

A PRE-MASSORETIC BIBLICAL PAPYRUS.

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"The Received, or, as it is commonly called, the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament Scriptures has come down to us in manuscripts which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension. That other recensions were at one time in existence is probable from the variations in the Ancient Versions, the oldest of which, namely the Greek or Septuagint, was made, at least in part, some two centuries before the Christian era."¹ These words, from the Preface to the Revised Version of the Old Testament, give expression to the generally accepted view of all Biblical scholars, and the theory, based as it is upon a series of incontrovertible facts, at last seems to be completely justified by the unexpected discovery of a small fragment of one of these pre-Massoretic texts referred to. The welcome evidence in question appears in the shape of some pieces of papyrus which were acquired in Egypt,² and are now in the possession of Mr. W. L. Nash, *F.S.A.*, to whose kindness I am indebted for the opportunity of making a more or less complete study of them.

Hebrew papyri are exceedingly rare, and, until Steinschneider in 1879 published a few fragments from the collection of papyri in the Berlin Museum, none were known to exist.³ These, according to

¹ The earliest dated MS. is the St. Petersburg codex with the superlinear points (A.D. 916), the British Museum Or. 4445, though undated, is judged to be somewhat older—"probably written about A.D. 820-850" (Ginsburg, *Introd. Heb. Bible*, 469). For other ancient MSS. see Gaster, *Proceedings*, XXII (1900), p. 230, Strack, *Hastings' DB*, IV, p. 728.

² The Greek fragments edited by Mr. F. C. Burkitt in the *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV, p. 290, were obtained at the same time.

³ *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, XVII, pp. 93, et seq. (1879), cf. Tafel vii; Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, cols. 119-125 (St. Petersburg, 1882); Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyr. d. Königl. Mus.*, p. 290, and Tafel xxiii (Berlin, 1899).

Chwolson, may belong to the VIIth-VIIIth centuries. An Aramaic poem and a few other small fragments (among them one of the oldest specimens of Arabic in Hebrew letters), dating from the IXth century, were found in the collection of the Archduke Rainer,¹ and to the same period Dr. Schechter has ascribed a mutilated liturgical papyrus-codex now in the possession of the Cambridge University Library. A few fragments preserved at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, complete the total of known Hebrew papyri, although it is of course not unlikely that other specimens exist elsewhere unedited, perhaps even unnoticed.² Interesting though the above-mentioned papyri are for one reason or another, they are eclipsed in point of age, palæography, and contents, by the one which forms the subject of the present paper.

The newly-discovered papyrus is in four pieces, the largest of which measures $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. It is perfect at the head, but mutilated at the foot and at both edges. The three remaining fragments are not independent, and the re-arrangement as shown in Plate I will, I think, sufficiently explain itself; it gives us, as the greatest measurement, 5 in. \times $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. It being found impossible to take a photograph which would reproduce the written characters with sufficient legibility, Mr. F. C. Burkitt was kind enough to facsimile them. It must therefore be understood that the Plate is a reproduction of a photograph of the papyrus upon which the writing has been copied from the original with pen and ink. Mr. Burkitt's well-known palæographical skill guarantees the accuracy of the transcription, and in expressing my indebtedness to him I cannot help realising that had it not been for his assistance, the present article, without any adequate representation of the handwriting of the papyrus, would have suffered greatly.

It contains twenty-four lines of Hebrew, with probable traces of a twenty-fifth. Vowel-points, accents, and diacritical marks of any description are wanting; there are no signs to indicate verse-division, but the words are separated from one another by a space, and the final letters are regularly employed. The spacing, however, is irregular, and the words are sometimes run together; contrast lines 4 and 12, and note על כן (l. 15) written as one word. The

¹ *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung d. Erzherz. Rainer*, i, pp. 38-44 (1886).

² Chwolson (*op. cit.*, col. 121, n. 1) has an interesting allusion to some unknown Hebrew papyrus then (1882) in the possession of an Englishman.

papyrus is of a dark brown colour and is written only upon one side. It was, perhaps, originally a roll, and not a codex in book-form. On the palæography, see below, pp. 48 *sqq.*

On Plate II. will be found the text of the papyrus fully restored. Characters within brackets have been lost owing to the partial or total mutilation of the papyrus; those surmounted by a dot are either doubtful or almost illegible, or, when at the end or beginning of a mutilated portion, are partially wanting. The precise arrangement of the restored words is of course open to correction. It will be noticed that the nineteen lines of the largest fragment are of fairly uniform breadth, and contain from 19-23 letters (average 20·85), whilst at the most 223 are required to complete them (average 11·7).¹ From the small fragment which has fortunately preserved a portion of the right-hand margin (ll. 15-19), it is seen that six or seven letters have to be restored at the commencement of each line. We find here, also, that each line begins with a fresh word (ll. 15, 19, are no doubt certain), and it is actually possible to make nearly all the remaining lines begin with an undivided word, without going very far above or below the average number of letters required. The lines, it is true, end somewhat irregularly, but this is not unusual in early writings; only the length of line 1 and the commencement of line 5 are real stumbling-blocks (see the notes, p. 37 *sq.*).

The fragment distinguishes itself pre-eminently from all known papyri by reason of its contents. It contains the Decalogue and the Shema', but with remarkable divergences from the Massoretic Text; indeed, not only may it be asserted that no one MS. is known to contain so many variants in so short a space, but the majority of them are absolutely unique, and are to be found neither in the collations of a Kennicott or a De Rossi, nor in traditional notices of long-lost manuscripts.

In the notes that follow, some attention has been paid to the versions, although the collations do not claim to be complete. It is hoped, however, that they are sufficient to give the reader a clear idea of the relative value of the text. As regards the Decalogue, the text of Exodus (xx, 2-17), and *not* Deuteronomy (v, 6-21), is pre-

¹ The average number of letters on a line is therefore 32-3. For recent theories on this point, see L. Blau, *Studien z. althebr. Buchwesen*, pp. 128 *sqq.* (Strassburg, i. E., 1902.)

supposed throughout, unless stated to the contrary, but I leave the question open for the present as to which of the two recensions the papyrus really represents.¹

Line 1.² Twenty-two letters are wanting between the end of line 1 and the commencement of line 2. This is considerably above the average number, and it is conceivable that the words מְבִית עֲבָדִים were omitted in the text. That these words are a later addition (from Deuteronomy) to the Exodus recension of the Decalogue is the view of such Old Testament critics as Wellhausen, Holzinger, and Baentsch. Aphraates (ed. Parisot, *Hom.* ii, col. 62), in a quotation, passes immediately from "land of Egypt" (Ex. xx, 2) to "thou shalt not make," etc. (v. 4), but this can scarcely be taken as conclusive evidence in support of the omission.³

Line 2. עַל פְּנֵי.⁴ The restoration, "be[for]e me" (cf. πρὸ προσώπου μου, Ⓞ^B in Deut.), is probable, and it is therefore unnecessary to conjecture a different reading (e.g., עֲפָרִי) on the strength of Ⓞ's πλὴν ἐμοῦ (BAFL, and AFL in Deut., cf. *praeter me, absque me* [Sabatier], בַּר מִנִּי [Targ., and similarly Pesh.]).⁵

¹ The following authorities have been consulted: For the Hebrew Massoretic Text (M.T.), the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi. The Septuagint (Ⓞ), Swete, the Lucianic recension (L, ed. Lagarde), and the collations of Holmes and Parsons. (Ⓞ by itself designates the readings in Swete and the Lucianic recension.) The Old Latin, Sabatier and the Lyons Pentateuch (ed. Ul. Robert). The Samaritan Pentateuch, Walton, Blayney, and Kennicott's collations. The Samaritan Targum, Petermann. The Syriac-Hexaplar, Brit. Mus. Add. 12134 (ed. Lagarde). The Syriac Peshitta, Lee's text, supplemented by collations of old MSS. in the British Museum. The Targum Onkelos, Walton, Berliner; the Palestinian Targums, Walton, the *Mahzor Vitry* (ed. Hurwitz, pp. 338 *sqq.*), and Brit. Mus., Add. 27031. The Arabic, Walton, Lagarde (*Materialien*).

² Above line 1 and midway between וְיִהְיֶה and אֱלֹהֶיךָ there appear to be traces of an N. They are not distinct enough, however, to enable one to speak with any degree of confidence. It should be mentioned that the actual width of the upper-margin (as also of that at the right-hand side) is $\frac{3}{8}$ inch.

³ Mr. E. J. Pilcher ingeniously suggests that if the papyrus in its complete state were a Service-book, the omission of the words may be due to the fact that "the authorities of the Synagogue, living in the midst of a fanatical and turbulent population, may have considered it prudent to refrain from publicly describing their land of residence as a house of slaves," thus avoiding a phrase "which might be considered as casting an aspersion upon the country or its inhabitants."

⁴ After I had made my copy, and before the photograph was taken, a minute particle of papyrus containing portions of the ׀ of אֲחֵרִים and the ׀ following disappeared.

⁵ The reading "with me" (אִתִּי) in Aphraates (col. 62) is not conclusive.

לוא *plene* throughout. According to the Massora, this spelling occurs thirty-five times in the O.T. תחמוד (l. 10) and תחמוד (l. 19 sq.) are both written *defectiva* in the M.T., elsewhere the text follows Exod., notably in יאריכון (l. 17), for which Deut. has יאריכן. It is well known that the scribes were allowed considerable latitude in the use of the *plene*, hence no inference as to date can be drawn from these spellings. From Kennicott's collations it appears that אבת (v. 5) is *plene* in thirty-two MSS. of Ex., and defective in three MSS. of Deut.; יאריכן is *plene* in a number of MSS. of Deut.; and the spellings תגנוב and תחמוד are found in Ex. in eleven and two MSS. respectively.

כל is restored at the end of the line in agreement with Deut. (v. 8) and a few MSS. of Ex. The reading וכל (in Ex.) is also read in Deut. by Hebrew MSS., Palest. Targ. (not Onkelos), Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), and Pesh.¹

Line 5. Eleven letters only are wanting between ll. 4 and 5. Elsewhere at least six letters are required at the commencement of the line, and, since word-division does not seem to have been practised, it is possible that for תעבדם we should read תעבד (תעבד) and restore אתם before כי.

אל קנא. The M.T. in Ex. (xx, 5) and Deut. (v, 9) has קנא (cf. also Ex. xxxiv, 14, Deut. iv, 24, vi, 15), but this form recurs in Josh. xxiv, 19, Nah. i, 2.

Line 6. על שלשים. This agrees with Ex. against Deut. ('ועל ש'). The Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), however, prefixes ך in the former, whilst the Targ., and several Heb. and Sam. MSS., omit it in the latter.

Line 7. מצותי. In Deut. (v. 10) מצותי, but Pesh. and Sam. Pent. agree with Ex.

Line 8. There does not appear to be room for the addition of אלהיך after יהוה, which is presupposed by B in Ex., and B^{a b mg. L} in Deut.

Line 9. [שמ]. See note on בה, l. 11. זכור. So Ex., against שמור in Deut. (v. 12). On the possibility that Deut. originally read זכור, see below, p. 53. The

¹ It is worth adding, perhaps, that in Deut. (v, 8) Lee's omission of כל is a mistake, the reading כלל is found in every MS. that I have examined. In v. 7, too, all the old MSS. have ולס וסג.

reading of Sam. (Pent. and Targ.) in Ex. (טר, שמור) is conformed to Deut.

Line 10. תעבד. See note on לוא, l. 2.

כל מלאכתך. There is no reason to suppose that the noun is in the plur. (⊕ in Ex. and Deut. τὰ ἔργα σου).

[וביתם]. The insertion of the preposition (contrast M.T. ויום השביעי) is found in a few Heb. MSS. and in the LXX of both Ex. and Deut., in O. Lat. of Deut., and in the Vulgate of Ex. only. The reading is justified by Ex. xvi, 26, xxxi, 15, xxxv, 2, Lev. xxiii, 3, etc.

Line 11. The insertion of בה is supported by the Book of Jubilees (L, 7), ⊕, O. Lat. (Sabatier, Robert), Vulg., Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), and Syr.-Hexaplar (with the obelus). It is wanting in M.T. (and elsewhere in parallel passages, e.g., Deut. xvi, 8, Lev. xxiii, 3, 7, etc.; but contrast Ex. xxxv, 2, and Jer. xvii, 24), Targ., and old Syriac MSS., although in the printed editions of the Peshitta, and in MSS. from the VIIIth–IXth centuries onwards it has found a placé, owing, doubtless, to the influence of the Septuagint.¹

The suffix of the 3^d S. m. is ה; cf. [שמ], l. 9. The suffix, on the other hand, is ך in [ש]ורו and חמרו (l. 21), and this interchange agrees admirably with O.T. usage, e.g., Gen. xlix, 11 (להה), but [לבשו, אתנו, סותה, עירה]; Deut. xxxiv, 7 (להה), but קברתו, z. 6). The form is not confined to early writings (cf. Ezek. xxxi, 18, Nah. ii, 1), and is frequently emended by the Kēřf to ך. The original pronunciation of this, the primitive form, was probably ה —, and its occurrence on this papyrus, corresponding, as it does, so closely with O.T. usage, is one of the many indications that this is a genuine Hebrew text, and not a later production.²

¹ From an examination of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum it appears that סוס is omitted by Add. 14425 (the oldest dated Syriac Biblical MS., and the second oldest Syriac MS. of known date—A.D. 464), by two MSS. of the Vth century (Add. 14427, and Add. 14438, Deut.), by one of the VIIIth century (Add. 12133, Ex.). Two of the VIIth–VIIIth centuries read סוס in Deut. only, and not in Ex. (Or. 4400, and the Milan Codex Ambrosianus). It is found in Rich. 7145 of the VIIIth–IXth centuries (Ex.), in the Cambridge "Buchanan Bible" (Oo. I, 1, end of XIIth century), in Rich. 7146 (XIVth–XVth centuries), and later MSS.

² Cf. פילגשו, Judges xix, 24 (but פילגשו v. 2, 25), אִשְׁרָהוּ, Prov. xxix, 18 (but עברו, v. 21). ה recurs regularly on the Moabite Stone as a nominal and verbal suffix (e.g., ארצה, ויחלפה).

That **בה** is not the feminine form is conclusively shown by the M.T. **ויקדשהו** in *v.* 11 (*cf.* also Deut. v, 12, Gen. ii, 3, Ex. xxxv, 2, Is. lvi, 2, 6).¹

Line 12. The text agrees with Deut. against Ex. (**עבוד** **וואמתך ובהמתך**), but the fuller reading is presupposed by **Ⓢ** in Ex., although the only Hebrew support seems to be the addition of **ונכל בהמתך ושורך וחמרך** (one MS. cited by De Rossi), and **ונכל בהמתך ושורך וחמרך** (one MS. cited by Kenn.). The **ו** is prefixed to **עבוד** in agreement with Deut. (omitted by some MSS., **Ⓢ**, and Sam. Pent. and Targ.), and several MSS. in Ex.

The general agreement of the text of this commandment with Ex. is seen from the presence of Ex. xx, 11, and the omission of Deut. v, 15, and the closing words of *v.* 14. For the view that the text in Deut. was originally simpler, see below, p. 53, and note that **Ⓢ^B** (but not **B^{ab}** AFL or Old Lat.) has inserted in *v.* 14: *ἐν γὰρ εἶξ ἡμέραις ἐποίησεν Κύριος τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, and that BAFL adds at the end καὶ ἀγιάζειν αὐτήν.*

Line 14. The reading **את הים** (**Ⓢ^B** omits) is supported by the great majority of MSS. **ו** is prefixed in a small number, and is found in **Ⓢ^{B ab mg.}** AFL (and **Ⓢ^B** in Deut.), Palest. Targ. (not Onk.), Pesh., Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), Vulg., Ar.

That the small fragment containing the beginning of ll. 15-19 is correctly restored seems obvious from the result. The edges do not fit with precision, but this is hardly to be wondered at since the papyrus has suffered considerable wear and tear.²

Line 15. The indications favour **ויינה [ביום]**. The lower part of the **ו** is distinct, and the apparent trace of a final **ם** points to the ligature **נה** (of which only the **נ** and the right hand leg of the **ה** are preserved). The ligature would exactly resemble **נת** in l. 18.

Line 16. **השביעי** is scarcely doubtful, and it is absolutely certain at all events that it cannot be read **השבת**, as in Ex.

¹ The sing. **שבת** is fem. in Ex. xxxi, 14, Lev. xxiii, 3, xxv, 6 (with **הוא**), xvi, 31 (with **היא**, but xxiii, 32, with **הוא**); in Jer. xvii, 24, with **בה** kéthib (but **בו** keri).

² I may remark that before I succeeded in determining the contents and position of this fragment, the restoration of the words between **אמך** (l. 16) and **למען** (l. 17) caused great difficulty. Some ten or more letters had to be supplied, and the only resource seemed to be to insert **כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך** (Deut. v, 16), which was too long.

xx. 11b. The reading agrees with Gen. ii, 3, upon which the verse may have been based, and is presupposed by **Ⓢ**, Pesh., and Ar.¹

ויקדשו. Formerly read by me as **ויקדשהו**, although the horizontal stroke of the pre-supposed **ה** was not to be seen. Mr. Burkitt points out that the slope of the two strokes is quite different from that of the **ה** in the papyrus, and reads **ויקדשו**, which I accept as correct. As he justly remarks, a suffix which has become **הה** in the conventional Hebrew of the M.T., may very well have assumed sometimes the form **הי**.²

Line 17. The letters **ייט** at the commencement of the line are particularly distinct, and eventually gave the clue to the position of the smaller fragment.

The text of the commandment differs more markedly from Ex. xx, 12, than Deut. v, 16. On the other hand, Deut.'s **כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך** (omitted by four MSS.) is here wanting, and the arrangement agrees with **Ⓢ** (in Ex. and Deut.),³ O. Lat. (Sabatier and Robert [Deut.]), Ephes. vi, 2, and Philo.⁴ The superiority of the new reading is shown by the general agreement of the order with other Deuteronomical passages (see Deut. xxii, 7, and *cf.* iv, 40, v, 30 [33]); but contrast Deut. vi, 2 *sq.*

¹ The Syr. Hex. gives the reading without mark or comment. It is found also in Aphraates (Hom. xiii, col. 541). The Brit. Mus. Or. 4400 reads **סגל** for **לסן**, and with this agrees Add. 14425 (on the MS., see above, p. 39, n. 1), which stands alone in following the M.T., **לסמא נסמא**. These two MSS. and Add. 12133 agree in making Deut. v, 11 the *second* commandment (so **Ⓢ^A**, St. Augustine, and others). [The more modern Cambridge S. Indian Syr. MSS., Oo., I, 26 and 27 have adopted the same division, but vary in the second half, partly through error.]

² The form of the suffix can be paralleled, and the Rev. R. H. Kennett, of Queens' College, Cambridge, to whom I applied for information, informs me that he has always held that the suffix in the Syr. **נסמא** is contained in the **ס**, and that the silent **ס**, which was probably never pronounced, may be merely an orthographical convention. He adds, however, that no doubt the Hebrew originally possessed many grammatical forms ignored by the Massora, but it would be precarious to postulate the existence of any such form unless traces of it could be found in the *Kethib*. Unless **י** is here a consonant, it is also possible to suppose a contraction of **הה**, with the omission of **ה** (as in **שלי**, on Heb. seals for **עזיהו**, **עזיהו**, and with **י** plene (as in **שלי**, Job xxi, 23).

³ "That it may go well with thee," is omitted by **Ⓢ^A** in Ex., and by three Heb. and Sam. MSS. in Deut.

⁴ Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, ad loc. (London, 1895).

יִצְרִיכֶן. Defective in Deut., but see above on לֹוֹא, l. 2. האדמה הטובה is read by Ⓢ (Ex. only), Pesh. and Ar.¹ (Deut. only), but there was scarcely room for it on the papyrus.

Line 18. The order (a) adultery, (b) murder, (c) steal, is found in Ex., only in Holmes and Parsons, nos. 14, 16, 30, 57, 73, 75, 77, 78, 130, 136. Ⓢ^{AFL} agrees with the M.T. in the order b, a, c; Ⓢ^B alone has a, c, b. Yet another arrangement (b, c, a) appears in Brit. Mus. Rich., 7146, a Syriac (Jacobite) MS. of the XIVth-XVth centuries—probably an error. In Deut., Ⓢ^{AF} agrees with M.T. (b, a, c), but the above order (a, b, c) is found in Ⓢ^{BL} and in Holmes and Parsons, nos. 19, 44, 54, 74, 75, 76, 106, 108, 118, 134. The Septuagint support is therefore stronger in Deut. than in Ex.

The usual, or Massoretic order, is found in Josephus (second half of first century, A.D.), Mt. xix, 18, the *Didaché* (first half of second century),² and became fixed at an early date. On the other hand, the above order is supported by Romans xiii, 9, Jas. ii, 11, Mk. x, 19 (A.V.), Lk. xviii, 20,³ Philo (see Ryle, *ad. loc.*), Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus of Portus, Ambrosiaster, and others.⁴

In the omission of the conjunction in ll. 18 and 19, the text agrees with Ex. (also Ⓢ Sam. Pent. in Deut.) against Deut. M.T.

Line 19. The reading שָׁוִי agrees with Deut. (v. 20) against שָׁקֵר, Ex. (v. 16). Ⓢ's ψευδῆ in both, though not conclusive, favours שָׁקֵר, which is read by several Heb. MSS. even in Deut. (presupposed also by Targ. Onk., and O. Lat.). Of the two readings Holzinger prefers שָׁקֵר as the more concrete term, and, pointing to v. 7 (Ⓢ ἐπι ματαίῳ), observes that in so short a passage as the Decalogue, שָׁוִי would hardly have been used in two different senses. On the whole, it is more probable that שָׁקֵר "has been

¹ See Lagarde, *Materialien* (Leipzig, 1867). The same text has a curious omission in Ex. xx, 12, reading: "honour thy father and thy mother that thy life may be long which the Lord thy God giveth thee." The Syr. MS., Brit. Mus., Or. 4400, stands alone (so far as I know) in reading **יְסֻעֶיךָ מִתֵּיבָר**.

² Probably, as Mr. Burkitt informs me, under the direct influence of Mt. xix, 18.

³ Contrast Vulg. and Pesh. in Luke, the Sinaitic palimpsest in Mark (cf. R.V.), and the parallel Matt. xix, 18. (For this arrangement, cf. also Ⓢ's treatment of Jer. vii, 9.) Aphraates (col. 546), who merely mentions adultery before murder, elsewhere (col. 837) gives the order: covet, murder, adultery. Here, as in the case of l. 1, his evidence is not conclusive.

⁴ See the commentaries *ad. loc.*, and cf. Geffcken, *Ueber d. verschiedene Eintheilung d. Decalogus* (Hamburg, 1838), who cites also the Frisian church (p. 201 sq.).

substituted in Ex. xx, 16, to remove all doubt about the sense" (Addis)—the more difficult reading is the older (cf. also Baentsch).

Lines 20 sq. The smaller fragment (the readings are not very easy) contains portions of l. 20 sq., and joins on fairly well to the larger. Traces of ש in אשר (l. 21) appear on both. The precise arrangement of the two pieces under the large fragment is indicated by the amount of space required for the restoration of l. 23 sq.¹

From the text as restored it will appear that it agrees with Deut. v. 18[21] against Ex. xx. 17, in the mention of אשת before בית. Apart from a few MSS. which read the reverse in both, the reading in Deut. is presupposed by Ⓢ in Ex. The insertion of שררה also characterises Deut., although it is found in Ⓢ, Samr. (Pent. and Targ.), and in a few Heb. MSS. in Ex. On the other hand, instead of the repetition of תחמוד (on the spelling see above, l. 2); Deut. supplies a new verb (תתאוה), although again in this it is not followed by the Sam. (Pent. and Targ.), the Palest. Targum (not Onkelos), Ⓢ, and Old Lat. Mr. Burkitt, however, is convinced that תתאוה is actually the reading of the papyrus. The א, which he finds, is far from clear, and if תחמוד is correct, the last two characters are not very intelligible. Both readings are difficult.²

The את before בנות (l. 20) is a novelty, and it is also to be restored presumably at the end of l. 19. The number of missing letters is then brought up to the average. As regards the words restored in l. 21, some Heb. MSS. omit ך before עבדו, and the reading ושורו (with ך) is found only in Ex., but is presupposed by Ⓢ, Pesh. in Deut. Further, in Deut., all MSS. of Pesh. insert "vineyard" after "field," with the exception of Add. 14425, where, too, "servant" and "maid-servant" are transposed. Ⓢ, in both, adds οὐτε παντός κτήνους (σκεύους L. in Ex.) αὐτοῦ, a secondary element probably derived from the fourth commandment. An analogy to this appears in Ⓢ^{BabL}'s καὶ τὸ ὑπόζυγιον αὐτοῦ (Deut. v, 14b).³

Line 22. The Decalogue is followed by the Shema' (Deut. vi,

¹ They should probably come a little more to the left of the larger fragment, and not immediately under it as on Plate I.

² Vulg. in Ex. *non concupisces . . . nec desiderabis*, in Deut. only the former once. As regards usage, the verb תתאוה, in fact, was to be expected with אשת rather than with בית.

³ On such multiplication of details in the Decalogue, particularly in the fourth commandment, see Geiger, *Urschrift u. Uebersetzung*, p. 466.

4, *sq.*), to which is prefixed an introductory clause no longer preserved in the M.T. G's version of Deut. vi, 4 reads:—*Καὶ πάντα τὰ δικαίωματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἐξελεθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἄκουε, Ἰσραὴλ· Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν.* The verse is fortunately preserved also in the Lyons Old Latin codex, which reads *Moyses* for *Kύριος* (in agreement with G^{B*vidF} and several MSS. cited by Holmes and Parsons), and *DŒ Tuus DŒS unus est* for *ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*. Obviously the readings *Kύριος* and *ἡμῶν* are mutually inconsistent, and it may be conjectured that the subject to the verb "commanded" was originally unexpressed.

The reading *והמשפטים וגו'* is perfectly clear, and the LXX and O. Lat. require us to see in the preceding characters, which are somewhat indistinct, *[ההק]ים*. The difficulty lies in the identification of the second character with the desiderated *ם*, which would here have an unusual form. In view of what is said below regarding the palæography of the papyrus the reading of the oldest version may be accepted with confidence.

Line 23. The last letter in *בצאתם* is slightly doubtful, owing to the disappearance of the lower horizontal stroke. The alternative, *בצאתה*, is difficult on account of the form of the *ה*, and on grammatical grounds.

Line 24. It will be noticed that the *ד* in *אחד* is not a majuscule, and it is highly probable that the *ע* of *שמע* in l. 23 was also of the ordinary size. The Shema', too, is not written on one line as old tradition required. The addition of *הוא* after *אחד* is remarkable, and finds no support in Heb. MSS., in the Sam., or Targ.¹

[Line 25.] At the extreme foot of the papyrus there is a small vertical stroke which is doubtless the top of an *ל*. This, it may be conjectured, belongs to *אלהיד*. The position of the stroke underneath, and midway between *יהוה* and *אלהינו*, agrees well, as the restoration shows, with the average number of letters on each line. Mr. Burkitt finds traces of two other *lameds* which, from their position, must presuppose *בכל לבבך*.

¹ It is worth adding that on a Hebrew inscription from Palmyra (see below, pp. 49, 51, and col. 10 on Plate of Alphabets), containing the Shema', the divine name is always replaced by *אדוני*. This is not later than the 3rd century (see *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, IV [1902], p. 203 *sq.*).

This introduction to the Shema' bears every appearance of genuineness. It is not easy otherwise to account for G's reading, since the nearest parallel, Deut. iv, 45, is not sufficiently close to suggest that the Septuagint translator has merely borrowed.¹ On the assumption that the introduction originally formed part of the Hebrew text, how is one to account for its omission? Two explanations may be hazarded. In the first place, without entering into a discussion of the literary analysis of this portion of Deut., it is conceivable that the introduction was omitted, partly to avoid any break in the continuity, and partly because an introduction was already contained in iv, 44, *sq.*, or, better, in vi, 1.²

In the second place, the Palestinian Targums insert before the Shema' a Haggadic anecdote ascribing the origin of the famous words in *v.* 4 to the sons of Jacob. When one remembers the importance attached to the Shema' from the earliest times,³ and recalls the tendency, fully exemplified in the Pharisaic Book of Jubilees, to thrust back laws and institutions to pre-Mosaic times, it is not a difficult conjecture that the introduction, conflicting as it did with the Haggadah of the time, was dropped either before or at the formation of the Massoretic text.

From the above notes it will be seen that where the Hebrew text agrees with Deut. against Ex., it has the support of the Septuagint version of Ex., and where it has independent readings of its own, it is supported, in the first instance, by the LXX (and O. Lat.), and, to a much less degree, by the other versions. Most convincing of all is the introduction to the Shema'. But there is no good reason on this account to doubt that the fragment is a genuine Biblical text. It is known that the Hebrew Pentateuch was read in Egypt at least from the time of the writer of the Letter of Aristeas down to

¹ Suggested by Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 332. The verse runs: "These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgements (the third term is omitted by B*) which Moses spake unto (so BAL, but F "commanded") the children of Israel (AL inserts "in the wilderness") when they went from (G inserts "the land of") Egypt."

² A title is undoubtedly helpful, and some critics have even supposed that vi, 1 once stood nearer to *v.* 4 than it does now (see *The Hexateuch*, ed. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, London, 1900, vol. II, *ad loc.*).

³ See Blau's interesting paper: "Origine et Histoire de la lecture du Schema," *Rev. d'Et. Juives*, xxxi (1895), pp. 179 *sqq.*, especially p. 183, *note*, where there are references to other Rabbinical writings in which the above-mentioned tradition reappears.

Justinian's day,¹ and it is inconceivable that a Hebrew-speaking Jew should have required a retranslation from a version such as the Septuagint. Further, the evidence shows that the text agrees, now with BFL against A, now with BAF against L, etc., so that no particular MS. or recension is represented to the exclusion of others.²

Finally, in a translation from the Greek, one would not only have expected to find words corresponding to οὔτε παντός κτήνους αὐτοῦ (l. 21), etc., but literal renderings might be expected in the case of ἐν γὰρ ἕξ ἡμέραις (v. 11, l. 13), and ἕνα μακροχρόνιος γέννη (v. 12, l. 17). The addition of שָׁמַיִם in the Shema is not necessarily to be regarded as based upon the LXX. It is equally difficult to suppose that the text is dependent upon any other version: the Sam., Pesh., and Targ. agree too closely with the M.T., and the absence of the distinctive interpolations after the Decalogue precludes the first mentioned. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that the papyrus is a genuine Hebrew text.³

This being assumed, it follows that we have to do with a Hebrew Biblical fragment which differs more widely from the M.T. than any known MS. It is important to observe that these readings are so consistently supported by the Septuagint that they clearly cannot be regarded as due to the imagination or defective memory of a scribe, nor may we suppose (comparing Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii, 5, § 4, end) that they are a deliberate alteration from superstitious motives (οὐ θεμίτον . . . λέγειν φανερώς πρὸς λέξιν). Only one explanation seems possible. The scrupulous fidelity in the preservation and correct transmission of the Old Testament dates only from a certain period. It is due to this care that the consonantal text has remained virtually unchanged during the last seventeen hundred years, and that we can trace it back through the oldest manuscripts to the Vulgate, the Targums, the translation of Aquila, and the Mishna. But a critical and unbiassed study of such earlier and independent writings as the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Book of

¹ Cf. for Aristeas, Kautsch, *Pseudepigr.*, ii, 7 § 20; Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 525, and for Justinian, *Novell.* cxlvi, cited by Schürer, *G.J.V.*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, p. 95, n. 76 [Engl. trans., Div. ii, vol. 2, p. 285, n. 217].

² Perhaps it comes nearest to B's text of Deut. (see below, p. 53). At all events it has no close relationship with Hesychian texts.

³ Had the text merely copied or imitated any of the versions, it would assuredly have presented those blemishes which here and there obscure certain of the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus.

Jubilees, etc., forces the conviction that the text has not always been in the fixed state in which it has come down to us, and has led to the commonly accepted opinion that the "Massoretic" text is but a stage, and that almost the latest one, in the history of the Old Testament text.¹ The fixing of the text of the Koran by the Caliph Othman, and of the Rig-Vedas by a school of scribes in the 5th century B.C., are analogies that will occur to every one. This view, as I have already remarked, is accepted by the great mass of Biblical scholars, and is duly stated by the cautious and sober band of critics who prepared the Revised Version of the Old Testament, in the words cited at the head of the present article. It has been so frequently enunciated, and by more competent writers than myself, that further remarks of mine are unnecessary.² But it is not denied that, whatever be the date of the formation of this recension, MSS., in Palestine at least, may have been gradually undergoing a process of conformation one with another, and if, as the scanty evidence suggests, the labours of the scribes were not conducted upon the critical principles that would be employed to-day by the editor of a text,³ it is not suggested that the text was at all freely altered from polemical or other reasons. Cautious criticism, grateful for the welcome light which the Septuagint and other versions frequently shed upon obscure or corrupt passages in the M.T., willingly recognises that the M.T. more nearly represents the earliest form in which

¹ The term "Massoretic" text is, strictly speaking, incorrect. It was the *sôphêrim* (scribes) who were the revisers and redactors of the canonical text. The Massorettes came later. These were the "authoritative custodians of the traditionally transmitted text . . . their province was to safeguard the text delivered to them by 'building a hedge around it,' to protect it against alterations, or the adoption of any readings which still survived in manuscripts or were exhibited in the ancient versions" (Ginsburg, *Introd. to Hebrew Bible*, p. 421). To them is due the introduction of vowel-points and accents.

² See Derenbourg, *L'Histoire de la Palestine* (1867), pp. 299 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Die Alttestament. Literatur* (1868), pp. 240 sqq.; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel* (1890), pp. xxxvi sqq.; Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of O.T.* (1891), pp. 51 sqq.; Robertson Smith, *Old Test. in Jewish Church* (1892), pp. 62 sqq., 82 sqq.; Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Test.* (1893), pp. 576 sqq.; Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Germ. by Budde, 1894), pp. 82 sqq.; W. H. Bennett, *Primer of the Bible* (1897), pp. 123 sqq.; T. H. Weir, *History of the Hebrew Text of O.T.* (1899), p. 70 sq.; Briggs, *Introd. to Study of Holy Scripture* (1899), pp. 174 sqq.; "Text of the O.T." by Strack, in *Hastings' DB*; "Text and Versions" by Burkitt in *Encycl. Biblica*. The list might easily be enlarged, but the above references are fairly representative.

³ See Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 65 sq.

the books were first written down, and that, "on the whole the purer text was undoubtedly preserved by the Jews."¹

If the claim that this papyrus represents a pre-Massoretic form of the Hebrew text be justified, it does not necessarily follow that the fragment is chronologically pre-Massoretic. It is not improbable that private MSS., or MSS. not strictly Jewish, were copied and perpetuated in Egypt years after the M.T. had been adopted in Palestine, although it will be readily understood that a time would come when all variant texts of this character would fall into disuse. How long such texts continued, and to what extent they were used, it is difficult to decide.²

Should it so happen that among the hundreds of Geniza fragments there should be found Biblical passages with noteworthy variants from the *textus receptus*, it will be necessary to determine whether they are based upon a sound and ancient tradition, or whether they admit of another explanation (e.g., scribe's errors, etc.). It is the fact that the readings in the papyrus find *authoritative support* that gives them their value. Were they absolutely without a parallel in the ancient versions they might not unjustifiably be regarded with suspicion.

I have intentionally emphasized the fact that the papyrus is not necessarily pre-Massoretic in point of view of date, in order that the palæographical evidence may now be examined without any preconceived view one way or the other.

On Plate III will be found a comparative table of alphabets illustrating the relation of the handwriting on the papyrus (col. 5) to other allied forms.³ As in the history of Greek writing, the palæography of Hebrew papyri should perhaps form a department by itself. Unfortunately, with the sole exception of the fragments now under discussion, there is nothing between the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri (col. 1), the latest of which may belong to the Ptolemaic period, and the Berlin specimens (col. 11), ascribed to the VIIth—VIIIth centuries of this era (see p. 34 *sq.* above). The new papyrus

¹ Driver, *Heb. Text of Samuel*, p. xxxix; cf. Burkitt, "Text and Versions," § 66, *Encycl. Biblica*, Vol. IV (1903); Kirkpatrick, *Divine Library of O.T.*, pp. 85 *sqq.*

² See Strack, *Semitic Studies in Memory of Kohut* (Berlin, 1897), p. 571.

³ With the exception of col. 5, the alphabets are taken or compiled from Euting's fine table in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscr. Hebr.*, and from Lidzbarski's *Handbuch. d. Nordsemit. Epigraphik*, Pt. II, *tafeln*, and art. "Alphabet" in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I.

comes between these two extremes, and to determine its date more nearly recourse must be had to other epigraphical remains, the date of which, however, is often not known with certainty. The forms upon the Palmyrene (col. 2 monumental, col. 3 cursive character) and Nabataean (col. 4) inscriptions date from the Christian era (or just before it), and go down to the IIIrd and IVth century A.D. The Palestinian ossuaries (col. 6) range perhaps from 100 B.C.—100 A.D. The inscriptions from Gezer (col. 7), the Bēnē Hēzīr inscription and that of Queen Šadda (col. 8), are of the same period. The close of the transitional stage is illustrated by inscriptions from Keḥr Bir'im (col. 9), and Palmyra (col. 10), where the "square character" is finally settled; both are probably not later than 300 A.D. Lastly, col. 12 exhibits the alphabet of the oldest dated Biblical MS. (916 A.D.), which is merely included for its interest on that account.

Plate I. with Mr. Burkitt's facsimile shows the form of the writing so clearly and accurately that it only remains for me to draw attention to certain peculiarities. The writing is certainly cursive, but quite distinct from the running hand found upon Babylonian bowls, the Berlin papyri (col. 11), and the later Rabbinical forms.¹ There are no traces of "crowned letters"; these "little zayins," which ornamented the heads of ג ז ט נ ע ז ש, already appear in the Berlin papyri, and are mentioned as obligatory in the Talmud (*Men. 29b*).² The five final letters occur regularly. A final ך is found on the Bēnē Hēzīr inscription, final ך, ן and ף on Palestinian ossuaries, but the ך in גור תחם (Gezer boundary-stone) is not final. When these double forms were first regularly used in Hebrew is not positively known. A close inspection of the papyrus shows that ligatures—omitting all doubtful cases—are unusually common. A few examples are found on the Bēnē Hēzīr and Šadda inscriptions, on Palestinian ossuaries, and the Berlin papyri. With these exceptions,

¹ Cf. Lidzbarski, *Jewish Encycl.*, p. 453, Pl. V. Mr. Burkitt further points out to me that in the "Rabbinic" it is ך which has the broken-backed form and not ך as in the papyrus. . . . the papyrus script has nothing to do with the later Rabbinic any more than papyrus Greek *cursive* of the first century has to do with the mediæval *minuscule*." A superficial resemblance, therefore, is no argument against the antiquity of the papyrus. Even as regards the older Egyptian-Aramaic, Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*, p. 442b) notes "the astonishing fact that not only the general features of the script are much like the cursive Hebrew of the Middle Ages, but that many of the signs taken by themselves are absolutely identical."

² Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 445a.

ligatures are very rare in Hebrew, even in the cursive writing, but, on the other hand, they often occur in Palmyrene, and are frequent in Nabataean and Sinaitic inscriptions.

The form of the Tetragrammaton comes nearer to that which the early Hexaplaric translators represent by ΠΙΠΠΙ, than to the more archaic $\aleph \aleph \aleph \aleph$, recently recovered from a fragment of Aquila.¹ The former represents the true "square character" of Aramaic origin, introduced not earlier than the IInd century B.C., whilst the latter is a lineal descendant of the script on the Siloam inscription, and finds its nearest parallels on the coins of Antigonus and Simon han-Nâsi.²

As regards the individual letters, \aleph is of various forms and sizes. Most remarkable is the turning in of the left leg, of which only faint traces were hitherto known in Hebrew (cols. 7 and 10). The closely-related Nabataean form (col. 4) is not common, and belongs to an inscription of B.C. 1; it is also found once or twice in the Sinaitic graffiti. The second Nabataean example is the usual final form, and resembles the ornamental Palmyrene (col. 2). Here, however, the bend is less marked.

\aleph . The various positions of the left-hand stroke are noteworthy. The closest analogies are in Egyptian-Aramaic (col. 1), and Palm. (col. 2, the best examples are of B.C. 9 and A.D. 188). On the papyrus it is clearly in the transitional stage, but it has not yet attained the shape (resembling a \aleph and the Greek Π) which is regularly found on all Hebrew inscriptions.

\aleph is closed in l. 17, but open in l. 22. For the former, the older form of the letter, the only analogies in Nabataean inscriptions are not later than 55 A.D., but it is frequent in Sinaitic and regular in Syriac.

\aleph . The "broken-backed" form is common in Nab. and Pal., but has only left the merest traces in Palest. ossuaries and the Šadda inscr. (cols. 6, 8).

\aleph . The occasional smallness of the lower part of \aleph , and its not infrequent elevation above the line, find a parallel in the Bēnê

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments . . . of Aquila from a MS. formerly in the Geniza at Cairo* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 15 sq.

² (For the ' cf. also Clermont-Ganneau, *Sceaux*, Nos. 11 (אבשרי, written *boustrôphêdon*), and 44 (אליעם). These, and allied forms of old Hebrew (illustrated in the *Proceedings*, XIX [1897], p. 172, plate II), existed side by side with the "square character" down to the IInd cent. A.D.)

Ĥēzîr, and Šadda inscr.¹ In that of Kefr Bir'im, the later regular form and position are well established.

\aleph . The final form is not always closed. This is also the case in some early Hebrew inscriptions (col. 10, cf. *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, pp. 112 sq., 117), where, however, the opening is at the top left-hand corner.

\aleph . For the form cf. cols. 6, 8, and *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 114. The final \aleph has a form between the Palest. ossuaries and the Kefr Bir'im inscr. \aleph . With the smallness of the tail, cf. the cursive Palmyrene (col. 3), and the Babylonian bowls (Chwolson, *Table*, cols. 53, 57).

\aleph . The left-hand stroke often turns up and forms a loop. This form, though regular in Syriac, is found rarely in Nab. (col. 4, A.D. 55). The less angular shape represented there is Sinaitic.

From the above it would appear that the writing is an early form of the Hebrew in the transitional stage from the ancestral Aramaic to the settled "square character" of the Kefr Bir'im and Palmyra inscr. (not later than 273 A.D.). Some of the letters have Aramaic characteristics of which only the merest traces are to be found in the earliest Hebrew inscriptions. The closest Hebrew analogies are the Palest. ossuaries and the Bēnê Ĥēzîr inscr. In view of the presence of the final letters, we can scarcely date the papyrus before the end of the first century, and, on other grounds, it can hardly be brought down later than the third. Taking everything into consideration, it may be concluded that the palæography safely allows us to ascribe it to the second century of this era, and that (if a more precise date may be ventured) the first quarter of that century would be the most probable date in view of the characteristic features of the text. If this script were a lineal descendant of that found upon Egyptian-Aramaic, sufficient time would have to be allowed for the development of $\aleph, \aleph, \aleph, \aleph, \aleph, \aleph$ (col. 1). But it is unnecessary to assume that the writing of each separate group is the descendant of that which may chronologically precede it.² The Nabataean and Palmyrene are distinct, though contemporary, branches, and neither is immediately descended from the earlier

¹ Cf. also *P.E.F.Q.*, 1900, p. 112, No. 7 (Euting, *Epig. Miscell.*, I., p. 13, No. 52).

² It is, perhaps, precarious to argue from the wording in the letter of Aristæus that the writing of the Palestinian Jews was regarded as quite distinct, not only from the native Egyptian—which is obvious—but also from the Egyptian-Aramaic script, which would no doubt be well-known to the librarian Demetrius (Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 520, ll. 25 sqq.; p. 525, l. 3 sq.; Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, II, p. 5, § 11; p. 7, § 30). But the language is obscure, and the first of the two passages is probably not free from glosses.

Aramaic inscr. of N. Arabia or Egypt. All that can be said is that the Nabatean, Palmyrene, Hebrew, and Syriac are closely related sister alphabets, derived from Aramaic forms current in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia in the IVth—IIInd cent. B.C. Had we Aramaic inscr. from Palestine of that period, we should doubtless be able to determine the relationship and development of the several forms more clearly.¹

From what has been said (see p. 47 sq.) it will be readily understood that because the papyrus represents a pre-Massoretic form of the text, it is not to be regarded as necessarily perfect or correct in every detail. Future investigation must determine its precise value for the textual and literary criticism of the Biblical passages it contains. It would have been extremely interesting had the papyrus contained certain passages which in our M.T. are admittedly corrupt. The Septuagint and other versions frequently presuppose readings that differ from the M.T.; inspection shows that in a number of cases they do not appear to originate with the translator, that they are not due to a later tampering with the version, and that the superiority does not lie with the extant Hebrew. The textual critic accordingly concludes that the reading actually represents what the translator found before him, and that it is the Hebrew text that has suffered—though often the origin of the corruption may be wholly unknown. It happens, however, that the Biblical passages which the papyrus has preserved are free from mere textual corruption, and the new readings, whether superior or not, are of a distinctly literary type. It is to be noticed, also, that although many of the Septuagint readings now acquire an authority which they had not previously possessed, and are substantiated in the most welcome manner, sufficient remains to show that the Greek translator, in accordance with his custom (frequently noticed elsewhere), has not scrupled to make alterations or additions which are of no value, and for which, doubtless, there was never the slightest authority.

For the literary criticism of the Decalogue I venture to think that the papyrus is evidence of the most valuable character. The view is held by many critics that the Decalogue originally consisted of concise statements such as are now found in the VIth—IXth

¹ It may be added that the date ascribed to the papyrus receives some support, perhaps, from the appearance of the material, which, in the case of Greek papyri at least, is said not to be later than the IIIrd cent. It would also hold good if the conjecture that the papyrus was a roll, and not a codex, could be proved.

commandments (*cf.* also Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii, 5, § 5), in which case there may have been several recensions, differing from one another in the extent of their hortatory expansions. It is not easy to explain the present Massoretic form of the Exod. recension unless we assume that it has been influenced by Deut. (which in some respects presents better readings), and this view requires the further assumption that it existed in at least two forms—the second being that represented by the LXX. But this is not the place to discuss the relation between the two Massoretic forms. The fact remains that the papyrus comes midway between the two; it seems unnecessary to regard it as a third independent recension, and instead of treating it as a fuller form of Exod., I venture to decide that it represents a simpler form of Deut.

The chief arguments in support of this view are drawn from the variants in Hebrew MSS. of Deut., from the evidence of the versions (especially the Vatican MS. of the LXX), and from the opinion of critics regarding the secondary character of certain elements peculiar to the Deut. recension.

In the first place, the differences between the text of the papyrus and Deut., which refer to some half-dozen cases of the addition or omission of γ , or to the *scriptio plena*, need not be taken into account in view of the varying readings of MSS. cited by Kennicott and De Rossi. In the ninth commandment, the papyrus expressly agrees with Deut. In the tenth commandment, the view that Deut. originally repeated תחמוד finds support among the versions (see on l. 20, p. 43 above). On the fourth commandment, see the remarks on l. 12 (p. 40 above). It is admitted that Deut. v, 12 δ is a secondary addition, and it is probable that this verse originally began with "remember," and that the alteration to "observe"—a favourite word in Deuteronomic passages—was effected when v. 15 ("and thou shalt remember," etc.) was inserted, in order to avoid tautology. Further, it is not improbable that Deut. originally had the words now found only in Exod. xx, 11, since not only does ש add at the end of v. 15: καὶ ἀγαῶσαι αὐτήν (*cf.* ויקדשדור in Ex.), but the Vatican manuscript has also preserved in v. 14 the words "for in six days the Lord made both the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that in them is."¹

¹ On the other hand, it is not to be ignored that the addition to v. 14 which is peculiar to Deut. is perhaps original; *cf.* the reason assigned by the earlier Elohistic writer in Ex. xxiii, 12.

Another point, that has direct bearing upon the view now under discussion, should not be overlooked. The Decalogue commences at the head of the column, and the restoration shows that it must have opened with the words "I am the Lord thy God." In both Ex. and Deut. the Decalogue starts a new section, but whereas the latter commences as mentioned above, Ex. has the introductory title "and God spake all these words, saying." It does not seem very likely that this was to be found at the foot of a preceding column,¹ although naturally there is not sufficient evidence in support of an argument either way. At all events the point is one to be borne in mind when considering the original purpose of the papyrus.

For the solution of this problem the evidence of the papyrus is hardly conclusive. It is very tempting to suppose that it formed part of a lectionary or collection of passages from the Torah, and the fact that the passages in question are Deut. v, 6-21 [18] (probably) and vi, 4 *sq.*, might even suggest a lectionary of Deuteronomy itself. In addition to this, there is the evidence in the Gospels that the Commandments and the Shema' were regarded as the most important rules of life and conduct.² We know that portions of the Law were copied out separately for children, since we learn that it was disputed whether the procedure was legal, and the majority of the Rabbis were against it. Children studied the Shema', but it was preceded not by the Decalogue but by the Hallel (Pss. cxiii-cxviii). Moreover, the usual school-books for beginners were Genesis and Leviticus, and R. Jehudah (about 150 A.D.) allowed only Gen. i-vi, 8 or Lev. i-viii to be copied.³ It would seem, therefore, that the evidence does not favour the suggestion that the papyrus is a fragment of a lectionary.

The mere arrangement shows that a phylactery is out of the

¹ The title is preceded and followed by a closed section, but since these are not marked elsewhere in the papyrus, there would be no necessity to start a fresh line.

² Thus, the two great commandments are the Shema' and Lev. xix, 18b (Mk. xii, 29 *sqq.*, Mt. xxii, 36 *sqq.*). On other occasions when inquirers asked how to inherit eternal life, their attention is directed to (a) certain commandments (Mk. x, 19, Lk. xviii, 20), (b) *plus* Lev. xix, 18b (Mt. xix, 18 *sq.*), (c) Deut. vi, 5, and Lev. xix, 18b (Lk. x, 27). For the addition of Lev. xix, 18b to Dt. vi, 5 in early quotations, see Holmes and Parsons.

³ Ludwig Blau, *Studien z. althebr. Buchwesen* (1902), p. 67 *seq.* But even a school-book had to be made from a correct copy (ספר כונן), *Pes.* 112a, see Blau *op. cit.*, 187, n. 8).

question, and a recent suggestion that it was a magical charm can, perhaps, neither be proved nor disproved.

At first I was inclined to hold that it belonged to a liturgy. We know that at an early date the Ten Words were read along with the Shema' in the Daily Service, and that the usage was discontinued (on account of the cavilling of the *minim*) in spite of attempts to re-introduce it in Sura and Nehardea (Talm. *Berakhoth*, f. 11b).¹ It is questionable, however, whether one would expect to find the introduction to the Shema' in a liturgy, and without discussing Blau's conclusion that the Decalogue originally *followed* the Shema',² one may ask whether the Shema' would not have been preceded by those benedictions which go back beyond the IIIrd century A.D.³ It is possible that evidence may be forthcoming that will remove these objections, and, moreover, it is quite conceivable that usage in Egypt may have differed from that in Palestine as regards both the liturgical use of the Shema' and the copying of passages from the Torah.⁴

One other suggestion may be hazarded. If the Decalogue is the Deuteronomic, it follows that we have a lacuna of fifteen verses from Deut. v, 21 [18] to vi, 4. Critics are agreed that the book of Deut. has not come down to us in its original form, and various opinions have been held as to the extent to which it has been edited and revised. No doubt, therefore, it may have existed in several forms, although it must be admitted that one form only—the present—obtained among the Jews of Palestine and of the Dispersion, and the Samaritans. But the curious remark of Demetrius to Ptolemy in the Letter of Aristeas clearly shows that incorrect copies of the Law were extant in Egypt in the writer's day,⁵ and there is no reason

¹ In the case of Nehardea it was opposed by R. Ashi (A.D. 352-427).

² Blau, "Origine et Histoire de la Lecture du Schema," *R.E.J.* xxxi (1895), p. 192.

³ See Blau, *loc. cit.*, on the antiquity of the "benedictions." (Of the liturgies of Jewish sects the present writer has made no examination. According to W. H. Rule, *The Karaite Jews* [London, 1870], p. 180 *seq.*, the Decalogue [Ex. xx] precedes the Shema', but not *immediately*.)

⁴ At all events, the Decalogue would be so well-known that we must assume that the M.T. faithfully represents the form traditionally preserved among the Palestinian Jews, in which case the papyrus is evidence that in this, if not in other details, the Egyptian Jews pursued an independent path.

⁵ τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα, ἀμείστερον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσημανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδόντων προσαναφέρεται (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigr.*, ii, p. 7 *sq.*; Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 525; Blau, *Studien*, p. 100).

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31st, 1902.

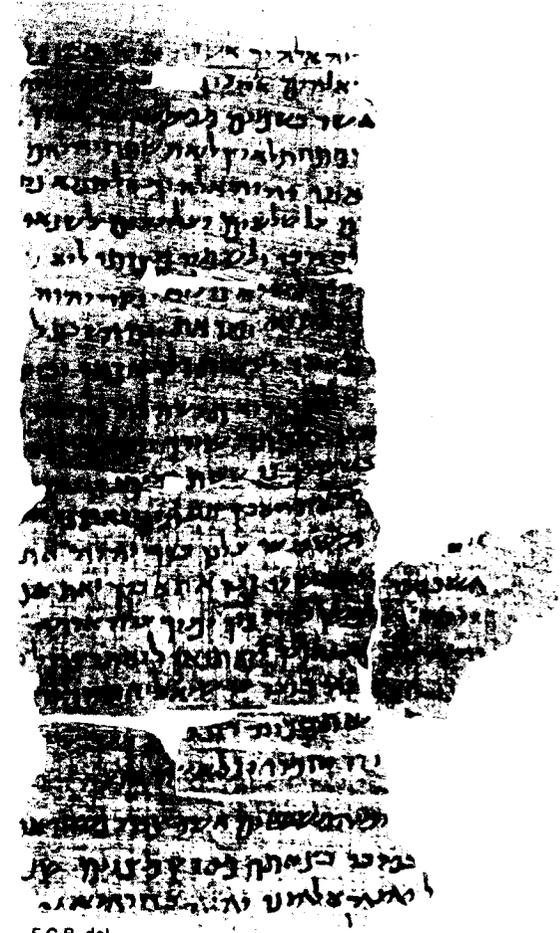
1902.	Dr.	£ s. d.	1902.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. To Balance from last year	...	39 1 4	Dec. 31. By Expenditure—	
Dec. 31. „ Subscriptions—			Rent	125 0 0
For the Current Year	...		Rates, Taxes (including Gas and Water)	72 13 3
Arrears	346 7 2		Housekeeper	21 11 0
In Advance	99 14 3		Printing	265 0 6
Life Subscription	13 13 0		Books	7 10 6
	15 15 0		Plates	54 12 1
„ Donation	475 9 5		Office Expenses and Stationery	10 2 3
„ Sales of Proceedings, &c.	1 0 0		Repairs	7 14 3
„ Dividends on Consols	55 3 1		Insurance	8 19 1
„ Rent from Egypt Exploration Fund	3 8 0		Less returned	5 15 6
	90 0 0		Furniture	1 4 0
			Sundries—	
			Carriage	4 11 6
			Advertisements	3 10 8
			Bank Charges	1 10 1
				C 7 5
				O 5 7
			Auditor	2 3 1
				3 3 0
				3 3 0
Dec. 31. „ Balance brought down	£664 1 10		„ Balance at Bankers	581 11 2
				82 10 8
			Audited and found correct,	£664 1 10

I hereby certify that I have examined the Society's Books and Vouchers, and that the above Statement is a correct abstract therefrom.
January 8th, 1903.
 W. J. HAYWOOD,
 EDWARD S. M. FEROWNE,
 CHRIS. B. HARPER.

Plate I.

Proceedings Soc. Bibl. Arch. Jan'y 1903.

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F.C.B. del.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE SOCIETY
OF
BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, 1903.

First Meeting, 14th January, 1903.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, *K.C.I.E.*, &c.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Prof. Dr. A. Wiedemann. *Das Okapi im alten Aegypten. Die Umschau.* 13th December, 1902. Frankfort.

From the Author:—Rev. C. Boutflower. Tiglath Pileser, king of Babylon. The key to Isaiah xiii, i to xiv, 27. Part III. *The Churchman*, December, 1902.

From the Author:—Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, *G.C.M.G.*, *K.C.B.*, *F.R.S.*, *R.E.* The Ancient Cubit and other weights and measures. 8vo. Published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1903.

[No. CLXXXVII.]

I

האוניברסיטה העברית
מכון למדעי היהדות
תשס"ג

HEBREW TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS.

(Fully Restored.)

[For the principles upon which this restoration has been effected, see p. 36.]

- 1 (אנכי יהוה אלהיך אשר הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים לוא)
- 2 (יהיה לך) אלהים אחרים על פני לוא תעשה (לך פסל כל)
- 3 (תמונה) אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ (מתחת)
- 4 (ואשר במים) מתחת לארץ לוא תשתחוה להם (ולוא תעבדם)
- 5 (כי אנכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנאו פקוד עון אבות)
- 6 על בנים על שלשים ועל רבעים לשנאי (ועשה חסד)
- 7 (לאלפים) אלהבי ולשמרי מצותי לוא תישא את שם)
- 8 (יהוה) אלהיך לשוא כי לוא ינקה יהוה (את אשר)
- 9 (ישא את שמו) לשוא זכור את יום השבת (לקדשו)
- 10 (ששת ימים) תעבוד ועשית כל מלאכתך וביום (השביעי)
- 11 (שבת ליהוה) אלהיך לוא תעשה בה כל מלאכה (אתה ובנך)
- 12 (ובתך ועבדך ואמתך שורך וחמורך וכל בהמתך)
- 13 (ונרך אשר) בשעריך כי ששת ימים עשה (יהוה)
- 14 (את השמים ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בהם)
- 15 (וילח) ביום (השביעי) עלכן ברך יהוה את (היום)
- 16 (השביעי) ויקדשו כבוד את אביך ואת אמך (למען)
- 17 (יטב לך ולמען יאריכון ימך על הארמה) (אשר)
- 18 (יהוה) אלהיך נתן לך לוא תנאף לוא תרצה (לוא)
- 19 (תגבולוא) (תשנה) ברעך עד שוא לוא תחמוד (את)
- 20 (אשת רעך) ולוא תחמוד את (בית רעך) (שלהו)
- 21 (ועבדו ואמתו ושורו וחמרו וכל אשר לרעך)
- 22 (ואלה החקים) והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את (בני)
- 23 (ישראל) במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים (שמו)
- 24 (ישראל) יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד הוא (ואהבת)
- 25 (את יהוה) אלהיך בכל לבבך ונו

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א
ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב
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ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד
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מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ
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צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש
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TABLE OF HEBREW ALPHABETS.

TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS.

[All verbal variations from the Exodus recension of the Decalogue (chap. xx) and Deut. vi, 4 *sq.* are in *italics.*]

1. (Ex. xx, 2.) [I am the L]ord thy God who [brought] thee out of the land of E[gypt, out of the house of bondage (3) thou shalt]
2. [have non]e other gods be[for]e me. (4) Thou shalt not make [unto thyself a graven image nor the likeness of any]
3. [form] that is in the heavens above, or that is in the earth [beneath]
4. [or that is in the water]s under the earth : (5) thou shalt not bow down to them [nor serve them]
5. [for] I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, vis[iting the iniquity of the fathers]
6. [upon the child]ren, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me : [(6) and showing mercy]
7. [unto thousands of] them that love me and keep my commandments. (7) Thou shalt not [take the name of]
8. [the Lord thy G]od in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless [that]
9. [taketh his nam]e in vain. (8) Remember the Sabbath day to [keep it holy].
10. [(9) Six day]s shalt thou labour, and do all thy work : (10) but *on the seventh day there is*
11. [a Sabbath unto the Lord] thy God : *in it* thou shalt not do any work, [thou, and thy son],
12. [and thy daughter and (?)] thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, *thine ox, and thine ass, and any of thy c[attle]*
13. [and thy stranger that is] in thy gates : (11) for in six days the Lord [made]
14. [the heaven]s and the earth, the sea and all th[at in them is]
15. and rest[ed] the seventh [day] : wherefore the Lord blessed [the]
16. *seventh day* and hallowed it. (12) Honour thy father and thy moth[er that]
17. *it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long,* upon the land [which]
18. the Lord thy God giveth thee. (14) *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*
(13) *Thou shalt do no murder.* (15) Thou shalt n[ot]
19. [st]eal. (16) Thou shalt not [bear] *vain* witness against thy neighbour.
(17) Thou shalt not covet [*thy*]
20. [*neighbour's wife.* *Thou shalt n[ot] covet thy neighbour's h[ou]se, or his fi[eld],*
21. [or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, or his o]x, or his ass, or anything that is thy neighbour's.
22. [? *And these are the statute]s and the judgements which Moses commanded the [? children of]*
23. [? *Israel*] *in the wilderness, when they went forth from the land of Egypt* (Deut. vi, 4). Hea[r]
24. [O Israe]l ; the Lord our God, one Lord *is He* : (5) and thou shalt l[ove]
25. [the Lord thy] G[od with al]l t[hy heart, etc.]