initial Aram. vowel (not an initial Aram. *aleph*, which is represented in the papyrus by Dem. *e*). These facts lead me to suggest that the Horus sign is a non-phonetic representation of the tetragrammaton. If so, we are dealing with a heterogram, i.e., an Egypto-

gram, comparable to the Sumerograms in Akkadian cuneiform, the Akkadograms in Hittite cuneiform, and the Arameograms in the Pahlavi and Parthian scripts. The immediate referent of this Egyptogram is the tetragrammaton, but the initial Demotic *aleph* serves as a phonetic complement for the reading 'dny. This is obviously quite different from the suggestion that the first two signs of .HR⁸ have the phonetic values [y] and [h], respectively—a suggestion that is refuted by overwhelming evidence from the papyrus itself. If our explanation is correct, the papyrus supports the claim of many scholars that the Masoretic reading of the tetragrammaton as 'dny goes back to the early Hellenistic period or even the Persian period. For other uses of the Horus sign, cf. VII/7 (referring to Horus, with the preceding *aleph* belonging to the preceding word); XV/6 and XVI/10 (representing parts of verbal forms; no preceding *aleph*).

<i>b.mtsw̄ryn.</i> ^m	<i>bmšwryn</i>	in our straits;
(12) <i>y.'n.n.</i> ^m <i>e.t.ny</i> ^m	(12) <i>y'nn 'dny</i>	may Adonai answer us
<i>b.mtsw̄ryn.</i> ^m	<i>bmšwryn</i>	in our straits.

As noted by *Midr. Tehillim* (20, 4), followed by David Qimḥi and some moderns, several expressions in Ps 20:2 ("answer ... in time of trouble," "God of Jacob") allude to Gen 35:2-3 ("Jacob said ... let us go up to Bethel that I may make an altar there to the God who answered me in my time of trouble..."). It is this allusion that must have endeared Ps 20 to the priests of Bethel from the very beginning; indeed, Jacob's ties to Bethel appear to be responsible for the presence of another two biblical parallels in our liturgy; cf. XII/1 and XIV/4-5. It is, therefore, ironic that the allusion to Gen 35:2-3 is significantly weakened in our late version of the Bethel prayer.

<i>h.y.kš.t</i> ^m	<i>hy-kšt</i>	O bow
<i>b.š.myn</i> ⁸	<i>bšmyn</i>	in heaven,
(13) <i>s.hr.</i> ^m	(13) <i>shr/zhr</i>	crescent moon, / shine forth;

Cf. XV/14. This clause does not seem to fit the context. It is possible that the prayer, originally recited before battle, was adapted for use at the New Year's festival through the insertion of a reference to the crescent moon. If so, it was recited at night, while awaiting the first crescent of the year or upon sighting it. It is reasonable to assume that the sighting of the crescent made it possible for the sacred marriage ritual to proceed. Aram. *shr* is usually taken to mean "moon," but the original, Proto-West Semitic meaning of **šhr*, "crescent moon" (Kogan, 193), fits the context better (assuming that we are not dealing with the verb *zhr*). Even without *shr*, our text has two words that seem to refer to the moon in general: *sn* (VIII/11,12) and *yrḥ* (XV/12).

<i>š.r.h.</i> ^m <i>īsy.ḫ.k</i> ^m	<i>šlh syrk</i>	send your emissary
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Cf. Isa 57:9.

<i>m̄n̄nk.r</i> ^m <i>e.ḫ.š'.</i> ^{1 s w}	<i>mn-(')gr 'rš</i>	from the temple of Arash,
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<i>w.mnt̄sp.n.^m</i>	<i>wmn-špn</i>	and from Zaphon
(14) <i>.HR̄^g y.s.'t.n.^m</i>	(14) <i>YHW(H)^{'DNY} ys'dn</i>	may the LORD help us.

Cf. Ps 20:3. The association of Zaphon with YHW(H) is anomalous in the context of the papyrus (cf. VII/3 and XII/15) and other extrabiblical sources, all of which associate Zaphon with Baal. It seems that an original Zion was changed to Zaphon in Bethel. In explaining the change, we must take into account the following points: (1) The toponym Zaphon, like Mizpah and Mizpeh, is derived from a noun meaning "lookout point" (*špwn* < *š-p-y*, like *h̄zwn* < *h̄-z-y*) and, thus, could be used of many places (cf. Josh 13:27). (2) In the Roman period, the city of Jerusalem extended to a mountain called *Šwpym* "(mountain of) lookouts" in Hebrew (cf. Num 23:14), Σαφειν and Σκοπος in Greek (Josephus), and Scopus in Latin. (3) The first Gr. name is a transcription of Aram. **Špyn*, which differs from *Špwn* in only one letter. (4) *Šywn*, too, differs from *Špwn* in only one letter. (5) *Špwn* is used as a poetic parallel of *Šywn* in Ps 48:3. (6) The priests of Bethel would not have been willing to mention *Zion* in a prayer.

<i>y.m.t.ne.r.n.^m .HR̄^g</i>	<i>ymtn- (= yntn) 'ln YHW(H)^{'DNY}</i>	May the LORD grant us
<i>k.br.b.n.^m</i>	<i>kblbn</i>	what (<i>lit.</i> , the likes of what) is in our hearts;
<i>y.mt.n.^m (15) e.r.n.^m mr^m</i>	<i>ymtn (= yntn) (15) 'ln mr</i>	may Mar grant us
<i>k.br.b.n.^m</i>	<i>kblbn</i>	what (<i>lit.</i> , the likes of what) is in our hearts.

Cf. *wntn lh yhw klbbh* "(if he pleads,) Yaho will grant what is in his heart" on Tell 'Ajrud Pithos B. Two additional parallels to our prayer from Pithos B are cited below. This clustering of parallels is quite unexpected. It could perhaps be viewed as evidence that an ancestor of XI/11-19 existed in the northern kingdom at the time when Pithos B was produced, i.e., at the end of the ninth century BCE or the beginning of the eighth. That, in turn, would seem to imply that the common ancestor of XI/11-19 and Ps 20 goes back at least to the ninth century.

<i>kr^m y.'ts.t.^m</i>	<i>kl-y'št<n></i>	All <our> plans (<i>lit.</i> , counsels)
Hebrew; contrast Aram. <i>'tt(')</i> "advice" in XVIII/11. See further at XII/6.		
<i>.HR̄^g yh.m.ry^m</i>	<i>YHW(H)^{'DNY} yhmly</i>	the LORD should fulfill.
Cf. Ps 20:5; XIV/7 (<i>m-l-y</i> in the H/' stem).		
<i>yh.mry.HR̄^g</i>	<i>yhmly-YHW(H)^{'DNY}</i>	May the LORD fulfill—
<i>ryh.^m (16) s.r̄.^m e.t.ny^m</i>	<i>lyh (16) sr 'dny</i>	may Adonai not be de- ficient in satisfying—
<i>kr^m m.še.r.b.n.^m</i>	<i>kl mš'l-(l)bn</i>	every request of our hearts.

Cf. Ps 20:6.

<i>.rb.kšt^m</i>	<i>'l-bkšt</i>	Some with the bow,
<i>.rb.h.nt.^m</i>	<i>'l-bhnt</i>	some with the spear;

Cf. Ps 20:8, 46:10.

<i>.ṛ</i>	<i>'r(y)</i>	but (<i>lit.</i> , behold)
(17) <i>e.nh.n.^m</i>	(17) <i>'nhn(h)</i>	as for us—
<i>mr^m y.rḥ.n^{s w}</i>	<i>mr ('y)lhn</i>	Mar is our god;
<i>.ḤR^g yhw</i>	<i>YHW(H)^{'D N Y} yhw</i>	the LORD, Yahoo,
<i>ṛ' ṛ.n.^m</i>	<i>ṛ' rn</i>	our 'bu' ll
<i>'ymn.n.^m</i>	<i>'ymn</i>	is with us.

Cf. Ps 20:8, 46:10, 12; 2 Chr 13:8, 10, 12. For the spelling 'ym, cf. XVI/9. For another possible occurrence of Yahoo, cf. IVA/19. It is unlikely that Dem. *yhw* represents the full tetragrammaton. In normal Demotic, *-w* is (inter alia) the third person plural suffix, believed to have been realized as the vowel [u]. In our papyrus, it is generally used as it is here: at the very end of the word, with no Dem. *aleph* or determinative following it. In that position, it usually renders an Aram. vowel rather than a consonant. What we have here, then, is the apocopated form of the tetragrammaton. It is the form attested at Elephantine, where it is written *Yhw* or *Yhh*. The latter appears to be a vulgar spelling, common in the ostraca but rare in the papyri, with final *h* as a mater for [o]. Further evidence for the use of the form *Yahoo* in Egypt comes from the Greek transcription Ιαω. The latter is not restricted to Egypt, but recent work by Septuagint scholars suggests that it originated there. It and its Demotic Egyptian counterpart are used in magical papyri of the third and fourth centuries CE. More significantly, it is attested already in 4QpapLXXLev^b, dated on paleographic grounds to the first century BCE. In the pre-exilic period, the apocopated form of the tetragrammaton is restricted to personal names. So far as I know, the only exceptions are from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, where the apocopated form occurs once on the stone basin and once (alongside the full form) on Pithos B. These inscribed objects are believed to have been brought there by travelers from Samaria. If so, the apocopated form in our papyrus would seem to point to the northern kingdom. The characterization of Yahoo as "our bull" seems to point in the same direction; cf. V/17. So, too, "as for us—Mar (*lit.*, Lord) is our god" and "the LORD, Yahoo, our bull is with us." These two professions of faith have intriguing parallels in Abijah's address to Jeroboam's troops from the top of Mount Zemaraim (2 Chron 13:8, 10, 12). The address reads like a polemical response to line 17 of our prayer, as if one of the priests of Bethel had just finished reciting our prayer before battle. The idea that Ps 20 was recited before battle is an old one, going back to the medieval Jewish exegetes; Abijah's exhortation hints that

an ancestor of the version in our papyrus was also recited before battle, on behalf of the kings of northern Israel.

y. 'n..n ^m (18) mḥr̄	y'nn (18) mḥr	May the lord of Bethel
r.by.t.r ^m	rb-(b)yt-(')l	answer us on the morrow.

Cf. Ps 20:10; Hatr. *rbyt'* = *rbbyt'* "major domo." VIII/13. The phrase "on the morrow" should be understood in the light of the reference to the crescent moon above. The lord of Bethel will answer the prayer only after the rest of the New Year's rituals are performed later in the night. The answer to the prayer is perhaps the divine blessing uttered at the conclusion of the sacred marriage.

b'r šmyn ^g mr	b'l šmyn mr	May Baal of Heaven Mar
yb.r.k. ^m	ybrk/ybrk(k)	grant a blessing / bless you;

For the second suggestion, cf. *ybrk* "may he bless you" followed by (w)yšmrk "(and) may he keep you" on Pithos B from Tell 'Ajrud and the two amulets from Ketef Hinnom.

r[.h].sy{ { .→ } }t ^m	lh.syd (19) {d}yk	to your pious ones,
(19) tyk. ^m		
b[.]r.k.t.k. ^m	brktk	your blessings.

Cf. Ps 3:9.

sp̄ vacat

Col. XII

We have seen that the second half of col. XI contains a prayer that parallels Ps 20:2-3, 5-6, 8, 10 + Ps 46:10, 12. Now we shall see that Col. XII exhibits two striking parallels to Pentateuchal poetry: a phrase from Jacob's blessing (Gen 49:21) and a clause from the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:11). In addition, it contains at least three Hebraisms. It is difficult to avoid the impression that we are dealing with borrowings from biblical poetry that the Rashans heard in Bethel.

Lambs at Adonai's wedding banquet (XII/1-3)

(1) 'š' .m. 'ny ^m	(1) 'š' m'ny	'H' ear me,
'er' [h.] 's' w' [xxxxxxx]	'l' [h](y) ...	my 'go' [d] ...
[e]. 'm' [.]' r' y ^m š.pr ^m	['] 'mr' y špr	Choice [I] 'amb' s,

Cf. Gen 49:21. The use of a phrase from Jacob's blessing in a prayer to Adonai seems to point to Bethel, especially coming so soon after the phrases "ivory houses," "lord of Bethel," and "Yaho, our bull." Jacob's connections to Bethel (Gen 28:11-22, 31:13, 35:1-8; Hos 12:5) must have made him especially popular there; cf. also XIV/4-5.

k[b][[.]]s. ^m	k[b]s(n)	sh[ee]p,
(2) n.s.b.h. ^m	(2) nzbh	we sacrifice

The root is Hebrew; contrast Aram. *dbh* "sacrifice" in I/17 and II/13-14. See further at XII/6.

<i>r.k.</i> ^m	<i>lk</i>	to you (alone)
<i>b..rh.</i> ^{ʿn¹ s^w}	<i>b'lhⁿ</i>	among gods;
<i>krt.n</i> ^m	<i>k/krtn</i>	our banquet
<i>e.r.k.</i> ^m	<i>'lk</i>	is for you (alone)
<i>m̄nnetery</i> ^m	<i>mn-'d{'}ry</i>	out of (all) the supreme

<i>'m</i> ^m	<i>'m</i>	beings of / from
(3) <i>e.tny</i> ^m <i>r.k.</i> ^m	(3) <i>'dny lk</i>	the chiefs of
<i>m̄nn.tery</i>	<i>mn-'dry-</i> (X <i>d'ry</i>)	the people,
		Adonai, for you (alone)
		out of (all) the supreme
		beings of / from
		the chiefs of
		the 'peo ¹ ple.

<i>'¹.m</i> ^m	<i>'¹m</i>
vacat	

Wine for Adonai at the banquet (XII/4-8)

(4) <i>e.tny</i> ^m	(4) <i>'dny</i>	Adonai,
<i>yb-irk.k.</i> ^m <i>'m</i>	<i>ybrkk 'm(')</i> -	the people bless you;
<i>s.t.r̄.t.</i> ^m <i>š.nt.k.</i> ^m	<i>sdr̄t šntk</i>	your yearly offering
Cf. Akk. <i>sidru</i> "regular offering"; VIII/21.		
<i>n.k.h̄</i> ^m	<i>nkh</i>	we take in hand.
(5) <i>m̄nnk.t</i> ^m	(5) <i>mn-kd(')</i>	From the pitcher
<i>r̄.w.y.r</i> ^m	<i>rwy-(')l(y)</i>	be sated/inebriated,
		my god;
<i>e.p̄.rmy.k.t</i> ^m	<i>'pr(m)-my-gt</i>	I shall fill (it) with the
		juice of the winepress.

Cf. Syr. *prm* "fill up (a jar with new wine)"; XV/4-5.

<i>m.ktr.</i> ^m	<i>mgdl</i>	Tower,
<i>e.b</i> ^m (6) <i>mrh</i> ^{ʿm¹}	<i>'b</i> (6) <i>mrh</i> ^{ʿm¹}	mercif ¹ ul ¹ father,
<i>.HR</i> ^s <i>m.šp.ry</i> ^m	<i>YHW(H)</i> ^{ʾDNY} <i>mšp̄ry</i>	LORD, my benefactor—
<i>š.h.</i> ^m <i>y.yn.</i> ^m	<i>š(y)h yyn</i>	a vat of the finest wine

Cf. Targ. Zech 14:10; *šwh(h)* "pit" in II/9; *yyn* "finest wine" in XVII/16, 18. The spelling of the loanword *yyn* in all three places points to southern Hebrew as its source. Most of the known Canaanite dialects contracted *ay* to *ê* before our texts reached their final form. Forms like *yn* "wine" in Ugaritic (15th-14th century BCE), Northern Hebrew (8th century BCE) and Ammonite (7th century BCE) and *ll/llh* "night" in Phoenician (8th century BCE) and Moabite (9th century BCE) testify to the early contraction of *ay* in those dialects and diminish the likelihood that any of them was the source of our loanword. South-

ern Hebrew, by contrast, never contracted *ay* in fully stressed syllables. In light of the location of Bethel and its history (especially after the conquest of Samaria), it is perhaps not surprising that its Hebrew has this southern feature.

<i>m.s.kw̄</i>	<i>.mzgw</i>	they have poured
<i>b.k.r.n^m</i>	<i>bḡln</i>	in cups,
(7) <i>b.k.r.n.^m b.ḥtyš.n.^m</i>	(7) <i>bḡln {b}ḥtyšn</i>	in silver cups.

Cf. Ugar. *yšk b gl ḥtt yn* "he poured wine into a silver cup." Dem. *ḥt*, used here, means "silver." This is one of the rare instances in which the meaning of a Dem. sign fits the meaning of the Aramaic.

<i>šty .HR^g</i>	<i>šty YHW(H)^{ᶜDNY}</i>	Drink, LORD,
<i>b.t.b.</i>	<i>bṭb-</i>	from the bounty
<i>r.p.^m ṯs.^m</i>	<i>'lp (X l'p) ṯs</i>	of a thousand basins;
(8) <i>ṯwy^m e.tny^m</i>	(8) <i>rwy 'dny</i>	be sated/inebriated, Adonai,
<i>b.tbe.nšy^m</i>	<i>bṭb-'nšy(')</i>	from the bounty of men.

Music at the banquet (XII/8-10)

<i>ykw̄l̄mn ṯr mr^m šwr̄n</i>	<i>ykw̄mn 'l mr šwrn/šw(')rn</i>	Musicians stand in attendance upon Mar:
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Cf. 2 Kgs 16:7, Zech 10:5, m.Taanit 4:8, etc. for dialectal forms of the Hebrew hollow participle with an *ō*, as in Phoenician. And cf. Amos 2:7 for another dialectal form of the Hebrew hollow participle, perhaps from northern Israel, that combines Phoen. *ō* with Aram. *aleph* (beginning a second syllable).

<i>š.rnb.r^m</i>	<i>š(')r-nbl</i>	a player of the harp,
(9) <i>š.r.k.n.ṯ.^m</i>	(9) <i>š(')r-knr</i>	a player of the lyre.
<i>h.š.ṯ.</i>	<i>h(')-šr-</i>	"Here is the music
<i>n.b.^m</i>	<i>nb<l></i>	of the har<p>.
<i>šr k.nṯ.^m ṯstny^m</i>	<i>šr-knr (')ṯ(t)ny</i>	You have caused me to listen to the music of the lyre and (to other) things sweet to my ears
(10) <i>wḥry.yn.^m</i>	(10) <i>wḥlyyn</i>	at the banquets of men."
<i>b.e.t.ny^m</i>	<i>b'dny</i>	
<i>bḡ.ṯ.ty^m e.t.m^m</i>	<i>bḡlkryt (X bḡlkrt) 'dm</i>	

Cf. "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (*COS*, 1:558): "A banquet of sweet things they lay out ... The bard has the lute, ..., the sweet-sounding ALGAR-instruments, and the lyre, which belongs where mankind is gay...."

šp̄ vacat

A prayer to Adonai (XII/11-17)

(11) <i>m̄n.^m b.r.h.n^{s w}</i>	(11) <i>mn b(')lhn</i>	Who among gods,
<i>b.t.m^m .HR^g</i>	<i>b(')dm YHW(H)^{ᶜDNY}</i>	among men, LORD?

\overline{mn}^m $b.r.h.n^{s w}$	mn $b(^{\circ})lhn$	Who among gods,
$b.m.rk.^m$	$bmlk$	among royalty,
$\llbracket br^m \rrbracket$ $m.rk.^m$	$bl/bl' mlk$	(among)/among non-royalty.

Cf. Ugar. *u mlk u bl mlk* "anyone, king or not."

(12) $m.^m$ $k.k.^m$	(12) $m(y)$ kk	Who is like you,
\overline{HR}^g $b.r.h.n^{s w}$	$YHW(H)^{DNY}$ $b(^{\circ})lhn$	LORD, among gods?

Cf. Exod 15:11, borrowed here with minimal Aramaization. The first word of the question, the interrogative pronoun, has retained its Hebrew form; contrast Aram. *mn* "who," twice in the previous line and once in X/17 (*mn kk* "who is like you"). The second word, *kk* "like you," occurs also in II/11 and X/17. It contrasts with both Aramaic *kwtk* and BH *kmwk/kmkh*; however, it makes perfect sense as an analogical formation in a colloquial dialect of ancient Hebrew. Hebrew (unlike other Northwest Semitic languages for which we have data) has an alternation between sing. *k+mw+k* and plur. *k+km*. In Job 12:3, *k+mw+km* exhibits analogical leveling in one direction; it would be surprising if *k+k*, exhibiting analogical leveling in the other direction, did not exist in some ancient Hebrew dialect. See further at XII/6.

\overline{mnn}^s $\bar{r}w.t.ny^m$	$mn-\check{s}wr$ -(X $\check{s}rw$) ($^{\circ}$) $t(y)-ny$	<i>Come from Shur,</i>
Cf. VII/2.		
$n.k.m^m$	nkm	take vengeance
$r.k.ryk.^m$	$lkryk$	for those who call
		upon you,
(13) $^{\circ}m^1 \bar{d}yry$	(13) $^{\circ}m^1 -dyry(^{\circ})$	a peo ¹ ple ¹ dwelling

$by.^m$ n $.k.b.n^m$	byn n $^{\circ}kbn$	among the crooked.
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Cf. Jer 17:9; Syr. *'kbnwt'* "deceit"; but cf. also Ezek 2:6.

$w.t.b^e$ $w.n.ny^m$	wtb e $wnn-(n)y$	And make us strong again,
$r.t.htyk.^m$ \overline{HR}^g	$lhtyk$ $YHW(H)^{DNY}$	beneath you, LORD;
(14) $r.t.htyky^m$	(14) $lhtyky$	beneath you,

$.t.ny^m$	e dny	Adonai,
$t.\bar{r}^m$ $\check{s}.myn^g$	$d(^{\circ})r$ $\check{s}myn$	Resident of Heaven;

Cf. Ps 2:4, 123:1; Dan 4:32.

$k.h.wr.^m$	$khwl(^{\circ})$	like <i>the phoenix</i> ,
\overline{HR}^g	$YHW(H)^{DNY}$	LORD,
$t.\bar{r}^m$ $\check{s}.myn^g$	$d(^{\circ})r$ $\check{s}myn$	Resident of Heaven.
(15) $k\llbracket \cdot \rrbracket r$	(15) $kr(y)-$	Proclaim

$\{\{em^1 \rightarrow\}\}ym \cdot \bar{r}.t.k.^m$ $byn^m \cdot k.b.n^m$ $wt.b^m e.w.n.^1 n^1 y^m$	$'ln (^)ymrtk$ $byn 'kbn$ $wtb 'wn^1 n^1 -(n)y$	your words to us among the crooked; and make 'us' strong again, Baal from Za 'ph' on.
$\bar{b}'r \bar{m}nt\bar{s}^1 p^1 .n^m$ For the syntax, cf. VII/3. (16) $\bar{H}R^1 \bar{s}^1 yb\bar{-}ir.k.^m$	$b'l mn-\bar{s}^1 p^1 n$ (16) $YHW(H)^{DNY} ybrk$	May the LORD grant a blessing. Arise, LORD, to our aid / help us. May Adonai give heed
$k.m^m \bar{H}R^s$ $r/e.yr.n^m$ $y.\check{s}.b\check{w} .t.ny^m$	$km YHW(H)^{DNY}$ $l(^)yln^1 yln$ $y\check{s}(w)bw 'dny$	Hebrew; cf. Prov 1:23 and contrast Aram. <i>tb l-</i> "give heed to" in XIX/16; XX/7. See further at XII/6.
$'r \bar{t}.sr.t.^m$ $mr (17) k.^1 m^m$	$'l \check{s}lt(y)$ $mr (17) k^1 m^1$	to my prayer. Mar, ari 'se'!
$\bar{H}R^s t.n.r.k.^m$ $k.dyy^m t.nt^1 .^1 r.^m$ $mn^1 .^1 t.k.t^m$ $'ym/^1 n^1 k.^1 m^1$	$YHW(H)^{DNY} tn^1 t^1 r-(l)k$ $kdy tntr$ $mn-'tk^1 t(^)' y^1 n^1 k$	LORD, may you pro'te'ct (us), just as you protect your ey'e' from old age / wearing out.

Cf. Ps 6:8.

Col. XIII

A temple whose summit is inaccessible to men (XIII/1-9)

(1) $'b^1 [-ir]yk.nty^m$ $h\{\{y \rightarrow\}\}.wy^m \bar{m}r$ $\bar{m}nkr^m$ $b.-iryk.n.^m$ $eitp.k.ty^m$ (2) $kr^m 'r^1 m.t.$	(1) $'b^1 [r]yk-(^1)nty$ $hwy mr(h)$ $mn-kl$ $brykn$ $'t(y)-pk(d)ty$ (2) $kl rmt-$	'B' [le]ssed are you, O Marah, more than all blessed ones. You have visited all the (inaccessible) heights of the wilderness, (for) you are my queen and you are a hawk (for whom no height is inaccessible);
br^m $.nty^m mr.k.ty^m$ $w.ty^m n.ts^m$	$br(^)$ $'nty mlkty$ $w(^1)ty ns$	

$\overline{mr} \overline{mnr} \cdot \dot{s}^s w$	<i>mr(h) mn-rš</i>	Marah from Rash
(3) $\cdot nty^m$	(3) $\cdot nty$	are you,
$\dot{s} \cdot kr^m \cdot \overline{r} k \cdot r^m$	$\dot{s} gl \cdot l kl(\cdot)$	queen over all.
$\cdot rm \cdot^m t \cdot ky^m$	$\cdot rm(y) tgy(\cdot)$	Raise the crowns (of your temple);
$t \cdot \overline{tns} \cdot k \cdot \overline{w}^1$	$(\cdot) t(y) tnsk\{\cdot \overline{w}^1\}(y)$	it is you that should bring (them) up.
$rhm \cdot t \cdot^m \cdot \overline{r}$	$r\dot{h}mt(y) \cdot l$	(For) you had mercy on
(4) \overline{mnrkr}	(4) $mn-lkl(y)-$	him who did not finish
$\cdot \overline{t}^1 \cdot ky^m \cdot \overline{t} \cdot b \cdot y \cdot t \cdot k \cdot^m$	$\cdot \overline{t}^1 gy(\cdot) dbytk(y)$	the $\cdot cr^1$ owns of your house.
$\overline{ir-hm}$	$r\dot{h}m(h)$	Merciful/Loved one,
$rm\overline{p} \cdot rp \cdot k \cdot^m$	$rm-pr\{p\}k(ky)$	the (inaccessible) summit of your sanctuary

Cf. Akk. *parakku* "dais, sanctuary," Syr. *prk'* "altar, shrine," Mand. *prikia* "(pagan) shrines."

$m \cdot nyn \cdot b \cdot^m$	$mn-ybn(y)$ (X $mn-ynb$)	who can build?
\overline{Mnyb} (5) ny^m	$mn-yb$ (5) ny	Who can build,
$\overline{ir-hm}$	$r\dot{h}m(h)$	merciful/loved one,
$m \cdot kt \cdot r \cdot^m$	$mgdl(\cdot)$	the tower
$\cdot \overline{r} y \cdot t \cdot y \cdot^m$	$\cdot l ydy(h)$	by its side?

Cf. "the temple-tower of Babylon ... which he failed to finish to its very top" (CAD Z/55);

"he built (the temple tower of Borsippa) 42 cubits high, but failed to finish it to its top" (CAD A2/72). Contrast the unfinished tower of Gen 11:4-5. The reference to a temple tower, here and (less clearly) in VIII/19-20, seems to show that our liturgy contains at least some material dating to the time before the Rashans were exiled from their homeland. The temple tower is known from western Iran as well as Mesopotamia. The function of the Rashan temple tower is unknown. Was the sacred marriage ceremony originally performed there, in a bedroom at the top? If so, the instructions to construct a booth for the ceremony on a height under lofty cedars (XI/1-3) would seem to refer to the high places in the vicinity of Bethel, reflecting a later reality.

$n \cdot n \cdot \overline{e}^1 \cdot r\dot{h} \cdot^m$	$nn(\cdot)^{-\cdot \overline{r}^1} r\dot{h}$	Nana, Cow,
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Cf. "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (COS, 1:555): "She likes wandering in the sky, being truly heaven's wild cow."

$kwtr\overline{p} \cdot s \cdot r \cdot k \cdot^m$	$kwt(\cdot)^{-lpslk}$	the niche for your statue
$\{\{b \rightarrow\}\} tb \cdot ny^m$	$tbny$	may you build;
(6) $t \cdot \overline{kr}t^1 \cdot^m$	(6) $t^1 krt^1(y)$	may you $\cdot cr^1$ carve \cdot ,
$\cdot r\dot{t}y$	$\cdot lty\{-\}$	my goddess,
$\dot{s} \cdot bt \cdot^m$	$\dot{s}bt$	the abode

<i>s.ht.t.ky</i> ^m	<i>shdtky</i>	of your testimony.
Cf. Gen 31:47; Targ. Exod 25:16, 21, 40:20.		
<i>sšp snw̄.ry.</i> ^m	<i>s(m)pš snwry(')</i>	The sun, dazzling light,
Cf. BH <i>snwrym</i> "dazzling light, blinding flash" (not "blindness"); IVA/20; VIII/11; XVIII/6.		
<i>k.r̄n.b</i> ^m (7) <i>k.wyk.</i> ^m	<i>k̄rn-b</i> (7) <i>kwyk</i>	radiates through/from your windows,
<i>k.wyk.</i> ^m <i>pr.t.r.</i> ^m	<i>kwyk prt-(')</i> <i>l</i>	your windows, divine Cow,
<i>r̄ b.b.</i> ^m <i>nn.š.</i> ^m	<i>'l bb nš(')</i>	over/onto the gate of the people.
<i>nš̄ y.w.n.</i> ^m	<i>nš(')</i> <i>ywn(')</i>	The people, Dove,
(8) <i>e.nt.r.k.</i> ^m	(8) <i>'ntr-(l)k</i>	I shall guard for you,
<<mt>> <i>rttrt.r.k.</i> ^m	<i>m̄trt-dlt(')</i> - <i>lk</i>	(on) guard duty at the door for you,
<i>p̄.s.b'</i>	<i>p(')</i> <i>sb'</i>	so that I may satiate myself
<i>Mnty.k.</i> ^m	<i>mn-dyyk</i>	from your abundance,
<i>e.rw.</i> ^m <i>ry</i>	<i>'rw(y) ly-</i>	saturate myself,
<i>e.hy</i> ^m	<i>'h<t>y</i>	my si<s>ter,
(9) <i>m̄n.bnwn.t.k.</i> ^m	(9) <i>mn-bnwntk</i>	from your ...s
Cf. IX/11, where we find what may be a variant of this word in the singular.		
<i>b.y.m.</i> ^m	<i>bym(')</i>	in the sea.
The trampling of Nanai's statue in the sack of Rash (XIII/9-17)		
<i>tys.r.k</i> ^m <i>b.mr</i> ^m <i>y.t.</i> ^m	<i>dyslk bmr/bmr<(h)> yd(h)</i>	He that rebels (<i>lit.</i> , raises his hand) against Mar/Mar<ah>—
<i>r̄ k.py</i> ^m <i>n.n</i> ^m	<i>'l kpy nn(')</i>	on Nana's hands
(10) <i>t.r.k</i> ^m	(10) <i>drk</i>	he trampled
<i>wy.hk</i> ^m	<i>wyh<l>k/wyhk</i>	and walked. / and went (away).
Cf. XIV/4-5.		
<i>š.kyt.</i> ^m	<i>šg<r>-yd(h)</i>	He stretc<hed> forth his hand
<i>r̄ ir-ḥm</i>	<i>'l rḥm(h)</i>	against the merciful/ loved one,
<i>r̄ 'ye.r.</i> ^m	<i>'l 'y{' }l(h)</i>	against the one who nourishes.
<i>m̄nkr</i>	<i>mgr-</i>	He threw down

$\bar{t}\check{s}.m.'t^m rn.^m$

(11) $w..rp.t$
 $m.kr\bar{t}r.k^m$

$\overline{mnn}\check{s}.m.'t^m$

$\bar{t}\check{s}.m.'t^m$

$.r\bar{p}.t$

$..t.^m$

$'Imn^1 kr\bar{t}r.k.^m$

(12) $'Imn^1 kr$

$yw.n.^m$

$\overline{Imnkr}.^m knsy^m$

$r.^m n.'ny^1$

$s.b^m$

$n.b.r^m$

Cf. Jer 14:21.

$b'lt$

$n.t.kr\check{s}'.'n^m$

(13) $\bar{h}t n.s.ky^m$

Cf. BH $\bar{h}-t-t$ "be shattered."

$'trkty$

$e.n.\bar{t}.sk.b^m$

$'bh\bar{r}n$

$nh.nt.t.nhy^m$

$k.my^m$

(14) $h'./p^1 r.$

$w.ty$

$\bar{t}nr.mm.n.ky^m$

$n.p.rw.sn^m$

$n.pr^m k.ty\check{s}.n^m$

$byn.m.r^m$ (15) $p.t^m$

$r.hte.r.k.^m$

$'t^m y.k.m^m$

Cf. Isa 33:10, Ps 12:6.

$d(')\check{s}m't ln$

(11) $w'lpt$
 $mgr-drk$

$m\check{s}m't(')$

$d(')\check{s}m't$

$'lpt\{-\}$

$'t(h)$

$'m^1 gr-drk$

(12) $'m^1 gr-$

$ywn(')$

$mgr gnzy$

$lln^1 ny^1$

$(')s(')b$

nbl

$b'lt-$

$ntk-l\check{s}n(h)$

(13) $\bar{h}t nsk(k)y$

$'(l)-drkty$

$'nt(y)-\check{s}kb(h)$

$'bh-(\check{g})ln$

$nhnddnhy$

kmy

(14) $h(w)-'p^1 r(h)-$

$w(')ty-$

$dnrmmnky$

$npl-<'>wzn$

$npl kdy\check{s}n$

$byn(h)-m(')l$ (15) $pt(')$

$rh(t)t-'lk(y)$

$'t(h) ykm$

the one who pro-
claimed to us
and taught.

He threw down,
trampled

the proclaimer
who proclaimed
(and) taught.

He came,
'thre¹ w down, trampled.

He 'thre¹ w down

the Dove,
threw down my

treasure.

Na¹ nai¹

he defiled,

he soiled/dishonored;

Baalat—

he tore out her tongue.

Your metal is shattered;

on my floor

you lie.

Quickly we entered.

We shake it.

Get up,

O Cow,

and come,

that we may exalt you.

Our <str>ength has fallen,

our sacrum has fallen,

the (statue of the) teacher

of wisdom.

I ran to you.

Let it (= the statue) get

up now!

<i>k.m^m</i>	<i>km(y)</i>	Get up,
<i>tr'yt.m^m</i>	<i>tr(y)-(l)-ytm(')</i>	watch over the orphan;
<i>'ry</i>	<i>'ly-</i>	over me,
<i>h.b.b.^m</i>	<i>hbb(h)</i>	<i>foster-mother (lit., aunt)!</i>
Cf. XV/8, 9.		
<i>nsk.t^m (16) ir-hm</i>	<i>nskt (16) rhm(h)</i>	The merciful/loved one
Cf. Isa 40:19, 44:10.		
<i>hwmntsn</i>	<i>hw(h)-mn-tsn</i>	was cast;
<i>m.t^m t.nk.nk.n.^m</i>	<i>mtltnkn{kn}</i>	from metal plates
		it (= the statue) was
		constructed.
<i>nr.krwhy^m</i>	<i>lgrwhy</i>	Its feet
<i>b.s.k^m</i>	<i>bzk</i>	he smashed,
<i>y.t.hb.s.k.^m</i>	<i>ydh-bzk</i>	its hand he smashed.
<i>'r rhm^m</i>	<i>'l rhm(h)</i>	Against the merciful/ loved one
(17) <i>t.^m</i>	(17) <i>(')t(h)</i>	he came;
<i>r.krwhy^m</i>	<i>lgrwhy</i>	its feet
<i>b.s.k^m</i>	<i>bzk</i>	he smashed.
<i>ts.rm.m.n</i>	<i>slm-mn(y)</i>	Appoint an idol-maker
<i>mn̄sw.r.^m</i>	<i>mn-swr</i>	from Tyre.
A watchman for the king, wine for the people (XIII/17-XIV/4)		
<i>mn̄.n.nty^m</i>	<i>mn-(')nty</i>	Who are you?
<i>ety^m</i>	<i>'ty</i>	You are
<i>r̄š.r.r.^m</i>	<i>'lt-šrr(')</i>	the goddess of strength.
<i>mn̄.^m (18) 't̄' syt.t.n.^m</i>	<i>mn (18) šdytn (X šydt)</i>	From our <i>desolation</i>
<i>e.n.h.nry^m</i>	<i>'nh(y)-n(y)-ly</i>	grant me relief.
<i>s.k^m p.r.š.^{s w}</i>	<i>sk(y) prš(y)</i>	Appoint a watchman
<i>'r 'mn̄' rkb^m mrk.^m</i>	<i>'l 'm' rkb mlk(')</i>	over the king's 's' eat.
<i>r̄.š.'p' r^m</i>	<i>rš-'p' r(h)</i>	'C'ow-head,
<i>s.k.n^m (19) s.m^m</i>	<i>sk<y>n / sk(y)-n (19) sm</i>	set watchmen / let us set a watchman
<i>'r krsy</i>	<i>'l krsy(')</i>	over the throne;
<i>'r kr^{w l} sy</i>	<i>'l krlsy(')</i>	over the throne,

Dem. *sy*, used here twice, means "seat." This is one of the rare instances in which the meaning of a Dem. sign agrees with the meaning of an Aramaic word it is used to write. In the four other occurrences of the sign (V/10 [2x], XV/7, 16), there is no such agreement.

$p.r.^{\text{t}} \overline{m} \overline{b.b.r}$
 $n.dyr.n^m$

$pr^{\text{t}} \overline{t} \overline{bbl}$
 $ntyrn$

Cow of Babylon(ia),
guards.

Col. XIV

(1) $\overline{mn}.nty^m$
 $e.ty^m$

(1) $mn-(^{\text{'}})nty/(\text{'})ty$
 $'ty$

Who are you?

$.r.^{\text{g}} \overline{t.n.}^m \overline{k.br.t}^m$

$'ltn \overline{kbrt}(\text{'})$

You are

$r.^{\text{h}} [m] \overline{y}^{\text{'}} \overline{k.}^m$

$r^{\text{h}} [m] \overline{y}^{\text{'}} \overline{k(y)}$

our mighty goddess.

(2) $r.^{\text{'}} \overline{my}^m$

(2) $l^{\text{'}}my$

Your me $r^{\text{'}} [c] \overline{y}^{\text{'}}$

$r.^{\text{'}} \overline{my}^m \overline{k.rh.n}^s \overline{w}$

$l^{\text{'}}my \overline{k'lh}n$

for my people—

the gods—

$k.n.n^{\text{'}} \overline{.n^{\text{'}} n^{\text{'}} y}^m$

$knn(y)-n^{\text{'}} n^{\text{'}} y$

for my people, like

Cf. XIV/8

$yt^{\text{'}} \overline{irw}^{\text{'}} \overline{w}$

$yt^{\text{'}} \overline{rw}^{\text{'}} \overline{w}$

establish, $Na^{\text{'}} n^{\text{'}} ai$.

(3) $t.ny^m \overline{h.mr}^m$

(3) $dny \overline{hmr}$

Let them become $\overline{inebri}^{\text{'}}$ ated

$\overline{Mnrwhy}^m \overline{tr^{\text{'}} w^{\text{'}}} \overline{.nny}$

$mrwhy \overline{tr^{\text{'}} w^{\text{'}}} n-ny$

(with) vats of wine;

may you $\overline{ine}^{\text{'}} \overline{bri}^{\text{'}}$ ate us with

its inebriation.

$\overline{mn}..ty^m$

$mn-^{\text{'}}ty$

Who are you?

$ety^m \overline{.r^{\text{'}} t^{\text{'}}}$

$'ty \overline{r^{\text{'}} t^{\text{'}}}$

You are the godd $\overline{ess}^{\text{'}}$ of

$\overline{sr}^{\text{'}} \overline{.r^{\text{'}}}$

$\overline{sr}^{\text{'}} \overline{r^{\text{'}}}$

streng $\overline{th}^{\text{'}}$.

(4) $\overline{mnts.t.t.n}^m$

(4) $mn-\overline{sd}tn$

From *our desolation*

$e.n.\overline{h.nry}^m$

$\overline{nh(y)-n(y)-ly}$

grant me relief.

$s.k^m \overline{p.rš.}^m$

$sk(y) \overline{prš}$

Appoint a watchman.

Punishment for the desecration of Nanai's temple in Arash (XIV/4-7)

$\overline{r} \overline{t.km.ty}$

$\overline{l} \overline{tkmt}y$

On my (= Nanai's)

back

$\overline{swsyn} (5) \overline{.rkw}$

$swsyn (5) \overline{'lkw} (= \overline{hlkw})$

(enemy) horses *have*

walked;

Cf. Ps 129:3.

$e.n^{\text{'}} \overline{kš.bb.}^{\text{'}} \overline{.kbh.n}^m$

$\overline{n(h)-kšb}(\text{'})-\overline{b'kbhn}$

I am the viper at

their heel.

Cf. Gen 49:17. Jacob's blessing was, no doubt, popular in Bethel; cf. also XII/1.

$\overline{swsyn} \overline{.rkw}$

$swsyn \overline{'lkw} (= \overline{hlkw})$

Horses *have walked*

$\overline{r} \overline{.bt^{\text{'}} \overline{.n}^m}$

$\overline{r} \overline{t} \overline{\{ \overline{'} \} \overline{bt}n(y)}$

$\overline{r} \overline{on}^{\text{'}}$ my belly.

(6) $\overline{bršy}$

(6) $\overline{bršy}$

From (*lit.*, through)

my poison

$s.b.^m$

$\overline{sb(w)}$

they became old;

\overline{ehrw}

$\overline{(t)hlw}$

they became sick

<i>b.h.m.t^m</i>	<i>bhmt(y)</i>	from my venom;
Cf. BH <i>hmt</i> 'kšwb "viper's venom" (Ps 140:4).		
<i>ʿ.t.nw̄</i>	<i>ʿtnw</i>	they became putrid
<i>b.t.b^{ʿt}.^m</i>	<i>bdb{^{ʿt}}<š>(y)</i>	from my bite.
For the first word, cf. Arab. <i>ʿatina</i> "rot, decay, putrefy (skin/hide, in tanning)." Snake venom can cause extreme necrosis, with entire limbs rotting away. For the second word, cf. Syr. <i>dbš</i> "sting (scorpion), bite (snake)"; the scribe misheard [ts] as [t].		
(7) <i>š.īb.rm.^m</i>	(7) <i>št(y)/š(y)t-blm(h)</i>	Drink an <i>antidote!</i> / Apply a <i>tourniquet!</i>

Cf. JBA *blm* "guard, protection"; Syr. *blm* "muzzle, bridle."

<i>h.rrw̄</i>	<i>hllw</i>	Lance (the bite)! / Apply vinegar!
<i>ʿs¹y.mrp^m</i>	<i>ʿs¹y-mrp(ʿly)</i>	ʿPic ¹ k up a remedy!
<i>e.mrmnȳ</i>	<i>ʿml(y)-mny(ʿ)</i>	Fill the vessels
Cf. XI/15 (<i>m-l-y</i> in the H' stem).		
<i>s.m̄</i>	<i>sm</i>	with medicine!
<i>mr^{ʿb}.^{ʿr}m̄t</i>	<i>ml(y)-ʿbl¹mt(ʿ)</i>	Load the <i>ʿanti¹dotel</i> <i>ʿtourn¹iquet</i>
<i>īswyr̄</i>	<i>šwry (X šwyr)</i>	with balm!

For *šry* as medicine, cf. Jer 8:22, 46:11, 51:8.

Marah's crown (XIV/8)

(8) <i>š.nny^m</i>	(8) <i>šnny</i>	Teeth of
<i>ʿt¹.hb^m</i>	<i>ʿd¹hb</i>	ʿg ¹ old
<i>b.ʿt¹.k</i>	<i>b^{ʿt}g(k)</i>	are in your <i>ʿcr¹own</i> ;
<i>kwtr.r</i>	<i>kwtr-(ʿ)l</i>	El's craftsman (<i>lit.</i> , Kothar)
<i>k.n.n.hy^m</i>	<i>knnhy</i>	fashioned it.

For the verb, cf. XIV/2.

Colophon of recto (XIV/8-9)

<i>ʿt¹ty^m</i>	<i>ʿd <k>(h) ʿ(l)ydy</i>	Up to <here>, (done) by me / at my direction,
-------------------------------------	--------------------------------	--

Cf. *ʿd kh/k* "up to here" used to mark the end of dreams in Dan 7:28 and 4QEnGiants^b; and Heb. *ʿd hnh* "up to here," used to begin colophons at the end of Jer 51 (Targ. *ʿd hk*) and Ben Sira 51. For *kh* "here" in the papyrus, cf. XV/12, 13, 17, 18; XIX/12, 17; XX/5; XXI/4. For the spelling of the word for "on" without *l*, reflecting total assimilation, cf. VI/14; XIII/13, 15. For *ʿl ydy* "at the direction of," cf. 1 Chron 25:6b. For *ʿl ydy* "by" modifying a passive participle, cf. m.Tamid 3:7 = m.Middot 4:2.

ⲉⲛⲓⲙⲛ

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

Amon (*lit.*, I, Amon),

For the syntax—an independent pronoun inserted between a suffixed pronoun and its appositive—cf. 1 Kgs 1:26; Dan 8:1; Ezr 7:21; Targ. Jud 5:7; *TAD* B2.2:8; B2.10:12; Murab. 18:3; etc. The personal name—belonging to the priest or (less likely) the scribe—is written with the Demotic sign for the Egyptian god Amun, whose name appears in Coptic and Greek as Amoun. This divine name is also attested in the Bible (Amon), but the biblical name most relevant here is the personal name Amon, derived from the word for "nurse." Unlike the fourteen other occurrences of the *Imn* sign on the recto, the one here is only a tiny bit shorter than the god determinative. The unusual relative height, like the unusual absolute height in VIII/19, serves to call attention to the name.

(9) \overline{nb}

(9) *nb(w)*

May Nebo

yt^ⲉ.

y^ⲉd(y)- (X yd^ⲉ)

bring to an end (*lit.*, cause to pass)

ⲉⲙⲓⲥⲙⲙ

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

the time of desolation (of Rash and its people).

Cf. y^ⲉdh hswk' [m]n 'r'' "darkness shall pass [fr]om the earth" in 4Q Test. Levi.

Short line, short column, end of recto.

Col. XV

Invitations to the bridal chamber, rewards for its construction (XV/1-9)

(1) $\overline{\check{s}b}$ ⲉⲧⲏⲓ ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

(1) $\check{s}b$ ⲉⲧⲏⲓ ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

Spend the 'night' in 'my' abo^ⲉde^ⲉ.

y.s.k. ⲙⲏ k

ysk|k-

Ashim-Bethel 'Nebo' will bring you up.

ⲥⲃⲏⲧⲣ ⲉⲧⲏⲓ

ⲥⲥⲙⲏⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

Into the enclosure (*lit.*, circumvallation) of

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

bšr

[your] good lady

m.r.t.[k. ⲙⲏ] tb. ⲙⲏ

mrt[k] tb<t>(')

'you' have entered.

ⲏⲧⲣⲉⲧⲏⲓ

ḡl^ⲉt^ⲉ

'With goats'

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

you have come before

(2) k.t.m.t ⲙⲏ

(2) kdm̄t

your intimate (fem.),

Mnk.r.t.k. ⲙⲏ

mkr̄tk

man.

b.rnš

br-nš

Cf. Mic 6:6, Ps 95:2.

ⲓⲥⲙ

t̄sm

She will grant

ⲥⲧⲣⲉⲧⲏⲓⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

šl^ⲉm^ⲉ d^ⲉd^ⲉl̄mn

peace^ⲉ that is everlasting.

b.yrh

byrh-

In the month

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

of 'Epiph',

ⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛⲏⲏⲙⲛ

nb(w) yd̄krk

Nebo will remember you;

<i>b.ḥšby^m (3) ys.m.k^m</i>	<i>bḥšby(h) (3) ysmk</i>	he will put you in his thoughts (<i>lit.</i> , thought)
<i>ṛ.rḥ.^m wbrImn</i>	<i>l'rg(ʿ) wbrmn</i>	on earth and on high.
Cf. Ps 78:69. Epiph is the month of Mar-Nebo's sacred marriage, when his bed is brought down and placed in a newly-built house "concealed, with stars" (VIII/12-13). And the person that Nebo remembers is the one that builds for him a "nest among golden stars" (XV/5-7). Cf. CAD E/318: "the bed of Nabû will be prepared, Nabû will enter the bedroom"; "on the fourth day of Ajaru, Nabû and Tašmētu enter the bedroom (for the hierogamy)."		
<i>b.-iryk.th.t.t^m</i>	<i>bryk-(ʿ)t(h)-hdd</i>	Blessed are you, Hadad;
<i>h.tb.irk^m</i>	<i>hd-brk(h)</i>	Had, with a blessing
<i>k.dyy.r^m</i>	<i>kdy-(ʿ)l</i>	worthy of / fit for El.
<i>b.-iryk.nty^m</i>	<i>bryk-(ʿ)nty</i>	Blessed are you,
<i>bʿr š.myn^g</i>	<i>bʿl šmyn</i>	Baal of Heaven.
<i>t.mk^m (4) ḥ.s.n.ky^m</i>	<i>tmk (4) ḥsnky</i>	The holder of your fort
<i>.rpp.^m</i>	<i>ʿlp(ʿ)</i>	is the Bull,
<i>nb ʿnʿ .t.r.ky^m</i>	<i>nb(w) ʿnʿ trky</i>	Nebo is your ʿguʿard,
<i>ʿp.tʿ rḫ</i>	<i>ʿpdʿ ry</i>	ʿPidʿrai is
<i>kšwr.ky^m š.r.r^m</i>	<i>gšwrky šrr(ʿ)</i>	your sturdy beam.
<i>b.ʿrb^m</i>	<i>bʿ(l)-rb(ʿ)</i>	Great Baal!
Cf. Off. Aram. (Cilicia) <i>bʿlsmyn rbʿ</i> "great Baal of Heaven."		
<i>h.t.n^m k.t.rš.^m</i>	<i>ht(y)-n(y) k(d)-trš</i>	Tip a pitcher of must,
<i>(5) wʿm.^m š.t.</i>	<i>(5) wʿm(y) št(y){-}</i>	and drink with me.
Cf. Gen 24:14; XII/5.		
<i>bt^m b.y.ty</i>	<i>bt byty</i>	Spend the night in my house;
<i>eitn.^m š.k.p^m</i>	<i>ʿt(y)-n(y) škp(ʿ)</i>	come to the threshold,
<i>ḥʿ.r.ʿn.^m</i>	<i>ḡʿlʿ-n(y)</i>	enʿterʿ.
<i>š.wty^m</i>	<i>šwty</i>	I have made the bed.
Cf. Syr. <i>šwy</i> "make a bed," <i>tšwytʿ</i> "bed"; Targ. Aram. (Onq., etc.) <i>šywy</i> "bed."		
<i>ṛ.t.ky^m</i>	<i>ʿl(y) dky(ʿ)</i>	Come up, pure one
<i>mnnš.bḥ.bky^m</i>	<i>mšbh(y)-bkky</i>	who calms me in my troubles.
Cf. IX/18; X/12.		
<i>.rp.^m</i>	<i>ʿlp(ʿ)</i>	Bull,
<i>btkrky^m</i>	<i>bdkrky</i>	in your memory
<i>(6) mn.n.tš.b.ky^m</i>	<i>(6) mn-tšbky</i>	whom do you leave?

$\overline{t}Hr$	$th(w)r$	(Whom) do you regard
Cf. Syr. $h-w-r$ "regard."		
$b.t.k.r.nhy^m$	$bdkrn\{h\}<k>y$	in <you>r mind,
\overline{nb}	$nb(w)$	Nebo?
Cf. XV/2-3.		
$k.ny^m b.y.^m$	kyn (X kny) $by(n)$	A nest among
$kwk.b.n^m \overline{t}.hp$	$kwbkn ddhp-$ (= $ddhb$)	golden stars
$'w^1 ysymn.ky^m$	$(h)'w^1 ysymnky$	he (who would be remembered) sets (for) you.

This is a poetic reference to the building of the chamber for the sacred marriage on a high mountain; cf. VIII/12, XI/1-3. Cf. also Obad 4.

(7) $b.hrt.s.^m$	(7) $bhrs$	Into gold,
$\overline{sy}.r^m$	$sy' l$	divine Sheep,
$'<<y>>.<<\overline{i}>>^1 \overline{irwsw}$	$'yt^1 rws w$	'let' the goldbeaters
$\overline{trws.n.}^m$	$trwsn$	'b' eat
\overline{snbr}^m	$snbr$ (= $snpr$)	lapis lazuli.

Cf. JBA $t-r-\dot{s}/t-r-s$ "beat down (a coin with a mallet)"; Syr. $t-s-s$ (D) "beat out metal"; Aram. ts "foil, plate (of beaten metal); XIII/16. Ancient gold artifacts, inlaid with lapis lazuli, have been found in Iran, Assyria, and Egypt. For the use of lapis lazuli in the sacred bed chamber, cf. XI/1.

$e.ryb.s.^m s.ky^m$	$'ly-bz(h) sgy(h)$	My god, much plunder
$n.\{k \rightarrow\}hk.t^m$	$nhgt$	I have carried off:
$ent.r.k.^m$	$'nt(n)-lk$	I shall give you
(8) $ksp.^m$	(8) $ksp(')$	the silver;
$yw\dot{w}spr.k.^m \overline{t}.h.b^m$	$ywsp-lk dhb(')$	the gold will accrue to you.
$n.\overline{dyy.}^m$	nty	Turn aside;
$'mh\bar{b}e.b.y.^m$	$'m h\bar{b}'by$	with the <i>foster-fathers</i> (<i>lit.</i> , uncles) of
\overline{tm}	$(y)tm(')$	the orphan,

Cf. XIII/15, where the collocation of $hbb(h)$ with ytm "orphan" is unambiguous. Orphans without a living parent were raised by a relative (Est 2:7)—probably an uncle or aunt in most cases. It is possible that $hbb/h\bar{b}'b$ is derived from $'h d'b$ "father's brother" (cf. $e = '$ in the occurrence here) or from $'h bb$ "id." (cf. Syr. bb' "father," Mand. $baba$ "id.") through compounding (cf. $'h 'b > 'h'b > 'hb$, attested already in the name Ahab = $A-ha-ab-bu$) and apheresis (widely attested in our text). That our word was originally unrelated to $hbyb$ "dear" (< $*h-b-b$) is clear from the pharyngeal $*h$ of the latter. After the

merger of *h with *h, the two words may have become connected via a folk etymology; cf. BH *dwd* "uncle; beloved."

$\overline{Mnr.r.ny}^m$	<i>mlly-ny</i>	Speak (saying):
<i>rmm.^m mr.^m .r.^m</i>	<i>rmm(w) mr 'l</i>	"Exalt Mar El,
$\overline{tnt.nwr.}^m$	<i>tntnw-l(h)</i>	may you ascribe to him
(9) \overline{rm}	(9) <i>rm{-}</i>	supremacy."
$y.rmwn.ny^m$	<i>yr<m>mwyny</i>	They exal<t> me (saying):
$k.m.n\dot{t}.tn..r.^m$	<i>kmn-ttn-'l</i>	"To whom would you
		liken El,
$byn\dot{h}.\bar{b}.by.^m$	<i>byn h\dot{b}by</i>	among <i>foster-fathers</i> (<i>lit.</i> ,
		uncles) of
\overline{tm}^1	(y) \overline{tm}^1 (?)	the 'orphan'?"
Feeding the gods according to one's means (XV/9-12)		
$s.\dot{h}t.^m$	<i>sh\dot{t}</i>	She/You (= Nanai, the Dove?)
		spoke (saying):
$s.rk.^m .ry.^m$	<i>slk 'ly</i>	Come up to me.
$k.rb.^m$ (10) $\overline{ry w.s.bky}^m$	<i>krb</i> (10) <i>'ly wšbky/wšbky</i>	(Poor man,) come near to me
		and leave / bring near
		to me and my dove(s)
$m.^m ywny.\overline{wn}$	<i>m'(y) ywnywn</i>	a paltry portion (<i>lit.</i> , entrails
		of a baby dove)
Cf. Lev 5:7, 12:8; b.Shabbat 142b; XVI/6.		
$k.rb.^m \overline{ry w.\dot{s}.b.ky}^m$	<i>krb 'ly wšbky/wšbky</i>	(Rich man,) come near to me
		and leave / bring near
		to me and my dove(s)
$mn^1 th^1 n.^m$	<i>mn^1 t-h^1 n</i>	gene'rous' / grac'ious' porti'on's
		(<i>lit.</i> , portions of favor/grace),
$\overline{mniš.p.r}^m$	<i>mnt-špr</i>	handsome portions (<i>lit.</i> , portions
		of beauty).
Cf. XII/1.		
$\overline{btk}^1 m nšn^g$	$\overline{btk-d}^1 lšn$	'On' an ivory 'tray',
(11) $eyty \overline{r p.p.t.r}^m$	(11) <i>'yty 'l ptr'</i>	bring to the table
$t.br.^m m.rk.^m$	<i>dbl/dbr mlk'</i>	of Bel, the king /
		of the King's son
		(= Nebo son of Bel)
$b.ty.^m$	<i>bty'</i>	the ducks,
Cf. Syr. <i>bṭ'</i> "duck."		
$b.ty.^m$	<i>bty'</i>	the ducks

<i>m. m syMn r šn</i>	<i>mlsymn 'l šn{-}</i>	placed on ivory.
<i>e.b.s m b.ty m</i>	<i>'bs bty(')</i>	Stuff the ducks
<i>b.trw.t m</i>	<i>btrwd</i>	with a spoon,
(12) <i>rbhmr m</i>	(12) <i>rb(y)-hmr(')</i>	make the wine abundant,
<i>'sr m t.hn m</i>	<i>'sr dh(')</i>	increase the fat tenfold!

Jackal and hare: a parable (XV/12-13)

Cf. Aesop's "Hare and Fox."

<i>t' r t' r</i>	<i>t'l(') t'l(')-</i>	Jackal, jackal!
<i>k m b.inp{{y}}y^fk</i>	<i>k(h) b'nyk-</i>	Here, in front of you

After an unsuccessful attempt to write *y* on the kollema, the scribe skipped a space and wrote

another *y*.

<i>irnb m</i>	<i>'rnb</i>	is a hare!
<i>knsr m ty.r m h. m</i>	<i>gnsr(') dyrlh(')</i>	Moon-howler,

Cf. Syr. *gswr* "howling (wolf), bellowing"; *gansār* < **gassār*.

<i>t' r. m</i>	<i>t'l(')</i>	jackal!
<i>št m</i>	<i>št</i>	Rove,
<i>p.k m er'yn m</i>	<i>pk 'r<m>- 'yn</i>	go out and look!
(13) <i>š.tn m</i>	(13) <i>št-n(y)</i>	Rove
<i>mnnbr m ty.. m</i>	<i>mn-nblly{'}</i>	away from my carcass!
<i>irnb</i>	<i>'rnb(')-</i>	Hare!
<i>kīs.t.k m īs.t m</i>	<i>k(h)-š(')dk š(')d</i>	Here, a hunter is hunting you

<i>mnnhrts m</i>	<i>mn-hrs</i>	assiduously,
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Cf. *mn* used to form adverbials in Late Western Aramaic; VIII/7.

<i>m^r. ' hryty.n m</i>	<i>mhr-ydyn</i>	with skillful hands.
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The Elamite jackal in Rash's temples: anguished questions (XV/13-17)

<i>hyl m</i>	<i>hyl</i>	The force of
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Here and elsewhere in this section, we find the Dem. *l*-sign, an *r* with a small added stroke.

It is used accurately, albeit inconsistently, for Aram. *l*. The introduction of this sign comes at the beginning of the verso, on the heels of the colophon of the recto. I leave it to paleographers to determine whether we are dealing with a new scribe (at least in this section) or a gap of some years.

<i>nīwr.r m</i>	<i>nīwr/twr-(')l</i>	the divine guard/bull
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Cf. Ugar. *tr il* "the bull II"; IVB/10.

<i>hyl.k m</i>	<i>hylk</i>	is your force,
(14) <i>.HR</i>	(14) <i>YHW(H)^{YDN Y}</i>	LORD.
<i>š.bytr^s</i>	<i>'š(m)-byt-(')l</i>	Ashim-Bethel,

<i>h̄yr^m</i>	<i>h̄yl</i>	the force of
<i>n̄twr̄y.l^m</i>	<i>ntwry/twry-(^o)l</i>	the divine guards/bulls
<i>h̄yl.k^m</i>	<i>h̄ylk</i>	is your force;

Cf. Dan 7:14 for the syntax of this clause.

<i>ḥ¹.ḥ¹mt¹.k^m</i>	<i>ḥmt¹lk-</i>	your 'venom'
<i>k.t¹n.n.n^m</i>	<i>k¹t¹nnn</i>	is like that of 'se'rpents.

Cf. Deut 32:33; Ps 58:5; VI/11; XIV/6.

<i>kšt.k^m b.š.myn^g</i>	<i>kšt^k bšmyn</i>	Your bow in heaven
<i>etmr̄^m t̄¹t̄¹eh̄.^m</i>	<i>'t(h)-mr t¹t¹{'}h̄(y)</i>	you, Mar, should 'sho'tot;

Cf. BH *t-h-y* (D) "shoot (bow)."

(15) <i>nkt^m .šbytl^g</i>	(15) <i>ngd(h) 'š(m)-byt-(^o)l</i>	draw it, Ashim-Bethel,
<i>b.y.by.k^m</i>	<i>b(^o)ybyk</i>	at your foes.
<i>h̄sn̄y</i>	<i>h̄sny</i>	My mighty one,
<i>ty^m t̄b^m p̄tyš^k^m</i>	<i>ty|t̄b ptyš^k</i>	let your hammer do good:
<i>ḥ¹e¹h̄yl.^m</i>	<i>ḥ¹h̄yl(h)</i>	'make' it fall

<i>r.ylm^m</i>	<i><sup>l-ylm</i>	<sup>on Elam,
<i>t¹rm^m</i>	<i>t¹lm(^o)</i>	the 'opp'ressor.

Cf. *h-w-l* "fall devastatingly (upon/in)" in the official targumim, used often of divine wrath, but used of a weapon in Ezek 30:4 and Hos 11:6. In the latter occurrence, it renders BH *h-w-l* "id.," as it does in 2 Sam 3:29 and Jer 23:19. For the historical background of this plea for vengeance, see the discussion at X/18.

<i>h̄sn̄y</i>	<i>h̄sny</i>	My mighty one,
<i>tyt̄b^m (16) k.tny^m</i>	<i>tyt̄b (16) ktny</i>	let my linen do good:
<i>k.tny^m</i>	<i>ktny</i>	let my linen
<i>b.mš^m k.bk^m yk.r̄b.^m</i>	<i>bmš^kkbk yk̄rb</i>	touch your couch.
<i>lmyñs̄y ms.nyk^m</i>	<i>lm(h)-ynsy msnyk</i>	Why does your
		enemy carry (it) off?
<i>bl¹iw-k¹^m y¹h¹.^m 'ry^m</i>	<i>bl¹'y¹k y¹h¹'ly</i>	(Why does he) 'l'ift up
		your <i>curta</i> 'ins',

Cf. JBA *bl* "curtain." If this word is borrowed from Greek, its appearance here may well have implications for the dating of our papyrus.

<i>y.hš^k^m</i>	<i>yhš^k (= yhš^k)</i>	pick up (and)
(17) <i>yt^m eyml^m</i>	(17) <i>yd(h) 'ymly (= ymly)</i>	fill his hand
<i>r̄.pt^m r̄ knk.n^m</i>	<i>rpd(h) 'l knkn</i>	with coverlet and cask,

Cf. BH 'l "on top of, in addition to, together with," e.g., Gen 32:12.

<i>mnpk.^m</i>	<i>mnpk</i>	taking (them) out
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$\overline{Mntrkwrš}^m$	$mn-(')trk wrš$	from your shrine and
Cf. VI/13.		Rash?
$e.nbš$	$'n bš(')$	Where is the evil
\overline{llhsyt}^m	$dlhzyt/dlhzyt(y)$	that you/I have not seen?!
Jackal and hare: a parable (XV/17-19)		
$\overline{t'r t'r}$	$t'l(') t'l(')-$	Jackal, jackal!
$'k^m 'b^1 \overline{inpy}^f k^m$	$'k^1(h) 'b^1 'npyk$	'Here', 'in' front of you
(18) \overline{irnb}^m	(18) $'rnb$	is a hare!
$knsr^m \overline{ty.r} <<h.>>^m$	$gnsr(') \overline{dyrh}(')$	Moon-howler,
$\overline{t'r}^m$	$t'l(')$	jackal!
$'š^1 .t^m$	$'š^1 t$	'R'ove,
$pk^m \overline{e.r}^f yn^m$	$pk 'r < m > -'yn$	go out and look!
$\overline{š.t.n}^m$	$št-n(y)$	Rove
\overline{mnbrty}^m	$mn-(n)blty$	away from my carcass!
\overline{irnb}	$'rnb(')$	Hare!
$\overline{kīsk}^m \overline{īs.t}^m$	$k(h)-š(') < d > k š(')d$	Here, a hunter is hunting you
\overline{Mnhrts}^m	$mn-hrš$	assiduously,
(19) $\overline{mhrydyn}^m$	(19) $mhr-ydyn$	with skillful hands.
vacat		

Col. XVI

The Ninevite jackal in Babylon (XVI/1)

(1) $[s.mt].^m \overline{r}$	(1) $[smt] 'l$	[You have placed] upon
$\overline{br} <<r>>^m$	$bl\{l\}$	<Ba>bylon
$'s^1 [br.]tky$	$'s^1 [bl]tky$	your 'bu' [rden]s,
$b\{\{n \rightarrow\}\}n.[[n^m]][.w.^m]$	$bnn['w]$	Nine[veh].

Cf. XVII/4-XXII/9, tied to this section by the content and by the mangling of two famous toponyms. Contrast VII/4-6, where the names of Babylon, Borsippa, and their respective temples are quite well preserved. Is this evidence that the verso is later than the recto?

Immigrants from Judah, Samaria, and Jerusalem (XVI/1-6)

$[b]tr^t y^m 'yny^m$	$[b]tr^t y^m 'yny$	[With] my (own) two eyes
$k.^1 y^1 [s]^1 m^1 (2) s[.]ky^m ty^m$	$g^1 y^1 [s](') (2) skylty$	I watched the tr'oo' [p]—
$\overline{nš}$	$nš(')$	the members (<i>lit.</i> , people) of
$s[y^t]^m$	$s[y^t]$	a b[and] of
$\overline{š.m}^m \overline{r}[[r]][.]^1 y^1 .n^m$	$\overline{šmlr}\{r\}^1 y^1 n$	Samari'an's
$\overline{kšt}^m$	$gšt$	approached / sounded out
$\overline{b.mrmrk}[[.]^m$	$bmr(y)-mlk(')$	my lord, the king.

(3) \overline{mn} .¹ n¹
.¹ t¹ hrm.^m
 \overline{mn} .n[.^m] m.mrrk.^m

(3) mn- / mn-(¹)¹ n¹-
'¹ t¹ (h)-glm(¹)
mn / mn-(¹)n mmlk

"Who / From where
are y¹ou¹, lad?
Who is your spokesman? /

e.[[n]] \overline{Mn} ¹ y¹ hwt.ty
ehy^m
 \overline{mn} š.mry[[n]].^m (4) ñm¹ yt¹

'n(h)-mn-¹ y¹ hwd-(¹)ty
'hy
mn-šmryn (4) m¹ yt¹ (h){-}

From where is your
accent (*lit.*, speech)?
"I come from ¹J¹udah,
my brother
has been br¹ought¹ from
Samaria,
and now
someone ¹is¹ bring¹ing¹
up
my sister
from J¹er¹usalem."

pk¹t^m
etm¹ m¹ sk¹ m¹

pk¹t
'dm¹ m¹ sk

"Enter, lad;
we will give you lodging.
A kab of ¹wh¹ eat
carry
on (*lit.*, with) your
sho¹ul¹ der,
boy;
the plants
with everything (else)
we will carry (for you).
On your table
will be placed
lar¹ge b¹owls—
from every
paltry portion (that
you sow and plant),
large bowls (of food);
and from every mina,
handsome portions.

eh¹ty^m
my.<<¹ir¹>>wš.rm¹.¹ m¹

'hty
my¹ r¹ wšlm

Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XII.i.1 s.7; *Letter of Aristeas*, 12-14.

h.rrk.^m hrm.^m
e.nh.n.n^m (5) erh.k.^m
k.b¹ h¹ mtm
s.^m
b.k.¹ t¹ pk^m

gl-lk glm(¹)
'nhn(h)-n (5) 'rhk
kb¹ h¹ mtm (= hntn)
s(y)
bk¹ t¹ pk

yrt^m
nt¹.^m
'mkr^m
nys^m
(6) 'r p̄ptwrk^m
ys.m

yld
nt¹(¹)
'm-kl(¹)
nys(y) / nsy (X nys)
(6) 'l ptwrk
y(t)sm

y¹k¹.nt
wmnkr^m
m'ywnywn^m

(¹)y¹g¹nt(¹){-}
wmn-kl
m'(y)-ywnywn

Cf. XV/10.

yknt^m
wmnkr^m mnn.^m
mnš.pr^m

(¹)ygent(¹)
wmn-kl mn(h)
mnt-špr

Cf. XV/10.

The sacred marriage ceremony (XVI/7-19)

(7) nn.^m

(7) nn(¹)

Nana,

.t'y^m eynt' .ly^m *'t'y 'ynt(t)(y)/'y¹* *y'o'u are my wife.*

Cf. *'nh 'ntt zy byl mlk'* "I am the wife of King Bel" (KAI no. 264).

mnt.t^m s.wry *mtt-zwly(')* *The bed of reeds*

'h¹.tw *(')'h¹tw* *they have 'put' down,*

Cf. Syr. zL' "reed"; V/9; "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" (Vanstiphout): "The people of Aratta ... they shall remove the crowns of the sweet reeds, and for Inana ... they shall heap them up in piles in the courtyard of the Eana."

nhrybsm.^m *nhry-bsm* *perfumed fragrances*

r.mneh_hr^r .k'y^m *lmn{' }hr<y>'k'y* *for 'you' r nostril<s>.*

Cf. V/9, XVII/3; "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (COS, 1:558): "On New Year's Day ... a bed [has] been set up for Milady. Halfa-straw they have been purifying with cedar perfume, have been putting it on that bed for Miladay."

(8) *.rtn^t 'x¹ nsy^m Mn^rw^t.* (8) *'ltn-tnsy mlw(y)t(')-* *The escort will carry*
our goddess

'r'ykrky^m *'l¹-ykrky* *'to' your dear one;*

s.brk.n^m *sblkn* *your porter crew,*

.rykr^m *'l-ykr(')* *to the dear one.*

Cf. "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (Vanstiphout)": "May then the mace-bearers (?) of the great shrine escort you to the Gipar." For *sbl*, cf. 2 Chr 2:17.

bk.n.nky^m *bgnnky* *In your bridal chamber*

š.r^m k.mr^m *š(')r kmr* *a priest sings./:*

(9) *nny* (9) *nny* *Nanai,*

.rykrb^m *'ly-krb* *bring near to me*

spewtky^m *sp{' }wtky* *your lips.*

't¹rn *'t¹rn-* *We 'dw'elled (here)*

b.mt('k¹ .n^m *b('k¹ dmn (X bmdkn)* *in the 'mo'ring;*

ntr *ndr* *let us dwell (here*

again)

brmš.^m *brmš(')* *in the evening.*

Cf. Mand. *bkadmin ... ubramšia* "in the morning ... and in the evening"

rmšt^m 'y^r m¹ k^m *rmšt 'y^r m¹ k* *I have spent time in the*
evening wi'th¹ you.

For the spelling 'ym, cf. XI/17.

(10) *.p_hrm.^m b^Hr* (10) *'p-g_lm(') b_hr(')* *The chosen lad too*

et.^m *'t(h)* *has come.*

y_rm¹ š¹ .k^m kr^m *yr^m 'š¹ k kl* *A sound keeps you awake*
in the 'evening';

b. 'e¹ trⁿ *b('¹) trⁿ* *into our 'sh'rine,*

<i>m.ḥryty^m</i>	<i>mḥryty</i>	my sweet,
<i>Mn.t^m</i>	<i>mn-(')t(y)</i>	who is coming?
vacat		
(11) <i>yṛ.ms̄k^m nbṛȳ</i>	(11) <i>yrmš̄k <kl> nbly(')</i>	<A sound of> harps keeps you awake in the evening;

<i>b.kbr^m</i>	<i>bḵbr(')</i>	in the grave
<i>ṭsb^{ʿ, 1} m</i>	<i>dsb(y)</i>	of my ancestor,
<i>nȳ</i>	<i>'ny</i>	a dirge.

Cf. Targ. Jer 9:19; Targ. Mic 2:4.

<i>ʿy¹ ṛmš̄.k^m kr^m knṛȳ</i>	<i>ʿy¹ rmš̄k ḵl knry(')</i>	A sound of lyres ʿfromʼ
<i>ʿmn¹ ḵb<<r>>^m</i>	<i>ʿmn¹ -ḵbr(')</i>	the grave keep ʿsʼ you awake in the evening.

Cf. Isa 65:3-4.

(12) <i>ir-ḥmtȳ</i>	(12) <i>rḥmty</i>	My beloved,
<i>h.r.k^m</i>	<i>ḡl-(l)kl</i>	enter
	<i>ḡl(y)-<l>k(y)</i>	
<i>tr^{ʿ, 1} m</i>	<i>tr^{ʿ, 1} (')</i>	the entra ʿnce ʼ

Cf. XX/8 (also XVI/4).

<i>b.byṭ.n^m</i>	<i>bbytn</i>	into our house.
<i>bpwym^m</i>	<i>bpwym(y)</i>	With my mouth,

This form has two Dem. vowel-letters (*w* and *y*) for one vowel. One possible explanation is that *wy* is a digraph rendering the vowel [ö], a vowel with the tongue position of [e] and the lip-rounding of [o]. If so, *wy* may be compared to the digraph *oe*, still acceptable in German as a substitute for *ö* under certain circumstances. It may also be compared to the rendering of long [ü] as [yu] in English borrowings from French, such as *pure*. In the Aramaic word for "in/with my mouth," /e/ could have developed an allophone [ö] through partial assimilation to the three bilabial consonants that surround it. It could have subsequently developed further in Eastern Aramaic, leading to a merger with /o/ or /u/. See the discussion at VI/3.

<i>š.kr^m ṭmrn̄</i>	<i>šḡl dmrn</i>	consort of our lord,
<i>yš.k.ʿe¹ k^m</i>	<i>(')yš̄k{ʿʼ}k</i>	let me kiss you.
(13) <i>ʿw¹ .sr^m e.n^m</i>	(13) <i>ʿw¹ (')zl ʿn(h)</i>	ʿAndʼ I go
<i>whr^m</i>	<i>wḡl</i>	and enter.
<i>b.ʿn¹ m nh̄ry^m</i>	<i>bʿn¹ |{n}ḥry</i>	In my nostrils
<i>tʿrb^m</i>	<i>tʿrb</i>	it is pleasing;
<i>ēitnh̄r^m</i>	<i>ʿt(y)-n(y)-ḡl(y)</i>	Come, enter

s.tr^m *m.*^m *b $\bar{s}m$* *str*([']) *mlbsm*([']) the perfumed hideaway.
Cf. "Dumuzi and Inanna" (*ANET*, 640): "He will sprinkle cypress oil on the ground, he whose dwelling is fragrant."

(14) *yš.k*^m *ybk*^m *'r \bar{r} by \bar{t} .*^m (14) *yšklyb*{[']}*k* {*k*}*'l-rbyd* The LORD, Bethel /
 $\bar{H}R$ bytr^s *YHW(H)*^{'DNY} *by \bar{t} -*(['])*l* The LORD of Bethel
will cause you to lie
on a bedspread
'r rirkmn^m *.r*^m *'l r $\bar{k}mn$ 'l* El, on embroidered covers.

Cf. "The Sacred Marriage of Iddin-Dagan and Inanna" (*COS*, 1:558): "A bed has been set up for Milady. Halfa-straw they have been purifying with cedar perfume, have been putting it on that bed for Miladay. Over it a bedspread has been pulled straight for her, a bedspread of heart's delight to make the bed comfortable."

b $\bar{s}mwh$ y^m *b $\bar{s}mwh$ y* In his heavens,
(15) *y.br \bar{k}* ^m *mr*^m *$\bar{m}nrš.$* ^{s w} (15) *ybrk mr mn-rš* Mar from Rash blesses;
mr^m *\bar{b} -ir<<'k'>>.*^m *mr br 'k' (h)* Mar, a bless 'ing'
.tm^m *bytr*^s *kd \bar{m} by \bar{t} -*(['])*l* before Bethel
 *\bar{t} '*t*^m *\bar{t} '*r*¹ .*'r*¹*m*^m* *d'd d' l' 'l' m*¹ that is everlast 'ing':*

If the second sign of the second word really is a miswritten *r*, the phrase must be a combination of *d'd 'lm* "that is everlasting" (cf. XV/2) and *dl'lm* "id."

(16) *.h.*^m *$\bar{t}m\bar{r}$* (16) *'hlt(y)-mr(h)* "My sister, Marah—
b-iryk.nt^m *bryk-*(['])*nt(y)* blessed are you,
hw \bar{y} ^m *. $\bar{r}hmr.tn$* ^m *hw \bar{y} 'rh-mrtn* O Cow, our lady."
b-iryk.nt^m *bryk-*(['])*nt(h)* "Blessed are you,
hw^m (17) *h.t*^m *hw* (17) *hd* O Had,
 \bar{b} -irk^m *brk(h)* with a blessing
kdyy.r^m *kd \bar{y} -*(['])*l* worthy of / fit for El.
b-iryk.nty^m *bryk-*(['])*nty* Blessed are you,
b \bar{s} myn^s *b'(l)-šmyn* Baal of Heaven."

The spelling of the name of Baal of Heaven without *l*, reflecting total assimilation, is attested in Hatran, Palmyrene, Nabatean, Syriac, and (outside of Aramaic) Punic and Lihyanite; cf. XV/4.

*b.n.*¹ *n*¹ ^m *bn(y)-'n*¹ (y) "Rebuild,
etmm.^m *'dm* man,
(18) *.r*^m *\bar{p}* (18) *'rlp-* Arrapi.
irkrt^m *'rk-l(y)t(h)* An ill-fated (*lit.*,

<i>eb.ny^m</i>	{'} <i>bny</i>	cursed) land (Rash)
<i>kryt^m np.rm^m</i>	<i>kryt npln</i>	rebuild,
' <i>bn¹y</i>	' <i>bn¹y-</i>	a city of ruins (Arrapi)
' <i>ryt^m</i>	' <i>l-yd</i>	'rebui ¹ ld;
<i>r.^m hmb.n.n^m</i>	<i>llhmbn{n}</i>	by the side
(19) <i>.rk^m rb.^m</i>	(19) ' <i>rk rb(h)</i>	of Hamban,
		(rebuild) a great land.

I originally identified *hmbn* with the land known to the Assyrians as Hamban (also Hanban, Habban, Bit Hamban, etc.), on the border between Iran and Iraq. This identification was based on the assumption that '*rp/*'*lp* = Ellipi, a land that appears to have been a neighbor of both Bit Hamban and Rashi. However, now it seems more likely to me that *hmbn* is Hamanu (originally a stronghold of Rashi and subsequently "a royal city of Elam") and that '*rp/*'*lp* is the town of Bit Arrabi (see further at X/9-11). The latter comes immediately after the former in Sennacherib's annals (Grayson & Novotny, 153, 180, 197), hinting that Bit Arrabi was, indeed, situated "by the side of" Hamanu, the major city in the area. The mention of Bit Arrabi in the blessing bestowed by Mar from Rash after the sacred marriage seems to imply that his temple was located there. For '*l yd* "by the side of," cf. XIII/5.

<i>h.yr^m</i>	<i>hy(y){l}</i>	Keep alive
<i>r.^m nm¹y¹skn^m</i>	<i>llm¹y¹skn^m</i>	the p ¹ a ¹ uper;
<i>b[rk]¹ m¹</i>	<i>b[rk]</i>	bl[ess]
<i>[e]tmmk^m</i>	<i>[']dm mk</i>	the poor [m]an."

As in Sumer, the climax of the sacred marriage ceremony is the bestowal of a blessing upon the king, his land, and his people.

sp

Col. XVII

A plea for compassion uttered at a propitious moment (XVII/1-4)

(1) <i>eyr¹ t¹</i>	(1) ' <i>y-¹l¹t¹(y)-</i>	"Woe," ' <i>I¹</i> lamented,
' <i>yr¹[.hm]¹ mrk.^m</i>	' <i>yr¹[hm] mlk(?)</i>	"' <i>May¹</i> the King (= Baal of Heaven) be ' <i>mer¹</i> [ciful] (to Rash and its people), and may he have pit ¹ y ¹ ."

Cf. Zech 1:12; Ps 102:14.

wyhm<< r¹>>^m

wyhm¹l¹

Cf. 2 Chron 36:15; Arab. *haluma* "he was forbearing, clement"; "show mercy to your city Babylon" at the beginning of the ritual for the New Year's festival at Babylon (Thureau-Dangin, 130; ANET, 331).

<i>etyt.^m t.n^m</i>	' <i>tyt tn(h)</i>	I came here;
<i>m.^m n¹[.]s¹k^m</i>	<i>ml¹ns¹k / ml¹ns¹k(h)</i>	t ¹ ru ¹ ly,

(2) \overline{hnn} . ^m $\text{'k}^1 \text{st}^m$ $\overline{\text{'r}} \text{k.nty}^m$	(2) $hns^1 k^1 t$ (X $hnkst$) 'l gnty	I was brought ¹ up ¹ to my garden.
Cf. Isa 1:29; 65:3; 66:17; Palm. (Temple of Baalshamin) $gnt^1 \text{'lym}$ "the sacred garden."		
$b.smt\bar{y}^m$	$bsmt\bar{y}$	I perfumed
rhy	rhy	my scent
$by^m \ll \text{'n}^1 \gg e.rsn^m$	$byl^1 \text{'n}^1 \text{'rzn}$	amo ¹ ng ¹ cedars;
Cf. XI/2.		
$\check{s}.rrty^m$	$\check{s}rrty$	I played music
(3) $\overline{\text{'r}} \text{k}^1 \text{n}^1 \bar{\text{r}}$	(3) $\text{'l k}^1 \text{n}^1 \text{r}$	on a l ¹ y ¹ re;
hty^m	(¹) $h(t)ty$	I put down
$b\bar{s}m$	bsm	perfume.
Cf. V/9, XVI/17.		
$\overline{\text{'b}} \text{'r} \check{s}myn^g$	$b^1 \check{s}myn$	Baal of Heaven (Baalshamin)
$srk.^m$	slk	came up,
$\text{'r}.^m$	$\text{'l}(h)$	ascended
$.rs.ky^m$	'l-sky	to my bower.
(4) $eyrt^1 y^1 m$	(4) $\text{'y-}(\text{'})lt^1 y^1$	"Woe," I lamented,
$\text{'t}\bar{y}^1 yre.\bar{r}b.^m$	$\text{'t}^1 yr(h)\text{'rb}(y)$	"show much ¹ comp ¹ assion."
Cf. Palm. $rhmn^1 wtyr^1$ "the merciful and compassionate (god)" < Akk. $r\bar{e}m\bar{e}n\hat{u} \text{taj}\bar{a}ru$ "id."		
$eye.rty^m$	$\text{'y-}^1 lty$	"Woe," I lamented,
$yrr.t\{\{r\rightarrow\}\}^m$	$yllt$	I wailed.

A Tale of Two Brothers in Two Cities (XVII/4-XXII/9)

I prepared a full philological commentary on this story and a detailed discussion of its historicity and date of composition in the eighties. I hope to revise and publish some of this material in the future.

A scene of devastation setting the stage for a tragic story (XVII/4-5)

$b.ts.n^m b.n..\dot{w}^m$	$b\check{s}n \text{bn}\langle n \rangle w(h)$	Ni<ne>veh is (nothing but) swamps; / There are swamps in Ni<ne>veh;
Cf. Nah 2:9; Targ. Isa 14:23.		
(5) $\text{tyn}^1 \text{'m}^1 [h]^1 \text{'w}^1$	(5) $\text{tyn-}[h]^1 \text{'w}^1 (h)$	it has [tur] ¹ ned ¹ into mud.
$\text{'i}m.^m$	$\text{'<d>-}(\text{'})dm(h)$	Dow<n to> the ground
$m.^m \text{kr}.^m \ll \text{'t}^1 \gg$	$m\check{l}gr^1 \text{'t}^1 \text{-}$	it has been razed (<i>lit.</i> , thrown down).
Cf. Ps 89:45.		

The fate of each brother foreshadowed at birth (XVII/5-13)

$\check{s}nt.^m \text{t}yr\bar{t}^m \text{nim}\bar{r}.n^m$	$\check{s}nt(\text{'}) \text{d}yld \text{mrn}$	The year in which was
--	--	-----------------------

<i>mrk. m</i> (6) <i>sr m</i> 'b ¹ .n.br ^m	<i>mlk(')</i> (6) <i>sr</i> 'b ¹ nbl	born our lord, King Sar 'ba ¹ nabal,
Cf. Σαρδαναπαλλος < Aššur-ban-aplu in Gk. sources.		
<i>.rk m</i> h.wt ^m šrMn	'rk(') hwt šlmn	the land was prosperous
Cf. "in my years there was fullness to overflowing" in Ashurbanipal's annals.		
<i>k.in. m</i> ts.rȳ	ktn(') sry(')	the thin, <i>the split</i>
'b. m	'b(h)	grew thick.
Cf. "the lean grow fat" in a letter to Ashurbanipal extolling his reign.		
(7) <i>k.br m</i> t̄ir'.why ^m	(7) <i>gbr tr'</i> why	A man would find
y.š.kh ^m	yškh	its gatekeepers
<i>b.šrm m</i> h.yn ^m	bšlm hyn	in good health
Cf. Off. Aram. šlm whyn "good health." (and be told):		
<i>eh. m</i> 'e ¹ .nt ^m	'h(y) 'Y ¹ nt(h)	" 'Y ¹ ou, my brother,
A vocative phrase, as in 'htnw 't "you, our sister" (Gen 24:60); aḥī̄ atta "you, my brother" (Amarna); bēlī̄̄ atta "you, my lord, (in good health enter Babylon)" (OB letter).		
(8) <i>t̄r. 't. m</i> h.r. rky ^m	(8) <i>tr'</i> (')-d(') ḡl lky	enter this gate.
Cf. XVI/4, 12.		
<i>m̄nnbytn m</i>	<i>mn-bytn</i>	From our house,
<i>n. m</i> s. ^h b	<i>nlsb-</i> {ḡ}	we shall fetch (<i>lit.</i> , take)
<i>rky m</i> p.ts. m	<i>lky p̄t</i>	bread for you
Cf. Gen 18:5 (with Targ. Onq.); 1 Kgs 17:10-11 (with Targ. Jon.); VIII/4. This rendering of postvocalic /t/ may reflect the onset of spirantization in Western Aramaic; cf. XX/15.		
(9) <i>w̄kry's. m</i>	(9) <i>w'</i> kly-'z	and I shall roast a goat;
'r k.m ^m rky ^m š.m.k.n ^m	'l gm(r) lky šmkn	on charcoal, onions for you."
<i>y.<<w>>Mn</i>	<i>ywmn</i>	(Then came) days
<i>t̄r. m</i> h.w.w. m	<i>dl'</i> hww	that had not been,
(10) <i>š.n..n m</i>	(10) <i>šnn</i>	years
<i>t̄rp.kw</i>	<i>dl'</i> pkw	that had not come around.
<i>šnt. m</i> dyyrt ^m	<i>šnt'</i> dyld	The year in which was born
<i>m.r.n. m</i> e.h.n. m	<i>mrn</i> 'hn	our lord, our brother,
<i>sr. m</i> (11) <i>m̄nky m</i>	<i>sr</i> (11) <i>mgy</i>	Sarmuge,
Cf. Gk. (Berossus) Σαμμυγης, Σαμογης < Akk. Šamaš-šum-ukīn. Our passage appears to imply that he was younger than Ashurbanipal—contradicting the testimony of Esarhad-don's physician as well as other, less explicit, evidence.		
<i>.rk m</i> h.w ^m n.h.š.n ^m	'rk(') hw(h) nhšn	the earth was (like) bronze plates,

šm.y{ { 'n¹ → } } .^m *tprs.rn*^m *šmy*(¹) *dprzln* the heavens, (as though) of
iron plates,

Cf. Lev 26:19; Deut 28:23; Jer 20:14. In Esarhaddon's vassal treaties (*ANET*, 539), this is one of the curses called forth upon those who violate their oath of loyalty to Ashurbanipal. Šamaš-šum-ukīn was obliged to take such an oath by his grandmother after Esarhaddon's death, and he violated it. Thus, it is quite appropriate that our text should associate that curse with him.

'pṛ.^m (12) *t.m.*¹ ^m1 *'pr* (12) (¹)*dm*(*h*) the soil,

Cf. Gen 2:7; Job 5:6; Dan 12:2.

b.^m *b.š.*^m *blbš*(*w*)/*bl*<*y*>*bš*(*w*) in a bad/<a>rid state,
šmy.^g *šmy*(¹) the heavens,

r
bnḥ.r^m *bnḥr*(*w*)/*bmḥr*(*w*) in a state of emaciation/
drought.

The *r* written above the *b* may well be misplaced, since an *r* is missing after the *b* in the next word.

*k.bīr*¹.*why*^m *yškḥ*^m *gb*<*r*>-*tr*¹*why* *yškḥ* A ma<n> would find
its gatekeepers

(13) *ḥt* *bḥt* (13) *ḥd*(¹) *bḥd*(¹) very greatly
yštḥkn^m *yštḥkn* in distress /
in need of food
(and be told):

nt.^m *tr*¹.*t.*^m *ndlnt*(*y*) <*mn*>-*tr*¹(¹)-*d*(¹) "Get/Turn away <from>
this gate."

Cf. "(At that time) there was famine (*sunḫu*) and distress in the land, mother would not open the door to daughter" (NB document).

hyṯspnhy^m *h*(*w*)-*yšpnhy* They (*lit.*, he) would be (as)
wary of him

k.r.rn.^m *k*(¹)*lln* as (they would be of) spies.

Sarmuge sent to Babylonia as governor to collect tribute (XVII/13-18)

¹*y*¹.*Mn* ¹*y*¹ *mn* (Then came) ¹*da*¹ *ys*

(14) *trhw.w.n*^m (14) *dlhwwn* that had not been,

š.n.n^m *šnn* years

trp.kw *dl*(¹)*pkw* that had not come around.

mrk.^m *mlk*(¹) The king

'nwymr^m *'n*(*h*)-*w*(¹)*ymr*/*wy*(¹)*mr* spoke up and said,

wylmnrr.^m *wymll* addressing

ʿr ¹ . ^m (15) sr. ^m [mn̄]ky ^m	ʿl ¹ (15) srl[m]gy	Sar[mu]ge:
ysr ^m r.k ⁸	(¹)y ^z l lk	"Go
m̄nnmt ^m	mn-mt	to (!) the land of
br̄br	b{l}bl	Babylonia.
ekr̄w r̄hm ¹ h ^m ₁	ʿklw lhm ¹ h ¹	Eat ʿits ¹ bread
ʿk ¹ .ʿt̄ ¹ r ^m	ʿkt ¹ l(y)	(as good) ʿas la ¹ mb
eš ¹ t ¹ . ^m (16) h̄mr. ^m	ʿš ¹ t ¹ (y) (16) h̄mr(h)	Dri ¹ nk ¹ its wine
k.y.yn. ^m	kyyn	(as good) as the finest
Qoh 9:7		imported wine.
ebt ^m	ʿ(t)bt<l>	<i>Devo<te> yourself</i>
ʿr̄ t̄bt̄y	ʿl (¹)t̄bt̄y(h)	to its payment
m̄nnt. ^m t ^m	mndt(¹)	of tribute
.r[^m e.] ¹ t̄t̄ ¹ .r ^m	ʿl [¹]ʿt ¹ r	to [A]ʿssy ¹ ria."
sr ^m (17) m̄wky[^m]	sr (17) m̄wgy	Sarmuge
s.r ¹ . ¹ m	(¹)z ^l	went
ʿr ¹ .mt ^m	ʿl ¹ mt	ʿto ¹ the land of
b.br	bbl	Babylonia.
ʿe ¹ kr̄w r.h̄m. ^m	ʿ ¹ klw lhm(h)	He (!) ʿa ¹ te its bread
k[.t̄r ^m]	k[t̄l](y)	(as good) as [<i>lamb</i>].
[e] ¹ š. ¹ t. ^m (18) h̄.mr ^m	[¹]ʿš ¹ t(h) (18) h̄mr(h)	He [d]ʿra ¹ nk its wine
ky ^y n ¹ [^m]	kyy ¹ n ¹	(as good) as the finest
		import ¹ ed wine ¹ .
e.btr ^m	ʿ(t)bt̄l	He <i>devoted himself</i>
ʿr̄ t̄[b]w̄ ¹ m̄ ¹ ʿt̄h ^m ₁	ʿl (¹)t̄[b]w̄ ¹ t̄h ¹	to ʿits ¹ p[ay]me ¹ nt ¹
M̄nt. ¹ t. ¹ [^m]	mnd ¹ t ¹ (¹)	of tribu ¹ te ¹
[.r ^m e] ¹ t̄w̄ ¹ [r ^m]	[¹] [¹]ʿtw ¹ [r]	[to] [A]ʿssy ¹ [ria].

Cf. Eg. Aram. (Saqqāra) *mndt' htb* "pay tribute" and BH *hšyb mn̄hh' škr* "id.," e.g., 2 Kgs 17:3, where the recipient of the tribute is an Assyrian king. Aram. *mndt'* is, of course, derived from Akk. *mandattu*, which refers to a specific type of compulsory tribute delivered annually, as an act of homage, by emissaries called *šērāni* from subjugated cities and countries, who, in return, were treated to meals and presented with rich garments and other gifts. Although the continuation of the story suggests that it was precisely this type of tribute that the author had in mind, there is no evidence that Šamaš-šum-ukīn's Babylonia was subject to *mandattu* in this strict sense of the term. There *is* talk of a *biltu* borne by the citizens of Babylon in Ashurbanipal's letter to them (ABL 301), but *biltu* in that context, although formerly under-

stood in the sense of "tribute," is nowadays taken to mean "charge, onus" (CAD B/230-31).

Col. XVIII

A defiant message from Sarmuge's emissaries (XVIII/1-4)

(1) $y<<w>>.\overline{Mn}$	(1) $ywmn$	(Then came) days
$\bar{t}r[h.]^{\prime}w^{\prime}.w.n^m$	$dl[h]^{\prime}w^{\prime}wn$	that had not [b]^{\prime}e^{\prime}en,
$\check{s}.n.n^m$	$\check{s}nn$	years
$\bar{t}rp.kw$	$dl(^{\prime})pkw$	that had not come around.
$\bar{t}s.r.y.^m np.kw$	$\check{s}ry(^{\prime}) npkw$	The emissaries went out
$\overline{Mnb.r.}$	$mn-bl$	from <Ba>bylon
(2) $^{\prime}t^m hnh.rw$	(2) $^{\prime}d hnglw$	until they were ushered
$.b.n.n.^m$	$^{\prime}bnn<^{\prime}w>(h)$	into Nineveh.

Cf. "he sent the inhabitants of Babylon ... to Nineveh before me" in the account of this episode in Ashurbanipal's annals.

$.wwe.n.^m \overline{mnnht}^m$	$^{\prime}ww\{^{\prime}\}n mnht(^{\prime})$	They craved rest
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Cf. BH $^{\prime}w-y$ "long for, crave."

$\bar{p}Mn\check{s}.b.^m$	$pm\check{s}b(^{\prime})$	and satiation,
$b.r\check{s}.^m$	$br\check{s}(^{\prime})$	(but) first of all,
(3) $kdyynthn^m$	(3) $ky\{n\}thn$	their letter:
$\overline{Mnsr.}^m \overline{mnky}^m$	$mn-srlmgy$	"From Sarmuge
$^{\prime}r sr^m bn.br$	$^{\prime}l srlbnbl$	to Sarbanabal.

The order of the elements in the address formulae of Aramaic letters is highly significant, the more important party coming first irrespective of whether he is the sender or the addressee. Thus, the formula "to Y from X" is used in letters to a superior (or to a peer, showing that this is the "unmarked" order), while "from X to Y" is used in letters to an inferior. The use of the former variant here underlines Sarmuge's claim to superiority over (or, at least, parity with) his brother.

$e.n^m mrk.^m$	$^{\prime}n(h) mlk(^{\prime})$	I am the king
$\overline{Mnb.br}$	$mn-bbl$	of (!) / in (!) Babylon,
(4) $w.nt^m$	(4) $w(^{\prime})nt(h)$	and you are
ph^m	$ph/ph(h)$	the/a governor
$b.n..w.^m$	$bn<n>w(\check{h})$	of/in Ni<ne>veh.

In his cuneiform letters to Ashurbanipal, Šamaš-šum-ukīn addresses him as "the king, my brother."

$\bar{n}\bar{s}y r.^m \overline{mnnt.}^m t^m$	$sy / nsy l(y) mndlt(^{\prime})$	Pay tribute to me!
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Cf. 2 Sam 8:2, 6.

$rme.prk^m y.kr.k.^m$	$lm(h)-^{\prime}plg ykr-(l)k$	Why should I do homage
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to you?"

Cf. y.Sheḳalim (II, 47a): *mh 't plyg lyh ykr* "why should you do homage to it (= the idol)?"

The emissaries imprisoned and released (XVIII/5-15)

(5) <i>mrk. m h.mṛ. m</i>	(5) <i>mlk(') hmr</i>	The king became angry
<i>'r ṯsyry. m</i>	<i>'l syry(')</i>	at the emissaries.

Cf. *mlk' hmr 'lyk* "the king became angry at you" (*Ahīkar* 47) and, for the velar *h* of the verb, Arab. *'ahmara li-* "he felt resentment towards."

<i>yh.tw</i>	<i>yḥtw</i>	"Let them be brought down
<i>mnb{{t→}}yt m e.k.ry. m</i>	<i>mn-byt 'kly(')/</i>	from the dining hall, /
	<i>kl'y(') (X 'kly)</i>	to (!) the dungeon,
<i>.w (6) mn̄n.y. m</i>	<i>{'}w (6) mnyn</i>	allotted
<i>rḥm wmy n m</i>	<i>lhm wmy n</i>	bread and water."

Cf. 1 Kgs 22:27.

<i>inr sṣp̄ t.nḥ m</i>	<i>'nr-s(m)pš-dnḥ</i>	The sun shone (and) rose.
<i>t.wrt.n m 't' r.y m syk. m</i>	<i>twrt n(') 't' ly(n) (')syk</i>	The general sent up
		'ser' wants
(7) <i>mhyk.r m</i>	(7) <i>mhykl(')/</i>	to (!) the palace /
	<i>mhykl(h)</i>	from his palace.
<i>mnr̄t m m.rn̄</i>	<i>mlt mrn</i>	"The word of our lord
<i>'r mrk. m</i>	<i>'l mlk(')</i>	to the king:
<i>mṛ. m mr.kn m šm. 'm</i>	<i>mr(') mlkn šm'</i>	'Lord of kings, hear!

Cf. Jer 37:20; Dan 2:47. The use of the title *mr(') mlkn* by Sarbanabal's *turtān* agrees with the use of *bēl šarrāni bēlīja* "lord of kings, my lord" by Bēl-ibni—who is believed by some to have held the rank of *turtān*—throughout his correspondence with Ashurbanipal. That this agreement is not likely to be accidental is clear from the distribution of *bēl šarrāni (bēlīja)* among the 173 letters to King Ashurbanipal that I examined. That title appears one or more times in at least 90% of the letters from Bēl-ibni (19 out of 21—the other two are broken) but in only 5% of the letters from other writers. It may be noted, by way of contrast, that the title *šar matāti bēlīja/bēlīni* "king of lands my/our lord" occurs in over 30% of the letters from writers other than Bēl-ibni. And, of course, the short title *šarruli bēlī(ja)/bēlīni* "the king, my/our lord" appears in 95% of those letters.

(8) <i>mny.my</i>	(8) <i>mn-ymy-</i>	From the days of
<i>e.eb.k. m</i>	<i>'{' }bk</i>	your father,
Cf. Ezr 9:7; Dan 5:11.		
<i>m̄nny.my m</i>	<i>mn-ymy</i>	from the days of
<i>b.hy m e.b.ky m</i>	<i>(')bhy 'bky</i>	your father's fathers,

$\bar{t}s\{\{r\rightarrow\}\}.\bar{r}\bar{n}$	$\bar{s}rn$	emissaries
(9) $\bar{t}rk.r\bar{w}$	(9) $l(\bar{t})tklw$ (X $tlklw$)	have not been imprisoned,
$w\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}yn^m r\bar{h}\bar{m} w\bar{m}yn^m$	$w\bar{m}nyn l\bar{h}m w\bar{m}yn$	allotted bread and water.
$\bar{i}np.k\bar{w} \bar{t}s.r.y^m$	$'npk\bar{w} sry(\bar{t})$	Take out the emissaries
$\bar{m}\bar{n}nby\bar{t}^m ek.r^{\bar{t}}y^{\bar{t}}.^m$	$mn-byt kl^{\bar{t}}y^{\bar{t}}(\bar{t})$ (X $'kly$)	from the dungeon.
(10) $y\bar{b}.r\bar{w}$	(10) $yblw$	Let them be brought
$r.^m by\bar{t}^m \bar{m}\bar{n}ns.h\bar{y}^m t.^m$	$lby\bar{t} mshyl\bar{t}(\bar{t})$	to the bathhouse.
$.r^m b.\bar{s}\bar{w}\bar{w}ny$	$'lb\bar{s}\bar{w}nn-(n)y-$	Dress them

y
 $r\bar{k}m.t^m$ $rykmt(\bar{t})$ in embroidered garments.
Cf. Gen 41:14; Ezek 16:10; and *lubulti kitê birme ulabbissunūti* "I dressed them in linen garments with multicolored trimmings" in the account of this episode in Ashurbanipal's annals.

$.sr\bar{w}$ (11) $\bar{t}r \bar{s}.r$	$'zlw$ (11) $'l \bar{s}r(\bar{t})\{-\}$	Go to <i>the prince</i> ;
$h\bar{w}\bar{n}\bar{n}why$	$h\bar{w}nnwhy$	<i>be gracious to him.</i>
$\bar{t}ry mn\bar{w} m\bar{s}htn^m$	$'ly mnw m\bar{s}ht(h)n$	Count their sin against me."

Cf. Gen 27:13; 2 Sam 14:9. The imperatives used by the general in his advice to the king are all in the plural. Is this a plural of majesty?

$\bar{t}.t^m b.smt^m$	$\bar{t}t(\bar{t}) bsmt$	The advice was pleasing
$\bar{t}r mrk.^m$	$'l mlk(\bar{t})$	to the king.

Cf. Ps 104:34.

(12) $mrk.^m$	(12) $mlk(\bar{t})$	The king
$\bar{t}n\bar{w}\bar{w}y.^m mr.^m$	$'n(h)-w(\bar{t})ylmr/wy(\bar{t})lmr$	spoke up and said:
$\bar{i}np.k\bar{w}$	$'npk\{w\}$	"I will take out the
$\bar{t}sry.^m$	$sry(\bar{t})$	emissaries
$\bar{m}\bar{n}by\bar{t}^m e.k.r.y.^m$	$mn-byt kl^{\bar{t}}y(\bar{t})$ (X $'kly$)	from the dungeon.
$y^{\bar{t}}br^{\bar{t}}\bar{w}$	$y^{\bar{t}}bl^{\bar{t}}w$	Let them be 'brought'
(13) $rby\bar{t} \bar{m}\bar{n}ns.^{\bar{t}}h^{\bar{t}}yt.^m$	(13) $lby\bar{t} ms^{\bar{t}}h^{\bar{t}}yt(\bar{t})$	to the ba ^t h house.
$.rb.\bar{s}\bar{w}\bar{w}ny$	$'lb\bar{s}\{w\}nn\{y\}-$	I will dress them
$\bar{t}rk^{\bar{t}}m^{\bar{t}}t.^m$	$r\bar{k}^{\bar{t}}m^{\bar{t}}t(\bar{t})$	in embroi ^t dered ^t garments.
$eh.k\bar{w} \bar{t}r \bar{s}.r$	$'hk\{w\} 'l \bar{s}r(\bar{t})\{-\}$	I shall go to <i>the prince</i> ;
$h\bar{w}\bar{n}\bar{n}why^m$	$(\bar{t})h\bar{w}nn\{w\}hy$	<i>I shall be gracious to</i> <i>him.</i>
(14) $pk\bar{w} \bar{t}^{\bar{t}}s^{\bar{t}}.ry.^m$	(14) $pk\bar{w} sry(\bar{t})$	Go out, emissaries,
$by\bar{t}^m e.k.r.y.^m$	$<mn->byt kl^{\bar{t}}y(\bar{t})$ (X $'kly$)	<from> the dungeon.

Cf. Isa 49:9; Dan 3:26.

<i>br</i> ¹ <i>w</i> ¹	<i>bl</i> ¹ <i>w</i> ¹	Be brought
<i>.rbyt</i> ^m ¹ <i>m̄n</i> ¹ ¹ <i>š</i> ¹ <i>.hyt</i> ^m	¹ <i>l</i> - <i>byt</i> ¹ <i>mš</i> ¹ <i>hyt</i> (¹)	to the ¹ <i>ba</i> ¹ <i>th</i> house.
(15) <i>.rb.</i> ¹ ¹ <i>š</i> ¹ <i>w̄nw</i>	(15) { ¹ } <i>lb</i> ¹ ¹ <i>š</i> ¹ <i>w-n</i> { <i>w</i> < <i>y</i> >	Pu ¹ <i>t</i> ¹ on
<i>rkmt</i> ^m	<i>rkmt</i> (¹)	embroidered garments.
<i>ehkw</i> ¹ ¹ <i>r</i> ¹ [<i>š.r</i>]	¹ <i>hk</i> { <i>w</i> } ¹ <i>l</i> ¹ [<i>šr</i>](¹){-}	I shall go ¹ <i>t</i> ¹ [<i>the prince</i>];
[<i>h</i>] ¹ <i>w̄n</i> ¹ <i>nw</i> ¹ <i>h</i> ¹ <i>y</i> ^m	(¹)[<i>h</i>] ¹ <i>w̄n</i> ¹ <i>n</i> { <i>w</i> } ¹ <i>h</i> ¹ <i>y</i>	[<i>I sha</i>] ¹ <i>ll</i> <i>be grac</i> ¹ <i>ious</i> to ¹ <i>hi</i> ¹ <i>m</i> ."

Saritrah sent to reason with an ungrateful brother (XVIII/15-XIX/8)

<i>mrk</i> ^m	<i>mlk</i> (¹)	The king
¹ <i>ʿ</i> ¹ [<i>n̄w̄ym</i>] <i>r</i> ^m	¹ <i>ʿ</i> ¹ [<i>n</i>](<i>h</i>)-[<i>w</i> (¹) <i>ym</i>] <i>r</i> /[<i>wy</i> (¹) <i>m</i>] <i>r</i>	¹ <i>spo</i> ¹ [<i>ke up</i>] and [<i>sai</i>] <i>d</i> :
<i>ykrw</i>	<i>ykrw</i>	"Let them summon
(16) <i>r</i> ^m [<i>s.</i>] <i>ryt</i> ¹ ^m <i>r</i> ^m	(16) <i>ll</i> [<i>s</i>] <i>ryt</i>|<i>r</i> (<i>h</i>)	[<i>S</i>]aritrah,
<i>eht</i> ^m	¹ <i>ht</i> (<i>y</i>)	my sist ^r .

Cf. Akk. *Šerua-ēterat*, Ashurbanipal's sister. In the list of Esarhaddon's children (*ABL* 113), she comes after Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn and before the other sons.

¹ <i>yw</i> ¹ [<i>br</i>]. ^m <i>s.ryt.r</i> ^m	¹ <i>yw</i> ¹ [<i>bl</i>] <i>sryt</i> <i>r</i> (<i>h</i>)	¹ <i>Let</i> ¹ Saritrah ¹ <i>be</i> ¹ ¹ <i>br</i> ¹ [<i>ought</i>].
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Cf. Ps 45:15.

¹ <i>y</i> ¹ [<i>k.</i>] <i>m.m</i> ¹ ¹ <i>m</i>	¹ <i>y</i> ¹ [<i>k</i>] <i>mm</i>	¹ <i>Let her</i> (!) ¹ <i>be caused</i> to [<i>st</i>]and
(17) <i>b.b</i> ¹ ¹ <i>b</i> ^m	(17) <i>bb</i> [<i>b</i>]	in the <i>ga</i> [<i>te</i>]
[<i>h</i>] ¹ ¹ <i>yk</i> ¹ ¹ <i>r</i> ^m	[<i>h</i>] <i>yk</i> ¹ ¹ <i>l</i>	of the [<i>p</i>]ala ¹ <i>ce</i> ¹
<i>mrk</i> ¹ ^m <i>xxx</i> ^m	<i>mlk</i> (¹) ...	of the king"

Cf. *whkymt bbb hykl* "and (whom) I caused to stand in the gate of the palace" (*Ahikar* 23).

¹ <i>m.r</i> ¹ [<i>k.</i>] ^m	¹ <i>ml</i> ¹ [<i>k</i>](¹)	The ¹ <i>ki</i> ¹ [<i>ng</i>]
[¹ <i>n̄w̄ym</i>]. ^m <i>r</i> ^m	[¹ <i>n</i> (<i>h</i>)- <i>w</i> (¹) <i>ymr</i> / <i>wy</i> (¹) <i>mr</i>]	[<i>spoke up and said,</i>]

Col. XIX

(1) <i>wym̄n̄n</i> [<i>.</i>] <i>[[.]^m <i>r</i>][<i>.</i> ^m<i>r</i>^m]]</i>	(1) <i>wym</i> [<i>l</i>] ¹ ¹ <i>l</i>	add[re] ¹ <i>ss</i> ¹ <i>ing</i>
<i>rs.</i> ^m <i>r.t.r.</i> ^m	<i>lslrtr</i> (<i>h</i>)	Saritrah:
<i>r</i> [<i>[k</i> ¹ ¹ <i>h.</i>]] <i>s</i> ^m <i>.ty</i>	<i>lk</i> (<i>n</i>)- <i>hztly</i>	<i>So</i> you have seen (it).
<i>š.ryh.</i> ^m	<i>šryh</i> (¹) (= <i>šryh</i> ¹)	The rotten fellow
(2) <i>th.</i> ^m <i>š.h̄t</i> ¹ ¹ <i>ry</i>	(2) <i>dh</i> (<i>w</i>) <i>šht</i> ¹ ¹ <i>ly</i>	who has sinned against me—
<i>s.mthy</i> ^m <i>ph.</i> ^m	<i>smthy</i> <i>ph</i> (¹)/ <i>ph</i> (<i>h</i>)	I made him the/a governor

Cf. Ezr 5:14.

<i>Mn̄br̄br</i>	<i>mn</i> - <i>b</i> { <i>l</i> } <i>bl</i>	of (!) / in (!) Babylon,
<i>.wwn.</i> ^m <i>mrk</i> ^m	<i>w'n</i> (<i>h</i>) (<i>X</i> ¹ <i>wn</i>) <i>mlk</i>	while I am king

(3) *b. m n.n. m .w. m* (3) *blnnl'w(h)* in/of Nineveh.

Cf. "Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the untrue brother to whom I showed favor and whom I appointed (*aškunuš* = *smthy*) to the kingship of Babylon" in Ashurbanipal's annals (with partial parallels in many of Ashurbanipal's "Prunkinschriften"). The title given in our text to Šamaš-šum-ukīn, "governor of Babylon" (Akk. *paḥat/šakin Bābili*), belonged to someone else—an individual named Nabū-bēl-ušur, who, like the governor of Uruk, must have reported directly to the Assyrian king.

<i>s̄ws. m e.t. m r. m</i>	<i>sws(y) 'dlr</i>	A magnificent horse
<i>b.myt</i>	<i>bmdy (X bmyd)</i>	from (!) Media—
<i>w̄y.b.r. m</i>	<i>wybl</i>	it was brought
<i>rsr m (4) Imn{{y→}}ky m</i>	<i>lsr (4) mgy</i>	to Sarmuge.

Cf. *sisē rabūti* "great horses," which occurs next to *kitē* "linen" (see below) in the list of booty taken by Ashurbanipal from Thebes and elsewhere. Despite the metathesis in the toponym, its identification is certain, since Media was a major source of horses for the Assyrians. Cf. also the *sisē rabūti* "great horses" sent by Median princes to Esarhaddon as a token of submission. Coming right after the king's claim that he appointed his brother governor of Babylon, this statement would seem to refer to gifts given to Sarmuge on the occasion of his installation. Evidence for this interpretation comes from the passage cited above from Ashurbanipal's annals in which he claims to have appointed his brother to the kingship of Babylon(ia). That claim is followed immediately (indeed, in the same sentence) by the further claim that the Assyrian king gave his brother troops, horses (*sisē*) and chariots fit for royalty.

<i>b{{s→}}ts m edyyr. m</i>	<i>bš 'dyr</i>	Magnificent linen
<i>bmt m s.ryn. m</i>	<i>bmlšryn</i>	from (!) Egypt—

Cf. Ezek 27:7.

<i>w̄y.br.n m</i>	<i>wybln</i>	we brought (it)
<i>r. m eḥ. m e.n m</i>	<i>l'h'l'n</i>	to our brother.

(5) <i>k.r. m b. mⁿ</i>	(5) <i>glbn/klbn/llbnl</i>	Razors/dogs/bracelets
<i>Mnts.wh. m</i>	<i>mn-swh/šw{h}<r></i>	from Ty<re>
<i>y.br.n m sr m Imnky m</i>	<i>ybln <l>srImgy</i>	we brought <to> Sarmuge.
<i>kšt m edyyr. m</i>	<i>kšt 'dyr(h)</i>	A magnificent bow
(6) <i>mnn'yrm m</i>	(6) <i>mn-'ylm</i>	from Elam

Cf. Jer 49:35. Ashurbanipal's admiration for Elamite bows is documented in his palace. Such a bow is one of the two non-human war trophies depicted in his famous garden scene.

<i>y.brn m r. m eḥ. m e.n. m</i>	<i>ybln l'h'l'n</i>	we brought to our brother.
<i>ns.rky m</i>	(') <i>zl-(l)ky</i>	Go

$\bar{r} \check{s} \bar{r} y h . m$	$\bar{l} \check{s} r y h (')$	to the rotten fellow.
(7) $\bar{m} \bar{n} n r . r . m$	(7) $m l l (y)$	Speak,
$y m . r . r h y m$	(') $y m r (y) - l h y$	say (it) to him.
$y t . m$	$y d'$	Let him know,
$\check{s} . m . m$	$\langle y \rangle \check{s} m'$	let him listen
$\bar{i} r m \bar{i} m n r y k y m$	$l m l y k y$	to your words

Cf. Job 33:1.

$w t . t b m$	$w t t b$	and let him (!) give heed
(8) $r . m . m r t . k y m$	(8) $l' m r t k y$	to your utterances."

Cf. Prov 1:23; XII/16; Ugar. $t b t [t] b n b' l l h w t y$ "you will give heed to my words, O Baal."

Saritrah's journey to Babylon (XIX/8-12)

$s r y t m n . p k$	$s r y t (h) n p k -$	Sarit(ah) went out
$m h y k . r . m$	$m h y k l (')$	from the palace.
$. r k . b h . m$	$' r k b h$	They seated her
$\bar{r} \bar{m} n r k . b t m$	$\bar{l} m r k b t (')$	in the chariot.

Cf. Gen 41:43; XX/19; XXI/12.

(9) $\bar{i} n p' y' h . m r . m \bar{b} . b r s m t m$	(9) $' n p' y' h l b b l s m t$	She set her fac' e ¹ toward Babylon.
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The idiom "PN set his face toward GN" is known from Syriac, BH (Gen 31:19), and Akkadian.

$s . r k w s . k . y . m$	$s l k w s k y (')$	The lookouts went up
$\{ \{ ' y' \rightarrow \} \} \bar{r} \check{s} . r m$	$\bar{l} \check{s} r$	on the wall of
$\bar{b} . b r$	$b b l$	Babylon.

Cf. II Sam 18:24.

(10) $s . k . y m$	(10) $s k y (')$	The lookouts
$' . n . w . n m e y m \bar{r} . n m$	$' n w n ' y m r n$	spoke up (and) said:
$h y r . m$	$h y l (')$	"The troop that
$t . t .$	$d (') t (y / h)$	is coming / has come
$s . k . m \bar{M} n \bar{t} s y r \bar{n}$	$s g (y) m n - s y r n$	is too large to consist
(11) $s . h y r \bar{n} \bar{m} \bar{n} ' b t y m k \bar{r} . b m$	(11) $z g \bar{y} r n m n - ' b d y k r b$	of emissaries, too small to consist
		of warriors."

$e n y \bar{p} s . r y m t . n . m$	$' n y p - s r y t (r \rightarrow) n$	(Soon) Saritrah beckoned
$\bar{m} \bar{n} k . m' p m$	$m n - g' m' p (')$	from the <i>portal</i> .

(12) $\bar{m} \bar{n} . n k . m$	(12) $m n - k (h)$	"Who here
$t . m$	$d (') / (') t (y)$	is this / are you?"
$e . n h y m s . r y t . r . m$	$' n (h) - h y s r y t r (h)$	"I am Saritrah,

For the use of the 3rd person pronoun as a copula, cf. Dan 2:38; Ezr 5:11; *Aḫīkar* 46; II/19.

<i>eh̄t^m</i>	<i>'ht</i>	the sister of
<i>d̄ym.y.^m</i>	<i>t<l>yymy(')/tymy(')</i>	the Brothers/Twins.

For the first interpretation, cf. Late Aram. *tlym* "brother"; and Akk. *talīmu* "brother, peer sibling." The Akk. term, sometimes in apposition to *aḫū* "brother," is used of Šamaš-šum-ukīn in Esarhaddon's Vassal Treaties, in Ashurbanipal's annals, and in Šamaš-šum-ukīn's own royal inscriptions (which also use the term of Ashurbanipal). Indeed, it is fair to say that Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Ashurbanipal are the *talīmū* par excellence of Mesopotamian history. The emendation which this interpretation assumes must be considered minor, in view of the well-attested tendency to omit Dem. *r* in the papyrus. For the second interpretation, cf. Targ. Aram. *tywm* "twin," etc. It has frequently been conjectured that Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn were twins. The problem with this interpretation is that it contradicts XVII/5-13, which implies that Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn were born in different years, the former before the latter.

An attempt to persuade Sarmuge to return to Nineveh (XIX/12-18)

<i>srmwky^m</i>	<i>srmwgy</i>	Sarmuge
(13) <i>'nwym.r^m</i>	(13) <i>'n(h)-w(')ymr</i>	spoke up and said:
<i>n.kr.k^m 't^m</i>	<i>nkl-kl't</i>	"Nikkal is now
<i>byn̄n.^m byns.ryt.^m</i>	<i>byn(y) <w>byn-sryt(h)</i>	between me and Sarit(ah):
<i>inpyhy^m (14) ryh.wy.nhy^m</i>	<i>'npy-hy (14) lyḫwynhy</i>	She (= Nikkal) will not let her (! = Saritrah) see my face."

Nikkal is the Mesopotamian moon-goddess Ningal, known also from the Nerab inscriptions and Ugaritic. I am unable to explain her appearance here, beyond noting that the context seems to call for a reference to a goddess—presumably, a Mesopotamian goddess familiar to the Arameans. For the idiom, cf. *brtky lptḥ zy yḫwny 'pyk/'pyky bšlm* "I bless you by Ptah that he may let me see your face in peace" (Hermopolis 4:2, 6:1-2); XXII/8.

<i>sryt.r̄</i>	<i>srytr(h)</i>	Saritrah
<i>'n[†]t[†]^m e.mr^m</i>	<i>'n[†]t[†] 'mr</i>	spoke up (and) said:
<i>mns.mn^p</i>	<i>mn-smn/smn(y)</i>	"Who made us/me
<i>k.[†]k[†]š</i>	<i>k[†]k[†]š-</i>	like [†] stu [†] bble
<i>rkryh.^m</i>	<i><l>lgryh</i>	<for> her feet?

Cf. 2 Kgs 13:7; Isa 41:2; Ps 83:14. Šerua-ēterat is evidently mortified by the idea that she is not allowed to see her own brother. The princess was apparently not one to remain silent when she felt she had been snubbed by a member of her family. In her one preserved letter, sent to Ashurbanipal's wife (ABL 308), she asks whether her sister-in-law's failure to write

to her might be motivated by an unjustified feeling of superiority.

(15) <i>sr̄mw̄ky. m eh. m</i>	(15) <i>sr̄mwgy 'h(y)</i>	Sarmuge, my brother!
<i>k.t m b.t m e. 'y' .tyk. m</i>	<i>gd b<h>t 'y' tyk</i>	Fortune has con<fou>nded you
<i>wt.b m r.h. 'e' .k. m</i>	<i>w(')tb l(')h(')k</i>	and smiled upon (<i>lit.</i> , been good to) your brother.

Cf. XVII/5-12. Saritrah tells Sarmuge that he is destined to be subservient to Sarbanabal and that there is nothing he can do about it. Ashurbanipal's annals, too, seem to suggest that Šamaš-šum-ukīn's plot was doomed from the start, since the gods had "decreed a good destiny" for Ashurbanipal.

(16) <i>k.šm' m ir̄mm.ry m</i>	(16) <i>k(y)-šm' lmly</i>	Do listen to my words, and may you give heed
<i>w.t. m t.b ' m</i>	<i>wtltb</i>	'to' my utterances.
<i>'r' . m .mr m ty</i>	<i>'l' l'mrly</i>	Act like (<i>lit.</i> , make yourself) a governor.
<i>s.m <<. >>eyt. 'y' k m s.kn p</i>	<i>sm 'yt 'y' k sgn l</i>	Lift up 'your' f'ee't from here.
(17) <i>r.kr 'yk' . m m̄nnk. m</i>	(17) <i>lgr 'yk' mn-k(h) bln</i>	
<i>b.r.n m</i>		

Cf. Gen 29:1.

<i>e.t' r mrk. m</i>	<i>'t(y)-'l mlk(')</i>	Come to the king,
<i>e 'h' .k m</i>	<i>'h' k</i>	your bro'ther'.

Cf. Šamaš-šum-ukīn's use of the term *šarrī aḥīja* "the king, my brother" to refer to Ashurbanipal in his letters to him.

<i>t. 'n' ny m (18) h. m</i>	<i>t' 'n' ny (18) h(w)</i>	He is fo'rbea'ring.
<i>r 'y' eh</i>	<i>l 'y' 'h' <r>-</i>	'He' will not del<ay>
<i>m 'b' .r.k. m /</i>	<i>m <k> 'b' lk</i>	in <re>'ce'iving you."
<i>m { 'k' → } 'b' .r.k. m</i>		

Cf. Deut 23:22; Arad letters (2:60).

Col. XX

A hint that it is time to go home (XX/1-2)

(1) <i>sr̄mw̄ky m</i>	(1) <i>sr̄mwgy</i>	Sarmuge
<i>'n̄wy.m. r̄. m</i>	<i>'n(h)-w(')ymr/wy(')mr</i>	spoke up and said:
<i>n.kb[t m]</i>	<i>ngb[t]</i>	"We have rubbed down (<i>lit.</i> , I have wiped dry)
<i>'w. m .n' y 'h' yt. m</i>	<i>'wl'n' y 'h' yt</i>	'and rested'
<i>r. m sw 's' . m k.n m</i>	<i>llsw 's' <y> lkn</i>	your hor'se' <s>
(2) <i>r.m. m kr m { { . → } } y <r></i>	(2) <i>lmlkllyl(h)-</i>	to hasten

$\bar{r}^m k.b.^m ky^m$ *r|k|b|ky* your (return) ride."

A second unsuccessful attempt at persuasion (XX/2-6)

$s.ryt^{\prime} [r].^m$	<i>sryt[r](h)</i>	Sarit[rah]
$'nt^m em.\bar{r}.^m$	<i>'nt 'mr</i>	spoke up (and) said:
$\check{s}.m'ny^m mr^m$	<i>\check{s}m'-ny/\check{s}m'ny mr</i>	"Listen / hear me, lord,
$\check{s}m'n^m$	<i>\check{s}m'-n(y)/\check{s}m'n(y)</i>	listen / hear me!
(3) $b.r^m e.br^m$	(3) <i>bl 'bl</i>	Truly, truly—
$ty\bar{r}y.n^m m.rk.n^m$	<i>t{y}ryn mlkn</i>	two kings
$k.p.yn.^m$	<i>kpyn</i>	are being overthrown

Cf. Gal. Aram. *k-p-y* "overturn (pot), overthrow (king)"; "Šamaš-ukīn (sic!) ... whose kingship you overturned" in an inscription of Ashurbanipal. Saritrah attempts to pacify her brother with a poem about two kings and two brothers. The parallelism hints, without saying so explicitly, that Sarmuge is right in claiming to be a king. Even so, she advises him to "act like a governor" (see below) to avert the downfall of them both.

$\overline{Mntr.}^m$	<i>mntl</i>	on account of
$h.t.^m b.h.n.^m$	<i>hd bhñ</i>	one of (!) them;
(4) $eh.$	(4) <i>'h-</i>	a man (<i>lit.</i> , a brother)
$w\check{e}h.^{\prime} h^{\prime} m$	<i>w'h' h'</i>	and 'his' brother
$n.tsyn^m$	<i>nsyn</i>	are quarreling

Cf. Deut 25:11.

$\overline{Mntr.}^m$	<i>mntl</i>	on account of
$h.tb.h^{\prime} .^{\prime} n^m$	<i>hd-bhn</i>	one of (!) them.
$hn.^m y\check{s}m'n^m mrky^m$	<i>hn y\check{s}m'n/ly\check{s}m'n(y)</i>	If my advice may be
	<i>mlky</i>	heard— / If my king
		will listen to me—
$'br.^m \overline{mnt}.t$	<i>'br mndt(')-</i>	disregard the tribute
$r.^m (5) n\bar{s}w .rk.n^m$	<i><d>l (5) nsw 'lkn</i>	<that> they did not
		pay you.

$\overline{s.m} eytyky^p s.kn^p$	<i>sm 'ytyky sgn l</i>	Act like (<i>lit.</i> , make
Num 16:13; I Sam 19:24; m.Pesahim 4:5; m.Avot 1:8		yourself) a governor.
$r.kryky^m \overline{mn}nk.^m b.r.^m$	<i>lgryky mn-k(h) bl</i>	Lift up your feet from
Gen 29:1		here.
$et.^m \bar{r} mrk.^m$	<i>'t(y) 'l mlk(')</i>	Come to the king,
$eh.k.^m$	<i>'hk</i>	your brother."
(6) $srm\bar{w}ky^m$	(6) <i>srmwgy</i>	Sarmuge
$rh\check{s}.m^m r.h^m$	<i>l{h}\check{s}m' lh</i>	did not listen to her,
$wr.t.^m$	<i>wlt</i>	and did not give <heed>

<i>re.mrt</i> ^m	<i>l'mrt(h)</i>	to her utterances.
Saritrah's parting advice (XX/6-11)		
<i>s.ryt</i> ^m 'nt' ^m <i>e.mr</i> ^m	<i>sryt(h)</i> 'nt' <i>mr</i>	Sarit(ah) spoke up (and) said:
<i>hn.</i> ^m <i>ršm</i> ^{'m}	<i>hn lšm</i> [']	"If you will not listen
(7) <i>irmm.ry</i> ^m	(7) <i>lmly</i>	to my words,
<i>wr.t.t.b</i> ^m	<i>w(')n-ltīb</i>	and if you will not give
<i>n</i>		heed
<i>r..mr</i> ^m <i>t̄y</i>	<i>l'mrlty</i>	to my utterances,
<i>ys.rk.</i> ^m <i>m̄nnby</i> ^m <i>t̄br</i>	(') <i>yzl-(l)k mn-byt bl</i>	go from the house of Bel,
<i>h.r.</i> ^m <i>m̄nby</i> ^m <i>m.r.t.k</i> ^m	(l)hl(') <i>mn-byt mrdk</i>	away from the house of Marduk.

Cf. Jer 50:2. Why is Sarmuge in the temple of Bel-Marduk instead of his own palace? For a possible answer, cf. XXII/5-7.

(8) <i>y.bnrk</i> ^m	(8) <i>y(t)bn(h)-lkw</i> ^{'n}	Let there be built for you
<i>byt</i> ^m <i>n̄wp.</i> ^m	<i>byt nwp</i>	a bower (<i>lit.</i> , a house of boughs);
<i>byt</i> ^m <i>k.tw̄</i>	<i>byt k̄tw</i>	a booth (<i>lit.</i> , a house of sticks)

Cf. Qumr. Aram. *k̄tw* "booth" (4Q Targum Job XI/9 = Job 27:18 *skh*), perhaps an abridgement the phrase here; and Gal. Aram. *k̄tw* "stick, rod."

<i>k.t.k</i> ^m	<i>k(y)-tk<n></i>	do constr<uct>.
<i>s.pt</i> ^m <i>wky</i> ^m <i>t.r.n.</i> ^m (9) <i>m̄nkr</i> ^m	<i>zpt wkyl̄trn</i> (9) <i>mgr</i>	Throw down tar and pitch

Cf. Isa 34:9; Theodotion Additions to Daniel 3:46; Arab. *zift waqaṭran* "unpleasant (*lit.*, tar and pitch)."

<i>w.bss.my</i> ^m 'r̄b. ^m	<i>wbs{s}my</i> 'rb	and pleasing/Arabian perfumes.
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For the use of *bśmym* at royal funerals, presumably to mask foul odors, cf. 2 Chr 16:14. For the collocation of *bsmn* and *kyṭrn*, cf. Gen. Rab. (84,17) according to the best manuscripts: "The Ishmaelites customarily carry only hides and pitch (*kyṭrn/kṭrn*) but look what the Holy One Blessed Be He brought to that righteous man at that time: sacks full of perfumes (*bsmym*)."

<i>hnhr</i> ^m <i>b.nyk.</i> ^m	<i>hn̄gl bnyk</i>	Bring in your sons
<i>w.bn.t.k</i> ^m	<i>wbntk</i>	and your daughters
<i>w̄rpyk.</i> ^m (10) <i>trh.b.k.</i> ^m	<i>wrp(')yk</i> (10) <i>d(')rhh(w)k</i>	and your doctors who have egged you on.

During this period, Mesopotamian doctors doubled as royal advisers. Thus, Esarhaddon's exorcist, Adad-šum-ušur, writes to the king about politics as well as medicine.

<i>k.th.s.</i> ^m	<i>k(d)-thz(y)</i>	When you see
<i>mšḫ.</i> ^m	<i>m(h)-šḫ(w)</i>	how (low) they have sunk

‘.ryk. ^m	‘lyk	on you (= to your detriment),
y š.rpš.tb.k ^m	yšrp- (= yšrp) (‘)št(‘)-bk	let fire burn you
‘.m ^m b.nyk. ^m	‘m bnyk	together with your sons
(11) w.bn.t.k. ^m	(11) wbntk	and your daughters
wṛ.pyk. ^m tr ^m ‘h ¹ .b.k. ^m	wrp(‘)yk d(‘)r ¹ h ¹ b(w)k	and your doctors who have e ¹ g ¹ ged you on."

Cf. "On the pyre, he (= Sardanapallos!) constructed a one-hundred-foot-long chamber out of wood" (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* xii/529B); "(The phoenix) constructs its nest out of aromatic dry sticks (and burns itself in it)" (Pseudo-Eustathius, *Comm. in Hexaemeron*, PG 18, 732 A).

Saritrah's return and report to the king (XX/11-15)

s.ryt. ^m n.pk ^m	sryt(h) npk	Sarit(ah) went out
m̄n̄nb.br	mn-bbl	from Babylon.
(12) inpyh. ^m b.n.n. ^m .w. ^m	(12) 'npyh bnnl'w(h) smt	She set her face (toward)
s.mt ^m		Nineveh.
¹ t ¹		
y ¹ h ^{m1} r ^k r̄h. ^m s.rt ^m	y ¹ dh ¹ lglrh (‘)zrt	She turned ¹ her ¹ ha ¹ nd ¹ (and) her foot

Cf. 1 Kgs 22:34.

M̄n.npk ^m m̄nb.br	mnpk mn-bbl	to go out from Babylon
(13) ‘t ^m h. ^m h.rw̄	(13) ‘d hlḡlw	until she(!) was ushered
b.n.n..w. ^m	bnnw(h)	into Nineveh.
mrk. ^m	mlk(‘)	The king
‘n ¹ ^{m1} eym.r̄	‘n(h) ‘ymr	spoke up (and) said,
‘w ¹ wyłmnr.r. ^m s.rtr. ^m	wymll (l)srtr(h)	addressing Saritrah:
m.m.r<<k>>y ^m	m(h)-(‘)mr-(l)ky	"What said to you
(14) š.ryh̄. ^m	(14) šryh̄(‘)	the rotten fellow
‘t̄ ¹ .[e].n. ^m š.rht.ky ^m	‘d ¹ [‘]n(h) šlhtky	to ‘who ¹ m I sent you?"
‘.rw ¹ h ¹ y ^m	‘lw ¹ h ¹ y	

Cf. Jer 42:9.

hw̄ mw̄ ¹ ^{‘1} .t ^m	hw(h) mw ¹ ^{‘1} d(‘)	"The mee ¹ ti ¹ ng was
k.t. ¹ n ¹ . ^m y.k.t ^m	k(‘)t ¹ n ¹ ykd	h ¹ ea ¹ ted (<i>lit.</i> , like a burning furnace).

Cf. Hos 7:4, 7 (seditious rage); Dan 3:6, etc.

h.k.rr. ^m (15) eysy.ny ^m	h(w)-kll (15) ‘ytyny	He treated me with contempt.
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I have found only two uncorrected examples of spirantization in the papyrus, both of them in the "Tale" (here and in XVII/8). This distribution may not be accidental. The Aramaic of the "Tale" is more corrupt than that of the liturgical texts; it may have been dictated by someone other than the priest(s) who dictated those other texts and/or at a later time. Another restriction is phonological. The two examples of spirantization involve postvocalic Aram. /t/ rendered with Dem. (t)s. By contrast, there are no examples in the papyrus of postvocalic Aram. /p/ rendered with Dem. f; indeed, Dem. f is completely unattested in the text. As for Aram. /k/, there is one word in which the scribe initially rendered it with Dem. *h* (in VIII/9), but he corrected that sign to *k*. Was this a simple mishearing or did the priest really spirantize the /k/ the first time he read it and then correct himself? The priests may well have viewed spirantization as a vulgar new pronunciation, inappropriate for liturgical use. In any event, the forms in our papyrus seem to be the earliest evidence for the spread of spirantization from Mesopotamia to the West.

The general sent to bring Sarmuge back alive (XX/15-18)

<i>mr.k^m</i>	<i>mlk(')</i>	The king
<i>'n̄wym.r.^m</i>	<i>'n(h)-w(')ymr/wy(')mr</i>	spoke up and said,
<i>w̄y.m^l n^l rr.^m r.t.w̄rt.n.^m</i>	<i>wym^l n^l ll ltwrtn(')</i>	addressing the general:

For the nasalization in this word, cf. VI/8.

<i>e.kr̄y</i>	<i>'kr̄y</i>	"I shall call up
<i>w̄nt.y^m</i>	<i><g>wndy(')</i>	the <t>roops
<i>bstr^m (16) b.n.n.^m iwy</i>	<i>bsdr/bstr (16) bnnl'wy(')</i>	into the ranks of the Ninevites. / in the shelter of Nineveh.

Cf. "I mustered my armies and marched straight against Šamaš-šum-ukīn" in Ashurbanipal's annals.

<i>m̄n .t.^m t̄ps.r̄</i>	<i>mn(y) (')(h) t̄psr</i>	You appoint a scribe;
<i>'k^l r t̄psr.^m tr̄hm</i>	<i>'k^l r(y)-t̄psr dlhm</i>	'ca ^l ll up a war-scribe.

Cf. Jer 51:27; 52:25.

<i>wmrk.^m 'k^l r^l 'l^m</i>	<i>wmrk(w) kl</i>	And polish 'a ^l ll of
<i>'t^l 'ny^m k^l 'l^m</i>	<i>'t^l 'nylk</i>	your 'swo ^l rds

Cf. Isa 14:19; Targ. Jer 37:10.

<i>(17) w.hn^l t^l 'y^l k^m</i>	<i>(17) whn^l ty^l k</i>	and your spea ^r rs ^l .
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Cf. Jer 46:4.

<i>p̄/h̄r</i>	<i>'p-^lhr-</i>	Furthermore,/Afterwards,
<i>rb.br thk̄.^m</i>	<i>lbbl thk</i>	to Babylon you shall go,
<i>t̄wrt.n^m</i>	<i>t̄wrtn(')</i>	general,

<i>brš. m</i>	<i>brš</i>	at the head
<i>k. ys m</i>	<i>g ys</i>	of a det ¹ achment ¹ ."
<i> m r k . m</i>	<i> m l k ()</i>	The ¹ k ¹ in ¹ g ¹
<i> nweymr m</i>	<i> n(h)-w'ymr</i>	spoke up and said,
(18) <i>wy.Mnr r. m</i>	(18) <i>wym l l</i>	addre ¹ ss ¹ ing
<i>rtwrt.n m</i>	<i>ltwrtn()</i>	the general:
<i>p/hr</i>	<i>'p-l'hr-</i>	"Furthermore,/Afterwards,
<i>rb.br ym e h. m</i>	<i>lbbly(t)m{ ' } h(y)</i>	let Babylon be smitten,
<i>ehyhyn m</i>	<i>'hy-hy(y)-n(y)</i>	(but) my brother keep alive."

Cf. 2 Sam 18:5, 12. There is no response by the general to the king's orders to him (beginning in XX/15) that would justify the repetition of the "spoke up and said" formula here. The repetition, perhaps signaling a pause, serves to underscore the importance of the order that follows; indeed, the story ends with a repetition of the order.

The general's journey to Babylon (XX/18-XXI/2)

<i>t wr t.wr np k m</i>	<i>t wr t{wr}(n)-np k</i>	The ge ¹ ne ¹ ral went ¹ out ¹
(19) <i>bhyk .r m</i>	(19) <i>bhyk l ()</i>	from (!) the pala ¹ ce ¹ .
<i>rkb. m</i>	<i>'rkb(h)</i>	They seated him
<i>r mnr[k.b].t m</i>	<i>'l mr[kb]t()</i>	in the cha ¹ ri ¹ ot.
<i>inpwh y [m r] b.br</i>	<i>'npwh y [lb]bl [s] m</i>	He [se] ¹ t ¹ hi ¹ s ¹ face
<i>[s]. m. [m]</i>		[toward] [Ba]bylon.

Col. XXI

(1) <i>s.rk w' m s k.e y. m</i>	(1) <i>slk w'/(w) s k y()</i>	The loo ¹ kouts ¹ went up
<i>ršrb.br</i>	<i>'l-šr-bbl</i>	to the wall of Babylon.
<i>s [k] y m</i>	<i>s[k] y ()</i>	The look[out] ¹ s ¹
<i> nymr. m</i>	<i> n(h)-()ymr(w)</i>	spoke up (and) said:
<i>hyr. [m] [t.] t m</i>	<i>hyl() [d]() t (y/h)</i>	"The troop [that] ¹ is
		¹ coming / has come ¹
<i>šk. m Mntysrn</i>	<i>šg(y) (= šgy) mn-syrn</i>	is too large to consist
	<i>= tsyrn (X tysrn)</i>	of emissaries,
(2) <i>s.hyrn Mnhyr m</i>	(2) <i>zgyrn mn-hyl</i>	too small to be the king's
<i>mr.k. m</i>	<i>mlk()</i>	army."

The general's advice (XXI/2-5)

<i>t.wrt . n m</i>	<i>twrtn()</i>	The general
<i> nweym.r m</i>	<i> n(h)-w'ymr</i>	spoke up and said,
<i>wyMnrr. m rsrmwky m</i>	<i>wymll lsrmwgy</i>	addressing Sarmuge:
<i>šm'n. m mr m</i>	<i>šm'-n(y)/šm'n(y) mr</i>	"Listen / hear me, lord,
<i>šm'n m</i>	<i>šm'-n(y)/šm'n(y)</i>	listen / hear me!

<i>brm^m (3) tr̄y.^m mr.kn^m</i>	<i>brm (3) try(n) mlkn</i>
<i>k.py^m</i>	<i>kpy(n)</i>
<i>Mntry^m</i>	<i>mntl{y}</i>
<i>h.t.^m b.h.n^m</i>	<i>hd bhñ</i>
<i>h.n^m yšm'n^m m.rky^m</i>	<i>hn yšm'nlyšm'n(y) mlky</i>

<i>'bṛ.^m mnnt.t.^m</i>	<i>'br mndt(')</i>
<i>(4) ṛnsw̄ .rk.n^m</i>	<i>(4) dlñsw 'lkn</i>
<i>s.m̄ eyt.ky^m s.k.n^m</i>	<i>sm 'ytky sgn /</i>

<i>r.kṛyk.^m Mn̄k.b.r.n^m</i>	<i>lgryk mn-k(h)-blñ</i>
<i>et.^m 'r mrk.^m eḥ.k.^m</i>	<i>'t(y) 'l mlk(') 'ḥk</i>

<i>(5) t'.n..n^m h.^m</i>	<i>(5) t'nn h(w)</i>
<i>ryeḥ</i>	<i>ly'ḥ<r>-</i>
<i>mkb.r.ek.^m</i>	<i>mkb'l'k</i>

Sarmuge's equivocal reply (XXI/5-6)

<i>sr̄mwky^m</i>	<i>sr̄mwgy</i>
<i>'nwymṛ.^m</i>	<i>'n(h)-w(')ymr/wy(')mr</i>
<i>k.t.^m ksr.^m {{.→}} 'rph</i>	<i>kd(') gzr 'l-ph(h)</i>
<i>er.t.k^m</i>	<i>'ltk</i>
<i>(6) wksr.^m k.t.^m</i>	<i>(6) wgz(y)r kd(')</i>

The general's parting advice (XXI/6-7)

<i>ph.n^m k.ī</i>	<i>phñ kd('){-}</i>
<i>šm'ny^m ṛmMnryk.^m</i>	<i>šm'-ny lmlyk</i>
<i>w̄t.t.^m</i>	<i>wtt</i>
<i>r..mrt.k^m</i>	<i>l'mrtk</i>
<i>sr.k^m</i>	<i>(')zl-(l)k</i>
<i>īšrb̄.br</i>	<i>dšr-bbl</i>
<i>(7) b.t.rt.^m ym.^m</i>	<i>(7) btl̄t ym(n) /</i>
	<i>btr{t} ym</i>
<i>n.kḥ^m</i>	<i>nḥḥ</i>
<i>īš.r̄.^m</i>	<i>dšr(')</i>
<i>bts.ḥ.^m</i>	<i>(')bšḥ/g (= 'pšḥ/g)</i>
<i>eḥyym.^m</i>	<i>'ḥ<r>y-ym</i>

Saritrah's advice accepted (XXI/7-11)

Truly—two kings
are being overthrown
on account of
one of (!) them.
If my advice may be
heard— / If my king
will listen to me—
disregard the tribute
that they did not pay you
Act like (*lit.*, make
yourself) a governor.
Lift up your feet from here
Come to the king, your
brother.
He is forbearing.
He will not del<ay>
in receiving you."

Sarmuge
spoke up and said:
"So decreed your goddess
upon her governor,
and so it is decreed."

"Then if so,
listen to your words
and may you give <heed>
to your utterances.
Begone,
for the wall of Babylon
in three days /
after a day
we shall capture;
for the wall
I shall breach
af<t>er a day."

<i>srmwky^m ysrrh.^m</i>	<i>srmwgy (')yzl-lh</i>	Sarmuge went
<i>m̄nby^m (8) b̄r</i>	<i>mn-byt (8) bl</i>	from the house of Bel,
<i>h.r.^m m̄nby^m m.ṛt.k^m</i>	<i>(l)hl(') mn-byt mrdk</i>	away from the house of
		Marduk.
<i>y.bn.^m r.^m</i>	<i>{y}bn(h) l(h)</i>	He built for himself
<i>by^m n̄wp.^m</i>	<i>by^m nwp</i>	a bower (<i>lit.</i> , a house of boughs);
<i>by^m k.t'w'</i>	<i>by^m kt'w'</i>	a boot 'h' (<i>lit.</i> , a house of sticks)
<i>ktt'k.'n^m</i>	<i>k(y)-t{t}kn</i>	he did con'stru'ct.
(9) <i>s.pt^m w̄kyt.ṛ.n^m m̄nkr^m</i>	(9) <i>zpt wkytrn mgr</i>	<i>He threw down tar and pitch</i>
<i>[wb].s.my^m 'r'b' [.^m]</i>	<i>[wb]smy 'r'b'</i>	<i>[and] ple'as'ing/Ara'bian'</i>
		<i>[pe]rfumes.</i>
<i>hn'ḥ'r</i>	<i>hn'ḡ'l-</i>	He brou'ght' in
<i>'b'.nhy^m</i>	<i>'b'n(w)hy</i>	his 's'ons
<i>w̄.bnt.'h^m</i>	<i>wbnt'h'</i>	and 'his' daughters
<i>'w'r'pw'[h]'y'^m</i>	<i>'w'r'p(')w'[h]'y'</i>	'and' [hi]'s' doc'tors'
(10) <i>'t'rh.b.^m h.^m</i>	(10) <i>'d'(')rhh(w)lh(y)</i>	'who' had egged him on.
<i>k.'t'[^mh]s'^m</i>	<i>k'd' [h]z(h)</i>	Wh'en' he [s]aw
<i>'mš'[.h]'.'^m</i>	<i>'m'(h)-'š'[h](w)</i>	'how' (low) they
		had 'su'[nk]
<i>'r rw'hy^m</i>	<i>'ll{l}w'hy'</i>	on h'im' (= to his
		detriment),
<i>'š.rp'[xxx]'h'y^m</i>	<i>'šrp'...'h'y</i>	... 'burned h'im ...
Cf. 1 Kgs 16:18.		
<i>'m̄bnwh[y^m]</i>	<i>'m-bnwh[y]</i>	with hi[s] sons
<i>[w.bn.t.h^m]</i>	<i>[wbnth]</i>	[and his daughters]
(11) <i>w̄ṛ[p]w̄hy^m</i>	(11) <i>wṛ[p](')why</i>	and his doc[tor]s
<i>trh.b.h'y^m</i>	<i>d(')rhh'h'y'</i>	who had egged hi'm' on.

The Greek versions of this event tell a somewhat different story: "As for his three sons and two daughters, when he (= Sardanapallos!) had seen that things were going badly he had sent them forth to Nineveh" (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* xxi.529B); "He (= Sardanapallos!) shut his concubines and eunuchs in the chamber which had been built in the middle of the pyre" (Diodorus of Sicily ii.27.2). So, too, the Akkadian version: "(The gods) threw Šamaš-šum-ukīn, (my) hostile brother ... into a blazing conflagration.... And the people who caused Šamaš-šum-ukīn, ... to plot this deed, who feared death ... and did not throw themselves into the fire with their lord ..." (Ashurbanipal's annals). And a letter to Ashurbanipal (*ABL* 972) may imply that Šamaš-šum-ukīn did not calmly enter a specially constructed chamber and give the order to set it on fire

but rather was thrown—perhaps unwillingly—into a fire that was already raging.

A desperate attempt to bring Sarmuge back alive (XXI/11-15)

$t^{\text{f}}\overline{wr}^{\text{f}}[t].n^m$	$t^{\text{f}}wr^{\text{f}}[t]n^{\text{f}}$	The g ^f en ^f [er]al
$yh^{\text{f}}y^{\text{f}}[xx]^{\text{f}m}$	$yh^{\text{f}}y^{\text{f}}...$	keeps al ^f ive ^f ...
$s.^{\text{f}m}[hy]\overline{rn}.rb.n^m$	$z[gy]rn <w>rbn$	y[ou]ng <and> old.
In his annals, Ashurbanipal tells us that, when Babylon fell to him, "men and women, young and old (<i>sihir u rabi</i>)" were rounded up for deportation and/or execution.		
$^{\text{f}}n^{\text{f}}[p]^{\text{f}}k^{\text{f}}[m]$	$^{\text{f}}n^{\text{f}}[p]^{\text{f}}k^{\text{f}}$	He ^f we ^f [nt] ^f out ^f
$[mhykr^m]$	$[mhykl]^{\text{f}}$	[from the palace].
(12) $\overline{rk}.b^m h^m$	(12) $^{\text{f}}rkb^{\text{f}}h$	They seated him
$^{\text{f}}r\{\{\text{f}m^{\text{f}}\rightarrow\}\}\overline{mrk}.b.[t].^m$	$^{\text{f}}l\overline{mrkb}[t]^{\text{f}}$	in the chari[ot].
$\overline{in}^{\text{f}}p^{\text{f}}[w]^{\text{f}}h^{\text{f}}[y]^{\text{f}m}$	$^{\text{f}}n^{\text{f}}p^{\text{f}}[w]^{\text{f}}h^{\text{f}}[y]$	He (!) ^f se ^f t ^f hi ^f [s]
$[r]^{\text{f}}.b.r^{\text{f}}$	$[l]^{\text{f}}bl^{\text{f}}$	fa ^f c ^f [e] [toward]
$^{\text{f}}s^{\text{f}}m^{\text{f}}w^{\text{f}}[m]$	$^{\text{f}}s^{\text{f}}m^{\text{f}}w^{\text{f}}$	<Ba> ^f bylon ^f (<i>sic!</i> ?).
$srm\overline{wky}^m$	$srmwgy$	Sarmuge
$[ybr]^m\text{f}^{\text{f}}m^{\text{f}}[.h^m]$	$[ybl]^{\text{f}}\text{f}^{\text{f}}m^{\text{f}}[h]$	[he took] ^f with ^f [him].
(13) $h.r.^m\overline{r}^{\text{f}}h^{\text{f}}b.^m$	(13) $hl^{\text{f}}r^{\text{f}}h^{\text{f}}b(w)$	Away they hu ^f rr ^f ied,
$^{\text{f}}w^{\text{f}}t^{\text{f}}wn^m$	$^{\text{f}}w^{\text{f}}()^{\text{f}}t^{\text{f}}wn$	^f and ^f they [ca]me
$^{\text{f}}b^{\text{f}}[.]^{\text{f}}b^{\text{f}}$	$^{\text{f}}bb^{\text{f}}()^{\text{f}}$	to the ^f gate ^f of
$t^m e^{\text{f}}tr^m$	$dl^{\text{f}}tr^{\text{f}}$	of A ^f ssyria ^f , / of a
		(certain) p ^f lace ^f ,
$[r.]^{\text{f}}by^{\text{f}}t$	$[l]^{\text{f}}by^{\text{f}}t-$	[to] the ^f hou ^f se of
$[rp.]^{\text{f}m}$	$[rp]^{\text{f}}$	[a doctor].
$n\overline{s} e.n^m[p.kw]$	$n\overline{s}^{\text{f}}()^{\text{f}}nl[pkw]$	The people br[ought]
		out
$[myn^m]$	$[myn]$	[water].
(14) $\overline{rp}.^m y\{\{k\rightarrow\}\}\overline{ktys}^m$	(14) $rp^{\text{f}}()^{\text{f}}ykty\overline{s}$	The doctor pounds
$k.tp^{\text{f}m}[wk].t^m$	$ktp[wk]d(h)$	balm [and cas]sia,
$r.^{\text{f}}b^{\text{f}}[n]^{\text{f}m}$	$l^{\text{f}}b^{\text{f}}[n](h)$	fran ^f kinc ^f [ense]
$wr^{\text{f}}t^{\text{f}}[.m].^m$	$wl^{\text{f}}t^{\text{f}}[m]$	and la ^f da ^f [num].
Cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. Exod 30:34-36, with the same verb and two of the same nouns.		
$krkr^{\text{f}}\overline{stm}^{\text{f}}[x^m]$	$krk-r^{\text{f}}\overline{s}^{\text{f}}-^{\text{f}}dmn^{\text{f}}$	He bandaged the
		^f bloody ^f he ^f ad ^f .
$s^{\text{f}}t^{\text{f}}[hy]^m$	$s^{\text{f}}d^{\text{f}}[hy]$	He sup ^f ported ^f [him]
(15) $^{\text{f}}r[kby]^m\text{f}^{\text{f}}r^{\text{f}}s^{\text{f}}[m]$	(15) $^{\text{f}}l[gyb]^{\text{f}}r^{\text{f}}s^{\text{f}}$	[up]on a be ^f d ^f .
Cf. Ps 41:4.		
$^{\text{f}}nnt^{\text{f}}.n.^{\text{f}m}$	$^{\text{f}}nt^{\text{f}}n$	^f He ga ^f ve

[xxx] 'k/k'	...	...
w' .r' [.] 'h' [.] 'b' ^m	w' rhh'	and 'he hurried' (on),
.[s.r]' ^m ['] .tšr. ' ^m	'[zl] ['d-šr(')	g[oining up] to the city wall.

[srmwky ^m xxx ^m]	[srmwgy] ...	[Sarmuge] ...
(16) [w.] ' ^m [myt]. ^m	(16) [w]l[myt]	[and died].

Sarmuge mourned (XXI/16-17)

b.nṭ	bnt-	The daughters
'e.ṭ' [r ^m]	't' [r]	of As 'sy' [ria]

Cf. 2 Sam 1:24; Ezek 32:16; VIII/16.

[ek] 't' ^m	['(t)g] 't' (w/h)	[were hea] 'rtsick';
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Cf. Syr. g'yṭ "heartsick"; if this decipherment is correct, the derivation of the Syriac root from *š-g-t will need to be reconsidered.

'e.b' [r ^m]	'b' [l](w/h)	they 'mou' [ned]
'w.y' [.rr. ^m]	'wy' [ll](w/h)	'and' 'wa' [iled].
[xx].m' n. '	...	...
[xxxxx] 'b' [xxxxx ^m]	...	...
(17) [xxxxxxxxx]	(17) ...	...
'r' .br	'l' bl	'to' <Ba>bylon
[xxxxxxxxx]	...	...
'mb' [.] 't'	'm' (') 'bd'	'to perish'
[xxxxxxxxxxxx] 'p' 'r'	... 'p' 'l'	... 'and on'
[xxxxxxxxxx ^m]	...	...

Col. XXII

Punishment as proof of innocence (XXII/1-3)

(1) [y] ' .ty'	(1) [y] ' dy'	'My' [ha] ' nds'
b.tm. 'h' [^m]	bdm 'h'	in 'his' blood
[rt.b.r] 't' ^m	[ltbl] 't'	'I have' [not dipped];

Cf. Ps 58:10; 68:23; *History of al-Ṭabarī*: "His blood was brought to Kaykhusraw, who dipped his hand in it and said, "This is in blood vengeance for...." Literally and figuratively, Sarbanabal has no blood on his hands.

r. ^m 'e' [hy ^m e.n.k.m. ^m]	'l' [''] [hy 'nkm]	[I shall take vengeance]
		'for' [my] 'bro' [ther].

Cf. 2 Sam 4:11; XII/12. The king is at pains to absolve himself of responsibility for actions of his general that people might attribute to him; cf. 2 Sam 3:28-4:12.

'r mnnmnn 'kr' [.] ^m	'l (= 'd) mnmn/mmn 'kr' (y)	'Summon' somebody!
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Cf. Akk. *mamman* < OB *manman* "anybody, somebody"; 1 Kgs 1:28, 32; Dan 5:12;

XVIII/15-16.

[et]ʿ. 1 m. ^m (2) $\overline{h}t$ k. $\overline{r}.b$ ^m	[ʿd]m (2) hd $k\overline{r}b$
Cf. BH ʿdm "anyone"; XVI/4.	
ʿr [.]ʿ $h^1 t$. ^m	ʿl (ʿ)ʿ $h^1 t(y)$
{ { $\overline{w} \rightarrow$ } } $y\check{s}.rh$. ^m	y(t) $\check{s}lh$
ʿwy ¹ mr [^m r.h ^m]	ʿwy ¹ (ʿ) mr [lh]
[ʿ.b.]ty	[ʿb]dy-/[ʿb]dy(ʿ)-
$\overline{t}en$ ʿn ^m 1 k.phy ^m	dʿnʿn ¹ $kp(w)hy$
e<<t>>.rʿt ¹ ^m	ʿtrʿd ¹
(3) y.th. ^m $n\overline{sw}$ ʿry	(3) ydh(n) nsw ʿly

Cf. 2 Sam 18:28; 20:21; 1 Kgs 11:26, 27; XIII/9.

ʿʿ. yr.h. ^m	ʿʿ ylh<n>
t.nyʿ \overline{mn}	tny ʿmn ¹ (h)

Saritrah's defense of the general (XXII/3-5)

[$\check{s}rh$. ^m s.r.]ʿy ¹ tr ʿ ^m 1	[$\check{s}lh$](h) [sr]ʿy ¹ tr (h)
ʿbʿ. 1 k. ^m b.mrk. ^m	ʿbk bmlk(ʿ)
(4) $\check{s}rh$. ^m ʿbk. ^m	(4) $\check{s}lh$ (h) ʿbk
b.m.rk ^m	bmlk(ʿ)
mʿs ¹ p. \overline{r} . ^m m[r]ʿt. 1 [^m]	mʿs ¹ pr (h) m[l]ʿt ¹ (h)
[$\check{e}hy$ ^m] $\overline{r}.m$ ^m yʿt ¹ \overline{w}	[ʿhy] rm (ʿ) yʿd ¹ \overline{w}
$\overline{Mnkrb}.t$. ^m	$mn-k\overline{r}bt$ (h) / $mn-k\overline{r}bt$ (y)

Cf. Dan 5:20; 11QtgJob XXXIV/6.

(5) e.prk. ^m	(5) ʿprk
$\overline{t}is$ ʿy ¹ t.n. ^m	\check{s} ʿy ¹ tn/\check{s} ʿy ¹ ty
Cf. Gen 27:40.	
ʿh ¹ .br. ^m	ʿh ¹ bl
sr.[n]ʿ ^m 1	sr[n]
\overline{r} ʿk ¹ [b.]hʿy ¹ ^m	ʿlʿg ¹ [b]hʿy ¹
krhʿ ^m 1	(ʿ)grh
[e]sk. ^m	[ʿ]sk

Bring [so]meone near!

ʿTo¹ my ʿsist¹er
let him be sent,
ʿand let him¹ say [to her]:
"My/The [serva]nts
that overthrew him (= Sar-
muge)
I shall bani ʿsh¹,
(for) they rebelled against
me (*lit.*, their hand they
lifted up against me).
As for their ʿnour¹ishment—
provide a portion (of food
for their journey)."

[Sar]ʿi¹trah [sends]
hurriedly to (!) the king.
She sends hurriedly
to (!) the king
ʿre¹lating what he (= Sarmuge)
had sa[id] (*lit.*, his words):
"Let them ʿremove¹
my haughty [brother]
from his battle command. /
from my kinship/vicinity.

I shall throw off / break

our/my (yoke of)
obe¹die¹nce,
the ʿr¹ope of
[our] prince.
To the ʿhe¹[ig]ht¹s¹ of
his temple
[I shall] ascend,

[e]s.r ^m	[ˈ]zl	[I shall] go."
Saritrah's warning to other would-be rebels (XXII/5-7)		
(6) t.kr. ^m r.kn ^m	(6) dkr(w) lkn	Remember
ˈmˈs.ph. ^m	ˈmˈsph	how he perished
		(lit., his perishing),
ts.bˈrˈ[^m]	tsbˈlˈ	(and) you shall beaˈrˈ
nˈ.ˈ[r.]k.[^m]	n[r]k	your yo[ke],
Cf. Isa 9:3, Lam 3:27. When used of a yoke, s-b-l "bear" is an antonym of p-r-k "break" (XXII/5); cf. y.Peah 16b.		

<u>mn</u> Mnˈsˈkˈ.kˈ	mn-mnˈsˈkˈkˈ-	refraining from
		ˈgoˈing up
rby[t] ^m	lby[t]	to the hou[se] of
t.mk. ^m	tmk	the one who holds
ˈšˈ[my]ˈnˈ ^g	ˈšˈ[my]ˈnˈ	ˈhˈ[eav]ˈenˈ
(7) w̄.rk. ^m	(7) w(ˈ)rk	and earth.

Cf. Akk. *tamiḫ* (GAM) *šamê u eršeti* "the one who holds (the totality) of heaven and earth," attested several times as an epithet of Marduk. The house in question is Etemenanki "the house (which is) the foundation stone of heaven and earth," the temple of Marduk mentioned in XX/7 and XXI/7-8. In an attempt to save the general, Saritrah now reports the full extent of Sarmuge's rebellion, which she had previously withheld. She tells Sarbanabal that Sarmuge had planned to go up to the "heights" of Marduk's temple, presumably the bedroom at the very top of the temple tower, where the sacred marriage ceremony would take place during the New Year's festival. In other words, Sarmuge planned to usurp the king's role in the ritual, as a way of asserting his sovereignty and throwing off Sarbanabal's yoke. If so, this passage supplies a link between the story and the New Year's liturgy in the rest of the papyrus.

Parting words to the general (XXII/7-9)

mrk. ^m	mlk(ˈ)	The king
ˈ.ˈ[<u>nw</u>]wymr̄. ^m	ˈ.ˈ[n](h)-w(ˈ)ymr/	ˈspoˈ[ke up] and said
	wy(ˈ)mr	
wyˈMnˈ[rr ^m]	wyˈmˈ[l]	ˈadˈ[dress]ing
[r]ˈ.ˈtwrt.ˈn ^m	[l]twrtˈnˈ(ˈ)	the generˈalˈ:
[sr ^m]mˈyˈhk.r. ^m	(ˈ)[zl] mhˈyˈkl(ˈ) (X myhklˈ)	"[Leave] the ˈpaˈlace,
p.k[^m]	pk	get out.
(8) t.t.k. ^m	(8) dtk	Your sentence
[ps.k]ˈ.ˈt. ^m	[psk]t	I [pronounce]

r. m .rh. m
 [n] [xxxx]
 <<[in]py^f k^my>>
 <<ry^h .s^m[ny^m]>>

Cf. XIX/13-14.

[te].^m n^m
 emr̄[t^m rk^m]
 [rb.br ymh.^m]
 (9) ehyh.^m y^m

ll'lh(y)
 ...
 [n] pyk^y
 ly^hhz^{ny}

[d']^m n^m (h)
 'mr[t] [lk]
 [l-bbl y(t)mh(y)]
 (9) 'hy-h^y (y)

on behalf of my god
 ...
 You^r 'fa^{ce}
 he will not let [me] 'see^l,

[for] 'I'—
 [I] said [to you]:
 'Let Babylon be smitten
 (but) my brother keep
 al^{ive}.'"

[sp]

Short line, short column, end of verso.