

STUDIES ON ELEPHANTINE

# New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine in Berlin

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James D. Moore

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الرجبى Elephantine



Ägyptisches Museum und  
Papyrussammlung  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

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# New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine in Berlin

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*By*

James D. Moore



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Staatliche Museen zu Berlin



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## Series Preface

This new series called *Studies on Elephantine* (SOE) is based at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung (Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection) of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (National Museums Berlin). It is connected to the Egyptian and Oriental Papyrus Collection of the Egyptian Museum. The aim of the series is to give a platform for studies, text editions, and discussions on the cultural history of more than 4000 years located on Elephantine Island in Egypt. Elephantine was a militarily and strategically important island in the river Nile on the southern border of Egypt. No other settlement in Egypt is so well attested through texts over such a long period of time. Its inhabitants formed a multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-religious community that left us vast amounts of written sources detailing their everyday lives from the Old Kingdom to beyond the Arab Conquest.

Today, several thousand papyri and other manuscripts from Elephantine are scattered in more than sixty institutions across Europe and beyond. Their texts are written in different languages and scripts, including Hieroglyphs, Hieratic, Demotic, Aramaic, Greek, Coptic and Arabic. The project “Localizing 4000 Years of Cultural History. Texts and Scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt” is kindly funded by the European Research Council (ERC) with a goal to bring all these texts together, both digitally as an online database and physically as text editions.

The first volume of this new series is dedicated to *New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine in Berlin*. More than 800 Aramaic papyri fragments dating to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE in the Berlin Museum have been studied by James D. Moore over the last few years. The results of his studies are presented in this volume, the importance of which cannot be overestimated, as new readings and new insights are now possible into a very important period of the island of Elephantine.

I want to acknowledge, first and foremost, how grateful I am to the members of the Advisory Board who supported the peer-review process of this new series. I am also very appreciative of the financial support that came from the National Museums Berlin, the Thyssen Foundation, and the European Research Council.

I wish to thank Friederike Seyfried, Director of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin, and Tzulia Angos, the Elephantine papyrus conservator, without whom this volume would not have been possible. I am also grateful to Sigrid Wollmeiner from the Publication Department of the National Museums in Berlin and Katelyn Chin from Brill Publishing.

May Elephantine be alive again and may this new publication series flourish!

Verena M. Lepper, Berlin

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This project would not have been possible without the help of many along the way. Foremost, I am grateful to Verena Lepper and Bernd Schipper for working together to bring me to Berlin to complete this project and for supporting it from beginning to end. Additionally, Bezalel Porten, André Lemaire, Jan Dušek, and Cornelius von Pilgrim provided me with invaluable and challenging feedback on drafts of this manuscript or on project related publications.

I am also indebted to Christian Robin at the AIBL-CIS, who allowed me unprecedented access to the materials in that collection. I am particularly humbled by the support of Maria Gorea, who spent many days working directly with me on the papyri, ostraca, and archival records in the AIBL-CIS and from whom I learned an incalculable amount.

Too many people to name discussed with me the problems and issues these fragments posed, but none were as helpful as Jan Moje, who fielded my countless Egyptological, and specifically Demotic Egyptian, questions and provided me expert feedback and references. Second to him, I must acknowledge the help of Ruth Duttonhöfer, who taught me many facets of papyrology over the years and whose openness to share her expertise in the history and texts of Ptolemaic Egypt, especially of Elephantine, served as a sounding board for formulating new ideas about Persian period Egypt.

Lastly, technical assistance in preparing and editing the publication came from Tzulia (Siopi) Angos, who conserved and helped photograph the papyri, Sarah Yardney, who worked diligently to prepare the digital paleography charts, Diana van Renswoude, who further supported the digital paleographic work, Nadine Kessler, who helped prepare the photographs for publication, Stefanie Rudolf, who provided further proofing assistance, and Julius Albrecht, who meticulously helped prepare the bibliography and glossary.

Financial support for this project was made possible through the Fritz-Thyssen Grant “New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine in Berlin,” the ERC grant “Localizing 4000 Years of Cultural History: Texts and Scripts from Elephantine Island in Egypt” (ID 637692; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin), and the Lehrstuhl for the History of Israel in its Ancient Near Eastern Context (Humboldt University).

Those above guided and supported me, but any errors in language or judgment that may be found herein are solely reflections of my own oversights.

## Abbreviations and Notations

(Including bibliographic abbreviations of editions, dictionaries, and grammars.)

ADAB	Texts from the Khalili private collection edited in Naveh, Joseph and Saul Shaked. <i>Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria: (Fourth Century BCE.) from the Khalili Collections</i> . London: The Khalili Family Trust, 2012.
AIBL	l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. See CIS.
BaAr 6	(Series) Babylonische Archive. Volume 6 is forthcoming.
Ber.	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (all herein belong to the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung).
Bib. Nat.	Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.
BGU	Berliner Griechische Urkunden.
BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta (only Zech. volume cited).
BL	British Library.
BM	British Museum.
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library.
Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum.
CAL	Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project directed by Stephen Kaufman, Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati) <a href="http://cal.huc.edu/">http://cal.huc.edu/</a> accessed 18 Feb 2020.
Camb.	Cambridge University Library.
CG	Clermont-Ganneau. Objects held in the AIBL, Cabinet du CIS. See LOZACHMEUR.
CIS	Cabinet du <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> of the AIBL. Publication series by the same name.
COWLEY	Cowley, Arthur Ernest. <i>Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.</i> Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923.
CUSAS 28	Pearce, Laurie E. and Cornelia Wunsch. <i>Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer</i> . CUSAS 28. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2014.
DAIK	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo.
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, Jacob and Jongeling, Karel. <i>Dictionary of North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> . 2 vols. Handbook of Oriental Studies 21. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
DRIVER	Driver, Godfrey Rolles. <i>Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B. C. Transcribed and Edited with Translation and Notes</i> . Reprint of the ed. 1954 [Oxford: Clarendon Press]. Osnabrück: Zeller, 1968.
Egy.	Egyptian.
Eleph.	Elephantine Storeroom.
EM	Egyptian Museum.
EPH <sup>ʿ</sup> AL AND NAVEH	Eph <sup>ʿ</sup> al, Israel, and Joseph Naveh. 1996. <i>Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea</i> . Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Israel Exploration Society.
ERC	European Research Council.
Floren.	Museo Archeologico di Firenze.
FOLMER	Folmer, Margaretha L. <i>The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 68. Leuven: Peeters, 1995.

GREENFIELD AND PORTEN	Greenfield, Jonas C., and Bezalel Porten. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Pt. 1 Vol. 5. Texts 1: Inscriptions of Ancient Iran The Aramaic Versions of the Achaemenian Inscriptions, Etc. The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Aramaic Version</i> . London: Lund Humphries [u.a.], 1982.
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig and Walter Baumgartner. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . 2 vols. Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 2000. Electronic text hypertexted and prepared by OakTree Software, Inc. Version 3.6.
Hermop.	Hermopolis Papyri published in Edda Bresciani and Murad Kamil. "Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli." <i>Atti Della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei / Memorie</i> 12 (1966): 361–428. 1966. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1966.
Hol.	Holz, i.e. wood(en object).
IA	Imperial Aramaic.
Inscr.	Inscription.
IR	Infrared (photographs).
JdE	Journal d'Entrée (Cairo Museum [EM]).
KAI	Donner, Herbert and Wolfgang Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . 3 vols. 1st–5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971–2002.
KRAELING	Kraeling, Emil G. <i>The Brooklyn Museum (New York) Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the 5th Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine</i> . New York: Yale University Press, 1953. [Reprint]
LEMAIRE	Lemaire, André. <i>Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au musée d'Israël</i> . Vol. 1. Transeuphratène, Supp. 3. Paris: Gabalda, 1996.
LEMAIRE <sup>2</sup>	Lemaire, André. <i>Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée: Collections Moussaïeff, Jeselsohn, Wech et divers</i> . Vol. 2. Transeuphratène, Supp. 9. Paris: Gabalda, 2002.
LEMAIRE <sup>3</sup>	Lemaire, André. <i>Nouvelles tablettes araméennes</i> . Hautes études orientales 34. Genève: Droz, 2001.
LIDZBARSKI	Lidzbarski, Mark. <i>Phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine</i> . Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Berlin: Verlag der Akademie, 1912.
LOZACHMEUR	Lozachmeur, Hélène et al. <i>La collection Clermont-Ganneau: ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre étiquettes de bois</i> . 2 vols. Mémoires de AIBL 35. Paris: de Boccard, 2006.
MURAOKA AND PORTEN	Muraoka, Takamitsu and Bezalel Porten. <i>A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic</i> . 2nd. rev. ed. Handbook of Oriental Studies 32. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
Mus. Civ.	Museo Civico.
Mus. Egi.	Museo Egizio di Torino.
Mus. Vat.	Musei Vaticani.
NÖLDEKE	Nöldeke, Theodor. <i>Compendious Syriac Grammar</i> . London: Williams; Norgate, 1904.
NWS	Northwest Semitic.
OB	Old Babylonian.
Ost.	Ostrakon/ostracon.

Pap.	Papyrus.
PORTEN	Porten, Bezalel. "Aramaic Papyrus Fragments in the Egyptian Museum of West Berlin." <i>Orientalia</i> 57 (1988): 14–54.
RÉS	AIBL, Cabinet du CIS, <i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i> .
RÖLLIG	Wolfgang Röllig. "Neue phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften und Ostraka aus Elephantine." In <i>The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region—Diverse Perspectives</i> , edited by D. Raue, S.J. Seidlmayer, and P. Speiser, 185–203. <i>DAIK</i> 36. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.
SACHAU	Eduard Sachau, <i>Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911.
SAYCE	A.H. Sayce with Arthur E. Cowley and Seymour de Ricci. <i>Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan</i> . London: Moring, 1906.
SCHWIDERSKI	Schwiderski, Dirk. <i>Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. 1, Konkordanz</i> . <i>Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes</i> 4. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
SEGAL	Segal, J.B. <i>Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra, with Some Fragments in Phoenician</i> . <i>Texts from Excavations</i> , 6th memoir. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983.
SIABAK	Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo.
StaBi	Staatsbibliothek.
Strasbourg	Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire (Strasbourg).
TAD	Porten, Bezalel and Ada Yardeni. <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> , 4 vols. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1986–1999.
ThWAT IX	Gzella, Holger, ed. <i>Aramäisches Wörterbuch</i> . 1st ed. ThWAT 9. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016.
WDSP	Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri.
YARDENI	Yardeni, Ada. <i>The Jeselsohn Collection of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea</i> . Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2016.

## Sigla and Varia for Editions and Translations

Letters and contracts (Text and Commentary §1) include notations under “Material patterns,” which are coded to the heuristic maps in the Introduction, Figure 4 and Figure 5.

When a fragment joins to a previously published fragment, only variants with *TAD* are listed below it; each variant is separated by | .

∅	Missing element in a date.
+	Two fragments physically (directly) join.
(+)	Indirect join; two fragments belong to the same document without physically joining.
-	In apparatus: lacking in <i>TAD</i> .
⊥	Text is written perpendicular to the fibers.
	Text is written parallel to the fibers. Or a textual parallel in citations.
{   }	Choice of ambiguous readings.
/	Choice of ambiguous translations.
◦	Illegible letter or broken letter for which more than three readings are possible.
⌈ ⌋	Damaged texts. The likelihood of readings in half brackets varies, and when not discussed in the commentary, the reader should consult the photographs to make her own judgment.
[ ]	Reconstructed text or translation.
<i>Capital Italics</i>	Romanized transliteration.
col.	Column.
<i>Miniscul Italics</i>	Romanized transliteration of proper name or uncertain translations.
X <sup>superscript</sup>	Superlinear insertion.
X <sub>subscript</sub>	Sublinear insertion.
#	Reconstructed unknown number.
DN	Deity Name.
EN	Ethnonym.
PN	Proper name of persons, except kings.
RN	Proper name of kings.

# Introduction

No apology need be made for re-editing these texts, for every fresh examination sheds fresh light on them, and in spite of the very extensive literature to which they have given rise, much still remains to be done.

ARTHUR COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri*, 1923 [p. v]



This statement by Arthur COWLEY is just as true today as it was in 1923 when he penned it. Since COWLEY wrote his exceptional volume, *Aramaic Papyri*, which predominantly focused on manuscripts from Elephantine, scholarship has seen the publication of hundreds of Persian period Aramaic sources, including many more from Elephantine. The present contribution is a continuation of this long history of Elephantine Aramaic editions.

The objective of this volume is to publish the legible documentary papyri from the over 800 Aramaic papyri fragments discovered in an uncatalogued container known as the Aramaic Box and found in 2014 in the Staatliche Museum zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. These fragments are available in two locations. Working photographs of all the fragments as well as preliminary readings are available through the ERC-funded digital edition and project, *Localizing 4,000 Years of Cultural History: Texts and Scripts from Elephantine Island, Egypt* (Grant ID 637692). The present volume is a more thorough analysis of a selection of documentary papyri from the Aramaic Box.

The Aramaic Box consists of papyri fragments left over from Eduard SACHAU's 1911 edition of Aramaic documents. The fragments in the Aramaic Box appear to be those which neither SACHAU nor the conservator Hugo Ibscher could place and apparently were deemed too small to edit given the timeframe of SACHAU's project. Seeing that these papyri were probably the most difficult pieces to work with and that the present volume is also bound by funding, time, and project constraints, it is asked that the reader remember these restrictions, should oversights or misjudgments be found herein. By using the highest quality photographic technology and the latest advances in Aramaic studies in 1911, SACHAU made available to the scholarly community the Aramaic papyri excavated by the Germans at Elephantine within four years of their discovery. It is my conviction along with that of Verena Lepper and Bernd Schipper, who collaborated to help conceive this project, that the Aramaic Box also be made available to the scholarly community as quickly as possible and by using the latest technology available.

The fragments edited in this volume include all fragments written transversa charta (i.e. written perpendicular to the recto's papyrus fibers) and for which at least one word is legible or reconstructed with a fairly high degree of certainty. It also includes all fragments with one or more legible words from record rolls. In the box remain many literary fragments, most of which have been determined to belong to the Ahiqar manuscript (Pap. Ber. P. 13446 + frags. + Cairo EM JdE 43502 = TAD Cl.1; C3.7; and D-Ahiq. frags. a–b), which is the longest surviv-



ing Imperial Aramaic (IA) papyrus document and contains the narrative of the legendary Ahiqar, scribe of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, along with proverbs ascribed to him. This text is written on a manuscript that exhibits many compositional acts and reusages. The majority of the new and unplaced fragments that belong to this manuscript include no legible words, but due to the unique material and textual characteristics of that manuscript, more time is needed to evaluate those fragments. As such, they do not appear in this volume.

The fragments herein either (1) join to those papyri published by SACHAU (and reedited most recently in *TAD*), (2) join to those fragments found in the West Berlin Museum and published by Bezalel Porten and then reedited by him and Ada Yardeni in *TAD*, (3) join to fragments first published in Porten or *TAD*, or (4) remain unplaced or belong to a previously unknown document. For a comprehensive chart of the fragments see Appendix, Papyri Register. Variants for those fragments, which join to previously published papyri, are only given against *TAD*, though the commentary may engage the earlier editions.

### Part I: The History of Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine Held in Berlin

As 19th and early 20th century western aristocrats and academics ventured through the Middle East, Far East, and Africa collecting ancient objects, the site of Elephantine island in southern Egypt proved to be a textual goldmine for collectors. The earliest documented Aramaic acquisition from or relating to Elephantine occurred between 1815–1819, when an Italian named Giovanni Battista Belzoni collected two Aramaic letters either found at or destined for Elephantine. These remained unpublished until 1960.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the mid 19th century, other objects collected in Egypt, especially from the antiquities market in Saqqara, may have originally come from Elephantine, such as those collected by Karl Richard Lepsius for the Berlin Museum between 1842–1845, but without clear documentation we cannot confirm these documents' provenance.<sup>2</sup> Serious interest in Elephantine as a site of Aramaic sources began in 1875 when the Reverend Greville John Chester collected and sold Aramaic ostraca to the British Museum; these were later published in 1900. After Chester's acquisitions, murmurs of Aramaic documents from Elephantine or Aswan floated through the inner circles of the Westerners who controlled the Egyptian Antiquities Authority. One man in particular, Charles Edwin Wilbour collected a large trove of Elephantine papyri and artifacts, including some of the most well persevered Aramaic Papyri ever to be found. Spawned by his love for Egyptology and his investigatory prowess as an American journalist, Wilbour formed a relationship with the French Director-General of Egyptian Antiquities, Gaston Maspero. In the early 1880's the two traveled south collecting artifacts and unearthing the location of papyri sold to them along the way. The bulk of Wilbour's personal collections came from the region of Aswan/Elephantine,

1 See Bresciani, "Papiri," and Hermop.

2 This is noted in the Museum's 1958 inventory book as the Brauner Papyrus (= Pap. Ber. P. 3206 = *TAD* B8.5), and it was on display at the time. According to COWLEY no. 69, the fragments probably come from Elephantine based on their writing. *TAD*, however, suggests that they came from Saqqara (B, p. 149). Since the Saqqara pieces could have originated from a variety of places, the issue must remain unresolved.

and were mostly acquired in early 1883. Mum was the word of this collection for eight decades thereafter, until his Aramaic documents were published in 1953.<sup>3</sup> In 1901, eighteen years after Wilbour's adventure, the Oxford professor of Assyriology Archibald SAYCE was in Aswan where he bought an Aramaic papyrus roll and three ostraca from locals. He then encouraged Maspero to excavate the area. Maspero returned to the island himself a year later in 1902 and found at least one Aramaic papyrus near the Khnum temple complex (aiblcis A1 pap. 1 [rés 246] = TAD D3.26).<sup>4</sup> During exploratory excavations in spring of 1904 Greek and Demotic papyri were found on the island, but no Aramaic (SAYCE, p. 9). In the same year, however, word reached the British archaeologist Robert Mond that "Hebrew" papyri had been found by locals at Aswan, while Mond himself was digging in Thebes. This was apparently made known by the acquisition of related papyri at the same time by Lady William Cecil, daughter of the famous Lord Amherst,<sup>5</sup> who was traveling through the region. Mond raced to acquire the remaining papyri, but once in his possession, the then Inspector-General of Antiquities of Upper Egypt, Howard Carter, coerced Mond to sell the papyri to the Cairo museum.<sup>6</sup> Carter then gave publishing rights to Sayce. Not competent enough to edit the Aramaic texts, Sayce brought the Bodleian librarian and Semitics scholar Arthur Cowley onto the project, though Sayce kept the credit of authorship in the editio princeps, only noting on the title page "with the assistance of" A.E. Cowley.

Based on these events, the Germans raised funds for excavations under the pretense that they would excavate the island alone. They did not know that the French at the guidance of Charles Clermont-Ganneau were also planning to dig there. The German coalition was led by Otto Rubensohn, a respected archaeologist and member of both the German *Preußischen Papyrusunternehmen* and the *Papyruskartell*, a group of academics set on acquiring as many papyri as possible for Berlin.<sup>7</sup> Although Maspero split the site between Rubensohn and Clermont-Ganneau, the Germans received the luckier half of the island. For three seasons the Germans unearthed a remarkable collection. Nearly all Aramaic papyri and some ostraca were found on the German side of the site, while the French found or acquired hundreds of Aramaic ostraca.

Diaries of the excavations were made. The German diaries of Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker, the latter of whom led the third and final campaign

3 In 1947 Wilbour's daughter, Theodora Wilbour donated her father's Egyptian collection to the Brooklyn Museum. The Aramaic papyri were published in 1953 by Emil G. KRAELING. Prior to this, only the Aramaic scribal palette in Wilbour's collection (now Brooklyn 16.99) was published. See Aimé-Giron, "Adversaria," 47–57.

4 It was published in RÉS (no. 246), in which Vogüé states, according to Maspero, "Fragment de papyrus trouvé près du temple d'Éléphantine (Haute-Égypte), le 1er janvier 1902." Shortly thereafter it was reedited in Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, 246–248. The content is an administrative inventory of large wooden planks, which is unparalleled in other surviving Aramaic sources.

5 Van der Toorn, *Becoming*, 3–5. See also Carter, "Report," 129.

6 SAYCE, p. 7.

7 See Primavesi, "Geschichte," 177 who writes, "Die *handschriftlichen Tagebücher des preußischen Papyrusunternehmens*, von denen sich Durchschlagsexemplare im Archiv des Ägyptischen Museums/Papyrussammlung auf der Berliner Museumsinsel befinden, sind demgemäß Grabungstagebücher für die Berliner Museen und Ankaufstagebücher für das Deutsche Papyruskartell (B) in einem." For further study of the papyrus cartel see Essler and Reiter. "Berliner Sammlung," 213–220 and Schipper, *Ägyptologie*, 311–312. Essler, "German Classicists," 179–188. I think Holger Essler for his illuminating remarks to me on this matter.

for the Germans in 1907–1908, are housed in Berlin’s Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection, while the diaries of Clermont-Ganneau, who continued excavations until 1911 are housed in the Institute de France’s Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Cabinet de *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*. The French reports are far superior in detail to the German reports, which is unfortunate, since the items to be discussed here are papyri found by the Germans.<sup>8</sup> Transcripts of the relevant sections of the German diaries were published by Wolfgang Müller in 1980 and 1982.<sup>9</sup> These publications went mostly overlooked until recently. The diaries of Rubensohn and Zucker contain more useful information than the final excavation report that the two along with Wilhelm Honroth published in 1910.<sup>10</sup> For nearly a century, scholarship has tried to reconstruct the social history of the site based solely on textual content, all the while lacking the vast majority of the French held ostraca, which were finally published in their entirety in 2006 along with relevant sections of the excavators’ notes (LOZACHMEUR).

### *The Aramaic Box and the Rediscovery of Papyri in the Berlin Museum*

Only recently have researchers begun to ask, to what degree does the scholarship on the island’s Aramaic speaking community agree or disagree with the evidence from the excavations’ diaries? This question has become an important element in my work on the so-called Aramaic Box, which contains over 800 unpublished Aramaic papyri fragments that were found in 2014 when the West and East Berlin’s papyri collections were physically merged in the newly built Archäologisches Zentrum.<sup>11</sup>

The Aramaic Box is a large handmade wooden book-style box covered in mat and marbled paper, typical of that used by twentieth century book binders. The box measures 37.5 cm × 53.5 cm × 5.8 cm, contains a hook latch, and is labeled “Papyrus-Kartell-Akten” on its lid with the word “Aramäische” and a sticker reading “K54” on its backside, that is on its “spine.” When rediscovered, the Aramaic Box was found layered with eleven large white paper folders that had been sized to fit inside the box. The folders contained papyrus fragments as well as the remnants of one illegible seal-bulla with string fibers attached to it.<sup>12</sup> With what appears to have been a blue ballpoint pen, four of the folders were labeled “Hieratische,” and contained approximately 91 fragments with Egyptian writing on them. With the same pen and in the same hand, another folder was labeled “Aramäische (Achiqar) 1” and contained the phrase “Ahiqar Fragmente” on its inside.<sup>13</sup> This Ahiqar folder contained 110 fragments. Six more folders were merely labeled “Aramäische” and numbered 2–7. A total of 807 fragments

8 The bulk of the French reports were compiled and published in Delange et al., *fouilles françaises*.

9 Müller and Rubensohn, “1. und 2. Kampagne,” 75–88 and Müller and Zucker, “3. Kampagne,” 41–44.

10 Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, “Bericht.”

11 There are conflicting reports about the original location of the Aramaic Box. The longtime conservator of the East Berlin collection Myriam Krutzsch expressed to me that she does not recall the box having been in the East Berlin collection. The present curator of the collection, Verena Lepper, saw the box among East Berlin collection materials prior to 2014 (personal communication). See below.

12 The impression on the bulla is entirely effaced.

13 The spelling “Achiqar” is curious. SACHAU used the spelling “Achīqar.”

were found in the seven Aramaic folders (including the Ahiqar folder); thus the box contained a total of about<sup>14</sup> 898 small fragments. The papyrus conservator, Tzulia (Siopi) Angos, rearranged the Aramaic fragments into 47 smaller folders (*Lage* 9–51, 53–56) of Japanese paper and assigned temporary museum numbers to them (B/AM x 389–609). As I began to join fragments or to identify documents to which they belong, the fragments were removed and placed in new unlabeled folders, with the intention of being glazed in the future. Those which join to previously published texts in the Berlin collection have been reglazed, and given new inventory numbers (Appendix, Papyri Register). The fragments vary in size from less than a centimeter square to a 9 cm × 10 cm piece. The size of a given fragment does not necessarily correlate to the amount of writing that survives on the fragments. Small fragments may contain many lines and letters, while larger pieces may have few marks.

The box also contained a label inside that refers to BGU volumes I–X. BGU is a series of publications of Greek sources produced between 1895–1937 (vols. I–IX) with the tenth volume accounting for some Greek papyri in the East Berlin collection and published in 1970. The eleventh volume (1968), which was published before the tenth volume, includes West Berlin Greek papyri. The label in the Aramaic Box may come from East Berlin because of its reference to BGU X. The label reads (see Plate 1 for photographs):

Schränk Nr. 122  
Bücherschränk  
Griechisch / Latein  
(BGU I–X)  
Schlüssel Nr. 39

FIGURE 1 Transcription of the Aramaic Box's Inside Label

This clue leads me to think that the box was misplaced with the Greek materials in the East Berlin collection. In fact, those who maintain the institutional memory of the museum (e.g. Prof. Poethke and Dr. Arnst) tell me that the “book boxes” were housed in the East Berlin collection after the war and the cardboard boxes (see below) in the West Berlin collection.

The box's reference to the Berlin papyrus cartel's *Akten*, that is its “records,” raises serious problems in reconstructing its history. Oliver Primavesi as well as Holger Essler and Fabian Reiter have written extensively on the history of the cartel, which was active between 1902–1914 and in which both Rubensohn and Zucker played central roles.<sup>15</sup> The cartel was a secretive group that had a public face known as the *Papyrusunternehmen*, and they mostly collected Egyptian and Greek papyri.<sup>16</sup> The question then is: was the box reused *after* the cartel was dissolved or is it the box that Ibscher put the Aramaic papyri fragments in at some point before Sachau's publication in 1911? This cannot be answered given the limited documentation that is now known.<sup>17</sup>

14 This number is flexible due to the fragile nature of many of the papyri, some of which would break upon handling. We joined other fragments at early stages and prior to our temporary cataloguing.

15 Essler, “German Classicists,” 181, 187.

16 Primavesi, “Geschichte,” 173–167.

17 The term *Akten* refers to administrative documents. While it is the term used at the time in papyrology to describe a common genre of papyri, the “record” documents, Essler sus-

I am under the impression that these fragments were not included in the original publication by Eduard Sachau in 1911 due to time constraints. All papyri and moveable artifacts acquired from Elephantine between 1906–1908 were sent to Berlin, under the pretense that in 1912, nearly half the collection would be deaccessioned and sent to Cairo.<sup>18</sup> It seems possible that time ran out, and the remaining fragments were put in the Aramaic Box and not revisited until after the wars.<sup>19</sup> Whoever organized the fragments into the larger folders probably noticed the difficulty in placing and reading them. The Aramaic Box was then again shelved until 2014.

### *Provenance*

Although the modern history of the Aramaic Box is scantily preserved, its provenance to the Rubensohn and Zucker excavations can be secured on the following grounds. First, the fact that the fragments are mostly Aramaic and found in an early 20th century box suggests that they come from Elephantine, since with only the exception of a few acquisitions, Berlin's documented Aramaic papyri collection comes from the Elephantine excavations. Second, some of the fragments contain early 20th century restorations that match those made by Ibscher, the papyrus conservator who puzzled the original finds together for the 1911 publication. Lastly and most importantly, some of the fragments join to those provenanced manuscripts published in 1911 from the excavations, as well as to some of the manuscripts published between 1970–1999.

### *The Archaeological Problems*

As we now know over a century later, without careful documentation of textual finds, detailed social histories become extraordinarily complicated to write. This did not stop earlier scholars from establishing an elaborate historical portrait of the island of Elephantine during its occupation by Judeans and other Persian loyalists. Slowly, study-by-study, a picture of the Judeans on the island began to emerge. It was not until Bezalel Porten's landmark study, *Archives from Elephantine* in 1968 that a lively picture of specific Judean groups on the island came into view. The question now remains, to what degree does the site resemble the picture painted by Porten and subsequent scholars after over fifty years of newly published texts and observations?

Between 1969–2019, the Germans (DAIK) joined by the Swiss (SIABAK) excavated the island once again, and the SIABAK continues to excavate. In 1999 followed by further remarks in 2002 and 2003, Cornelius von Pilgrim proposed a location for the Yahô temple.<sup>20</sup> One of the most striking features of this highly plausible location is that it does not match the location of the Aramaic papyrus

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pects that it may here refer instead to the business documents of the *Papyruskartell*. His initial response, when I presented him with the evidence, was that the box may have been reused after the cartel dissolved (personal communication, 12AUG2020). This would leave a gap of time in which the fragments were stored in some other receptacle.

18 See SACHAU, p. vi for the list of papyri and ostraca returned to Egypt.

19 The Aramaic Box's spine contains a piece of paper glued onto it, and this is where the word *Aramäische* is found. It is unknown when this paper was added. Someone appears to have known of the box after the war, as indicated by the BGU label, but it was not revealed to Bezalel Porten, who would have sought to publish the pieces had he known of their existence in the 1980's or 1990's (personal communication, 2017).

20 Von Pilgrim, "Tempel des Jahu;" von Pilgrim, "28./29./30. Grabungsbericht;" and von Pilgrim, "25./26./27. Grabungsbericht," Further discussion is in von Pilgrim, "'Festung:'"

finds as noted in the 1910 report nor the find-spots identified in the diaries of Rubensohn and Zucker. Proposals that the collection of Papyri make up, at least in part, a temple archive are not easy to reconcile with the archaeological evidence as it now stands.<sup>21</sup>

The diaries describe how the excavators divided the German site into northern, middle, and southern sectors, though the distinction between the northern and middle or southern and middle sectors is sometimes opaque. The bulk of the Aramaic texts were found in two neighboring buildings in the northern sector among domestic dwellings, which were coined “the Aramaic Quarter.” As we now know, Aramaic Quarter is a misnomer, and the site was simply divided between the domestic residences and temple complexes.<sup>22</sup>

During the second German campaign, between the 1st–16th of January 1907, Rubensohn’s team unearthed from the rubble the majority of the Aramaic texts that would later make up SACHAU’s monumental publication.<sup>23</sup> The texts came from two rooms that the published 1910 excavation report labels houses *m* and *n*.<sup>24</sup> Rubensohn speculated that these houses also produced the Cecil/Mond papyri since the area around them appeared to have been disturbed,<sup>25</sup> but this is merely speculation. The relationship between the Cecil/Mond papyri and the Berlin finds are unclear.<sup>26</sup> Houses *m* and *n* sit on the northwest corner of the domestic residences; in them Rubensohn found a menagerie of papyri and artifacts—not only Aramaic papyri. In the third campaign, Zucker expanded his search northward just beyond these houses. He continued to find a mixture of Aramaic and (late?) Hieratic papyri in the dirt.<sup>27</sup> To this mixture of artifacts I will return shortly.

While the many Aramaic finds were coming out of the ground in houses *m* and *n*, in the middle sector along and under the post-Persian period wall was found a multi-roomed structure that would later be identified as house *k*; the DAIK/SIABAK excavations refer to this as house G.<sup>28</sup> In one of the rooms was found a cache of Aramaic papyri comparable to that found in houses *m* and *n*, but it had suffered water damage and was not salvageable. Next to this room was found a collection of large Phoenician style storage pots with Phoenician and/or Aramaic labels (now rooms G1 and G6). Below this Zucker found Hieratic fragments in the third campaign.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, details of the papyri

21 This has not stopped some from maintaining that at least part of the Berlin collection constitutes a “temple archive.” See most recently, Mitchell, “Berlin Papyrus,” esp. 146.

22 The DAIK/SIABAK reports refer more broadly to the *Wohnviertel*. See also Rohmoser, *Götter*, 88–94.

23 Although he first quickly published *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* in 1908, SACHAU reedited these documents in the complete 1911 edition.

24 Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, “Bericht,” 28–30.

25 Müller and Rubensohn, “1. und 2. Kampagne,” 82 and Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, “Bericht,” 28.

26 The Cecil/Mond papyri were said to have been found in a wooden box (SAYCE, p. 9), but if so, the box has been lost. The Rubensohn/Zucker team found all their documents in the dirt and rubble. Documentation of the Maspero exploratory excavations found in the correspondences housed in the AIBL-CIS already refer to the disturbed areas at the site, from which papyri is thought to have been found.

27 Müller and Zucker, “3. Kampagne,” 37 (5 Dec. 1907).

28 Kaiser et al., “17./18. Grabungsbericht,” 217; von Pilgrim, “28./29./30. Grabungsbericht,” 195; and von Pilgrim, “Tempel des Jahu,” 308 identified this as the house of Gaddûl, following the schematic of Porten, *Archives*, chaps 6–8; and *TAD B*, 175–182.

29 Müller and Zucker, *Die Papyrusgrabung auf Elephantine 1906–1908. Das Grabungstagebuch der 3. Kampagne*, 39 (8 Dec. 1907).

Homroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, "Bericht," Tafel III.

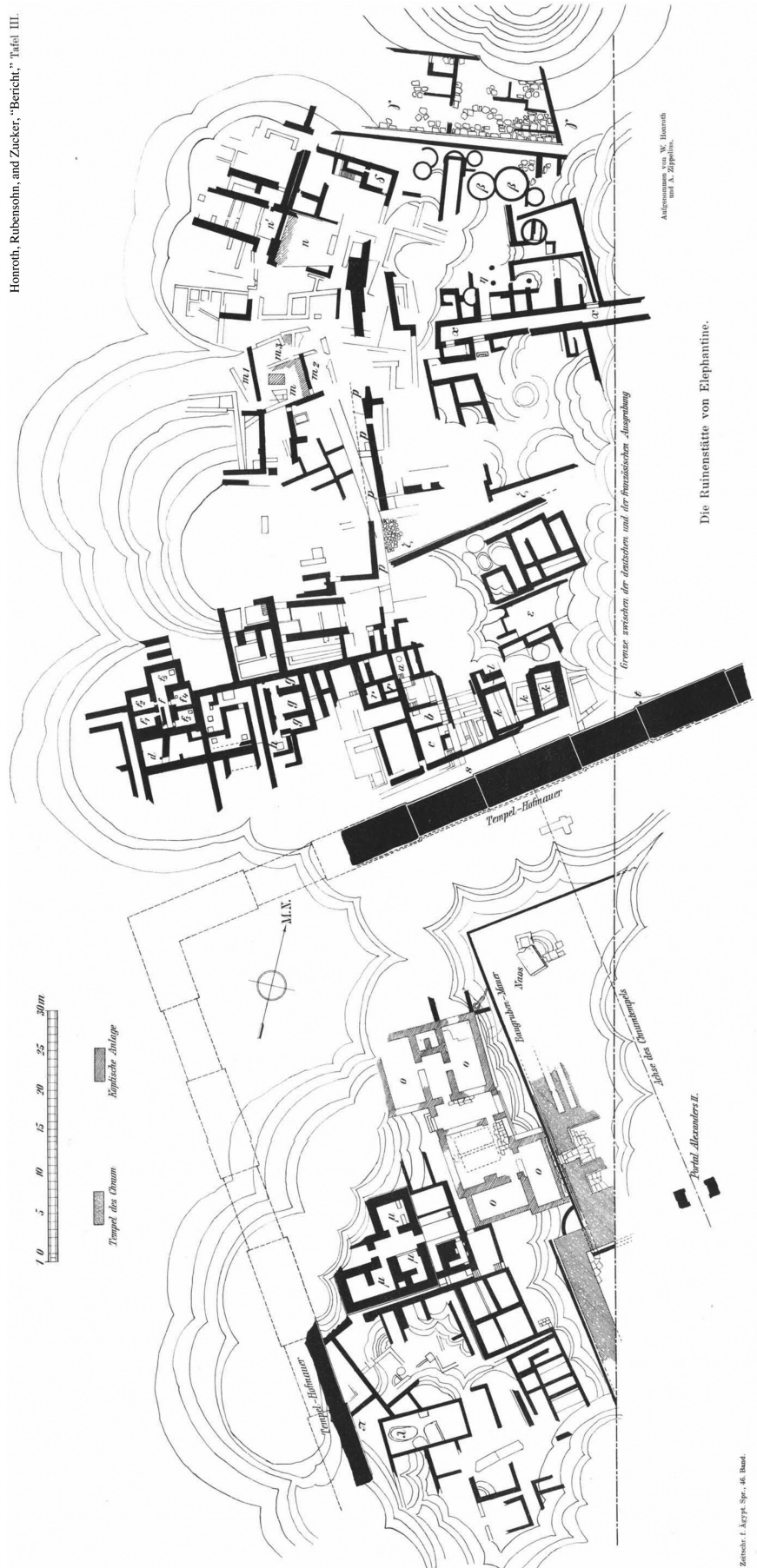


FIGURE 2 The German Excavators' Map of Elephantine, Plate III (Public Domain)

found in house *k* were not well documented, so one can only speculate if the many surviving administrative fragments came from this locus, which obviously contained a significant storeroom of products. Under the Aramaic layer appears to have been finds associated with an older cult to the Nile god.<sup>30</sup> It should also be noted that unlike houses *m* and *n*, house *k* lies across the street from the proposed location of the Yahô temple.

Zucker also reports having found many small Aramaic papyri in the southern sector of the site. It seems likely that this is on the western edge of the Khnum temple complex and may have been related to the Aramaic finds of Maspero in 1902. That said, no manuscript joins have yet been made across any of the Aramaic collections.

It is noteworthy that even in their 1910 excavation report Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker acknowledge that they could not stratify the site and that Rubensohn searched for definitive boundaries of the Aramaic Quarter but found none.<sup>31</sup> This means that while the locations where papyri were found are sometimes noted in the diaries, *the dates* from which those finds come remain unknown due to a lack of stratigraphy.

Complicating the matter are the finds in DAIK/SIABAK's house P during their 17th and 18th excavations in 1987–1989. These finds constitute the last documented Aramaic papyri finds from Elephantine. In Haus P,<sup>32</sup> were found seven Demotic papyri rolls and other fragments in an unused oven (room P1) and another Demotic roll came from room P8.<sup>33</sup> The three Aramaic finds came specifically from room P2, which appears to have been accompanied by a Demotic roll that was found in the same room but a different archaeological square (Farid no. 4).<sup>34</sup> The Demotic papyri with legible dates all come from room P1 and date to the reign of Nectanebo II: Farid nos. 9 and 18 date to year 3 Nectanebo II (c. 357 BCE), Farid no. 13 to year 4 Nectanebo II (c. 356 BCE), Farid no. 16 to year 12 Nectanebo II, and Farid nos. 11 and 19 also date less precisely to the reign Nectanebo II. The archaeological report is written such that one gets the impression that these Demotic papyri from room P1 come from the same building phase as those from room P2. At the very least, the entire house dates

30 Müller and Zucker, “3. Kampagne,” 39.

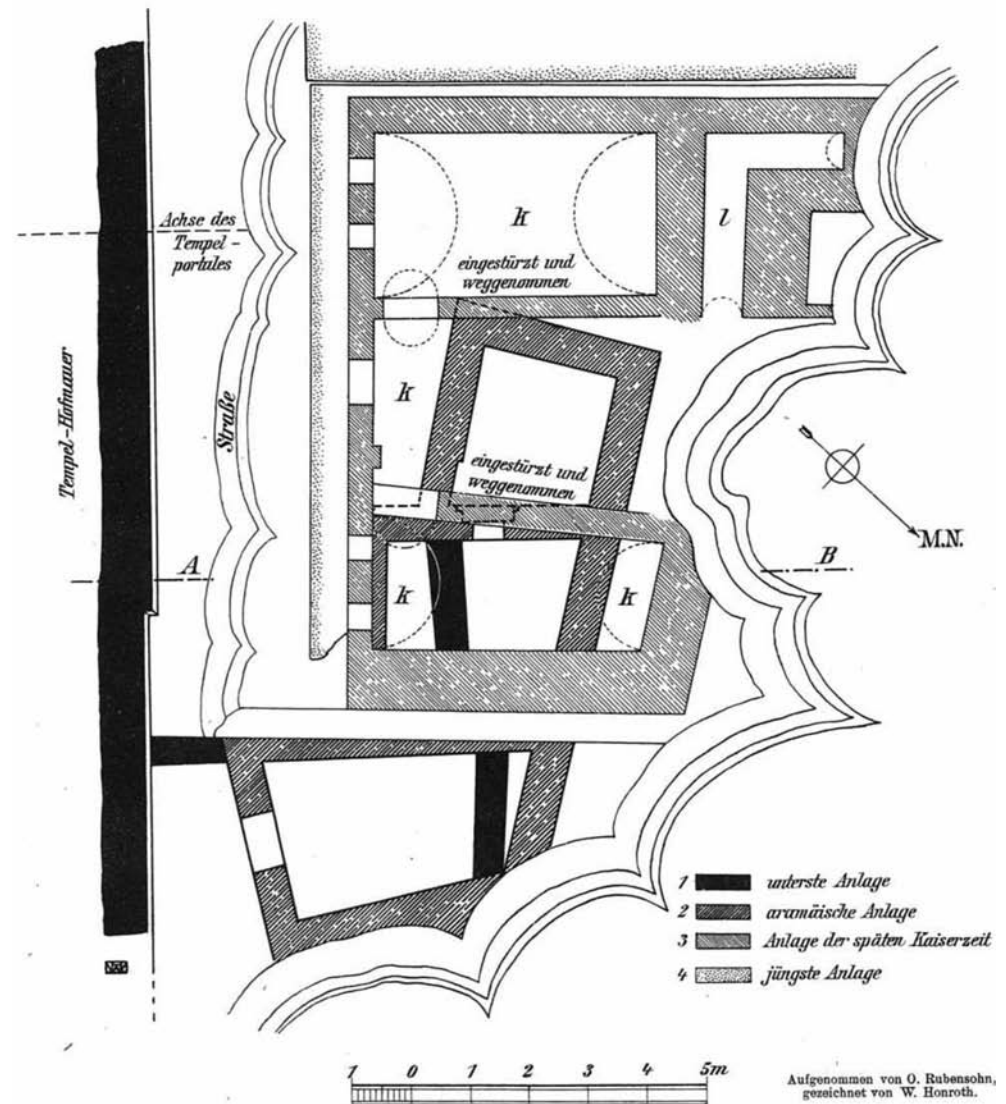
31 Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, “Bericht,” 17. The excavators remorse, “Bei dem üblen Zustand, in dem wir die ganze Umgebung der Papyrusfundstätte angetroffen hatten, erschien es uns von Anfang an aussichtslos, den topographischen Angaben der aramäischen Papyri nachzugehen und insbesondere nach der Stätte und den etwaigen Überresten des Jahutempels zu forschen” (29).

32 Kaiser et al., “17./18. Grabungsbericht,” 218–220, Taf. 47. Proper editions of the papyri with photographs and commentary are not yet published. A survey of the Demotic papyri, which mentions the Aramaic, is found in Farid, “demotisches Familienarchiv,” 251–261 along with a few legible photographs of select Demotic papyri (taf. 54). Jan Moje is preparing editions of these three photographs, otherwise, it appears work on the remaining Demotic papyri has been stalled. The Aramaic papyri were published with transcriptions, translations (English and Hebrew), and hand copies in *TAD*: Nr. 2 Fundkomplex 17232 E/t, JE 98518 = SR 3941 Papyri, aramäisch. = *TAD* D3.17; Nr. 3 Fundkomplex 17232 Eh, JE 98519 = SR 3942; Papyri, aramäisch. = *TAD* D3.16; Nr. 5 Fundkomplex 17232 E, JE 98516 = SR 3939 Papyrus, aramäisch. = *TAD* D3.17, D3.18, D3.21, D4.23, D5.22, D5.33, D5.34, D5.35, D5.41.

33 Farid, “demotisches Familienarchiv,” 252–253. Inexplicably Farid does not assign this document (Fundkomplex 17220 P8, JE 98514 = SR 3939) a number.

34 Farid, “demotisches Familienarchiv,” no. 4. The description is unclear in the excavation report. Kaiser et al., “17./18. Grabungsbericht,” 218 describes that “[w]eitere Papyri kamen im Raum P2 (Fundkomplex 17233 A und 17232 E),” but the diagram on the next page (219) places 17233 A in P15, adjacent P2.





Grundriß des aramäischen Hauses mit älteren und jüngeren Anlagen an der Tempelstraße.

Zeitschr. f. Ägypt. Spr., 46. Band.

Verlag: J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

FIGURE 3 The German Excavators' Map of Elephantine, House *k*, Plate v (Public Domain)

to the 28th–30th dynasties, that is after the major Persian occupation.<sup>35</sup> The names and content in the Aramaic documents are in-line with that known from the 5th century, though uniquenesses appear.<sup>36</sup> *TAD* assigned these papyri all to the 5th century, presumably based on their content and paleography. Unfortunately, the surviving fragments of Aramaic papyri are not dated, so it remains difficult to determine if they are from the 5th century or if they were composed

<sup>35</sup> Kaiser et al., “17./18. Grabungsbericht,” 217.

<sup>36</sup> For example, the fragment referring to people who make or serve something or someone named *HMY* (*TAD* D3.17).

in the 4th century, perhaps by remnants of the earlier Persian occupants or by those later attempting Persian resettling.

Scholarship has yet to grapple with the significance of this problem, which can be laid out as follows:

(1) The various dossiers of Porten include documents that were not all found together, so far as we can tell. Thus the notion of an ancient archive, understood from its archaeological perspective, must be rejected at present.<sup>37</sup> This applies to the letters and contracts that he organized.

(2) The diaries discuss multiple find-spots for Aramaic sources, though they are not always clear. The location where the bulk of the published texts were found is stated clearly in the archaeological report as houses *m* and *n*.<sup>38</sup> No further specifics are given.<sup>39</sup> “Bulk,” however, does not mean *all*, and it would be valuable to know where each papyrus was found.

Further clues to the find-spots of specific papyri can be found in the notes which were packed with the papyri at the excavation site. In addition to the Aramaic Box, Berlin houses five original metal boxes from the Elephantine excavations, each full of unpublished papyri.<sup>40</sup> The boxes are dated and generally correspond to the diary entries.<sup>41</sup> No boxes from the period of many Aramaic finds remain; those documents were published or moved to the Aramaic Box or other cardboard boxes (see below). The notes in the metal boxes are helpful, but the papyri were loosely layered in the boxes and may have shifted in their many journeys over the last 100+ years. Furthermore, some of the notes in the metal boxes include later comments or papers and, therefore, show that the boxes have been sifted through by subsequent hands. Unfortunately, no notes from the original excavation boxes—nor the boxes themselves—that held the Aramaic papyri survive.

(3) After the Second World War, the aforementioned cardboard boxes were held in West Berlin and between 1970–1988 a number of new Aramaic Elephantine papyri were published from them.<sup>42</sup> 35 of these cardboard boxes remain in the

37 In summer 2016, Porten kindly acknowledged to me that his work is better understood as dossiers rather than archives.

38 Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker, “Bericht,” 28–29.

39 “The Germans found their first papyri on the declivity of the kom of wall *m* 1, the larger quantity, however, at wall *m* 2 and at the late wall *m* 3” (KRAELING, p. 68). KRAELING knew of the Honroth, Rubensohn, and Zucker report that describes the Aramaic papyri coming from house *m*. In both houses *m* and *n*, the papyri had been found among rubble.

40 While small fragments of Aramaic papyri may still be found in the metal boxes, no large pieces nor large quantities have been nor are expected to be found. The boxes mostly contain languages, except for Aramaic.

41 Admittedly, it is not always clear if these are the dates the objects therein were found or the day they were packed. The diaries generally refer to papyri as they were found, but on 9 Jan 1906 Rubensohn noted, “Die aramäischen Funde der verflossenen Woche füllen einen großen Blechkasten, der sehr vorsichtig ausgepackt werden muß” (Müller and Rubensohn, “1. und 2. Kampagne,” 83).

42 The situation in West Berlin is different. Some of the older boxes in the museum’s pre-war collection, were moved to cardboard boxes, and these ended up in West Berlin after the war. Whether they were from “book boxes” or metal excavation boxes is unknown. Between 1970–1988, many previously unknown Aramaic fragments from the Rubensohn and Zucker excavations were published from the West Berlin collection, mostly as a result

Berlin collection and in them are notes, but these notes are even more problematic than those in the metal boxes. Some notes appear to not align with information found in the diaries or even the cardboard box they were found in, and as the museum's ERC project opens some of the remaining boxes, it is clear that many of them are best described as a mess, containing a hodgepodge of fragments from various archaeological sites—perhaps even from other forms of acquisition. The notes from the metal boxes were not always transferred correctly to the cardboard boxes, and it is unclear if the notes were even from the excavations. Papyri from different sites were mixed together in some cases, and efforts to locate the West Berlin cardboard boxes and notes, from which Aramaic texts were published between 1970–1988, has been futile. Even if they were found, their reliability remains in doubt. In the 1968 publication of the Greek material from the cardboard boxes, Herwig Maehler explained the problem clearly:

Auch da, wo Herkunftsangaben vorhanden sind, hat es sich in mehreren Fällen herausgestellt, daß darauf nicht unbedingt Verlaß ist (z.B. enthielten Kästen mit der Aufschrift "Elephantine, 22. I. 1906" auch Papyri aus dem Fayûm, die nicht in Assuan gefunden sein können, u.a. koptische Papyri in fayûmischen Dialekt). Daß zuweilen zusammengehörige Fundgruppen zerstreut oder Heterogenes zusammengeworfen worden ist, erklärt sich aus dem wechselvollen Schicksal dieser alten Bestände.<sup>43</sup>

An example of the problematic nature of these notes can be seen in a careful assessment of the first rediscovered Aramaic papyrus to be published from the West Berlin collection in 1970, the so-called Boat Papyrus (Pap. Ber. P. 23000 = *TAD* A3.10). Zuhair Shunnar an Arabist found the papyrus in a box of otherwise much later Arabic, Greek, and Coptic papyri, which he suspected were from el Ashmunein or Elephantine.<sup>44</sup> Apparently citing a note from the box, Shunnar states that the papyri came from an excavation by Rubensohn on the 9th of November 1907.<sup>45</sup> Shunnar may have been trying to reconcile a note with Rubensohn's name on it with the large Arabic finds known from el Ashmunein and attributed to Rubensohn from 1904–1905; the Germans found very little Arabic papyri at Elephantine.<sup>46</sup> Porten and Yardeni reedited the papyrus and without reference claim, "On November 9–10, 1907 there were discovered by F. Zucker in his excavations at Elephantine fragments of an Aramaic letter which were not recognized and studied until 60 years later."<sup>47</sup> Rubensohn's name on a November 1907 label is incompatible with both the el Ashmunein

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of a cataloguing effort made during a renovation (Degen, "Elephantine I;" Degen, "Elephantine II;" PORTEN; Shunnar, "euer aramäischer."). See Joisten-Pruschke, *religiöse Leben*, 17–60, who has researched the history of the fragments before 2008. See also Lemaire, "Aramaic Literacy," 295–296.

43 Maehler, *Urkunden*, vi. Similar remarks are found in Degen, "Elephantine I," 71.

44 It seems unlikely that this particular papyrus came from el Ashmunein, since it would then be the only Aramaic document from that site. A new letter found in the Aramaic Box Pap. Ber. P. 23153 (herein no. 1.1.6) shares affinities with the Boat Papyrus, and may be part of a small dossier of a Persian navy troop.

45 Shunnar, "neuer aramäischer," 112.

46 Shunnar cites Grohmann, *Einführung*, 22, which discusses the Arabic finds in the Berlin collection.

47 Porten and Yardeni, "Boat Papyrus," 76.

and Elephantine excavations. Perhaps Porten and Yardeni realized this and altered the name to Zucker. That said, Zucker's diaries, which are careful to mention Aramaic finds and discuss the details of many small papyri finds on the 9th–10th of November 1907, do not refer to an Aramaic papyrus.<sup>48</sup> It seems unlikely that Zucker would overlook such a large piece of clearly written Aramaic papyrus. Also, of the mixed papyri found by Zucker on the 9th–10th of November 1907, none are identified as Arabic. In short, the information for this find-spot of the Aramaic Boat Papyrus is unreliable, and so too may be the published information about other Aramaic texts coming from West Berlin cardboard boxes.<sup>49</sup>

Apart from two Aramaic jar labels found at Abusir (Ost. Ber. P. 11359 = TAD D11.20 and Ost. Ber. P. 11360 + P. 17805 = TAD D11.19), the known Aramaic collection in the Berlin Museum comes from Elephantine or was acquired by purchase or donation. So while it is possible that an early papyrus for Abusir or an uncatalogued acquisition was mixed into the cardboard boxes, it seems more likely that unpublished and uncatalogued pieces in these boxes come from Elephantine.

(4) The diaries also discuss other objects found with, among, or by Aramaic papyri, and no study, to my knowledge, has discussed the historical implications these objects have for dating the find-spots of the Aramaic sources. Two very recent studies have reignited discussions around the terracotta plaque figurines of women and children found with the Aramaic papyri,<sup>50</sup> but the 5th century Phoenician pots from house *k*, the wooden figurines with phalluses,<sup>51</sup> the headless sphinx from house *k*, the kneeling statue of Khnum, a ceremonial hammer, the lotus makeup bowl, the lost stamp seal with a menorah on it,<sup>52</sup> the material function of the limestone Aramaic inscription (Pap. Ber. P. 11385 = TAD D12.1), the material function of the Egyptian-style wooden stamp seal with an Aramaic inscription (Hol. Ber. ÄM 18468 = TAD D13.5), and the high concentration of wicker items have not yet been studied in relation to the papyri found with them. Furthermore, not enough attention has been paid to the fact that the Aramaic papyri were discovered in mixed assemblages with Egyptian papyri. It is particularly notable that the Aramaic papyri were found among Hieratic papyri, and so far, of the little that has been translated only a (religious) medical text dates close to the Persian period (Pap. Ber. P. 10456).<sup>53</sup> One would expect to find this document in a temple complex rather than on the outskirts of the domestic quarter. The diaries do not help us date the find-spots, except in one instance, which heretofore has been overlooked.

48 Müller and Zucker, "3. Kampagne," 17–18. Since many Aramaic pieces were found in the German's northern sector, the line, "Dagegen wurden auf der Nordseite etwas mehr Papyrusfragmente und wieder einige Siegelabdrücke gefunden" (18) could be interpreted as Aramaic finds. But the context suggests that this statement refers to Demotic papyri, and again, Zucker meticulously noted Aramaic finds.

49 The notes for the other languages found in the cardboard boxes (Greek, Demotic, and Coptic) also appear to be problematic. Details of these notes may be taken up by the ERC project's respective experts in those languages. PORTEN, pp. 14–54 notes the find-spots of some texts from the West Berlin cardboard boxes.

50 Cornell, "Forgotten Female," 22 and Rohrmoser, *Götter*, 315–328. Both sources overlook another terracotta female plaque figurine that may also have come from the site, for example, Brooklyn 16.302.

51 They are studied for their potential religious significance in Rohrmoser, *Götter*, 307–314.

52 SAYCE, p. 13.

53 For translation see Porten et al., *Elephantine Papyri*, no. A10.

### *Dating the Aramaic Papyri Find-spots*

On the 10th of January 1907, during the second German campaign and during the over two week period in which the bulk of the Aramaic papyri were found, Rubensohn writes: “Im aramäischen Viertel werden 2 gerollte, vollständige aramäische Papyri, viele große Fragmente und viel Kleinzeug gefunden. Zwischen den aramäischen Fragmenten finden sich einige wenige demotische Brocken aus Ptolemäerzeit (Rest der Datierung erhalten).”<sup>54</sup> Corroborating this in the next campaign Zucker notes that he found Greek papyri in the mix. He writes that “unter der nördlichen aramäischen Fundstelle kommt etwas hieratischer Papyrus heraus, ganz kleine Fetzen; auch ein winziges griechisches Stückchen.”<sup>55</sup> No pre-Ptolemaic Greek papyri are known from Elephantine. Therefore, at any locus one must consider the latest datable objects to secure a terminus ad quem of a mixed assemblage. What we find in Rubensohn’s and Zucker’s statements are historical anchors, which contextualize the bulk of Berlin’s Aramaic finds. *The only reasonable conclusion is that the Aramaic houses m and n, are secondary contexts from the Ptolemaic period. They are not Persian period dwellings of Aramaic speakers who are reflected in the Aramaic papyri.*<sup>56</sup>

This observation is sobering, but roughly coincides with the situation of the papyri found in DAIK/SIABAK’s house P (discussed above). There it seems that 5th century Aramaic papyri were stored in a house that dates no earlier than the mid-4th century BCE.

On or shortly after the latest datable Aramaic document in 399 BCE, the textual record exhibits a sharp decline until the rise of the Ptolemies in the last quarter of the 4th century. Hopefully as the many thousands of Demotic sources from the site are translated, particularly the papyri from DAIK/SIABAK house P, they will reveal what occurred during this time of transition, but at present all possibilities remain speculative.

It is known that in the reign of Nectanebo II, the Khnum temple complex underwent significant renovations and expansion that cut into the location where von Pilgrim proposes the temple of Yahô sat. Items in the Yahô temple and in the buildings surrounding it were either removed or buried. It is reasonable to speculate that the papyri collected from that area were taken and stashed in a building on the outskirts of the site, which is where houses *m* and *n* sit. The result is a mixed assemblage of texts relocated during Nectanebo II and added to in the early Ptolemaic period. The details as to who moved the papyri and why they were preserved remains unknown.

No clear historical anchor can be found so far for dating the finds in house *k* (DAIK/SIABAK house G). The diaries do not report of Ptolemaic or later finds in this locus, but it is notable that it sits on the northern edge of the later Khnum temple extension. House *k* may very well have been a Persian period storehouse that was buried during the Khnum temple renovations.<sup>57</sup> The mixture

54 Müller and Rubensohn, “1. und 2. Kampagne,” 83 (10 Jan. 1906).

55 Müller and Zucker, “3. Kampagne,” 40 (9 Dec. 1907).

56 This is a simplistic conclusion that even Rubensohn and Zucker overlooked (see Müller and Zucker, “3. Kampagne,” 50).

57 Porten, *Archives*, 99 studies house *k* as such.

of Demotic and Aramaic finds<sup>58</sup> suggests that it may have originally been an administrative building, and its abundance of Phoenician storage jars leaves one to infer that it was associated with a Persian and/or Judean/Aramean temple staff. Although von Pilgrim's identification of it with the house of Gaddûl, following Porten's schematic, is well accepted, none have yet dealt with the mixed linguistic assemblage of the house or the fact that it and neighboring DAIK/SIABAK house O contained unique markings in the brickwork that the excavators speculated were markers of a state building.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps it is also noteworthy that the French found many of their Aramaic ostraca, which deal with the movement of commodities often kept in storehouses, on their side of the line near this location.<sup>60</sup> The details by which the Aramaic and Demotic administrations overlapped or were (in)distinguishable is unknown, but from bilingual administrative sources such as Cairo EM JdE 43469 = *TAD* A6.2 or Pap. Ber. P. 23157 (herein no. 1.1.11), it is clear that they did, if only minimally. The discovery of Demotic and Aramaic papyri (and ostraca and jar labels) within the context of a storehouse is no surprise, and house *k* may be the closest evidence to a Persian period locus from which Aramaic papyri were found. Unfortunately, we still do not know which fragments in the Berlin collection were found in this locus.

Complicating matters is the evidence that some Aramaic papyri were found in the post-Persian layers of the Khnum temple complex's mixed assemblage of many thousands of fragments. The German diaries refer to this area as the southern sector, but again, their records are notoriously imprecise. It is unclear which Aramaic fragments in the German collection came from this area. After the Germans' final campaign, the French continued to dig at the site, expanding their search to the German side.<sup>61</sup> Their digs, especially between 1908 and 1909 yielded many thousands of small papyri fragments, mostly coming from the Khnum temple. At least 34 small metal (cigar) boxes of unpublished papyri from those excavations are housed in the AIBL's Cabinet du CIS, and at least 2 larger metal excavation boxes can be found in the Louvre. Under the auspices of the ERC project and with the permission from the housing institutions, a cursory survey of these boxes has been made. The fragments are mostly papyri and some paper and vellum from the Ptolemaic through Arabic periods, with only some exceptional earlier Egyptian finds. Of the thousands of fragments, only two small Aramaic fragments were found in these boxes, and they had been set aside in an envelope labelled "Niveau du Chnum 18/1 09 a 15 fev. N.O." (AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51 Unl.2.3. Frags. 1 + 2).<sup>62</sup> They read:

58 Note Rubenson's reflective comment at 10 days after the initial papyri finds in house *k*, "wurden die ganz vermoderten Papyrusreste, Reste von großen Rollen, teils demotisch, teils aramäisch, gefunden" (Müller and Rubensohn, "1. und 2. Kampagne," 86).

59 Kaiser et al., "17./18. Grabungsbericht," 215, 217, Taf. 46, b.

60 Müller and Zucker, "3. Kampagne," 11, 46.

61 For a discussion of the French excavations see Delange et al., *fouilles françaises*.

62 The envelope contains 7 papyrus fragments, 4 of which have no writing. The two Aramaic fragments are legible, and a third unplaced fragment is not recognizably Aramaic. These fragments were first announced in April of 2021 during a session of l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Moore and Gorea, "Papyri sémitique").

## Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2

Verso

Recto



Recto

- 
1. {[...]<sup>r</sup>T<sup>l</sup>D| [...]<sup>r</sup>T<sup>l</sup>R} ?[...]  
 2. [...]<sup>r</sup>H<sup>l</sup> Shep<sup>r</sup>n<sup>l</sup>[eît]<sup>63</sup>
- 

- [...] א {ת<sup>r</sup> [...] | ת<sup>r</sup> [...] } .1  
 [...] ה<sup>r</sup> שפ<sup>r</sup>נ<sup>r</sup> [ת<sup>r</sup> [...] ] .2
- 

Verso

- 
1. [...] <sup>r</sup>so<sup>l</sup>n of Psa<sup>r</sup>m<sup>l</sup>[...] <sup>64</sup>  
 2. [...] that[ ...] °[...]  
 3. [...] ° °<sup>r</sup>T<sup>l</sup> °[...]
- 

- [...] <sup>r</sup>ב<sup>r</sup> פס<sup>r</sup>מ<sup>r</sup> [...] .1  
 [...] א דכ [...] .2  
<sup>65</sup>[...] ° ט<sup>r</sup> ° [...] .3
- 

These fragments are not so much important for what they say—they hardly preserve content—but for the fact that they were found within the Khnum complex. Like the earlier finds of Maspero which also came from documented excavations of the Khnum temple complex (AIBL-CIS A2–4 [RÉS 247–248] = *TAD* A5.5 and AIBL-CIS A1 pap. 1 [RÉS 246] = *TAD* D3.26), these fragments are further evidence that the Ptolemaic strata of the Khnum complex was a mixed assemblage that included Aramaic papyri, and so far none of the documented Khnum complex Aramaic finds refers to Judeans/Arameans. It is no surprise that the temple's archives would preserve some documents from only a century or two earlier, during Persian occupation, and that these documents would focus on the Egyptian temple's relationship to the Persian administration. After all, the Demotic papyri Pap. Ber. P. 13539 and Pap. Ber. P. 13540 clearly

63 I.e. *Šp-Njt* see Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103 and Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 95.

64 One could read a variety of Egyptian names. See Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102 and Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 91–92.

65 The <sup>r</sup> may also be read as a <sup>r</sup>, in which the two letters touch, but the wide letter spacing between the other characters argues against this reading.

demonstrate that the Persians controlled the administrative functions of the Khnum temple.

### *Conclusions*

The result of these observations means that attempts to arrange the documents into dossiers based solely on content and internal dates are warranted, but the assumption that all the Aramaic documents belonged to Judeans cannot be maintained without further evidence. The collection may, in fact resemble part of a collection of Yahô temple documents from either the temple itself or a (store)house in its vicinity, but it may also represent Aramaic sources held in the Khnum temple or (store)houses in its immediate vicinity. Documents such as the Syene Ration List (*TAD* C3.14), the aforementioned Boat Papyrus (Pap. Ber. P. 23000 = *TAD* A3.10), the Collection List of Egyptian Family Units (Pap. Ber. P. 23923 a–f [herein no. 2.2.1]), the Darius Inscription (Pap. Ber. P. 13447 A–D (+) “von P. 13447” = *TAD* C2.1),<sup>66</sup> and the Ahiqar manuscript (Pap. Ber. P. 13446 + frags; + Cairo EM JdE 43502 = *TAD* C1.1; C3.7; and D-Ahiq. frags. a–b) may have originated from non-Judean collections.<sup>67</sup> The findings here suggest that perhaps an entirely new attempt to reconstruct the social history of the site should be undertaken which considers more seriously the mixed assemblage of texts and artifacts.<sup>68</sup> This also means that interpretations of the documents, along with the fragments in the Aramaic Box must not be limited to a Judean hypothesis.<sup>69</sup> In short, there are many new avenues to investigate, and many old theories to check and amend.

## **Part II: Placing Fragments. Material and Textual Considerations**

A complex relationship exists between the material features of a papyrus and its written content. Ancient writers formatted documents written on papyrus according to the material's features and limitations. Although papyrus rolls were produced by a separate industry than that which employed writers, it

66 It has been claimed that the collection of memoranda on the verso was from the Yahô temple (van der Toorn, *Becoming*, 24) and assumed to be Judean (Granerød, *Dimensions*, 242). Apart from many names bearing the Yahwistic theophoric elements, there is no clear evidence that this derives from the Yahô temple. It may simply have been an inventory of documents held in an institutional archive. See discussion of the genre of memoranda in Moore, “Who Gave,” 81–88.

67 Historical literary analysis of the Ahiqar manuscript suggests that it resembles the types of interests known by the Judeans in latter adaptations of the tale (Moore, “Ahikariana,” 256–259). That said, the manuscript itself likely derives from the Nile delta, where it was first used as an account record roll.

68 Such work should also negotiate these sources within the larger context of newer Northwest Semitic discoveries of mid-first millennium texts from Egypt, especially Dušek and Mynářová, “Phoenician and Aramaic;” Moore and Gorea, “Papyri sémitiques;” and Lemaire and Chauveau, “Aramaic and Demotic.” Furthermore, although an updated and accessible study of the Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri has been published, Dušek, *manuscripts araméens*, research that negotiates the social historical differences between the texts of that community of Persian period Judean/Arameans and those from the slightly earlier site of Elephantine is sorely needed.

69 An admirable attempt to upset the Judean hypothesis has been recently proposed by van der Toorn (*Becoming*). He argues, by basing heavy emphasis on his interpretation of the Amherst 63 manuscript, that the “Jews” of Elephantine were native Aramaic speaking Samaritans who accompanied other Aramaic speakers to Egypt during the 7th century BCE.



appears that writers learned about their papyrus medium during their education because the format of Aramaic text types written on papyri are generally consistent, regardless of the writer. Furthermore, writers display a knowledge of the medium's production techniques, as seen, for instance, when writers sometimes lengthen rolls by gluing papyri together.

Porten and Yardeni set a precedent with their work on the materiality of the Aramaic papyri in a number of studies, and many of their reconstructions and arrangements of fragments in *TAD* reflect their intimate knowledge of the relationship between material and content. Some scholars before them were aware of these features, as for instance, the passing remarks in Sachau's edition princeps show, but the issues were never overtly discussed.<sup>70</sup> The present volume will continue in this long and advancing tradition of organizing and interpreting Aramaic papyri from Egypt in view of both their textual and material features.

### *Material Features*

Because of the poor state of many of the fragments in the Aramaic Box, material features are sometimes the best clue for interpreting a fragment. One of the more challenging aspects of working with small fragments is determining where on the papyrus roll the fragment came from. To do this requires knowledge of the physical features of papyrus as well as the relationship between text types and those physical features.

#### A Manuscript's Roll-Height and Roll-Length

Some have argued that ancient papyrus shops may have sold rolls at fixed dimensions,<sup>71</sup> but evidence for the manufacturing of papyrus in Persian period Egypt or the relationship between the writer and manufacturer remains unknown. From a writer's point of view, text types had no standardized roll-length, that is, the length of the original document as measured on the recto horizontal to the fibers. This variable means that seldom can an editor estimate the length of a fragmentary manuscript unless it was either a copy of a known work, an opistograph, or a highly formulaic work; generally, though not always, roll-length is contingent on the composition, which the writer uses it for.

Knowing the original height of a fragmentary roll is valuable for the reconstruction of all text types, and although it is difficult to determine, it is easier than determining roll-length. Roll-height refers to the distance on the recto between the edges of the original document as measured perpendicular to the fibers. Calculating roll-height, however, remains a vexing problem in many cases. Roll-height is generally a fixed feature of a papyrus document, but the height of any given roll or any given document may vary. The heights of the Aramaic documents vary, with the majority of surviving examples around 30 cm ± 3 cm in measure. Furthermore, it does not appear that any particular text type favors a particular roll height.

#### Folding and Roll-Height

Sometimes, the height of fragmentary manuscripts can be determined by considering the wear patterns of the papyrus, particularly patterns made by fold-

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, Porten, "Address Formulae," 402–406.

<sup>71</sup> Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 87.

creases. When papyrus was folded in antiquity, as was the case of many Aramaic documentary papyri, the strain on the fibers at the fold caused them to have bent, or in many cases to have broken. Broken fragments from a folded papyrus produce generally consistent wear patterns that leave fragments of roughly the same dimensions and shapes stacked on top of each other. Fortunately, fold lines correspond to text types, and thus from relatively small fragments the roll-height can sometimes be determined.

Establishing roll-height provides a material limitation by which the format of a document's content can be controlled. This further limits the possible placement within a manuscript from which a fragment may derive. When this observation is combined with knowledge of formulaic textual features of a documentary fragment, the fragment can be placed with a high degree of certainty.

### *Text Types*

Text types in this study are not genres. Text type is a classification of a document based on both material features and content. The foremost feature of a text type is the relationship between the writing direction and the papyrus' fiber direction. Ancient Aramaic writers generally began writing on the recto of a papyrus roll and oriented their lines squarely on the writing surface. This resulted in two options, either the text runs parallel with the recto's fibers or perpendicular to them. In both cases, the writer was generally careful to ensure that overlapping sheet-joins were oriented such that each preceding sheet of papyrus was glued over, rather than under, the next sheet.

Two text types are written parallel to the recto's fiber, bookrolls and record rolls.

Papyrologists and conservators often refer to documents written perpendicular to a roll's recto's fibers as having been composed *transversa charta*. Aramaic documents written *transversa charta* contain one column which is the roll-height, generally with narrow left and right margins. If the writing continued onto the verso, the document was flipped across its horizontal axis (i.e. top-to-bottom). Two text types are commonly written *transversa charta* among the Aramaic Papyri, letters and contracts,<sup>72</sup> and this practice has long been an Egyptian custom before Aramaic writers employed papyrus as a medium.<sup>73</sup> That said, it is also notable that a *transversa charta* format resembles the top-to-bottom orientation (recto-to-verso) of writing on tablets known from the Aramaic-Akkadian scribal tradition.

### Bookrolls, Record Rolls, and Administrative Documentation

The features of bookrolls and record rolls are very similar, and in fact, of the two surviving bookrolls at Elephantine, record roll content was added to the

72 All surviving Persian period Aramaic contracts and letters are written *transversa charta*. Cairo EM JdE 43471 = TAD A4.2 breaks this rule, but it may have been composed on a roll's handle-sheet, in which case it follows the rule in principle. TAD makes no distinction between "letters" and record rolls containing letter-like content, such as reports (Cairo EM JdE 43493 = TAD A3.1; Bib. Nat. P. Aram. 2 = TAD A4.5; Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and Pap. Ber. P. 23967 = TAD A4.6 [herein no. 2.1.1]; and Cairo EM JdE 43467 = TAD A4.10), missives/inventories (Cairo EM JdE 43494 = TAD A3.2), or memoranda (Pap. Ber. P. 13497 = TAD A4.9). Among the legal material, only Pap. Ber. P. 13476 = TAD B4.6 appears to break this rule without good reason. See further discussion of record rolls below.

73 Goelet, "Ancient Egyptian."

blank space on the verso of the Darius bookroll (Pap. Ber. P. 13447 A–D (+) “von P. 13447”),<sup>74</sup> and the Ahīqar bookroll began as a record roll which was erased and reused (Pap. Ber. P. 13446 + frags; + Cairo EM JdE 43502 = *TAD* Cl.1; C3.7; and D-Ahiq. frags. a—b). Both text types may be opistographs, in which case the document was flipped across its vertical axis (i.e. side-to-side), when writing on the recto continued onto the verso. Both text types can also contain more than one composition compiled on the roll.<sup>75</sup> Lastly, both text types can also be composed on palimpsests.

Bookrolls are unique in that they contain literary content and the margins, line spacing, and wide column width are more or less uniform for each composition on the roll. Pap. Ber. P. 13446r (Ahīqar) has generous line spacing, headers, footers, and is written only on the recto. These features suggest that it is a deluxe edition of a bookroll.<sup>76</sup> It appears that sheet-joins were used to delimit column width in the bookrolls Pap. Ber. P. 13446r (Ahīqar) and Pap. Ber. P. 13447 (Darius) as much as possible. The Elephantine bookrolls are written in a professional hand, and fragments of each, especially many from Pap. Ber. P. 13446, are found in the Aramaic Box. They are small and rarely preserve full words. Due to the complications of that manuscript, they will be formally published at a later date. Fragments from what appears to be Pap. Ber. P. 13447 are also found in the Aramaic Box. These are in the worst condition of all the fragments and may never be placed. No other fragments in the Aramaic Box can be identified as literary fragments having come from bookrolls.

Record rolls, however, contain documentary content as well as variable margins, line spacing, and column width. Unlike bookrolls, record rolls are less likely to use sheet-joins to help estimate column width, and in some cases the sheet-joins are clearly made by a writer combining various sheets of papyrus (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = *TAD* C3.15).<sup>77</sup> The act of compiling papyrus sheets of previously written administrative content, with little care taken to ensure precise sheet-joins, occurs so frequently outside of the Aramaic papyri that at least one conservator considers it an identifiable and unique type of sheet-join, the record-join (*die Aktenklebung*).<sup>78</sup> The hands on surviving bookrolls and record rolls are professional hands; record rolls tend to be more cursive than bookrolls, but this is not a rule.

Both bookrolls and record rolls tend to have been stored in a rolled condition and depending on their circumstances *in situ*, a roll may have been compressed

74 The manuscript's erased text has not been deciphered. The overwritten text began as a bookroll with the Darius Inscription copied on the recto and perhaps two columns on the verso. The remaining verso contains a list of memoranda, written in a different hand (Mitchell, “Berlin Papyrus,” 140). It remains unclear if the verso memoranda were written before or after the Darius Inscription.

75 The only other Aramaic bookroll from Egypt is the unprovenanced BL Pap. 106 (= *TAD* Cl.2), which contains a version of the Tale of Ḥor son of Punesh on the recto and an otherwise unknown literary composition now referred to as the Demise of Righteousness on the verso (see Porten, “Prophecy,” 427–466, pl. xxxv).

76 See similar examples from Oxyrynchus (Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 155–156) and among the Dead Sea Scroll (Tov, *Scribal*, 125–129) manuscripts.

77 This document contains a Demotic palimpsest, and it is possible that the documentary palimpsest was compiled (in part) from various sheets. While col. i of the overwritten Aramaic text may have used the sheet-join as a left margin, it may be coincidental or owed to a so-called *Aktenklebung* that col. iv aligns with the sheet-join.

78 Krutzsch, “Blattklebungen,” 93, 97.

over time producing features similar to fold-creases. This can cause long vertical breaks on the papyrus which results in slender fragments. Long rolls may also have a handle sheet at the beginning and end of the roll, which serves a function similar to a flyleaf in a codex—to protect the inner content from excessive wear. Handle sheets were frequently a blank or partially blank sheet of papyrus which was normally rotated 90° and glued to the end and/or beginning of the roll. The rotation of the first papyrus sheet means that fibers of handle sheets run vertically on the recto.<sup>79</sup>

Due to the variability of material and textual features on bookrolls and record rolls, no single map of these text types can be constructed to facilitate fragment placement.

Many of the other surviving administrative papyri written parallel to the recto's fibers may have originally begun as scraps and trimmings used for administrative notes or lists. As noted above, some record rolls are made as a compilation of such notes glued together, and it seems that the writers had the practices of record roll writing in mind when composing notes on scraps because they adhered to the formatting discussed above. Therefore, I include administrative notes under the rubric of record roll, even though it is not always clear if they were “rolled” or “folded,” or intended to be compiled into a record roll.

Lastly, a final type of documenting practice occurred in the legal sphere, though the scribal practices of recording such circumstances follow that used to write record rolls. No emic genre was used (or is yet known) for what are now called “court records.” The vast majority of these are from Saqqara or unprovenanced (*TAD* B8). Only two were found at Elephantine, and *TAD* has collected them as examples of the (etic) “judicial oath” genre (Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1 and Cairo EM JdE 43486 = *TAD* B7.2). This classification is misleading, perhaps due to the fact that both of these court records mandate that a legal party take an oath in lieu of documented evidence. The actual documentation of the oath taken appears to have been understood as a native emic genre, which was recorded, presumably by the priest at the temple witnessing the oath. This written oath appears to have met the need of the court for documented evidence. Unlike the court record, the actual procedure resulted in a document written parallel to the recto's fibers and containing its own emic genre label, מומ(א)ה “an oath (document).” One example of this survives from Elephantine in Aramaic (Pap. Ber. P. 13485 = *TAD* B7.3) and one in Demotic with an Aramaic docket (Cairo EM JdE 43501).<sup>80</sup> Three new fragments in this publication (§ 2.4) are categorized as “Oath/Court Records” because they may belong to those above mentioned court records, which are now in Cairo.

### Contracts

Contracts are written on unused rolls of papyrus, and the writer normally leaves a large blank section at the beginning. Contracts rarely continue onto the verso, so it seems the writer did not cut the document from the roll until he had fin-

79 An example of this can be seen on Bib. Nat. P. Aram. 2 = *TAD* A4.5.

80 *TAD* B7.4 edits only the Aramaic docket. The Demotic text has been edited for the first time in the Berlin Museum's ERC project (Text ID no. 310482). This Demotic text appears to follow Egyptian rather than Aramaic scribal conventions and format, while the Aramaic docket was added in the same manner as dockets are added to Aramaic contracts.

ished writing.<sup>81</sup> In the few cases in which content continues on the verso, the document was flipped across its horizontal axis (i.e. bottom-to-top). Some writers preferred beginning the text of a contract at a sheet-join, but this was not a universal practice. By definition it can be assumed that contracts were written by professional writers, and therefore, the paleographic features of these letter forms become the standard for identifying professional hands. The genre facilitated a clear presentation, and therefore, many writers used line spacing and margins to produce a visually attractive document, with the effect similar to that of deluxe bookrolls.<sup>82</sup> The bottom of a contract's recto side, or in rare case the top of the verso, contains a list of witnesses usually written in the witnesses' own hands. Some of these hands stand out in contrast to the professional hand of the body of the document. The bottom of the verso (which corresponds to the top of the recto) contains a docket in which the word "document" (דפטר) is written, which was often followed by a *vacat* where the bulla sat, then the docket's content. The docket was written near the end of the folding process and as such must fit on a single row of folded papyrus. Those dockets that contain more than one line of text are hardly spaced (e.g., Cairo EM JdE 37111 = TAD B2.9).

Figure 4 maps the physical features of a contract according to the common way contracts were folded and sealed. Contracts are folded from bottom-to-top, which results in creased fold lines. The number of rows is contingent on the length of the contract. Between the rows' fold-creases, each row of papyrus grew slightly in height as more material was needed to wrap around the growing package, except for the last two rows. When enough papyrus for two rows remained, the writer folded those two rows downward. This left the verso of row  $\sigma$  (in the figure) visible. The docket information was then written, and the narrow package was then folded into thirds, which resulted in creased columns of papyrus when the document was opened. The columns were folded left-to-right and bound so that normally C III was inside the package between C I and C II. The package was bound with cord, which was sealed on C I on the verso of doc row (R doc.; C III) with clay and stamped (indicated by  $\odot$ ). The cord could be destructive to the papyrus causing secondary damage which bisects C I and C II. This produces fragments which are roughly  $1/6$  the width of the document, that is,  $1/6$  the roll's height (see above).

When the package is sealed, normally Fold II/III and the right edge of the document are stacked on top of each other, while Fold I/II is stacked on the left. This means that Fold I/II leaves a larger portion of the middle of the papyrus exposed to possible damage than does Fold II/III. Additionally, when the document is unfolded, an oscillating wrinkle pattern occurs along the folds. Fold I/II and Fold II/III protrude upward causing a bulge on the recto side on R  $\alpha$  and every other row there after (R  $\gamma$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ ...). Alternatively, an indent on the recto side occurs every other row starting with R  $\beta$  (continuing with R  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ ...). The

81 Brooklyn 47.218.94 (= TAD B3.12) contains a false start in which the writer wrote many lines then began the same contract again with minor details changed. That there is no large space above the mistake and that the contract still had ample space to fit the contract's content suggests that the writer did not pre-cut his roll but wrote then cut the document from the roll.

82 For discussion of deluxe editions see Johnson, *Bookrolls*, 155–156; Tov, *Scribal*, 125–129; and *Bookrolls, Record Rolls, and Administrative Documentation* above.

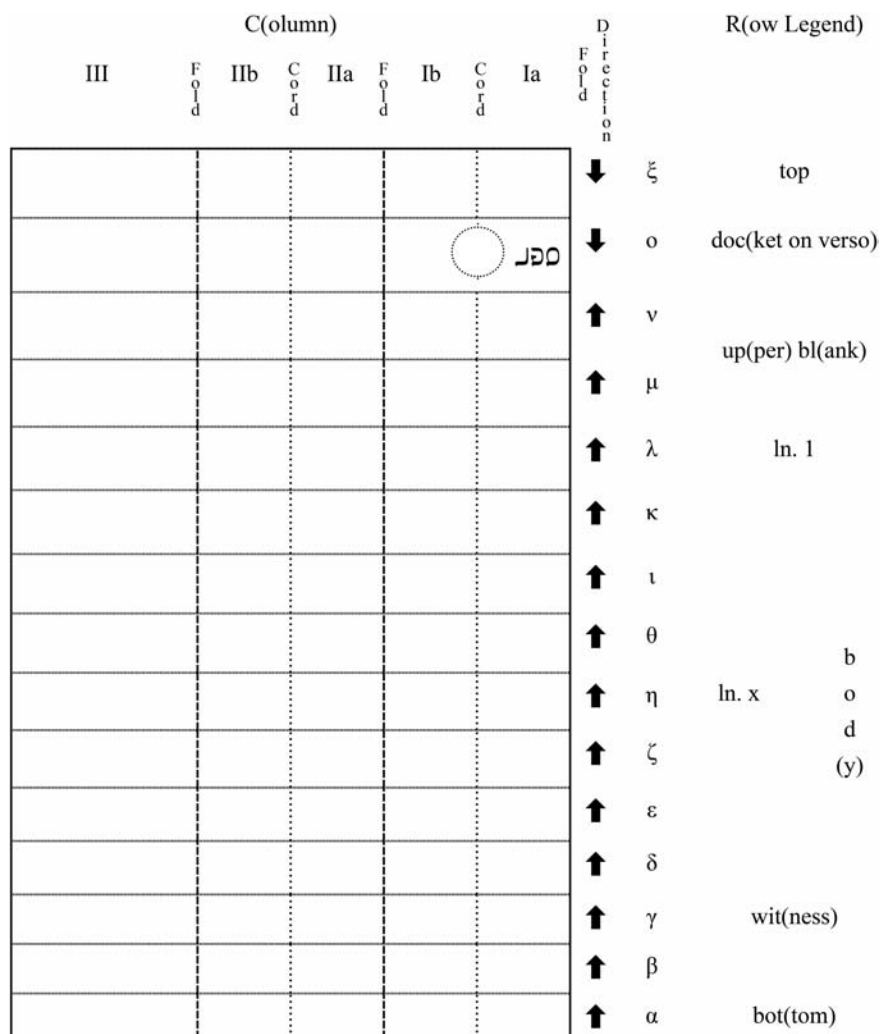


FIGURE 4 Heuristic Map of the Physical Features of a Contract Package

stress on the fibers over time can cause them to contort (and frequently break) particularly at the intersection of the row and column fold-creases. The bulging and indenting produce different fiber contortions patterns.<sup>83</sup>

There is no standardized correlation between a line of text (and interlinear spacing) and fold-creases. Generally, however, the first line of text on the recto appears two or more papyrus rows below the docket row. The last papyrus row(s) may be blank, but the last lines of text frequently include the witnesses.

### Letters

Generally, the letters were written beginning on the recto and may continue on the verso. If the writing continued onto the verso, the writer tried to leave at least one papyrus row between the end of the letter and the area on which the address would be written, after the letter was folded.<sup>84</sup> Most of the letters

83 The humidity used in modern times to unroll many of the packages can iron out these contortions in the fibers. There is no evidence that the fragments in the Aramaic Box were purposely exposed to excessively humid conditions.

84 Unique among letters are the administrative decrees. These were official documents that received postmarks either advising the postal system about their distribution or noting the date on which a decree was received at an administrative center. In addition, vari-

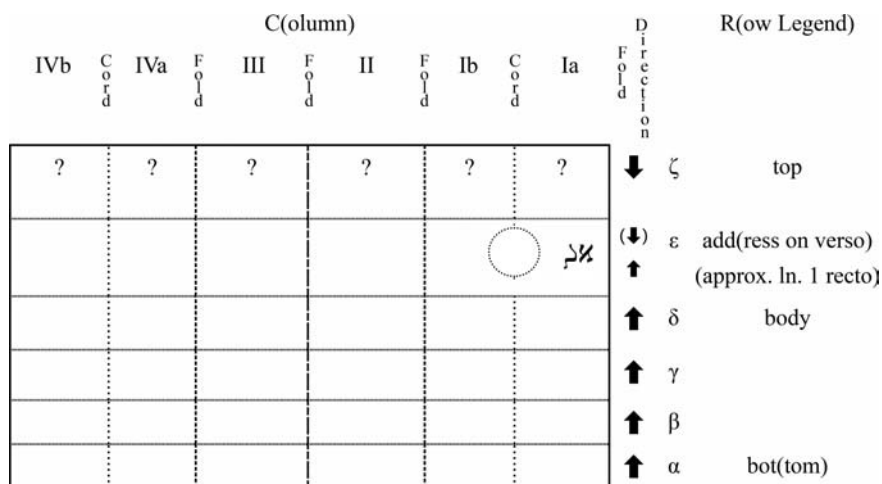


FIGURE 5 Heuristic Map of the Physical Features of a Letter Package

are short, and one gets the impression that they were sometimes composed on trimmings,<sup>85</sup> and in many cases they are written on reused papyrus, particularly those which are less formal.<sup>86</sup> Others may have been carefully formatted, much like some contracts, so that sheet-joins served as one or more edges of the document.

Letters were obviously written by literate individuals, but the degree of their professionalism is not easily determined.<sup>87</sup>

Providing a heuristic map of the physical attributes of letters (Figure 5) is more complicated than that for the contracts and Porten has shown that while some general observations can be made, letters must be studied individually.<sup>88</sup> The Hermopolis letters indicate that the packaging of letters was standardized. Unlike contracts, a letter was not meant to remain sealed in antiquity, but rather opened and read. The letters that survive exhibit, first and foremost, damage patterns that reflect their state *in situ*. The question then is not how were letters packaged in antiquity, but how were they stored after having been read? Unfortunately, we know little about ancient storage practices.

ous administrators signed off on the decree upon receipt, and some would leave further administrative instructions (see Moore, "Persian Administrative"). These features differ from docketts, which are summary notes designed for filing and reference purposes (see contracts above).

85 Porten, "Aramaic Letters," 41–42. Since Cairo EM JdE 43471 = TAD A4.2 was written on the handle-sheet of a roll, one gets the impression that it was a sheet left over from other compositional acts. Note that the direction of fibers on the hand copy in TAD are incorrect.

86 In the case of reused papyri, it is unclear whether the original composition was part of a communication exchange between the same parties or about the same subject. The only clear example of a communication exchange on the same papyrus is Cairo EM JdE 43493 = TAD A3.1. The first text is structured as a report, while the second is a more formal reply beginning on the verso and continuing on the recto 90° to the original text. Another document, Cairo EM JdE 43494 = TAD A3.2, resembles in content and paleography a genre type more similar to the ostraca missives rather than the papyri letters. Although more formal in its content Cairo EM J. 43467 = TAD A4.10 appears to also be an administrative document and not a formal letter.

87 Unlike contracts, which were presumably written in ideal conditions, the genre of letters does not presuppose a predictable writing environment. The degree to which the writing environment affects the professional appearance of the hand, is therefore, difficult to assess.

88 Porten, "Aramaic Letters."

The wear patterns on most surviving letters indicate that after the letter was read it was folded again for storage. Other letters were not stored and were instead reused. In this case the papyrus may exhibit two fold patterns in the rows of papyrus (not indicated in the chart above), that of the original letter and that of the second letter. In such cases when a letter was stored, it could have been refolded along either set of creases, resulting in fragments roughly half the height of a row of papyrus.

Generally, letters were folded for storage as they were when sent in the post, from bottom-to-top with the recto on the inside. Only when possible did the reader fold two rows of papyrus downward (R ζ and R ε), but in almost all cases the last row of papyrus (R ε) was folded downward resulting in an address line on the verso of that row. The address sat directly behind the first or second line of the letter's recto. This narrow package was then folded in half, as it was when it was sealed and sent. At this point, it is unclear what happened to the letter. If papyrus is not bound or weighted, it will tend to unfold, so in some cases the package may have been rebound with cord.

Some bound letters were then folded again,<sup>89</sup> this time with less precision, which means that not all columns will be of equal width. As a result, C I and C IV will have roughly the same width and so too C II and C III.<sup>90</sup>

In at least two examples herein, the letter was folded directly in half bottom-to-top before being folded into rows. In the case of Pap. Ber. P. 23151 a-c (herein no. 1.1.4) the evidence is clear that this fold pattern was initiated by the writer producing an initial fold between what corresponds to δ and γ in the Figure 5 above. The evidence from Pap. Ber. P. 23148 (+) P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 (herein no. 1.1.1) is inconclusive as to whether this fold pattern was made first by the writer or simply by the reader who stored the papyrus.

### Genres

Text types and genres overlap, but in this study genre refers to a document classification based on written content. When possible, genres in this study are organized by native (emic) distinctions found on the documents themselves. Each genre uses a unique jargon, and even within the same genre sometimes distinct vocabulary can be found.

The Aramaic term ספר means “document” in the most general sense of the word, as shown in the contractual evidence in which the outer docket uses the formula “Document of (Genre).” Likewise, in one missive written on an ostrakon, the term ספר is used interchangeably with the etic term for a text type, “letter” אגרה (Ost. Ber. P. 10679 = *TAD* D7.24:1–2). The contracts contain a variety of native genre classifications, and additionally one letter genre, one type of archival genre, and one literary genre also survive.

### Literary Genres

The only surviving literary genre identifier is found on the Ahiqar scroll, which uses the word מלי “the words of (PN)” as either the genre identification of an

89 So too Porten, “Address Formulae,” 406.

90 For example, see *TAD* A3.8 in which the C II and C III are considerably narrower than C I and C IV, but C I and C IV are also bisected by damage that was inflicted by a cord. A more symmetrically folded letter is Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 1, which Porten has discussed, “Aramaic Letters,” 422, fig. 2.



autobiographical narrative or, more probably, the identification of a list of proverbs. In this case, the term introduces an autobiographical narrative account (ספר) followed by proverbs.<sup>91</sup>

Like Ahiqar, the Darius inscription is an autobiographical narrative, and probably had the same formulaic autobiographical indicator as does the Akkadian original from which it was translated, *anāku mDariamuš* “I am Darius.”<sup>92</sup> But no native Aramaic genre indicator survives, nor is one expected based on the Akkadian.

#### Archival Genres

Most archival genres do not contain emic labels. They were sometimes compiled on a record roll and separated by a *vacat* above and below each disparate entry. The surviving archival genre found on these record rolls is a memorandum (ז/דכרין). This appears to be a *précis* of a different source, which is meaningful in some way for the writer.<sup>93</sup> Memoranda could be compiled into a collection on a record roll (Pap. Ber. P. 13447v; *TAD* C3.8), or standalone (Pap. Ber. P. 13497 = *TAD* A4.9).<sup>94</sup> In either case they are written parallel to the recto's fibers.

Other archival genres are based on solely modern classifications, and no consistent formulaic features have been observed in the surviving documents, which includes name lists and accounts.

#### Letter Genres

The Aramaic writers understood a difference between a letter (אגרה) and other types of documents, but they did not divide their letters as modern scholars do between “private,” “official,” or other classifications. Instead, they used features of layout and form to identify various types of letters, with one exception. The only native letter genre found in the corpus is that of a decree (טעם), and this may be due in part to the document's overlapping legal significance.<sup>95</sup> More so than any other text type, letters can be organized into categories based on the formulaic structure of their introductory lines.<sup>96</sup> Each salutation formula indicates the relative social relationship between the sender(s) and addressee(s), and this social context governs the type of content exchange between the parties. The following chart provides a paradigmatic list of different letter saluta-

91 Moore, *Literary Depictions*, 43 n. 17. The Ahiqar manuscript (Pap. Ber. P. 13446) probably begins, מלי אהיקר [ספר] “[The account of] the words of Ahiqar.” Kottsieper, “Geschichte,” 324 restored the text this way without justification. Moore, *Literary Depictions*, 43–45 holds that not only is the restoration paralleled in the book of Tobit (and the Deir Allah Inscription), but that it also parallels the genre marker of the Syriac superscriptions of the Ahiqar tale, many mss of which read “narrative” (ܐܘܬܘܪܐ). Thus, in this context ספר means “(literary) account.”

92 Granerød, “Favour,” 455–480, esp. 460. The Aramaic appears to be a translation from Akkadian, but at times affinities with the Old Persian version are found, see GREENFIELD AND PORTEN, pp. 1–5. For this autobiographical formula in the Story of Ahiqar see Moore, *Literary Depictions*, 69 n. 114, 155–157.

93 Mitchell, “Berlin Papyrus,” 144; and Moore, “Who Gave,” 81–86.

94 On parchment is found a memorandum entry on *ADAB* no. C4 at the end of a record roll, yet separate from the longer account.

95 See Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 52–55.

96 Schwiderski, *Handbuch*. Kottsieper, “Briefe,” 141 notes that among the <sup>?</sup>Aršama Leather collection, the decrees and those which are not decrees contain the same formula. The relationship between form and genre has long been understood as closely linked.

tions and address lines, which can be heuristically useful when editing letter fragments:<sup>97</sup>

### Introductory Formula and Address Lines in Aramaic Letters on Papyrus<sup>98</sup>

(Reading from right-to-left with each element separated by “/”)

<sup>99</sup>Subordinate (Title) עבדך / Superior (Eponym) אל  
Address: Demotic

Kindred Title, מן /Kindred Title, Addressee(s) אל /Institution שלם  
<sup>100</sup>(Co-sender) / (Greeting[s] to others) /Sender(s) / Blessing  
מן /((Kindred Title) Sender or Another (+ patronymic) / אל :Address  
Postal address /Sender (+ patronymic)

Subordinate Title, עבדך /Superior Title, Addressee על /Institution שלם  
<sup>101</sup>others(Co-sender) / Greeting(s) to /Sender/ Blessing  
מן /Kindred Title, Addressee / אל :Secondary message  
/Kindred Title, Sender  
/(Kindred Title) Sender or Another (+ patronymic) / אל :Address: Address  
Postal address /Sender (+ patronymic) מן

/Kindred Title, Sender(s) / Blessing מן /Kindred Title, Addressee(s) אל  
<sup>102</sup>(Co-sender) / (Greeting[s] to others)  
מן /((Kindred Title) Sender or Another (+ patronymic) / אל :Address  
Postal address /Sender (+ patronymic)

97 Because this study is intended to be paradigmatic, letters with significantly broken salutations are excluded, even though their salutations may be reasonably restored when part of the address survives: Cairo EM JdE 43493 = TAD A3.1; Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 2 = TAD A3.4; Brooklyn 47.218.151 = TAD A3.9; Pap. Ber. P. 13456 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43476 = TAD A4.4; AIBL-CIS Aram. 5–7 = TAD A5.1; Cairo EM JdE 43468 = TAD A5.2; Cairo EM JdE 59204 = TAD A5.4; AIBL-CIS Aram. 2–4 (rés 247–248) = TAD A5.5; Cairo EM JdE 43466 = TAD A6.1. It is doubtful that Cairo EM JdE 43494 = TAD A3.2; Bib. Nat. P. Aram. 2 = TAD A4.5; Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and Pap. Ber. P. 23967 (herein no. 2.1.1) = TAD A4.6; and Cairo EM JdE 43467 = TAD A4.10 are letters. For a discussion of Bib. Nat. P. Aram. 2 (as a letter) see Kottsieper, “Archive,” 176–177 and Becking, “The Evil Act” 186–193. The text Pap. Ber. P. 13497 = TAD A4.9 is not a letter but a memorandum of a ׀טע-decree (Moore, “Who Gave,” 83–86).

98 The formula for ostraca missives is mostly, “Greetings, (Addressee). Now, ...” (see Folmer, “Hi Aḥṭab,” 151–155). Lemaire, “Aramaic Literacy,” 300–301 argues that ostraca AIBL-CIS CG no. 277, with its formal address, is a school text, and speculates that others with similar addresses may also be school texts. This is not the case for at least one of the few formally formatted ostraca (Mikayah > ?Aḥṭab AIBL-CIS CG no. 228), but his observation is compelling and implies that in some cases ostraca exercises were used to train writers for papyri writing.

99 Adon Letter from Saqqara = KAI no. 266 = TAD A1.1 (military).

100 Hermop. 4 = TAD A2.1 (products); Hermop. 2 = TAD A2.2 (products); Hermop. 1 = TAD A2.3 (products, legal advice); Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 1 = TAD A3.3 (salary, products, welfare, address missing).

101 Hermop. 3 = TAD A2.4 (to superior: personnel, to peer: products).

102 Hermop. 5 = TAD A2.5 (products, welfare); Hermop. 6 = TAD A2.6 (products, personnel); Hermop. 7 = TAD A2.7 (welfare); Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 2 = TAD A3.4 (legal advice); Cairo EM JdE 43474 = TAD A3.5 (personnel); Cairo EM JdE 43475 = TAD A3.6 (personnel); Cairo EM JdE 43477 = TAD A3.8 (legal support); Pap. Ber. P. 23000 = TAD A3.10 (property); Pap. Ber. P. 13464 = TAD A4.1 (calendrical?).

Subordinate Title, Sender/ Bless- עבדך /Superior Title, Addressee אל  
 103:ing/ (Co-sender)/ Greeting(s) to others  
 (not preserved) :Address

/...מן (Body includes) Superior /...Subordinate על /Superior מן  
 104.name of scribe and chancellor (Closing line)  
 Subordinate על /Superior (Title) מן :Address

Blessing /Subordinate על /Superior מן  
 Subordinate על Superior Title מן :Address

In addition, subjects within letters are divided by a topical marker, which is spelled variously כען, כעה, or כענת.<sup>105</sup> This topical marker is found frequently in letters, but is only attested once in the legal corpus (Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4:7).

#### Contract Genres

Like letters, contracts exhibit a complex relationship between formula and content. The variation in the formula will not be studied here, but suffice it to say that in addition to the material features of contracts mentioned above, the contracts begin with a date, which normally fits on the first line and is immediately followed by a statement of one legal party to the other. Unique to the contracts is a rich variety of emic genre classifications, which can be found in the contract's docket.<sup>106</sup> The dockets are systematically formatted as (reading from right-to-left):

Contracting Party/ies Genre {bulla sealing} ספר

The following is a list of known contractual genres.<sup>107</sup>

#### Legal Documents of Moveable and Immoveable Property (ספר + item)

ספר אגרא Bodl. Lib. ms. Heb. a. 19 = *TAD* B2.1

108:ספר בי Cairo EM JdE 37114 = *TAD* B2.3; Cairo EM JdE 37108 = *TAD* B2.7; Brooklyn 47.218.95 = *TAD* B3.4; Brooklyn 47.218.91 = *TAD* B3.5; Brooklyn 47.218.92 = *TAD* B3.10; Brooklyn 47.218.88 = *TAD* B3.11; Brooklyn 47.218.94 = *TAD* B3.12

ספר כסף Pap. Ber. P. 13491 = *TAD* B3.1

ספר עבור Brooklyn 47.218.93 = *TAD* B3.13

PN ספר פלגו עבד Cairo EM JdE 37109 = *TAD* B2.11

- 103 Cairo EM JdE 43473 = *TAD* A3.7 (products?); Floren. inv. n. 11913 = *TAD* A3.11 (personnel?); Cairo EM JdE 43471 = *TAD* A4.2 (crime report); Cairo EM JdE 43472 = *TAD* A4.3 (criminal report); Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7 (|| Cairo EM JdE 43465 = *TAD* A4.8) (petition); Mus. Egi. Prov. 645 = *TAD* A5.3 (broken).
- 104 Cairo EM JdE 43469 = *TAD* A6.2; Bodl. Lib. Aram. IV, VI-X = *TAD* A6.8-13.
- 105 *DNWSI*, "k'n<sub>4</sub>," Folmer, "Hi Aḥuṭab," 151-155.
- 106 The history of Aramaic docket writing goes back to early Aramaic writers in Mesopotamia, who added short summaries in Aramaic to administrative documents written in cuneiform. See Muffs, *Studies*, 187-192; and Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs*, esp. 102-105.
- 107 Pap. Ber. P. 13444 C-P. 13444/2 = *TAD* D2.26 does not appear to be a docket based on material grounds.
- 108 Brooklyn 47.218.32 = *TAD* B3.7 (House given to wife) is missing its docket, but may have been of this genre. Cairo EM JdE 37106 = *TAD* B2.4 may also have borne this label, though it could have been labeled debt document.

### Wifhood Contracts

<sup>109</sup> ספר אנתו Cairo EM JdE 37110 = TAD [B2.6]; Brooklyn 47.218.89 = TAD [B3.3]; Brooklyn 47.218.150 + 47.218.97 + 47.218.155 frags. = TAD B3.8

### Withdrawal Contracts / Quitclaims

<sup>110</sup> ספר מרחק Cairo EM JdE 37107 = TAD B2.2; Cairo EM JdE 37112 = TAD B2.8; Cairo EM JdE 37111 = TAD [B2.9]; Cairo EM JdE 37113 = TAD B2.10; Brooklyn 47.218.90 = TAD B3.6

### Debt

[property] ספר חוב TAD B1.1 (el Hibeh);<sup>111</sup> Pap. Ber. P. 23171 (herein no. 1.2.1)

### Obligation

PN ל PN כתב Cairo EM JdE 43485 (+) Pap. Ber. P. 23172 = TAD B4.3 (+) herein no. 1.2.2 and Pap. Ber. P. 13493 = TAD B4.4 (copy); Cairo EM JdE 43487 = TAD B4.5; Pap. Ber. P. 13476 = TAD B4.6; Cairo EM JdE 43489 = TAD B5.5

### Document of the Oath

ספר מומא Cairo EM JdE 43501 = TAD B7.4<sup>112</sup>

### *Photographing the Fragments*

The photographs in this edition have been extracted from high definition digital photographs. They are not to scale, but have been sized to optimally read the texts. Over the course of a few days spread out over many months, I first photographed fragments in the Aramaic Box in color using a Nikon DF and a variety of lens and light sources. At the time, resources were not available to make photographs under ideal conditions, but nonetheless working color photographs, racking light photographs, and backlit photographs were taken. With the help of an intern, Emil Joubert, each fragment from the color photographs were extracted in Photoshop. This allowed for attempts at digitally joining and reconstructing the fragments.

Nearly a year later, I was able to take infrared photographs of the fragments using a Canon EOS 5DS R with the RBG filter removed, a 24–105mm F4 lens, a Life Pixel Deep IR filter (c. 830nm), and incandescent lighting. Frequently the color levels and exposure of these photographs were altered in Photoshop. No single setting or alteration was preferred, making it difficult to choose which photograph to include in the publication. Time did not allow for enhanced composite photographs or reconstructions to be produced for

<sup>109</sup> Wifhood documents missing dockets include TAD B6.1–4. Presumably, the betrothal contracts are seen as property exchanges and labeled with one of the genres of moveable or immoveable property, e.g. Brooklyn 47.218.88 = TAD B3.11 and expected in Cairo EM JdE 43492 = TAD B2.5.

<sup>110</sup> Brooklyn 47.218.152 = TAD B3.2 (Withdrawal [?] from *h<sub>yr</sub>*) contains operative language of this genre, but the docket is missing.

<sup>111</sup> From el Hibeh and dates to the early Persian period (3 June 515 BCE). Joint business venture between a West Semite and an Egyptian. This is the earliest Aramaic contract/legal document known from Egypt.

<sup>112</sup> This is a bilingual document with a (enigmatic) Demotic oath on the recto; see discussion above.

each fragment. The readers are encouraged to access jpeg files of the working color and IR images through the museum's Elephantine website, particularly for those images deemed difficult to read in this edition.

*Using This Edition*

When fragments join to a previously published fragment, only variants with *TAD* are listed below it. Variants with editions older than *TAD* may be discussed in the commentary.

# Texts and Commentary

## 1 Texts Perpendicular to the Fibers

### 1.1 *Letters*

1.1.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23148 (+) P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8

P. 23148

P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8

Recto



### Bibliography

COWLEY nos. 67, 8 and 67, 13; SACHAU Pap. 73, 8 and 73, 13 / Taf. 60, 8 and 60, 13; *TAD* D1.18 and D4.4.

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23148 (= TAD D4.4 + frags.)	9.5 cm; 9.8 cm	○
P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 (= TAD D1.18)	8.0 cm; 2.9 cm	○
Recto: 1	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: possible traces recto and verso. Rotation: none (one-sided).		
Material patterns: P. 23148, letter R body; C III and C IV(a+b).		
P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8, letter R top/body (ln. 1–2); C I.		

### P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto

1. Month by month an offic <sup>1</sup> ial ...	[... ירח פקיא] ד ...
2. To my brother M[...]	[...] אל אחי מ

1: פקיא] ד TAD {פ|ב} ק[...]

### P. 23148 Recto

1'. [... ]° °° [... ]°	° [... ]° °° ° [... ]° :1
2'. [... ]° 3° [(+) ... ]° P[°]°	° [... ]° פ° :2
3'. [... ]° 3° (+) 3 Wheat (stock) belonging to him/her/it.	3: [...] ר' חטה מ' ( ) ] ל' זיה :3
4'. [... ]° 1 leather [ga]rment, 1 'do[ <sup>1</sup> nk]ey <sup>1</sup> , a plow of (bronze # [?])	4: [...] ל' ב' ש' משכ' / 'ח' [מ] 'ר' / חרש :4
5'. { [... ]° N° [ ... ] [ ... ]° P° [ ... ] ... } ° [°] ° If	5: [...] ° נע° [ ... ] { ... } ° פע° [ ... ] [ ... ] ° ה° :5
6'. [... ]° M <sup>1</sup> [...]	6: [...] ° מ' [ ... ] :6
7'. [... ]° { T° G   T° Y } ° M° [ ... ]	7: [...] ° { ת° ג   ת° י } ° מ° [ ... ] :7
8'. [... ]° T <sup>1</sup> S(, ) 1 st[ri]ped cloth <sup>1</sup> , { B[ ... ]   T[ ... ] }	8: [...] ° ת° צ° ח° ט° יבת° / [ ... ] ט° [ ... ] :8
9'. [... ]° not <sup>1</sup> [°] °° [ ... ]	9: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] :9
10'. [... ]° [ ... ]	10: [...] ° [ ... ] :10

1: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 2: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 3: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 4: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 5: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 6: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 7: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 8: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 9: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1  
 10: [...] °° [°] °° [ ... ] TAD ° [°] פ° [ ... ] :2 | [...] °° [ ... ] TAD [ ... ] °° [ ... ] :1

### Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (administrative) letter.

The top and bottom left fragments have been newly joined to this document. On material grounds the illegible fragment Ber. (Temp.) B/AM x 592, fol. 49 (not edited herein) may belong to this document.

This is one of only two letters identified as having been folded in half. See discussion on Pap. Ber. P. 23151 a–c (herein no. 1.1.4) and Introduction: Placing Fragments, Text Types.

Paleographically this document resembles Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/2 = TAD D1.19, though the latter is written with a taller pen-nib. Concerning the fragments edited here, SACHAU, followed by COWLEY, notes that the π and ϣ are unique, with SACHAU alone further noting the uncommon form of ϑ. SACHAU, again followed by COW-

LEY, noted that the π of Pap. Ber. P. 23148 line 3 resembles that of Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/2 line 3, but this latter fragment also ought to be compared to the hands of the ostraca (e.g. AIBL-CIS CG no. 177 concave 3). The horn on the first ϣ on Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 line 2 differs significantly from that on Pap. Ber. P. 23148 line 6. The hand is not professional, and resembles a blend of Aramaic and late Phoenician scripts found at Elephantine.<sup>1</sup> For example, the ambiguous form of what may be ון|כ|נ|פ and the noticeable space between the right and left strokes of ϣ resemble Phoenician. That said, this should not be seen as a transitional hand, but rather one of the diverse examples of hands from the period of Persian occupation in Egypt. One should be reluctant to provide a more precise

<sup>1</sup> See Phoenician examples in LIDZBARSKI and RÖLLIG.

dating until a systematic study on Aramaic paleography has been conducted (see discussion in Appendix, Paleography). Concerning the stylus, Phoenician hands tend to use blunted or (b)rush-like styli (e.g. Eleph. DAIK O 4758 = RÖLLIG no. 7 or Ost. Ber. P. 11435 = LIDZBARSKI no. 13) on surviving jar labels, though sharpened reed pens like those used by the Aramaic writers (and used here) are also known (e.g. Eleph. DAIK O 2335 = RÖLLIG no. 8 or DAIK O 2324 = RÖLLIG no. 11).

This document appears to be a letter concerning specialize (farming) equipment and stocks. If Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 belongs to the document, then this is possibly a monthly audit of items found in the body of Pap. Ber. P. 23148. SACHAU suggested that the previously published larger fragment may be a list, though the direction of writing on the recto (⊥) confirms that this is a letter.

**P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8, line 1.** This fragment may belong to the right half of the document, perhaps above the surviving large fragment. The reduplicated phrase ירח ירח is found nowhere else, but presumably such reduplication conveys a distributive idea or in the context of temporal words a reoccurring idea, that is, “month by month”; compare, for example, מפרש זן זן “separates type-by-type” (Cairo EM JdE 43466 = TAD A6.1:3). In Saq. H5-AP84 [5866] = SEGAL no. 25 ln. 3 one finds שנה [ב] שנה, which conveys a similar notion. Compare also the phrase ירח כירח in Pap. Ber. P. 13489 = TAD B5.1:3.

The ך after פק is likely since the letter sits high on the line.

**Line 2.** The preposition אל “to” is only used in IA as a formulaic address marker for letters (FOLMER, § 5.2). Line 1, then, must be an administrative remark placed before the letter’s address.

**P. 23148, line 3.** The number 30 is broken, but this is the only combination of characters that match the stroke pattern. Thirty may be a standardized number for the tax on arable farmland allotted by the state. Such information is found on the Peṭôsirî decree among the ʿAršama leather collection (Bodl. Lib. Pel. Aram. XIII = TAD A6.11). In that text ʿAršama grants Peṭôsirî the allotment (בג) his father once held, and the document notes that the plot is worth 30 ardab, presumably in tax owed.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding חטא, one expects the nasalization/dissimilation of the dental and the spelling חנטא, but spellings vary based on the writer (FOLMER § 2.4). For example, some plural forms do not exhibit nasalization, whether in the absolute or determined state (Cairo EM JdE 43497 = TAD B4.1:2, חטנ; (ostracon) AIBL-CIS CG no. 150 concave 6,

חטנ;<sup>3</sup> and perhaps (ostracon) CG no. 61 concave 2, חטן “sickle”). At least once, the singular determined form is attested as masculine rather than feminine (Bodl. Lib. ms. Heb. a. 5 = TAD C3.28:104, חנטא). The exact spelling found here is known from Lemaire no. 28 (unprovenanced), where it is suggested that the spelling is a dialectical variant. I interpret the form חטה on the current papyrus as a feminine singular noun with a possessive suffix; note the singular numeral 1 which follows.

As for לה, The descending stroke of פ from the previous line intersects the broken ל. One is tempted instead to read ונה “this” (where 1 is read as ו), with the tail of the ו lost in the break, but traces of ink in the bosom of the above פ is a remnant of the tall stroke of ל.

**Line 4.** The phrase לבש משכ was cleverly read and translated by TAD as “leather garment.”

The word in the break must be an item as indicated by the following number and the context. The first letter could be the beginning of a צח|ט, and the last letter is certainly a ב|ד|ך. The spacing allows for an intervening letter. Of the common items from the period and expected within a farming or storehouse context חמר “wine” or “donkey” best fits. The noun donkey is known as the subject of a communication between Elephantine and Syene (Cairo EM JdE 43493 = TAD A3.1).

The reading of חרש is clear, but its meaning is not. I have opted to read “plow,” which is reasonable in the context of a possible donkey and grain. The phrase likely continues onto the next line where it is followed by a numeral. Admittedly, a different metal tool may be intended; compare Bodl. Lib. ms. Heb. a (5) ix 10–13 = TAD C3.28 (c. 2nd cent. BCE). While paleographically one could read the ג as ד, a Semitic root ḥdš is not attested in Aramaic until very late (where it is likely a loan from Hebrew).

**Line 5.** The ץ is clear, but its preceding letter could be construed as either a נ or פ, or less likely כ or ו. The traces of the first letter clearly show a horn on the top of a horizontally moving stroke.

The final strokes of the line (הן) resemble ט like that in the administrative hand found on SIABAK Syene 14-2-77-2/1 (= Moore, *Semitica* (2022), no. 5), but sense could not be made of the preceding stroke. The number 20 “20” is similar to ט, but if read as 22 the final long diagonal stroke is not easily explained. Close examination of the IR photographs reveals that the final stroke is made without a pen-left in the form of a ג-shape. The preceding strokes

3 The reading is certain (see photographs at ERC Grant ID 637692 text ID no. 312993); LOZACHMEUR read a superlinear נ between the ה and ט, but that נ belongs to the previous line.

2 Moore, “Judeans,” 41–43, 48–50.



then seem to only match ה, which was written comparatively small, likely due to sitting near the right edge of the document.

**Line 7.** The surviving three letter word is enigmatic. The difficulty is disambiguating the second letter, for which a case could be made to read either פ|ו|כ|ג. The final letter is an Aramaic ג, but as noted above, the hand exhibits some similarities to Phoenician characters, and therefore, ך is a possible reading. The Egyptian name Tawê<sup>4</sup> should not be ruled out.

**Line 8.** *TAD* correctly reconstructs a ת at the beginning; this is the best solution given the strokes and spacing. The next letter is the ambiguous פ|ו|כ|ג. The third letter I read as ז. Following the tendency of this hand to write forms that resemble Phoenician. Compare this letter with the Phoenician script on (Cairo EM JdE 43464 f = LIDZBARSKI no. 11).

The term חטבת is highly likely. The ח is clear and so too are the horned crown of the כ and the crossing strokes of the ת. When the photograph is zoomed in, the rounded right angle of the ט is visible. The word חטבת “striped cloth” is found in Hermop. 3 = *TAD* A3.4:10 along with other commodities.

4 See the Darius memoranda Pap. Ber. P. 13447v iii 2 = *TAD* C3.13:35.

1.1.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23149 a-c

Recto

c

b

a



Verso

Bibliography

COWLEY nos. 68, 6 and 10; SACHAU Pap. 74, 6 and 10 / Taf. 61, 6 and 10; *TAD* D1.26

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a (right)	5.9 cm; 9.6 cm	1
Frag. b (middle)	2.2 cm; 2.8 cm	0
Frag. c (left)	4.2 cm; 4.9 cm	1
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.		
Material patterns: letter R body (all but add.); C 1, 11b, and 1va.		

### Recto

1'. ʔŪrī ʔ and his su <sup>r</sup> plus[ ...]	1. אורי וי'תריה' [...]
2'. Hôš <sup>e</sup> a and ʔmy <sup>l</sup> brother/ʔAḥ <sup>y</sup> [(ô) ...]ʔŠ <sup>o</sup> [...]	2. הו'ש'ע ואחי' (ו) [...]ʔש' [...]
3'. the maidservant <sup>l</sup> and a <sup>s</sup> l[ked... PN-]yah [...]{they you (m.p.)} shall d]o	3. אמ'ת'א ושי'א [...]ʔיה [...]ʔיע'יבדונ'   תע'יבדונ' [...]ʔ
4'. according to the value of the Hyr [...]ʔM which TN[...]	4. בדמי הירא [...]ʔעמ זי תנ' [...]
5'. from the district. [...]ʔa security (payment) in possession [...]	5. מן מדינתא [...]ʔערבנ חסינ' [...]

1. אורי TAD אורי(ה) | 2. הו'ש'ע TAD הו ב [...]ʔ | 3. אמ'ת'א TAD אמת [...]ʔ | [...]ʔיע'יבדונ' | תע'יבדונ' [...]ʔ TAD [...]ʔפ'ד'ר' | [...]ʔב [...]ʔ

### Verso

1. do (f.s.) for me as[ ... Ye]hōyīšma <sup>c</sup> son/daugh[ter] of[ ...]	1. עבדי לי איכ' [...]ʔי הו'שמע בר' (ת) [...]
2. from Ḥabib. Se <sup>n</sup> l[d (f.s.) me ...]ʔL <sup>o</sup> B <sup>o</sup> son of o[...]	2. מן חבב הו'ש'ר'י לי [...]ʔל'ל' ב <sup>o</sup> בר' [...]
3. to Yehōyīšma <sup>c</sup> o[...]. they sent/send.	3. ל'יהו'שמע [...]ʔהו'ש'רו

1. עבדי TAD עבד'א' | בר' (ת) TAD בר' [...]ʔ | 2. חבב TAD חב<sup>o</sup> | הו'ש'ר'י לי TAD הו'ש'ר'י [...]ʔ | [...]ʔל'ל' [...]ʔ ב<sup>o</sup> בר' [...]ʔ TAD ב<sup>o</sup> | [...]ʔפ'ד'ר' | [...]ʔב [...]ʔ TAD הו'ש'רו 3. הו'ש'רו TAD ה'ן'פ'ש'רו

### Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (community) letter.

TAD separates the previously known portions of frag. a.<sup>5</sup> The verso of both fragments has a unique strip of papyrus with diagonal fibers. This along with the alignment of ink marks on the recto confirms that the fragments join. The new fragments<sup>6</sup> perfectly join to the upper left corner of those which were previously published. Fragments that are approximately 3 cm wide (Letter C 1vb) are missing from the left side of the document.

**Line 1.** The name אורי is a hypocorism (i.e. a shortened form). It need not be Yahwistic,<sup>7</sup> but may be a form of אוריה. The hypocorism is only attested so far as a patronymic in lists (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = TAD C3.15:68, 71,

76, 121). The term יתרה “his surplus” is clear. See CAL for its well attested meaning (“ytr n.m. excess” accessed 19MAY21) and SCHWIDERSKI, p. 379 for examples. The word’s conjunctive ʔ exhibits an up-tick on its descending stroke, which is more articulated than that of the preceding ʔ.

The commodities or money that the surplus refers to is unknown, but it may be a clue as to the meaning of the enigmatic “value of the Hyr” in line four. It is notable that one by the name of ʔŪryah is addressed as being in the same location as ʔAḥūṭab, an apparent storehouse manager on Elephantine (Cairo EM JdE 43464 b = TAD D7.8).<sup>8</sup>

**Line 2.** The trace of the edge of a ʔ is visible on the break of the second word.

**Line 3.** One expects the end of line 2 to provide the name or function of the maidservant found at the beginning of line 3. The reading תעבדונ' יעבדונ' matches the surviving stroke pattern.

5 That is, Pap. Ber. P. 13445 D- P. 23140/17 and P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/3 + P. 13445 D- P. 13461/6.

6 The verso of one of these has a conservator’s tape strip, which is similar to those used by Ibscher in the early 1900’s.

7 See Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches*, 301 for examples of final -î in Neo-Babylonian names.

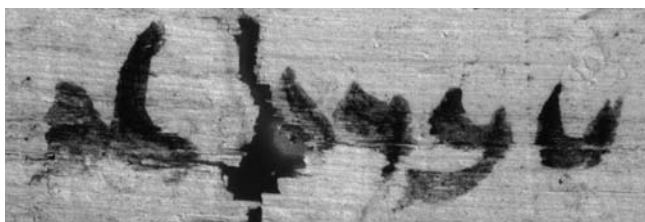
8 See discussion in Moore, “Social Historical,” *forthcoming*.

**Line 4.** The meaning of *Hyr* remains unclear. Porten following the legal studies of Yaron implies that the term may be connected to property claims.<sup>9</sup> While it may be a reference to a type of plot, here it is construed as a “value.” This combined with the new reading of “surplus” on line 1 suggests that the *Hyr* may not only be a reference to property, but also to its expected yield, a monetary payment, or a commodity exchange. If my reading of AIBL-CIS CG no. 60 is correct, we find further support that this legal right or allotment refers to property, with a focus on its yield: concave 2 [... ] ותרדה חרא “and you/she shall winnow the *Hr*[...]”<sup>10</sup>

The phrase [... ] עמ זי תנ[...] may be restored as a טעמ זי\* “[a de]cree(-document) which you/she shall g[ive].” If so, this is in reference to a document that is circulated rather than the judicial act of writing a decree, which idiomatically uses the verb שימ.<sup>11</sup>

**Line 5.** Along with the *Hyr* is found a security payment, that is, a pledge, which would be a physical item, held by one party in a business transaction until the agreed upon business proceedings have been fulfilled; compare Pap. Ber. P. 13491 = *TAD* B3.1. *TAD* translates חסינ as “strong,” but in all occurrences of the term in the ʿAršama documents, the word appears in relation to state property. Thus the meaning “possession” or “possessed” seems more likely.<sup>12</sup>

**Verso, line 1.** A closeup of the IR photograph clearly shows that the reading is לי עבדי



and not עבדא, the latter of which *TAD* gives as an alternative reading. The feminine grammatical form gives us an indication as to the gender of the female addressee. This is quite remarkable, since the letter concerns, the value of a *Hyr*, which is only otherwise clearly known from Brooklyn 47.218.152 = *TAD* B3.2 in which *Hyr*-rights are rented out by a servitor (לחן) of the Yahô temple. Is the female addressee managing the business transaction or commodities or per-

9 Porten, *Archives*, 203, 234.

10 LOZACHMEUR follows Dupont-Sommer's consonantal text, which reads תרדה חרא. She translates “et/ou la cour ? unique [...]” (p. 228). I presume that the foreign word that lies behind *Hyr* would have been heard by some as *h(e)r*.

11 Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 52.

12 See Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 54 n. 59.

haps even engaged in the transaction herself? Is Yehô-ışma<sup>c</sup> the woman in view?

The name יהוישמע is androgynous, thus one should restore [[(ת)] בר] after it; most surviving texts refer to a “lady” (נשנ) by this name.

**Line 2.** The name חבב is clear in the IR photographs, and it is otherwise only known from Hermop. 4 = *TAD* A2.1 in which he is antagonistic to a member of the temples of Bethel and Nan(n)aya (the Queen of Heaven) at Syene. Surprisingly, a similar syntax is also found in that document: אודהרי בביתאלנתנ מנ חבב “warn (f.s.) Bêtʿel-Natan against Ḥabib” (ln. 9).

1.1.3 Pap. Ber. P. 23150

## Recto



## Verso

**Bibliography**

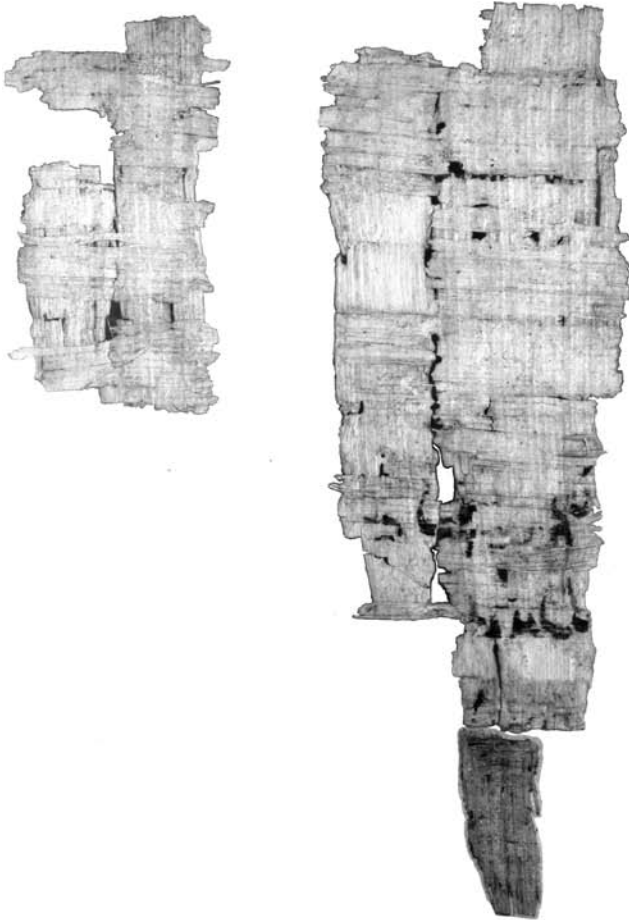
COWLEY no. 68, 1; SACHAU Pap. 74, 1 / Taf. 61, 1; *TAD* D1.21

Width: 17.3 cm; Height: 5.0 cm      Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: traces recto and verso.    Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R bot.; C I and II

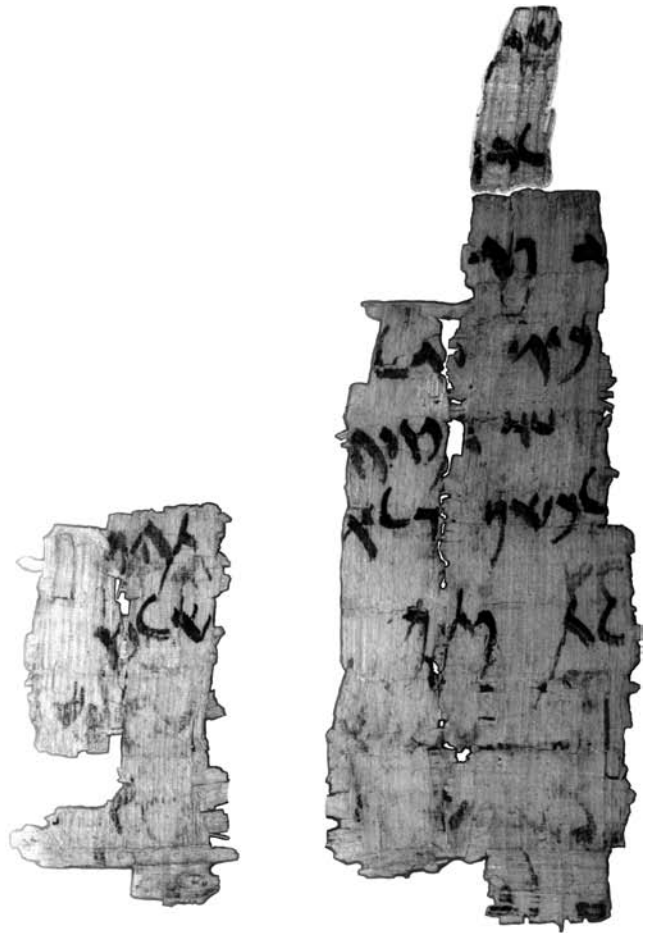


1.1.4 Pap. Ber. P. 23151 a–b  
See Plate 2.

Verso



Recto



### Bibliography

COWLEY no. 68, 3; SACHAU Pap. 74, 3 / Taf. 61, 3; *TAD* D1.28.





The note on the verso may be a short missive. The recto concerns a garment, a subject which is found on the ostraca and associated with temple communication. The word on the verso על־דבר is rarely found on papyrus, but abundantly in the ostraca missives. Perhaps then, the original letter was sent as a long document to those who normally received ostraca communications. The addressee then replied on the verso of the letter. This would explain the compositional acts on the papyrus, though admittedly these circumstances remain speculative.

Paleographically, the writing on the verso uses a slightly narrower pen than that on the recto. The verso's writer twists his pen between his fingers more than the recto's writer as he writes, making it difficult to digitally simulate the same strokes.

**Line 4.** The כ on זילכ(י) "belonging to you" is not a ך, according to the stroke pattern visible at the top of the letter; traces of ink appear left of the vertical stroke on the break. Whether the pronoun is feminine or masculine is difficult to ascertain due to the changing gender of the addressee(s) discussed below. The two letter word לָא or לָ is difficult to read.

**Line 5.** The spelling תחזה "she shall see" is probably not a second feminine form, which would be \*תחזי(נ) (compare AIBL-CIS CG no. 152 = TAD D7.16:12). The form is more likely either second masculine singular or third feminine singular. The line ends with the visible string -גלכי, which is probably דגלכי "your (f.s.) *d<sup>e</sup>gal-unit*."<sup>14</sup> If the noun \*רגל "time, foot" were meant, one expects the plural base form, and I could not reconstruct a convincing form of the dative pronoun \*לכי attached to one of the few verbs ending in ג. The suffix prompts one to read the verb in the line as a feminine third person form rather than a masculine second person form.

**Line 6.** The feminine pronoun in line 5 means that either the letter now addresses a male in line 6 or the writer forgot to write ך for the feminine suffix pronoun.

**Line 7.** Surprisingly, no traces of the letters preceding לה- survive. Messages are normally sent using the verb שלח "to send," but in theory, \*יבלת "I brought" a letter is possible. Alternatively, one may read \*מגלת "the roll of (the message)."<sup>15</sup> The reading פתגם "message" is certain in the new IR photographs. The ג is an interlinear insertion and extends through the מ, and this may explain why no clear traces of ג appear on the mirrored impression; it may have been added last minute using different ink or a dry pen.

The term פתגם refers to an official message, as opposed to the general term for a written letter אגרה.<sup>16</sup> The letter appears to end here with this line.

**Recto, lines 8'–9'.** A large *vacat* of approximately 3 lines precedes the text. Only characters on the last line are clearly legible. It is not common for the genre of letters to use such a large *vacat*. Furthermore, address lines never appear on the recto of letters, so one must rule out that these final characters are an address. Since the papyrus contains two independent compositions already, and the mirrored impression suggests a unique usage/storage practice, an explanation for the large *vacat* is left wanting.

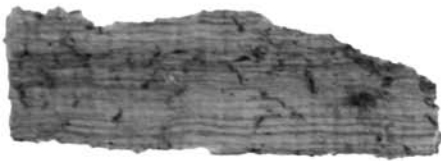
14 For a discussion of women among ranks of state dependents see Moore, "Social Historical," *forthcoming*.

15 For another possible occurrence of this word in IA, see Moore, "Persian Administrative," 54.

16 See discussion and references in ADAB, p. 73.

1.1.5 Pap. Ber. P. 23152 a (+) b

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a (right)	3.9 cm; 3.6 cm	○
Frag. b (left)	3.3 cm; 1.1 cm	○
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom		
Material patterns: letter R add. and body; C 1a and C 1vb.		

**Recto****Verso**

## Recto

1. [To ...]	.1. [אל ...]
2. did/do not re <sup>r</sup> mo <sup>l</sup> [ve ...]	.2. לא הנ <sup>l</sup> צ <sup>r</sup> [... ל ...]
3. so I shall do <sup>r</sup> for <sup>l</sup> [...] <sup>r</sup> j <sup>l</sup> ust as she/you (m.s.) shall do	.3. וואעבד יל <sup>r</sup> [...] א <sup>r</sup> יכ תעבד
4. <sup>r</sup> Y <sup>l</sup> o <sup>o</sup> [...]	.4. [י <sup>r</sup> o <sup>o</sup> ...]

## Verso (Address)

1. To [PN ...]	.1. אל [...]
----------------	--------------

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

Paleographically, the hand is similar to the letters Cairo EM JdE 43473 = *TAD* A3.7 and Cairo EM JdE 43475 = *TAD* A3.6, both are written by Hôše<sup>a</sup>. Compare also Pap. Ber. P. 23155 (herein no. 1.1.8) and Pap. Ber. P. 23166 (herein no. 1.1.21). The hand of Islaḥ Cairo EM JdE 43476 = *TAD* A4.4 is also similar.<sup>17</sup> Lastly, note a similar <sup>r</sup> on Pap. Ber. P. 23901 (herein no. 1.3.28).

Stray marks appear on the deteriorated right edge of frag. b verso.

**Line 1.** Only one line of text is expected above the surviving line, and it would have been folded under the address row of papyrus, sitting between the address row and the first row of the body of frag. a. Unfortunately, it has so far not been located. If the letter was stored folded and bound, as the break pattern suggests, there is a chance the top row of papyrus may have survived.

**Line 2.** A verb is expected following ל<sup>r</sup> “not.” The strokes vaguely resemble \*הו<sup>r</sup>, but this must be ruled out due to the shape of this hand’s ת as found on line 3 and the fact that traces of a long descending stroke are visible on the second character (ג). The verb הנ<sup>l</sup>צ<sup>r</sup> “remove(d)” nicely matches the stroke pattern. All but two instances of נ<sup>r</sup>צ<sup>r</sup> in Aramaic sources from Egypt (as well as in the Xanthos trilingual inscription) refer to the legal act of reclamation, but AIBL-CIS CG no. 69 indicates that it may simply mean “to remove” or “to take away” in a daily context, as it is also found in a Bactrian decree (*ADAB* no. A1 [353 BCE = Ø.Marḥešvan 6 Art III]) and perhaps also with this meaning in Ahiqar (plate Jr 3 = *TAD* C1.1:176).

The reading איכ “how” could also be the end of a masculine plural noun, such as מראיכ\* “your (m.s.) masters

(m.p.),” or a verbal form, such as תמלאיכ\* “she (f.s.) shall fill you (m.s.),” but the following verb supports interpreting the letters here as the conjunction “just as.”

<sup>17</sup> The present fragments do not belong to Cairo EM JdE 43476 = *TAD* A4.4 because line spacing on the recto differs from that here.

1.1.6 Pap. Ber. P. 23153

Width: 5.0 cm; Height: 2.7 cm

Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none.

Verso: ||

Palimpsest: recto and verso. Illegible. Rotation: top-to-bottom.

Material patterns: letter R bot.; C II or C III.

Recto



Verso

## Recto

1'. [...]...[...]  
 2'. [...] to ]'you' (m.s.) to buy grai'n' [...]

[...]'1  
 [...] ל'כ' למזבנ עבויר' [...]'2

## Verso

1'. [...] your/you (m.s.) [...] ? he made/a servant of Saraka  
 [...]  
 2'. [...] 'L' 'which' ' [...]

[...]' אכ עבד ס'רכ' [...]'1  
 [...] ' ' ' ' [...]'2

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private) letter.

The deterioration is moderate. Possible joins include the illegible Ber. Temp. B/AM x 582 c (not edited herein), which resembles the stokes, papyrus transparency, and papyrus coloring found here.

What survives is the bottom edge of a letter written over a mostly well erased text, though traces of the original composition are visible on the bottom of the recto. The whole papyrus may have been around 20 cm in width based on the break patterns. The narrow line spacing suggests that it was not a very tall document.

**Line 2.** The infinitive למזבנ is a G-stem of זבן "to buy." Among the Judeans at Elephantine, grain is frequently sent (in the ostraca) and not bought or sold. That this is written on papyrus rather than an ostracon suggests it may have been sent from afar. A similar observation has been made about the so-called Elephantine Boat Papyrus (Pap. Ber. P. 23000 = TAD A3.10),<sup>18</sup> which shares similarities in content with this letter. In the Boat Papyrus, a Persian instructs an Egyptian working for him to buy grain (ll. 4–5). By comparison, one expects the full letter edited here to make reference to silver that was used to purchase the grain and the mode of transportation in which the grain was shipped. Since no reference is made by Judeans to buying grain<sup>19</sup> and due to the similarities with the non-Judean Boat Papyrus, this letter likely belongs to a non-Judean dossier.

**Verso, line 1.** It is unclear if the traces of ink at the baseline on the right edge are from the palimpsest or the over-written text. Words ending in אכ- are rare. No known name

ends this way, leaving the א as the end of a noun or the last radical of a verbal root. The word מטאכ "it/he reached you" is an enticing reconstruction.

The word עבד is clear. Although it could be a verb meaning "he made" it is more likely a noun "servant of." See below.

The letter after the clear ס is probably not ב because the vertical stroke is too linear. This eliminates the reading סבכ "net." The final letter is almost certainly a כ, since no other letter begins with a narrow vertical right stroke other than some forms of א. The trace of a horizontal crown-shaped stroke eliminates א as a possible reading. A word סכ(-) is not comprehensible, thus the second letter must be ר. The proper name סרך "Saraka" is preferred because it is known from the <sup>2</sup>Aršama leather letters (Bodl. Lib. Pell. Aram. IV = TAD A6.7). Less likely one may read סר(ו)כ "marshal" (KAI no. 260 ln. 4), which is thought to be of Persian origin, but is not attested thus far in Egypt.<sup>20</sup>

While the proper name of Saraka is preferred, it should be noted that in contemporary Babylonian evidence *širku* play a prominent role in the temple and its economy, so without further evidence one cannot rule out the possibility that this is the first attestation of the word in Aramaic and an appositive describing a type of servant, עבד סרך "a servant, a *širku*."

18 Porten et al., *Elephantine Papyri*, 15, 78; Porten and Yardeni, "Boat Papyrus," 80.

19 AIBL-CIS CG no. 169 makes reference to the buying of salt from the "grain boats" (אלפי עבורא, concave ln. 4), but the ostracon makes it clear that the sender already has flour (קמה).

20 Furthermore, it may have been spelled סרכ in (late) Persian period Aramaic, see ADAB no. C3.40. Compare the late attestation סרכינא ואתה שדר פניא "the *srks* and satraps" in Dan 6:4 and the previously proposed etymologies in HALOT, "סרך."

1.1.7 Pap. Ber. P. 23154

Width: 8.3 cm; Height: 4.4 cm      Recto: 1  
Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ||  
Palimpsest: recto and verso. Illegible.      Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
Material patterns: letter R body; C II and III.

**Recto**



**Verso**

## Recto

1'. [...]°[°]° ° ° ° I/you/she 'm'a'de' [...]

2'. [...] 'the ones' sa'yin' that you shall 'g[i] 've' (2m.p.)  
to [...]

[...] 'ע'ב'ד'ת[...]' :1  
[...] 'א'מ'ר'ינ' 'ז'י'נ' [ת] 'נ'ג'ל' [...] :2

## Verso

1'. [...]YT' °°(°)°° 'B'°' °° [...]

[...] °° 'ב'א' °°(°)°° ית[...]' :1

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private?) letter.

The hand is similar to Pap. Ber. P. 13461 D- P. 23140/1 = *TAD* D5.8 and Pap. Ber. P. 23102 = *TAD* D1.27, though the latter of which uses smaller letters.

This fragment is either the bottom of a letter which continues onto the verso, or the top of a letter in which case the verso contains the address. The content on the verso favors reading this as the bottom of a letter.

**Line 1.** The reading is fairly certain because the string תבדח is clear, and the broken first letter sits high on the line with two intersecting strokes.

**Line 2.** While the term אמר "lamb" is attested in Ahiqar (Pap. Ber. P. 13446F = *TAD* C1.1.168–169) and Ezra 6:9, 17; 7:17, at Elephantine only reference to a whole flock is made with קנ (e.g. O. Camb. 131–133 = *TAD* D7.1 or Cairo EM JdE 43467 = *TAD* A4.10). In another text, a large dirty ewe (תאה) in need of a bath and shearing is the subject of an ostracon sent to the island (Cairo EM JdE 43464 b = *TAD* D7.8). That said, it seems unlikely that the plural of "lamb" would be used, especially in the grammatically absolute state in this syntax, that is, not followed by a numeral. Thus, the participle of √אמר is preferred.

The reading תנתנו "you shall give (2m.p.)" is speculative. The initial ת and final נ are certain, but the characters on the fold-crease are entirely effaced. The reading and interpretation are, in part, based on sense.

**Verso, line 1.** This line is mostly illegible.

1.1.8 Pap. Ber. P. 23155

Width: 3.0 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: traces. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C 1b, 11a, or 11b.

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

<p>1'. [...]◦M to/for a dream/dreamer(.) {He shall s[ee ...]                   Ye<sup>f</sup>h<sup>1</sup>[molyah ...]}</p>	<p>{[...]◦מ לחלם  יח<sup>f</sup> [זה ...]יח<sup>f</sup> [מליה ...]}'1</p>
---	---

---

Verso

---

<p>1'. [...]...[...]                  2'. [...]◦◦[◦]◦ ◦◦<sup>f</sup>L<sup>1</sup>◦◦[...]</p>	<p>[...]...[...]'1                  [...]◦◦<sup>f</sup>L<sup>1</sup>◦◦ ◦[◦]◦◦[...]'2</p>
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## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private?) letter.

In the IR photographs, an illegible palimpsest is visible. The illegible fragment Pap. Ber. (Temp.) B/AM x 477 bb (not published herein) shares very similar papyrus features and break patterns, but does not physically join.

**Line 1.** The first stroke on the fragment can only be ח, ז, or ש (see Appendix, Paleography). The first מ sits slightly closer to the lost letter than to the preceding ל. A letter combination \*מלחלם is unattested, so it seems best to see the small gap as a word break between מ and ל. The presence of √חלם “to dream” is striking. Dreaming is rarely found in surviving Persian period Aramaic documents, and Ost. Ber. P. 1137 = TAD D7.17 (acquired before the German excavations) is the only other known occurrence in the corpus.<sup>21</sup> The form of חלם without a determinative א, must be read as either a participle “dreamer” or a nominal form, perhaps meaning “dream interpreter” as a *nomen agentis* of the Aramaic pattern CaCCāC. Such a form is suspected in one text from Hatra (see DNWSI, “hlm<sub>4</sub>”) and in a very late Syriac attestation (Syr. *BhGr* 37:26 according to CAL “h̄lm, h̄lm’ [h̄allām, h̄allāmā] n.m. #3,” accessed 26APR2021). The difficulty with understanding this as “dream interpreter” is that, if Nöldeke is correct, the *nomen agentis* derives from the G-stem (NÖLDEKE, §115) and would, therefore, be expected to mean “dreamer,” not dream interpreter.<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, one may read חלם as a proper name “H̄elem,” but the evidence of this proper name is only found in Zech 6:14, where the text is either corrupt or can be said to have caused serious confusion

for ancient translators; see the range of variants in BHQ. Hence, “dream” or “dreamer” appears to be the meaning.

In the Berlin ostrakon the dream causes the writer to become hot (√חמם), which makes for an enticing reconstruction for the first word here, at first glance, but difficulties remain because one would expect חמ to be a nominal form here, producing a meaning like “heat belongs to a dreamer.” The notion is misleading, however, since the noun for “heat, poison, anger, anxiety” is feminine in Aramaic (see AIBL-CIS CG no. 084 + CG no. 088 [= LOZACHEMEUR no. J5] concave 6) and should be \*חמה[ ...].

Other verbs ending in חמ- produce unidiomatic expressions (√לחם “to fight,” or √רחם “to love”) and so too would reading the first word as the end of a proper name. Words ending in זמ- are rare, and while a dream evokes the semantic range of √זיח “to see,” such a form here would be in the C-stem and still produce a curious expression, \*חלמ לחזם א/החזם לחלם “show them to a dream(er/ interpreter).” Lastly, a word ending in שמ- is also difficult to realize. The verbal root שים “to set” does not seem likely.

The last word is also difficult. One is primed to read \*חלמ “he shall dream (a dream),” but while √חלם may be intransitive, if it takes a direct object that object would not be marked with ל.<sup>23</sup> Only two reconstructions are found to fit the context, both informed by the Berlin ostrakon: either read the verb חזי “to see” or the proper name Yeh̄molyah.

<sup>21</sup> The relevant lines read:

Ost. Ber. P. 1137 = TAD D7.17 concave	
1. Now, indeed, (2) 1 (1) dream,	1. כענ הלח חלם
2. I saw, and since	2. חזית ומנ
3. that time it (continues). I am	3. עדנא הו אנ
4. increasingly hot.	4. חממ שגא
5–6. May Yeh̄molyah see to	5–6. תחזי יחמליה
7. my welfare.	7. שלמי

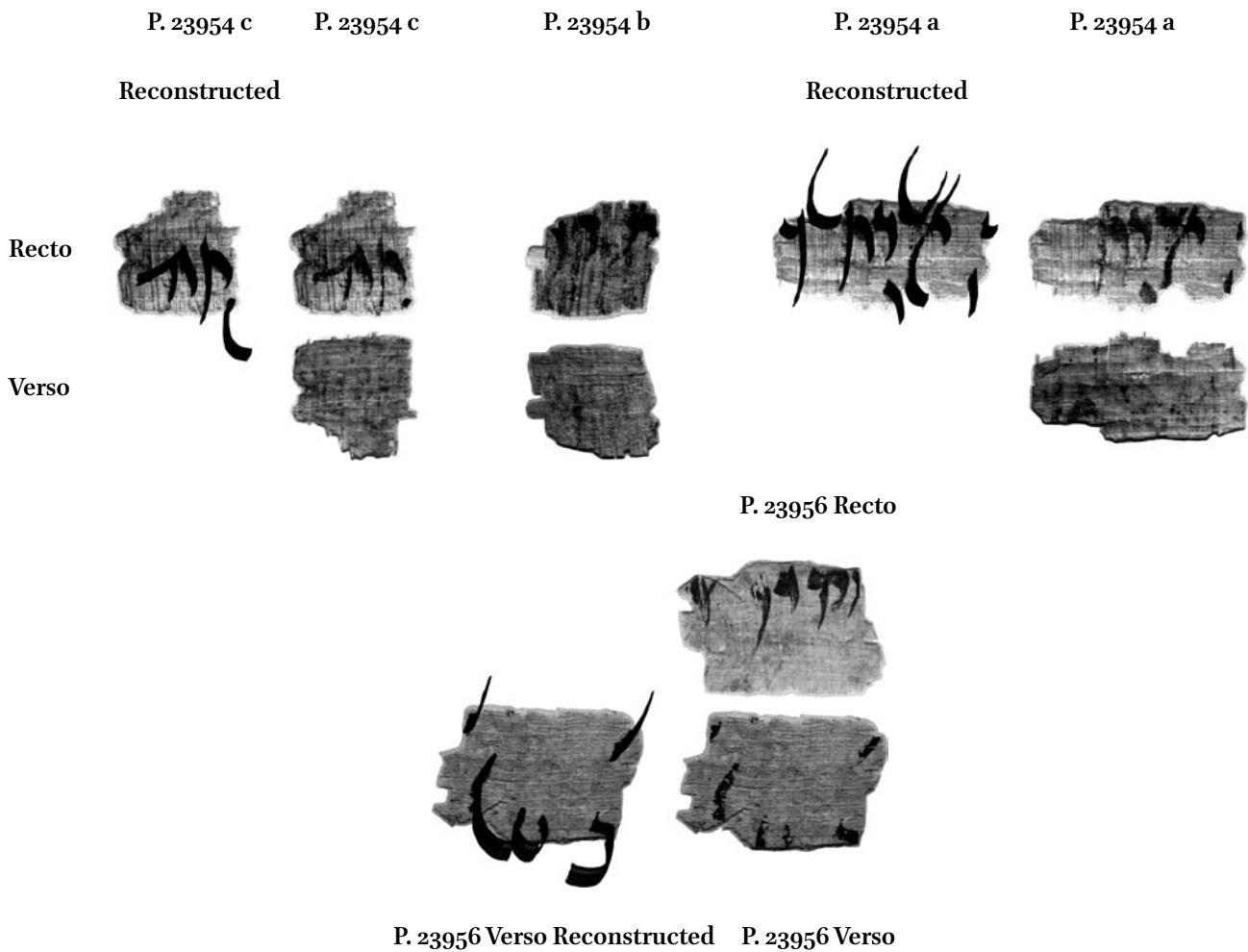
This ostrakon has been translated in various ways. TAD’s reading of the Aramaic is correct, and followed here. The translation is my own. For other translations see the sources in TAD D, p. xxix (no. D7.17).

<sup>22</sup> Compare the two different models of dream interpretation known from biblical literature, where Joseph has numinous dreams (i.e. undergoes dream incubation and interpretation) while Daniel interprets the dreams of others. If there is a functional *nomen agentis* it is of the Joseph-type, rather than the Daniel-type. Like the literary Daniel, Yeh̄molyah interprets dreams for others.

<sup>23</sup> The preposition ל is governed by strict rules in 1A (see FOLMER, §4.3).

1.1.9 Pap. Ber. P. 23954 a–c; P. 23956; P. 23957

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23954 a	2.7 cm; 1.3 cm	○
P. 23954 b	1.6 cm; 1.3 cm	○
P. 23954 c	1.5 cm; 1.5 cm	○
P. 23956	2.8 cm; 1.9 cm	○
P. 23957	2.7 cm; 2.9 cm	○
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	
Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: top-to-bottom.		
Material patterns: letter R body; C 1b, 11a or 11b		



## P. 23957 Verso

## P. 23957 Recto



## P. 23957 Verso Reconstructed    P. 23957 Recto Reconstructed

## P. 23954 a Recto

1'. [...]°°[...]  
 2'. [...]° I/she b<sup>r</sup>o<sup>l</sup>re <sup>r</sup>to you<sup>l</sup> (m.s.)[ ...]  
 3'. [...]1 to us[ ...]

[...]°°[...]. '1  
 [...] יול<sup>r</sup> דת ולב<sup>r</sup> ' [...] . '2  
 [...] לנ<sup>r</sup> [...] . '3

## P. 23954 a Verso (pal)

1'. [...]...[...]  
 2'. [...]°°°YC[...]

[...]...[...]. '1  
 [...]°°°יכ°°[...]. '2

## P. 23954 b Recto

1'. [...] <sup>r</sup>M<sup>l</sup> and <sup>r</sup>H<sup>l</sup>[...]

[...] <sup>r</sup>מ<sup>l</sup> ה<sup>r</sup>ה<sup>r</sup> [...] . '1

## P. 23954 b Verso (pal)

*illegible*

## P. 23954 c Recto

1'. [...]°TH [ ...]  
 2'. [...] <sup>r</sup>L<sup>l</sup>[...]

[...] תה°[...]. '1  
 [...] <sup>r</sup>ל<sup>l</sup>[...]. '2

## P. 23954 c Verso (pal)

*illegible*

## P. 23956 Recto

1'. [...]◦QYN<sup>r</sup>ʔ[...][...]<sup>r</sup>א'קין◦[...]:1

## P. 23956 Verso

1'. {[...]K |[...]T}{◦◦[...]}[...]◦◦[◦]{ת[...]}כ[...]:1  
 2'. [...]ʔB on/to<sup>r</sup>[...][...]<sup>r</sup>על'ב[...]:2

## P. 23957 Recto

1'. [...]◦ther<sup>r</sup>e<sup>r</sup>[...][...]<sup>r</sup>תניה◦[...]:1  
 2'. [...]ʔL<sup>r</sup>ʔH<sup>r</sup>[...][...()]ʔא'ח'ל'ל[...]:2  
 3'. [...]go<sup>r</sup>od Š<sup>r</sup>[...][...]<sup>r</sup>ט'ב ש[...]:3

## P. 23957 Verso (pal)

1'. [...]◦[...][...]◦[...]:1  
 2'. [...]ʔLM hand of [...][...]<sup>r</sup>ל'מ יד[...]:2  
 3'. [...]ʔK in<sup>r</sup> the ha<sup>r</sup>nd of<sup>r</sup>[...][...]<sup>r</sup>י'ד ב'כ[...]:3

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private) letter.

These fragments resemble Pap. Ber. P. 23955 (herein no. 1.2.6) on both material and paleographic grounds, but no direct or indirect joins have been confirmed. Pap. Ber. P. 23136 = *TAD* D1.10 and Pap. Ber. P. 23158 (pal) (herein no. 1.1.12) also share similar material features with those edited here. Unique to these fragments, however, is the shape of the pen's nib and the thick dark papyrus with a fine fiber pattern. The pen-nib has two distinctly sized tines. The left tine is nearly twice the height of the right. This allows the writer to make narrow vertical marks and thick horizontal marks in the same stroke (see esp. Pap. Ber. P. 23956).

This letter is written on what is now a very brittle papyrus. It is noteworthy that the palimpsest on Pap. Ber. P. 23957 uses a different pen than does its overwritten text. The visibility of the palimpsest on the other fragments varies, and the verso of Pap. Ber. P. 23956 contains no palimpsest, which suggests it belongs to the lower part of the letter.

**P. 23954 a, recto, line 2.** Two strokes extend down from the first line and cause interference in the reading. The verb ʔל "to bear (a child)" is used most often with a female

as its subject. The ink is running out of the pen as the writer comes to the end of the word, and he appears to write the indirect object pronoun ל attached to the verb. This is not uncommon (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, §10).

**Line 3.** The first stroke stands independently, so I read it as the numeral 1. The reading לנ is clear. The top of the נ differs from that in Pap. Ber. P. 23956, but this may simply be due to variation of the hand (see Appendix, Paleography). The characters in Pap. Ber. P. 23954 a are scaled slightly smaller than Pap. Ber. P. 23956, but the pen-nib appears to be the same. The right stroke of the ת and the base of the first ל are the result of the pen's wide left tine.

**P. 23954 b and P. 23954 c.** Although these fragments contain no complete words, they are edited here because they are deemed to be part of the same manuscript.

**P. 23956, line 1.** The first stroke is either ʔ, ʔ, or ת, the latter two of which do not produce a spelling known from the Elephantine corpus.

**P. 23957, verso, line 2.** The reading is mostly clear in the IR photograph.

1.1.10 Pap. Ber. P. 23156

Width: 3.1 cm; Height: 3.1 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C unknown.

Reconstructed



Recto



Verso

Recto

1'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>the share of all<sup>l</sup>[ ...]  
 2'. [... the ]serv<sup>r</sup>ant<sup>l</sup>[s] are <sup>r</sup>dr<sup>l</sup>inking[ ...]  
 3'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>may you/her/it b<sup>l</sup>[e] {to <sup>r</sup>me<sup>l</sup> |to <sup>r</sup>the ha<sup>l</sup>[nd of]  
 ...]

1'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>מנת כל<sup>l</sup>[ ...]  
 2'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>שתיני עבד<sup>r</sup>[יא ...]  
 3'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>יתה<sup>r</sup>[וי] {לוי<sup>r</sup> | לוי<sup>r</sup>[ד ...]

Verso

1'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>N<sup>r</sup>[...]

1'. [... ]<sup>r</sup>אנא [...]

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

**Line 1.** The term מנה is interpreted as a noun (from מנה “portion, share”) in the construct state. It refers to an official portion or measurement (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 13489 = TAD B5.1) that could be considered in legal proceedings. When referring to a specific type of tax on oil, it may have been standardized.<sup>24</sup> The term followed by “all” calls to mind the fragmentary petition found at Elephantine, which refers to a decree sent to high officials regarding the allotment of “shares” in the district (Cairo EM JdE 43466 = TAD A6.1). In other contexts, a share is defined by a relative clause that explains to whom or where it was given.

The reading כל “all” is fairly certain, and may refer to the people to whom the shares belong (“the share of all/every [person]”) or the item designated as a share (“the share of all [item]”). Alternatively, the word may derive from its administrative usage in which case it means, “share: total [number].” The consuming of a liquid in the next line suggests that the share allocation may be wine.

**Line 2.** The word שתינ is most likely a G-stem masculine plural participle,<sup>25</sup> and therefore, the second word may be either a verb of עבד (G-stem perfect) “made” or a noun “servant,” with the noun to be preferred following the verb to drink. Possible, but less probable, one may read עבור “grain” as the start of a new clause. Concerning the use of “grain” see discussion on Pap. Ber. P. 23153 (herein no. 1.1.6).

Alternatively, שתינ may mean “sixty” and modify a lost noun. In which case the second word begins a new clause or phrase. This seems highly unlikely, however, since large numbers are almost always written with numerals.

**Line 3.** The reading תהוי “may you/her/it be” is admittedly a guess, but nicely matches the stroke pattern and meets the need for a verb before the indirect pronoun. This form would be a G-stem imperfect second feminine singular (and probably not a defective second masculine singular). While shares are official distributions or taxes, it is noteworthy that women also received them (Pap. Ber. P. 13489 = TAD B5.1).

Read either לי or less likely ליד for the second word.

**Verso, line 1.** The last two letters are damaged; the ן is certain, and the horn on the third letter only resembles א. The letters אגא are found as the start of a proper name in

Bodl. Lib. Pell. Aram. X = TAD A6.16:2, a fragment from the ?Aršama leather collection. The pronoun “I” spelled אגא is not known in IA.

The space before the word is curious and calls to mind the spacing of names and notes on official petitions or decrees.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Yardeni, “Maritime,” 72.

<sup>25</sup> Feminine plural III-y participles are not yet identified or attested in the Aramaic corpus from Egypt (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, §37), so it is unknown if the ך would be written or if triphthong reduction would occur, leaving the *mater lectionis* to be discretionary.

<sup>26</sup> See Moore, “Persian Administrative,” esp. 61–62.

1.1.11 Pap. Ber. P. 23157

Width: 3.5 cm; Height: 4.2 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Break patterns: letter R top + add.; C 1a,

Verso



Recto



Recto

1. Fro<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>[ PN to PN ...]  
 2. who/that [...]

1. מ<sup>l</sup>נ<sup>l</sup> [...] על [...]  
 2. ז<sup>l</sup> [...] [...]

Verso

1'. Copy.

*Hand 2. Demotic note*

h. '1

2'. 'br<sup>l</sup>ing/'br<sup>l</sup>ought 'from<sup>l</sup>[ ...]*Postal forward / instruction*2'. יה<sup>l</sup>יתי 'מנ<sup>l</sup> [...] [...]3'. [T]o (◦)◦◦ 'š<sup>l</sup>◦ [...]*Address*3'. [...]◦'ש<sup>l</sup>◦◦(◦) ל[א]':3

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: decree or petition.

Compare Pap. Ber. P. 23194 (herein no. 1.3.19) for a possible join on material grounds. Only two Persian period decrees are known from Elephantine. The oldest Pap. Ber. P. 13540 (Demotic, 21.04.492 BCE [29.iv.30 Dar I]) concerns the appointment of an administrative priest in the Khnum temple. The other Cairo EM JdE 43469 = TAD A6.2 (Aramaic, before 13.x.12 Dar II [12.01.411 BCE]) is an approval for repairs on a state owned boat. A third decree approving the rebuilding of the Yahô temple and its related petition are alluded to in other documents.<sup>27</sup>

As for the present fragment, two rows of papyrus survive, and the document was written transversa charta. The recto is a large upper-right margin and enough papyrus survives to show that no writing precedes the word  $\text{גן}$ . The fragment's width of 3.5 cm and broken left edge suggests that the document may have been rolled then folded in half, tied in the center of the folded package and sealed toward the end opposite the central fold; this is the expected break pattern of a sealed letter. The fragment represents slightly less than one quarter of the height (as defined in the Introduction) of the roll. The faded text on the bottom papyrus row of the verso, is address. The date line is missing and should have existed below the address row of papyrus, according to models found on the other Elephantine Aramaic decree, the Bactrian decrees ADAB nos. A1–A7, and the Elephantine petition Cairo EM JdE 43466 = TAD A6.1.

**Line 1.** The document uses the opening salutation:  $\text{PN}^{\text{Addressee(s)}} \text{על} \text{PN}^{\text{Sender(s)}} \text{גן}$ .

This formula is known on papyri and parchment only from the decrees and formal directives from ʿAršama to his lower officials.<sup>28</sup> It is otherwise known from only two formally written ostraca (AIBL-CIS CG no. 228 and Eleph. DAIK O 4623 [alt. O 4638] = RÖLLIG no. 37).<sup>29</sup>

**Verso.** The address appears to contain a postal note that indicates the document had been “forwarded;” this feature is found on the Bactrian decrees (ADAB nos. A1.14; A2.9; A3.6; A4.8; [A8.6]) and is similar to the word  $\text{יבל}$  “carried” found in the postal notes on the Hermopolis letters (Hermop. 1 v. 7; Hermop. 2 v. 1; Hermop. 3 v. 6; Hermop. 5 v. 3; Hermop. 6 v. 4; Hermop. 7 v. 1 = TAD A2.2:18; A2.3:14; A2.4:14; A2.5:10; A2.6:11; A2.7:5). Not enough text survives to deter-

mine if the address is written in a third hand or in that of the recto.

The address, which appears below the forwarding note, is badly damaged. The Elephantine private letters use  $\text{ל}$  at the start of an address row, and so too do the Bactrian decrees. This is not a productive preposition in IA, but rather a formulaic vestige of an older dialect of administrative Aramaic (FOLMER, §5.2).

A second hand on the verso made three dark strokes, which look at first glance to be a stylized  $\text{ג}$ . This sign is significantly larger than the size of the letters on the recto, and enough papyrus survives to indicate that no writing precedes or follows it. The letter  $\text{ג}$  does not stand alone in such contexts.<sup>30</sup> Instead, this is best interpreted as a Demotic administrative note, and the Demotist Jan Moje reads here Demotic  $\text{h}$  “copy.”<sup>31</sup> The placement of this Demotic word matches the placement of the Demotic administrative note on the Elephantine Aramaic decree.<sup>32</sup>

It is possible that this document is an official petition, written to evoke a decision issued via provincial decree. Official petitions share many of the formatting features of decrees, and currently only one Aramaic petition from Egypt survives; it too is from Elephantine (Cairo EM 43466 = TAD A6.1).

<sup>27</sup> Moore, “Who Gave,” 83–85.

<sup>28</sup> Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 51; Moore, “Who Gave,” 77; and Schwiderski, *Handbuch*, 111.

<sup>29</sup> For new readings of the latter, see Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 51 n. 12.

<sup>30</sup> As in, e.g., Brooklyn 47.218.150 + 47.218.97 + 47.218.155 (frags.) = TAD B3.8:14 and AIBL-CIS CG no. 4 concave 4. Compare also the abbreviations of unknown meaning in the administrative texts Cairo EM JdE 43479 = TAD C3.14:7, 16; and Cairo EM JdE 67040 = TAD D8.6:10.

<sup>31</sup> Private communication 24SEP2019. See Moore and Moje's forthcoming edition of this fragment in the ERC Grant ID 637692 text ID no. 311868.

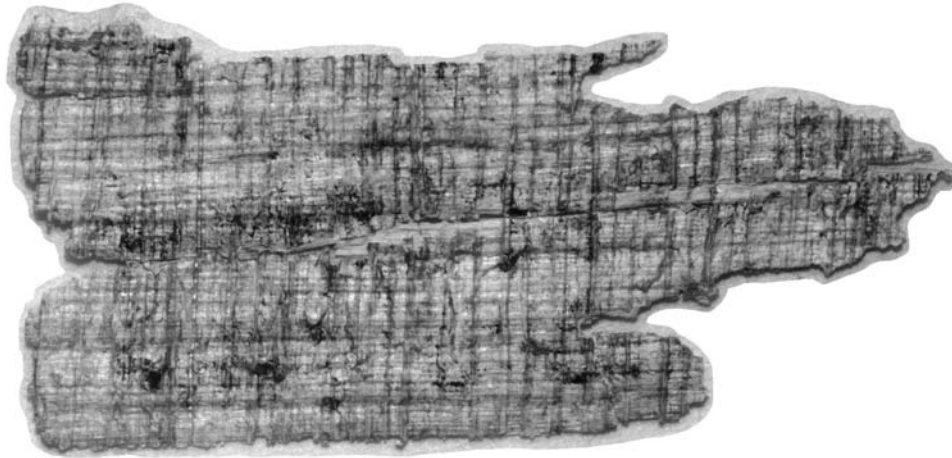
<sup>32</sup> Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 55–60.



1.1.12 Pap. Ber. P. 23158

Width: 6.5 cm; Height: 3.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: recto and verso. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C I, (lower?).

## Recto



## Verso

## Recto (pal)

---

*Illegible*


---

## Verso (pal)

1'. [... for ]?Eshôr you (m.s.)/she shall do [...]  
 2'. [...]° {he |I} 'shall in'spect (the) ration °°L ° [...]  
 3'. [...]°°[°]° °° [...]

1'. [...]° [ל] אסחור תעבד [...]°  
 2'. [...]° ל°° פתפ {יאח'יט |ויח'יט} ° [...]°  
 3'. [...]°° ° [°]°°° [...]'3

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private) letter.

See discussion on Pap. Ber. P. 23954 a–c; P. 23956; P. 23957 (herein no. 1.1.9) about similarities to those fragments. Judging from the recto, which is well erased, the verso may be a hastily erased continuation of the recto's text.

**Verso, line 1.** The name <sup>2</sup>Eshôr appears frequently in the papyrus contracts and ostraca missives, but this is the first occurrence of the name on a papyrus letter.

**Line 2.** The first letter in יחיט "he shall inspect" is effaced, and may be read as טחיט; "I shall inspect" compare the ט in the previous line. Intersecting the first letter is the tale of a long stroke from the previous line. Initially, the ט looks like a ה, but when zoomed in, it becomes clear that the top of the left vertical is merely effaced. The word is a D-stem imperfect first common singular form of √טחי, which appears to mean the same as its Akkadian cognate *hiātu* "to inspect (administratively), interrogate (officially)." It appears in Ahiqar (Pap. Ber. P. 13446G = *TAD* C1.1133), with a human as the object.<sup>33</sup> A G-stem form of the root meaning "to watch over, inspect" with a product as its object may occur in AIBL-CIS CG no. 152 = *TAD* D7.16:6. In that text, the writer claims, וואחט המו בקל "and I shall inspect them (as) legumes."<sup>34</sup>

The word פתפ "ration" is certain, but what follows is either a suffixed pronoun, perhaps י or ה producing "my/his ration," a number such as 20 producing "20 rations," or the start of the following word. The name Ptepî seems unlikely since it is only known in Aramaic from the Ptolemaic period (Bodl. Lib. ms. Heb. a. (5) = *TAD* C3.28:40, 52), besides, inspecting "meal-rations,"<sup>35</sup> like that found in the ostracon cited above, makes sense. The word פתפ "meal-ration" is of Persian origin (*piβa-*)<sup>36</sup> and is never found with the grammatical plural in Aramaic, even when it is expected (e.g. *ADAB* no. C4.42).

33 All previous translations of the Ahiqar manuscript identify the root as טחי "to set up" and produce a difficult to understand translation. Deriving the meaning from a D-stem of √טחי, like that found in contemporary Akkadian *hiātu*, produces a more comprehensible translation. Bezalel Porten kindly referred to me Driver, "Studies," 364, who came to the same etymology regarding the form in Ezra 4:12 (personal communication 17MAR2020).

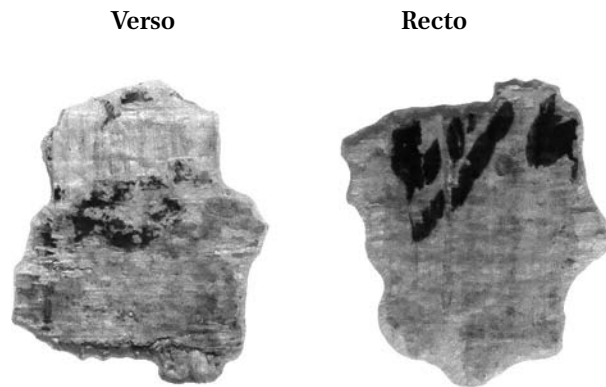
34 *TAD*'s readings of the characters are better than others, which are found in LOZACHMEUR, p. 304. *TAD* leaves טחט untranslated.

35 See Tavernier, *Iranica*, 410.

36 Tavernier, *Iranica*, 410 and *ADAB*, p. 143.

1.1.13 Pap. Ber. P. 23159

Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 1.4 cm      Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: traces recto and verso.    Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter, one half row of papyrus; C 1a, 11a, or 11b.



Recto

---

 1'. {...}DŠ | {...}RŠ { ...}
 

---

 {...} {רש[...]| דש[...]} :1
 

---

Verso

---

 1'. [...]°[...]

[...]°[...] :1

2'. [...]ᵀgood¹[...]

 [...]ᵀטב¹ [...] :2
 

---

### Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: unknown.

The opistograph suggests that this is a letter.

**Verso, line 2.** The letters are certain. The vast majority of words, especially in the Elephantine corpus, that begin with **טב** are forms of “good/goodness” (see SCHWIDERSKI, pp. 337–339), though there is a small possibility that the month Tebet or a rare proper name is meant here.

1.1.14 Pap. Ber. P. 23160

Width: 3.6 cm; Height: 3.9 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: traces  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: unknown.  
 Material patterns: letter R (mid) body; C 11a or 11b.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]the [dist]rict of Thebes {Y[...] |' [...] }  
 2'. [...] ]<sup>r</sup>(to) <sup>1</sup>the living/the <sup>r</sup>wi<sup>1</sup>cked one(s) <sup>r</sup>' [...] ]

1'. [...]א| [...]ינת נא [... מדי] :1  
 2'. [...]א<sup>1</sup>חיא<sup>1</sup> [...] :2

### Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: unknown.

The height of one complete and one partial row of papyrus survive. The stokes on the verso may too be a palimpsest, but they do not look Aramaic, or at least they are not made with the same pen-nib as that used on the recto. The characters on the recto are larger than most found in the corpus.

**Line 1.**<sup>37</sup> Note that the ן in נא “Thebes” was seen as too curved by the writer who made an additional vertical stroke. This practice can also be observed on a variety of documents in different hands and with different pen-nibs, for example Pap. Ber. P. 23174 (herein no. 1.2.4).

**Line 2.** These letters are perhaps either the end of a determined masculine plural noun or an adjective/participle with a root ending in לח-. The most likely options are: the first determined attestation of the noun חי in the corpus or the first determined (singular or plural) form of לחי “a wicked person.” While in theory a determined participle of שלח “to send (word)” is possible, this seems unlikely since the verb is mostly used in a descriptive phrase.<sup>38</sup>

37 Reconstructing מדינת was first suggested to me by Bezalel Porten during his visit to the collection in Fall 2017.

38 See in particular FOLMER, § 5.9.

1.1.15 Pap. Ber. P. 23161

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 2.6 cm      Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: illegible recto and verso.      Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C 1b, 11, 111, or 1vb.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]ʿ and Pṭah/(he) open(ed) ◦ [...]  
 2'. [...]ʿ Tʿ L{B|D|R}◦ [...]

[...]◦ ופ'תח [...]':1  
 [...]◦ {ר|ב|ד}ל'ת' [...]':2

Verso

1'. {...}D [...]R} sistʿer of [...]  
 2'. [...] the [...] (m.p.)

[...]ʿ אה'ת' {ר[...] | ד[...]}':1  
 [...] יא[...]' :2

### Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: (private?) letter.

Visually the ן and ל resemble Pap. Ber. P. 23169 (herein no. 1.1.24), but these are not diagnostically significant paleographical comparisons. Traces of possible preceding lines on both the recto and verso are visible, but these may be due to interference from the palimpsest.

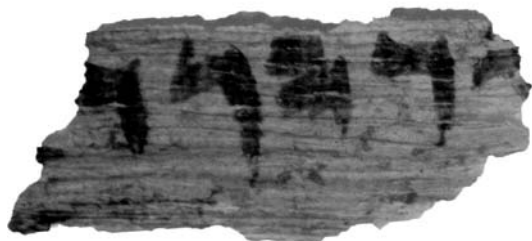
**Line 1.** The verb פתח “to open” is mostly attested in contracts and the Ahiqar manuscript, while the Egyptian divine name Ptaḥ is found mostly in the Hermopolis letters.

**Verso, line 1.** The final letter could be ך, producing אחי “my brother” but compared to the ך on line 2, it is slightly lower and more curved. Hence I read ת; compare recto line 1. In theory one may interpret אהת as a G-stem or C-stem (*afel*) imperfect first common singular from of נחת “to go down,” but this is unlikely because such a spelling is not attested in the corpus (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 33; see FOLMER, § 2.4).

1.1.16 Pap. Ber. P. 23958

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 1.0 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]◦◦[...]  
 2'. [...]◦Y◦[...]

[...]◦◦[...]'1  
 [...]◦י◦[...]'2

Verso

1'. [...]◦[...]

[...]◦◦א'וסר[...]'1

### Commentary

Text type: (possible) letter. Genre: unknown.

The recto is effaced and missing much of the papyrus. The two sides use different pen-nibs.

**Verso.** The  $\mathfrak{D}$  and  $\mathfrak{D}|\mathfrak{D}$  are clear. The horned crown of the  $\mathfrak{D}|\mathfrak{D}$  is distinguished from the two-stroke angular  $\mathfrak{v}$ . The first broken letter is best read as an  $\mathfrak{A}$ , producing \*אוסר. Forms of  $\sqrt{\text{אסר}}$  “to bind” are not attested with  $\mathfrak{v}$  in this period, leaving the common Egyptian name element (י)ר(י)אוס as the best reading. Normally, this Egyptian divine element is the last element in names in the attested Aramaic onomasticon, but it may also be the first element, which seems to be the case here. Compare the Egypto-Phoenician name אסרתני (Ost. Ber. P. 11432 = LIDZBARSKI no. 1). The last letter matches the stroke pattern for י, but the angle of the strokes and the point of their intersection introduces some doubt. They may also resemble זל “belonging to” (see Appendix, Paleography). The י on the recto is not instructive since the verso and recto are written with different pens, if not also in different hands.

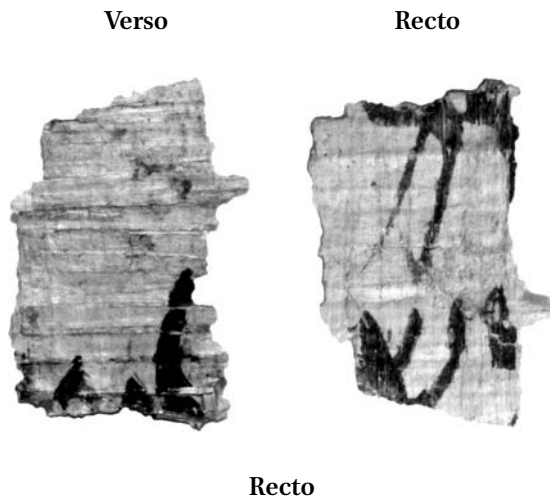
1.1.17 Pap. Ber. P. 23162

Width: 1.0 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.

Material patterns: letter R body (one row); C unknown (approx. 1/4) of a column's width.

1'. [... mor]e<sup>r</sup>ov<sup>l</sup>er [...]2'. [...]<sup>r</sup>N<sup>l</sup>š<sup>r</sup>[...][...]<sup>r</sup>פ<sup>r</sup>מ<sup>l</sup>[א<sup>r</sup>...].<sup>r</sup>1[...]<sup>r</sup>ש<sup>r</sup>נ<sup>l</sup>[...].<sup>r</sup>2

Verso

1'. [...]<sup>r</sup>L<sup>o</sup>(<sup>o</sup>)[...][...]<sup>r</sup>(<sup>o</sup>)<sup>o</sup>ל<sup>r</sup>[...].<sup>r</sup>1

### Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

**Line 1.** Although one may read \*ג<sup>r</sup>- (see Appendix, Paleography “ג”), the first letter begins on the hanging line and descends at least to the baseline. This favors reading פ. The term אפמ occurs on at least one papyrus letter (Cairo EM JdE 43477 = TAD A3.8:8) and in the ostraca missives (e.g. AIBL-CIS CG nos. 13 and X3+149 [= LOZACHMEUR no. J6] convex 3), though it is most frequently found in contracts (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, §90b). Since the writing continues onto the verso this is probably not a papyrus contract, which eliminates the legal prepositional phrases על פמ / בפמ “according to the mouth of” (see Pap. Ber. P. 23178 [herein no. 1.2.13]). Likewise, the prepositional phrase בפמ “in the mouth of” is rare, appearing only once in the ostraca,<sup>39</sup> and so too the noun פמ “mouth,”

which is so far only attested on papyrus in the Ahiqar manuscript.

**Verso, line 1.** The strokes following ל<sup>r</sup> may be either one letter, such as ש or a letter with a wide crown, or two separate letters.

tographs) בפמ “in the mouth of” against Lemaire, “Review,” 183. On CG no. 57+99 (= LOZACHMEUR no. J3) concave 4 read אפמ against LOZACHMEUR’s בפמ.

39 AIBL-CIS CG no. X16 concave 3 clearly reads (in the new pho-

1.1.18 Pap. Ber. P. 23163

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 2.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: illegible. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C 1b, 11, or 111.

Recto



Verso



Recto

1'. [...]°[...]  
 2'. [...]of {a go<sup>d</sup>1/the go<sup>d</sup>1 of |(who/which) I/you/she  
 went}[ ...]

[...]°[...]:1  
 [...]{}[א'ל'ת' | א'ל'ה'] זי [...]':2

Verso

1'. [...]°[...]  
 2'. [...]HM<sup>r</sup>to me<sup>1</sup> °[...]

[...]°[...]:1  
 [...]°[חמ' ל'י]':2



## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

The illegible opistograph of the palimpsest was also rotated top-to-bottom.

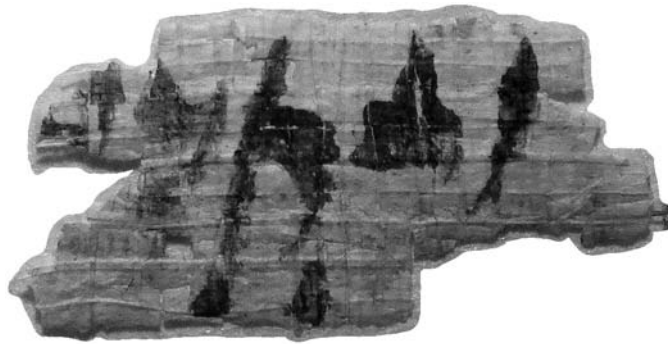
**Line 1.** Generally, the demonstrative אלה “these” follows its antecedent, and since a relative pronoun precedes it here, the noun “god” is the preferred reading. A vertical stroke is touching the ל. I interpret it as a downward stroke from the preceding line, but alternatively it could be an interlinear correction for ל'א, in which case the final letter would likely be ת, producing א'לת “I/you/she went.” The ל of the Ahiqar-hand (which is noticeably distinct from this) is sometimes crossed by a vertical stroke, but not with such a large stroke as that found here (see Appendix, Paleography). The diagonal stroke of the א has a pronounced wavy, almost reverse tilde, shape.

**Verso, line 1.** See discussion of מח- on Pap. Ber. P. 23155 (herein no. 1.1.8). I have adopted the suggestion ל' made to me by an anonymous reviewer, but note the different architecture of ' on the recto (see Appendix, Paleography).

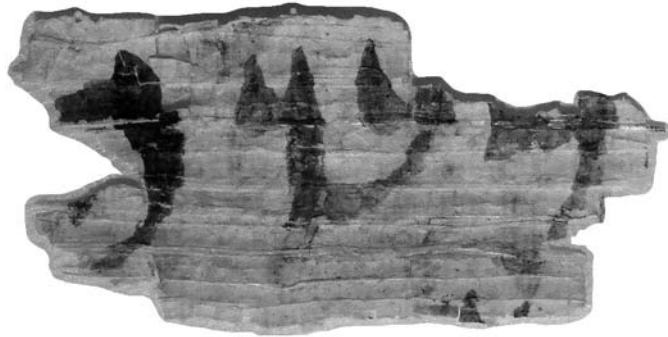
1.1.19 Pap. Ber. P. 23164

Width: 3.0 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R unknown; C 1a, 1b or 1va.

Recto



Verso



Recto

1'. [... ]which you/she/they (f.p.) shall seek[ ...]  
 2'. [...]'L' [...]

1'. [... ] זי תביע' [...]  
 2'. [... ] ל' [...]

Verso

1'. [... ]◦( )'h'ope(d) H[...]  
 2'. [... ]◦[...]

1'. [... ] ס' בר ה' [...]  
 2'. [... ] ◦[...]

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

The narrow line spacing and opistograph suggest that this is a letter.

**Line 1.** The letters are certain. The relative pronoun connects to the following noun (sandhi), but the lack of spacing may be a sign that this is a fragment from the end of the line (C iva). Compare, for instance, the lack of word spacing at the end of the lines of Brooklyn 47.218.88 = *TAD* B3.1. The verb is missing either a ך or a ך. It is unclear if the darkening at the bottom of the ך is the trace of a second ל ascending from line 2 or the darkening of the ך's vertical stroke which was made as the writer pressed down on the pen.

**Verso, line 1.** The ךסבר "to hope" is attested in Cairo EM JdE 43471 = *TAD* A4.2:7. The later meaning "porter" in Harrow School Museum = *TAD* C3.27:30 is highly uncertain and, therefore, not adopted here.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The string of letters is otherwise only known from AIBL-CIS CG no. 138 concave 3, קסברנ ך "2 (Persian) earrings" (compare Demotic *qsbr* from Old Persian \**gaušabara*- [Vittmann, "Iranisches," 138]), against LOZACHMEUR קסורנ "(2) récipients (coupes / jattes?)," but a grammatically singular form of this term (קסבר) is not expected because earrings come in pairs.

1.1.20 Pap. Ber. P. 23165

Width: 2.3 cm; Height: 2.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: letter R unknown, C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]took/take[...]  
 2'. [...]to 'you' (?) [ ...]

[...]לקח[...]:1  
 [...]ל'כ' [...]:2

### Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: unknown.

The letters are large and the letter spacing wide. The sloppy penmanship favors the interpretation of a letter.

**Line 1.** One finds here a rare example of a type-B ל (Appendix, Paleography “ל”), and its second stroke is long and strangely oriented. Note also the writer’s pause indicated by the darkened ink on the right side of the ק’s reverse tilde.

**Line 2.** The second letter is either the horn of an ס or ל, or it is the right stroke of a כ. I favor כ since it appears that the stroke is descending right-to-left. One may expect a more pronounced vertical movement for the horns of ס or ל.

1.1.21 Pap. Ber. P. 23166

Width: 2.0 cm; Height: 2.3 cm      Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto and verso.      Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: letter R unknown; C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...]?' we shall make [ ...]

[...] א נעבד [...] '1

---

### Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: unknown.

The pen-nib appears to have been held mostly at a perpendicular angle to the papyrus. The large line spacing is somewhat surprising for a letter. Paleographically, compare Pap. Ber. P. 23152 a (+) b (herein no. 1.1.5) and the discussion made there.

**Line 1.** The readings are clear and unremarkable. The first person plural verbal form favors the interpretation of this as a letter.

1.1.22 Pap. Ber. P. 23167

Width: 4.4 cm; Height: 2.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: traces. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: letter R bot.; C 1b or 1vb.

Recto



Verso



Recto

1'. [... ]°[...]

2'. [... ]he did not bring d<sup>l</sup>own<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

[... ]°[...]:1

[... ]לא הנ<sup>l</sup>חת<sup>l</sup>:2

Verso

1'. [... ga]<sup>l</sup>ve<sup>l</sup>/[(shall) gi]<sup>l</sup>ve<sup>l</sup> to <sup>l</sup>the<sup>l</sup> child<sup>l</sup>en<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

2'. [... ]°°°[...]

[... ]לינק<sup>l</sup>יא<sup>l</sup>ר<sup>l</sup>ה(°°) [...]:1

[... ]°°°[...]:2

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

This is the most inner piece of papyrus in the folded letter package. Due to the severe deterioration, it seems unlikely that much, if any, of the outer layers of papyrus survived from this column. It is possible that other columns of papyrus from the document were better preserved, but no joins have been found.

**Line 2.** Some doubt remains as to the identification of the ך because the length of the two verticals vary slightly more than expected. That said, no other letter combination fits the stroke pattern as well. All other letters in the word הַנְחִיחַ “he brought down” are certain.

**Verso, line 1.** The כ is clear at the beginning, but the reconstruction כַּה(י) “gave/give” is a best guess. The reading לִינְקִיָּא “to the children” is certain. The verbal forms in the letter appear to be masculine, but they could be restored as feminine as well. If this is a reference to child-care, it is the first in the Elephantine papyri, though it is known from the ostraca (Bodl. Lib. Aram. Inscr. 7 = *TAD* D7.6; Ost. Ber. P. 1137 = *TAD* D7.17; and perhaps Ost. P. 11380 = *TAD* D7.43) and a Hermopolis Letter (Hermop. 7 = *TAD* A2.7).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> For discussion see Moore, “Social Historical,” *forthcoming*.

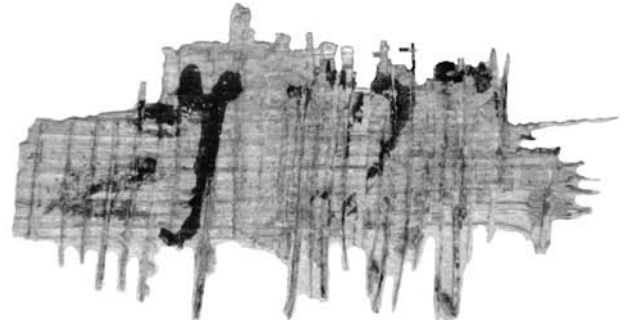
1.1.23 Pap. Ber. P. 23168

Width: 3.6 cm; Height: 2.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank or illegible.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: the left edge may be the edge of the document; Letter C ivb (?).

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...]ʿGreetings/compensate ʿ(to) aʿllʿ [...]

 [...]ʿשלמʿ כללʿ [...] 1:
 

---

### Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: (private?) letter.

The recto contains two illegible lines of a palimpsest that was written 90° to the overwritten text. The high degree of deterioration makes it unlikely that many other fragments of this part of the document survived.

**Line 1.** For this reading, compare Brooklyn 47.218.151 = *TAD* A3.9:6 שלמ כל בני "Greetings to all the sons of (...)." Alternatively, read "compensate all." The mark after the מ is a remnant of the palimpsest.



1.1.24 Pap. Ber. P. 23169

Width: 3.8 cm; Height: 2.4 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: letter R body; C ivb,

Recto



Verso



Recto

1'. [...]°°  
 2'. [...]you/she shall be able

°°[...]':1  
 תכהל [...]':2

Verso

1'. [...] °° °°T¹  
 2'. [...] °° Paḥa¹pî¹

¹°° [°° ...]':1  
 פח'פ'י' °° [...]':2

## Commentary

Text type: possible letter. Genre: unknown.

Paleographically, compare the ן and ל on Pap. Ber. P. 23161 (herein no. 1.1.15). The large space after the legible word on the recto confirms that this fragment retains the left edge of the manuscript. There is no clear evidence of a palimpsest, though the verso is either dirty or effaced. The opistograph favors interpreting this as a letter. That said, there is some philological evidence for reading this as a contract (below).

**Line 2.** The reading is certain, and the verb כהל√ “to be able” mostly appears in contracts with the exception of a lone occurrence in a Saqqara correspondence (Saq. H5-AP43 [1590] = SEGAL no. 26 ln. 6). So far, it is not attested in a papyrus letter from or to Elephantine. The bi-form יכל√ is found only twice in the Hermopolis papyrus letters (nos. 1 and 5 = TAD A2.3:4 and A2.5:5), though it is also found on the Elephantine missives written on ostraca (AIBL-CIS CG nos. 46; 117; 202; 233; 268).

**Verso, line 2.** The first letter is too broken to determine. The second is probably ע but may also be the top of a כ (see recto. line 2) or a highly cursive ך|ד|ב; the papyrus below the strokes is damaged and may have effaced the ink. The proper name פהפי (Egyptian *P<sub>3</sub>-Hp*)<sup>42</sup> is known from Elephantine in AIBL-CIS CG no. 266 concave 3 (as בר זלי “son of Ziliya”) and as a patronymic in the Collection List of Egyptian Family Units Pap. Ber. P. 23923 a-f (herein no. 2.2.1) Col. ii’ ln. 4’ (= TAD C3.9:9). The name is also found on unprovenanced sources or those from outside Elephantine (Cairo em JdE 60144 = TAD C3.25:6; Cairo em JdE 50052 = TAD C3.26:40 and Ber. Ost. P. 10852 = TAD D8.3:15).

42 Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 102; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 87.

1.1.25 Pap. Ber. P. 23170

Width: 4.3 cm; Height: 3.2 cm      Recto: ⊥  
Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ||  
Palimpsest: traces recto and verso.    Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
Material patterns: letter R body; C 1b, 11, 111, or 1Va.

**Recto**



**Verso**



## Recto

---

1'. [...]◦[...]	[...]◦[...]:1
2'. [...]◦◦ say[ing ...]	[...]◦◦ לאמ[ר]◦[...]:2
3'. [...]◦[...]	[...]◦[...]:3

---

## Verso

---

1'. [...]◦◦◦[...]	[...]◦◦◦[...]:1
2'. [... ]'m <sup>l</sup> ak <sup>f</sup> e <sup>l</sup> (f.s.)/'my ser <sup>l</sup> vant[ ...]	[...]י'ע'בד[...]:2

---

## Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

**Line 2.** The first two letters may be הו.

**Verso, line 2.** The reading יעבדי is certain. The curvature of the י's vertical stroke is similar to that of the ב's diagonal stroke, but the י has a crown while the ב has a diagonal (↘) head-stroke (see Appendix, Paleography).

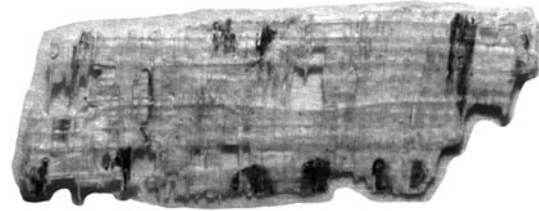
1.1.26 Pap. Ber. P. 23913

Width: 2.2 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]◦ ◦◦◦[...]  
 2'. [...]◦◦◦ ◦◦[...]

[...]◦◦◦ ◦[...]'1  
 [...]◦◦ ◦◦◦[...]'2

Verso

1'. [...] ]'I am coming/shall come[ ...]

[...]א'נה אתי(ה)']1

### Commentary

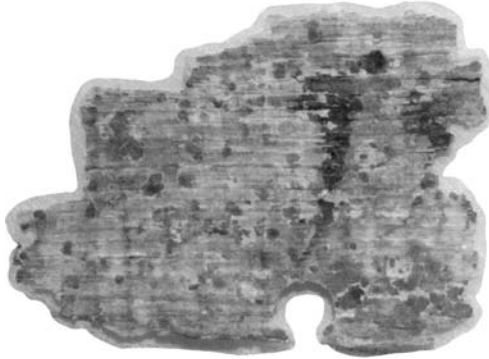
Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

**Verso.** The readings on the verso are clear. The imperfect spelling אַתִּיה of the verb is preferred because the participle אַתִּי is rare. Interpreting the verb as a C-stem is unlikely because one would expect a *hafel* rather than a *afel* pattern used by writers at Elephantine.

1.1.27 Pap. Ber. P. 23918

Width: 2.6 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] I [se]n't to 'you' [...]
 

---



---

 1': [...] ש'ל'חת ל'כ"ר' [...]
 

---

Verso

---

 1'. [...] 'fr'om(?) [...]
 

---



---

 1': [...] מ'נ' [...]
 

---

### Commentary

Text type: letter. Genre: unknown.

The readings and reconstructions are certain.

1.2 *Contracts*

1.2.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23171

**Bibliography***TAD D2.27*

Width: 13.9 cm; Height: 6.6 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): 1. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: side-to-side.  
 Break patterns: contract R doc.; C Ia (half), Ib, and IIA.

Recto

Verso  
Reconstructed

Verso



## Verso

1. [Document] of a debt of barley which Phzw the boatman wrote [for PN ...]

1. [ספר] חוב ישער'נ זי כתב פהזו מלחא [ל...]

ישער'נ

TAD ישער'נ

## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: debt document.

A small ink mark is visible on the lower edge of the recto. The larger fragment of this document was published in *TAD* D2.27, and was apparently found in the East Berlin collection based on its numbering. The new fragment from the Aramaic Box supplies the genre classification to this docket, which can now be identified as a “debt” document. The term חוב is an administrative genre otherwise only attested in the early Bauer-Meisner papyrus (Bayerische StaBi Pap. Aram. Mon. 1 = *TAD* B1.1), which dates to 515 BC (06.iv 7 Dar 1) and records the debt owed on a leased field. Based on that comparison *Phzw* is the creditor in this contract. The related adjective (or Gp-stem) חייב “guilty, obliged” is found on two wifehood documents (Brooklyn 47.218.150 = *TAD* B3.8:42 and Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4:8) in the context of hypothetical reclamation and also in the late Persian period Aramaic decrees, in which it refers to legal requirements to bring taxes (*ADAB* no. A1.2, 11, 12) or moveable property (*ADAB* no. A6.4, 7, 8). The legal language of the *WDSP* (1:10) attests to a similar form of the word (חויבנ).<sup>43</sup> The meaning and origin of *Phzw* is unclear here, but others holding the title boatman are Egyptian, while Carians are also known to have owned boats.

43 Dušek, *manuscripts araméens*, 128. There is found חויבנ ולא דינן (there is) no lawsuit, no debt” (Dušek: “sans litige et sans obligations;” *WDSP* 1:10), but the comparable legal phrase in the Elephantine papyri is חויבנ ולא דינן “There is no lawsuit. There is no litigation” (e.g. Brooklyn 47.218.90 = *TAD* B3.6:15). The *WDSP* provide evidence that חוב was legal jargon, even though the jargon differs from that used at Elephantine.



1.2.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23172 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43485

### Bibliography

TAD B4.3

Width: 2.1 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto: blank.  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom (?)  
 Material patterns: contract R doc.; C 1b.

Verso



Recto



Verso

1'. [Document (of ... which) Hôše'a (son of Hôdavyah) and ?Aḥî'ab (son of Gemaryah)] wro<sup>t</sup>te<sup>l</sup>[ for ?Espemet (...)]  
 1': [ספר (... זי)] כתב<sup>l</sup> [הושע (בר הודויה) ואחיאב (בר גמריה)]  
 לאספמת (...)]

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: obligation.

The sheet-join confirms that writing is on the verso of high quality unused papyrus. The word כתב “wrote” confirms that this a fragment of a docket. Of the known contract rolls missing dockets, the handwriting matches that of Cairo EM JdE 43485 = TAD B4.3, whose (near) duplicate Pap. Ber. P. 13493 = TAD B4.4 retains its docket. The architecture of the כ and ת are the same. Note that the כ's do not exhibit an uptick, and the leftward curvature of the ת's vertical strokes and the short diagonal shape of their second strokes are the same. Thus, the present fragment may be placed at the top of Cairo EM JdE 43485 in TAD's “[B]” row of papyrus and identified as a fragment of an obligation contract. For an edition of that Cairo papyrus see TAD. For comparison, see the figure below of the docket from Pap. Ber. P. 13493.

Pap. Ber. P. 13493, docket.



Contracts of obligation from Elephantine include the two already mentioned, Cairo EM JdE 43485. and Pap. Ber. P. 13493 (near duplicate) as well as Cairo EM JdE 43487 = TAD B4.5; Pap. Ber. P. 13476 = TAD B4.6 and Cairo EM JdE 43489 = TAD B5.5.

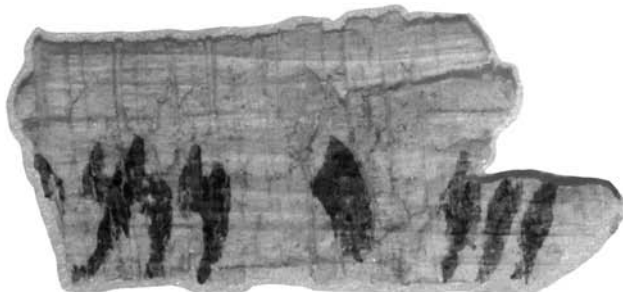
1.2.3 Pap. Ber. P. 23173

Width: 2.7 cm; Height: 1.3 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body; C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] 4 valu<sup>f</sup>e<sup>l</sup> [(in) silver # ...]
 

---



---

 1'. [...] דמי<sup>l</sup> כסף [...]
 

---

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

The hand, letter size, and shape of the pen-nib matches that found on Cairo EM JdE 43470 = TAD B6.2 (a wifhood document). Based on the fold pattern of that papyrus, this fragment may sit above that document's large fragment, but a direct join cannot be confirmed due to the poor quality of the photographs of the Cairo papyrus.

**Line 1.** The reading is certain. This fragment is a surviving portion of a contract that states the value of an item. Unfortunately, both the item and the quantity of its worth in silver are lost. Based on other documents, the lost silver value may be between 4–7. The surviving number may be either a count of items or the dimensions of a single item. Of the known data, only the wifhood document Brooklyn 47.218.150 + 47.218.97 + 47.218.155 frags. = TAD B3.8:8–9 uses the number 4 before the phrase “silver value.” It reads:

1 new fringed(?) garment,      לבש 1 מעדר חדת לאמן ב 4  
 [at] 6 cubits by 4 (with) a      דמי כסף שקלנ 1  
 value of silver (at) 7 shekels

One wonders if such valuable garments were handcrafted to order or produced in lots. If the latter is the case, then the present fragment may refer to the same type of garment.

## 1.2.4 Pap. Ber. P. 23174

Width: 4.5 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto:  $\perp$   
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body; C III.

## Recto



## Verso

## Recto

י'. [...]◦ I shall give it

י'. [...]◦ אנתננה

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

Note that the writer elongated the descenders of the last two י's. See discussion of this phenomenon on the letter Pap. Ber. P. 23160 (herein no. 1.1.14).

**Recto.** The spelling אנתננה "I shall give it" is found in Pap. Ber. P. 13445 = *TAD* B4.6:5, where it is described as having an augmented (FOLMER, p. 248) or energetic (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 38c) *nun* followed by a pronominal suffix. The same can be said here. Whether this new instance is a G-stem imperfect "long form" (FOLMER, chap. 14) cannot be determined without more context. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the other occurrence of this spelling (Pap. Ber. P. 13445) is on a promissory note resulting from a

trial over an unpaid bride price stated on a wifehood document. Unfortunately, the writer of that document is lost, so there is no hope of correlating orthographic peculiarities or suggesting a writer here.

It is also possible that this is a letter (see e.g. Hermop. 4 = *TAD* A2.1, Hermop. 5 = *TAD* A2.5; Hermop. 8 = *TAD* D1.1) in which the augmenting/energetic *nuns* are found, but the high quality papyrus and its size and break patterns favors interpreting this as a contract.

1.2.5 Pap. Ber. P. 23959

Width: 3.4 cm; Height: 3.5 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body (2 rows); C 11b (?).

Verso



Recto



Recto Reconstructed

## Recto

1'. [...]'and <sup>1</sup> wi <sup>1</sup> th <sup>1</sup> [ ...]	[...]'ע'מ'י[ ...]':1
2'. [...]°°°(°)°	°(°)°°°[...]:2
3'. [... to take her for wif]'eho <sup>1</sup> od I shall give [to PN ...]	[... למלקחה לאנ]ת'ו אנתנ [ל ...]':3
4'. [... you shall] 'give to me <sup>1</sup> [...]	[...]נתנ לי':4

## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: betrothal (?).

The  $\aleph$ 's small horizontal and its  $\daleth$ -like horn are unique among the fragments published here, except for those found on Pap. Ber. P. 23150 (herein no. 1.1.3). One may find, however, loose similarities to Pap. Ber. P. 13448- P. 13448/4 = *TAD* D2.3 (along with  $\aleph$  and final- $\daleth$ ) and Pap. Ber. P. 23962 (herein no. 1.2.9).

**Line 1.** The first visible letter is either  $\aleph$  or  $\beth$  type-A (see Appendix, Paleography). The second letter is clearly  $\daleth$ , while the final letter resembles the left-side of  $\daleth$ . Because \* $\text{-}\aleph\text{-}$  is an unknown and incomprehensible string of letters from the corpus,  $\text{-}\aleph\text{-}$  is preferred, and its most obvious translation is given above.

**Line 2.** Faint traces of letters, which may have been written with a drying pen, are effaced due to erosion. The first letter may be  $\beth$ , and the final strokes are either an  $\aleph$ ,  $\daleth$ , or the left half of  $\daleth$ .

**Line 3.** Traces of a  $\daleth$  are visible, in the IR photograph (zoomed). Given that the line's legible word is a first-person singular verb, one expects the first word on line 2, which ends in  $\aleph$ , to be a different part of speech, probably a noun. The string  $\text{-}\aleph\text{-}$  is found on Cairo EM JdE 43492 = *TAD* B2.5:2, a betrothal contract, which is a unique document in the corpus (KRAELING, p. 52).

**Line 4** This line is difficult to read. The first letters match the strokes of  $\text{-}\aleph\text{-}$ , so long as one accepts that the top of the  $\daleth$  is slightly effaced. Note that a horn was added to the  $\daleth$  on line 2 because its vertical began at the hanging line; by analogy I have reconstructed the  $\daleth$  on line 3. The dative pronoun  $\text{לי}$  "to me" is preferred over  $\text{לה}$  "to him" because the intersecting stroke of the second letter is horizontal and not diagonal.

1.2.6 Pap. Ber. P. 23955

Width: 4.3 cm; Height: 3.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body; C 1b, 11, 111, or 1Va.

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

1'. [... ]Nabû[-...] shall hate [...]

1': [... ] ישנא נבו[-...]

---

## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: wifhood document, betrothal, or divorce (?)

On material and paleographic grounds, this document may be compared to Pap. Ber. (Temp.) B/AM x 477 gg, fol. 27 (not edited here)<sup>44</sup> or Pap. Ber. P. 23954 a–c; P. 23956; P. 23957 (herein no. 1.1.9), but no joins have yet been made.

The large line spacing, careful hand, lack of an opistograph and lack of a palimpsest suggests that this is a contract. The fragment has been glued together from four smaller fragments. The papyrus is extremely fragile and darkened, perhaps by water. Could this be a document from house *k* (see Introduction: The Archaeological Problems)?

**Line 1.** The letters are clear, but the G-stem imperfect verb יִשְׂנֵא “he shall hate” is a surprise. So far, imperfect forms of שָׂנֵא/שָׂנִי “to hate” appear only in the Elephantine contracts Brooklyn 47.218.155 = *TAD* B3.8:24 (תִּשְׂנֵא) and Cairo EM JdE 37106 = *TAD* B2.4:8 (תִּשְׂנֵאנֵכ). The latter of these is thought to be a statement of divorce/separation.<sup>45</sup> To be sure, the verb and its nominal/substantive form שְׂנֵאָה “hatred” is used to express divorce in the legal corpus, but the noun is generally accompanied by the act or statement of “going out” (ThWAT IX, p. 731). The public announcement of hatred may simply begin this legal process—as a way to serve papers—that changes the legal status of the marriage though does not end it.<sup>46</sup> Only after a judgement of hatred (דִּינֵי שְׂנֵאָה, e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4:6) and a payment of hatred (כֶּסֶף שְׂנֵאָה, e.g. Cairo EM JdE 37110 = *TAD* B2.6:23) is divorce legal (ThWAT IX, p. 731).

The third letter of the second word is a type-A ו, and should not be mistaken for דָּר (see Appendix, Paleography). Names beginning with Nabû- are of Babylonian origin and generally those with Babylonian names are not parties in the Elephantine Aramaic documents, but appear frequently as officials or affiliates.<sup>47</sup> This document then may belong to a non-Judean dossier, though it remains possible that the object of hatred was a Judean woman.

44 The fragment preserves no legible word though the letter combination בִּדְכַמְ- or בִּרְכַמְ- are clearly visible.

45 Porten, *Archives*, 240–245, esp. 243–244. See also Nutkowicz, “Concerning,” 211–225, who argues that the word means “to begin the process of divorce,” which is made before the physical separation; so too in Nutkowicz, *Destins*, 134–138.

46 Botta, *Aramaic*, 59–60 and citations therein.

47 See the tables throughout Porten, Zadok, and Pearce, “Akkadian Names,” 1–12.

1.2.7 Pap. Ber. P. 23960 (+) Ber. P. 23961

Texts Width; Height Sheet-join(s)

P. 23960 Width: 6.8 (4.8+2.0) cm; Height: 2.1 cm ○

P. 23961 Width: 3.8 cm; Height: 2.0 cm ○

Recto: ⊥ Verso: blank.

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: one (one-sided).

Material patterns: P. 23960, contract R top (line 2 or 3); C 1a + 1b. P. 23961, contract R body; C 1a.

P. 23960 Verso



P. 23960 Recto



P. 23961 Verso



P. 23961 Recto



Recto

---

<p>3'. [belonging to] the <i>d<sup>e</sup>gal</i>-unit of ʿIddiʿnnabû [...]</p>	<p>P. 23960</p>	<p>[...] 3'. [ל] דגל אד' נבו [...]</p>
<p>1'. (◦)◦◦[...]</p>	<p>P. 23961</p>	<p>[...] 1'. (◦)◦◦[...]</p>
<p>2'. ʿAnanî[ ...]</p>		<p>[...] 2'. ענני[ ...]</p>

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## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

Paleographically, Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4 is similar, and on material grounds one should compare Pap. Ber. P. 23176 (herein no. 1.2.11) for a possible indirect join.

The papyrus is difficult to place on a known contract. The best possibility is Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4, a wifehood document. But if *TAD*'s additional fragments (Pap. Ber. P. 13465- P. 23140/71 and P. 13465- P. 23140/79) belong to that document, then it seems unlikely that these new fragments also belong because of wear pattern incongruencies.

These are edited as two separate inventory numbers because there is some doubt that they belong together. The right margin is larger on the <sup>ʿ</sup>Ananî fragment Pap. Ber. P. 23961, so it only belongs to this document if one allows a considerable text length in which the right margin slants leftward. In such case, the <sup>ʿ</sup>Ananî fragment would be one of the names at the bottom of the document, and would, therefore, disqualify Pap. Ber. P. 13465 as a join.

**Line 1.** Reference to *d<sup>e</sup>gal*-units appear most frequently in the second or third line of contracts as a description of one or both parties involved in the transaction.

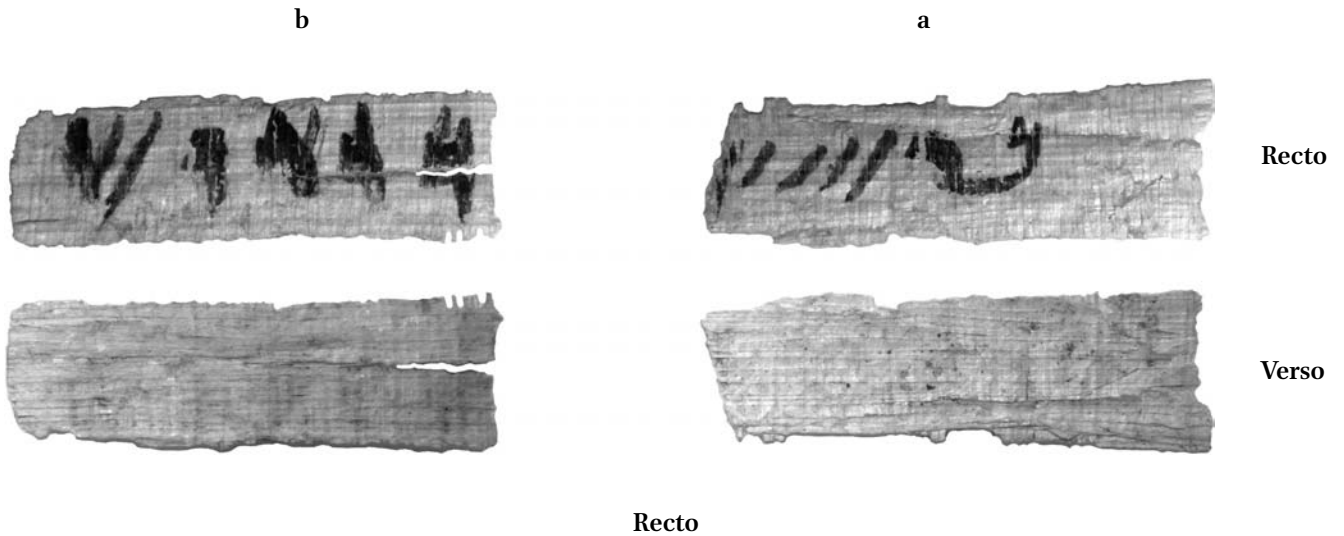
Restoring a prepositional ל before דגל is based on the formula known from the contracts (e.g. Cairo EM JdE 37109 = *TAD* B2.1:2). The restoration of the ל creates the discrepancy between the right margins of the two fragments discussed above.

The *d<sup>e</sup>gal*-unit of <sup>ʿ</sup>Iddinnabû is known as a description of those who bear NWS/Judean names or titles: Cairo EM JdE 37111 = *TAD* B2.9:2 מנחמ וענניה ... בני משלם בר שלומם [0.09.420 BCE]; Brooklyn 47.218.90 = *TAD* B3.6:1 משלם בר [0.10.420 BCE]; Brooklyn 47.218.150 = *TAD* B3.8:2 זכור יהודי [12.06.427 BCE]; Brooklyn 47.218.150 = *TAD* B3.8:2 זכור בר מ[שלם אר]מי לאמר and ענניה בר חגי ארמי [0.10.420 BCE]; Brooklyn 47.218.12 = *TAD* B6.1:2 [PN] ארמי; [Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1:2]; [Pap. Ber. P. 13444 B- P. 13448/1 = *TAD* D2.6:2]; [BM EA 14420 = *TAD* D7.40:8].

**Line 2.** The name ענניה (ה) is ubiquitous throughout the Elephantine onomasticon, appearing frequently as both a first name and a patronymic.

1.2.8 Pap. Ber. P. 23963 a (+) b

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a (right)	3.4 cm; 1.1 cm	○
Frag. b (left)	3.3 cm; 1.0 cm	○
Recto: ⊥	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).		
Material patterns: contract R (half row) ln. 1; C Ia (frag. a) and III(b) (frag. b)		




---

<p>1. On the 15th[ of ... year # of Da]rî<sup>ʿ</sup>ûš</p> <p>2. [the king PN said, ...]</p>	<p>1. ב ר ם ם ם [ל ... שנת ... ד]ריאוש</p> <p>2. [מלכא אמר ...]</p>
---	---

---

**Recto**  
(alternative interpretation)

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<p>1. On the 15th[ of ... year # of RN the king, sai]d Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>ûš</p>	<p>1. ב ר ם ם ם [ל ... שנת ... מלכא אמ]ר יאוש</p>
---	---

---

## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

The slight curvature of the bottom edge's fibers suggests that the fold-crease was the lower edge.

**Line 1.** The beginning of the date is clear. There are two possible interpretations of frag. b. First, this is a unique spelling of the name Darius, דריאוש. The Darius inscription (Pap. Ber. P. 13447 = *TAD* C2) uses דריהוש as do many contracts and letters. The other common spelling is דריהוש. Rarely is it found as דרוש (Bayerische StaBi Pap. Aram. mon. 1 = *TAD* B1.1 [el Hibeh]) or דריוש (Pap. Ber. P. 13489 = *TAD* B5.1:1 [Elephantine] and Fanfoni-Israel, *Trans.* 8, 83–86 = *TAD* D22.29 [Gebel Abu Qwei]). The present spelling with an א resembles variants found in Babylonian sources, which can differ drastically. In them one finds spellings with medial א. For examples within a Judean/NWS context written by native Aramaic, though not Judean, scribes see *mDa-ar-<sup>2</sup>-muš* (BaAr 6 13:2, 23; 15:24) and [*mD*]a-ri-<sup>2</sup>-a-muš (BaAr 6 62:16).

Second, frag. b may be the contracting party's first name. Due to the length of the average date formula on the contracts, it is rare that the contracting party's name is found on the first line, and even rarer that his/her patronymic would fit. The name Ya<sup>2</sup>ūš is sparsely attested in the corpus once as a grandfather בר פלטי בר יאוש (Pap. Ber. P. 13488 (+) frags. v 7 = *TAD* C3.15:92), twice as a patronymic בר יאוש פלטיה בר יאוש (Brooklyn 47.218.92 = *TAD* B3.10:25 and Cairo EM JdE 98516 = *TAD* D3.17:8),<sup>48</sup> and only three times as a first name יאוש בר אזניה (Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4:10 and Cairo EM JdE 43478 = *TAD* C4.4:8), יאוש בר פנוליה (Cairo EM JdE 37108 = *TAD* B2.7:13), and יאוש (Cairo EM JdE 43473 = *TAD* A3.7:4), but never as a contracting party.

48 *TAD* A3.6:5's reconstruction of the name is speculative.

1.2.9 Pap. Ber. P. 23962

Width: 3.2 cm; Height: 1.3 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body (half row, ll. 3-4?); C 1b, 11a, or 11b.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...] ʾʾIddinna 1bʾʾû 1' [...]
   
2'. [...] ʾL 1' [ooo] o [...]

[...] ʾʾIddinna 1bʾʾû 1' [...] :1
   
[...] o [ooo] ʾL 1' [...] :2

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown

On material grounds consider Pap. Ber. P. 13448- P. 13448/4 = *TAD* D2.3 and Pap. Ber. P. 23959 (herein no. 1.2.5) for possible joins.

**Line 1.** See discussion of the placement of ʾʾIddinnabû's name in contracts above (Pap. Ber. P. 23963 a (+) b [herein no. 1.2.8]).

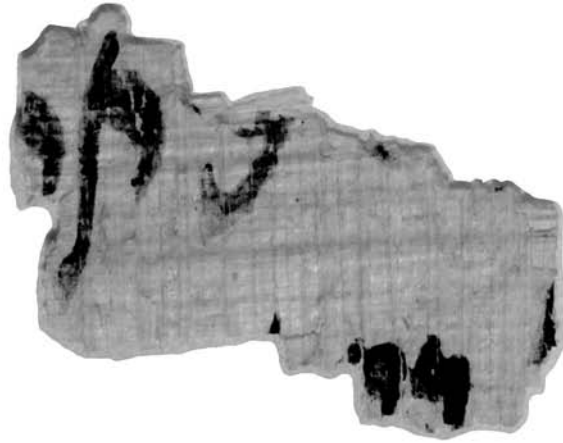
1.2.10 Pap. Ber. P. 23175

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 2.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body (one row); C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto Reconstructed

Recto

1'. [... ]'3' [shekel]'s' [(that is) 6] sta'te'rs ...]  
 2'. [... ] 'the valu'e ...]

1'. [...] [שקל]ינ' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' סת'ת'רנ' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י'  
 2'. [...] [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י' [ ]י'

## Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

Traces of the recto are visible on the verso in the IR photographs.

**Line 1.** The reading “staters” is the only viable option given the string סתת, which is certain. The conversion rate used in the reconstruction is based on Brooklyn 47.218.94 = *TAD* B3.12:5 and 14, though the syntax found here is unique. Brooklyn 47.218.94 uses a wordy phrase to explain its conversion rate: כסף כרש חד הו' / שקלנ תלתה הו' כסף יונ סתתרי כסף כרש חד שקל כד // but later כסף יונ במנינ כסף יונ / שקל כד // סתתרי כסף יונ. The variation suggests that while a fixed 2:1 conversion rate may have existed for a time, there was no consistent scribal convention of representing the rate of conversion.

**Line 2.** The reading is uncertain, but דמיא matches the stroke pattern. Note that in Brooklyn 47.218.94, the word דמיא (ln. 6) appears below the conversion rate in the preceding line (ln. 5) as is also found here.

1.2.11 Pap. Ber. P. 23176

Width: 3.8 cm; Height: 1.4 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R wit.; C 11b.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]nata<sup>1</sup>n son of [...]

ו': [...]נת'נ בר [...]

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

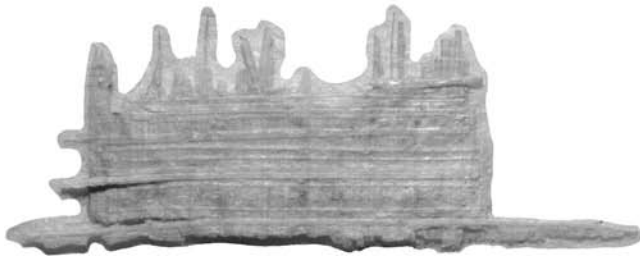
The high quality papyrus and large word breaks indicate that this is a witness list on a contract. Compare the material similarities of Pap. Ber. P. 23963 a (+) b (herein no. 1.2.8) and Pap. Ber. P. 23960 (+) P. 23961 (herein no. 1.2.7). Although the pen-nib differs from these fragments, this witness may have signed with his own pen.

**Line 1.** The name נתנ is found often, but it may also be the second element in compound names, particularly in contract witness lists, for example, נבונתנ Nabû-natan (Cairo EM JdE 37112 = *TAD* B2.8:12) or ביתאלנתנ Bêt<sup>2</sup>el-natan (Pap. Ber. P. 13465 = *TAD* B6.4:10). Since this fragment is most likely C 11b, a longer first name is expected.

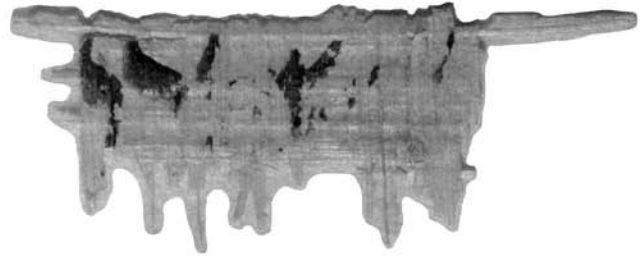
1.2.12 Pap. Ber. P. 23177

Width: 3.5 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: contract R body (half row); C unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...]◦ she'k'els[ # ...]
 

---



---

 [...]◦ ש'ק'לג' [...]':1
 

---

### Commentary

Text type: contract (?). Genre: unknown.

It is unclear if the ink mark on the far right of the recto is a head of an effaced פ in the word כספ, which frequently precedes שקלג, or if it is a tale of a letter descending from the previous line. Although the pen-nib, hand, and papyrus quality are similar to Pap. Ber. P. 23966 (herein no. 1.3.8), the fragments do not join, according to the museum's conservator.



1.2.13 Pap. Ber. P. 23178

Width: 3.1 cm; Height: 1.7 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Break patterns: contract R wit. (one row); C 1b (half column).

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [... PN (wrote) ]this [document] according to[ PN ...  
 (witnesses:)]  
 2'. [... (witness) PN-]◦q ʿson ofʿ ◦[...]

1'. [... ספרא ]זנה כפמ[...]  
 2'. [...]◦ ק' בר' ◦[...]

### Commentary

Text type: contract. Genre: unknown.

**Line 1.** The terms זנה כפמ are part of the formulaic line at the bottom of contracts indicating the writer and on whose behalf he composed the contract.

**Line 2.** This should be the name of a witness. The second letter appears to be the top of a ק. No witnesses are known from the contracts whose first name ends in ק. The name צדיק\* is a best guess but matches the stroke pattern for the last two letters.

1.3 *Unclassified*

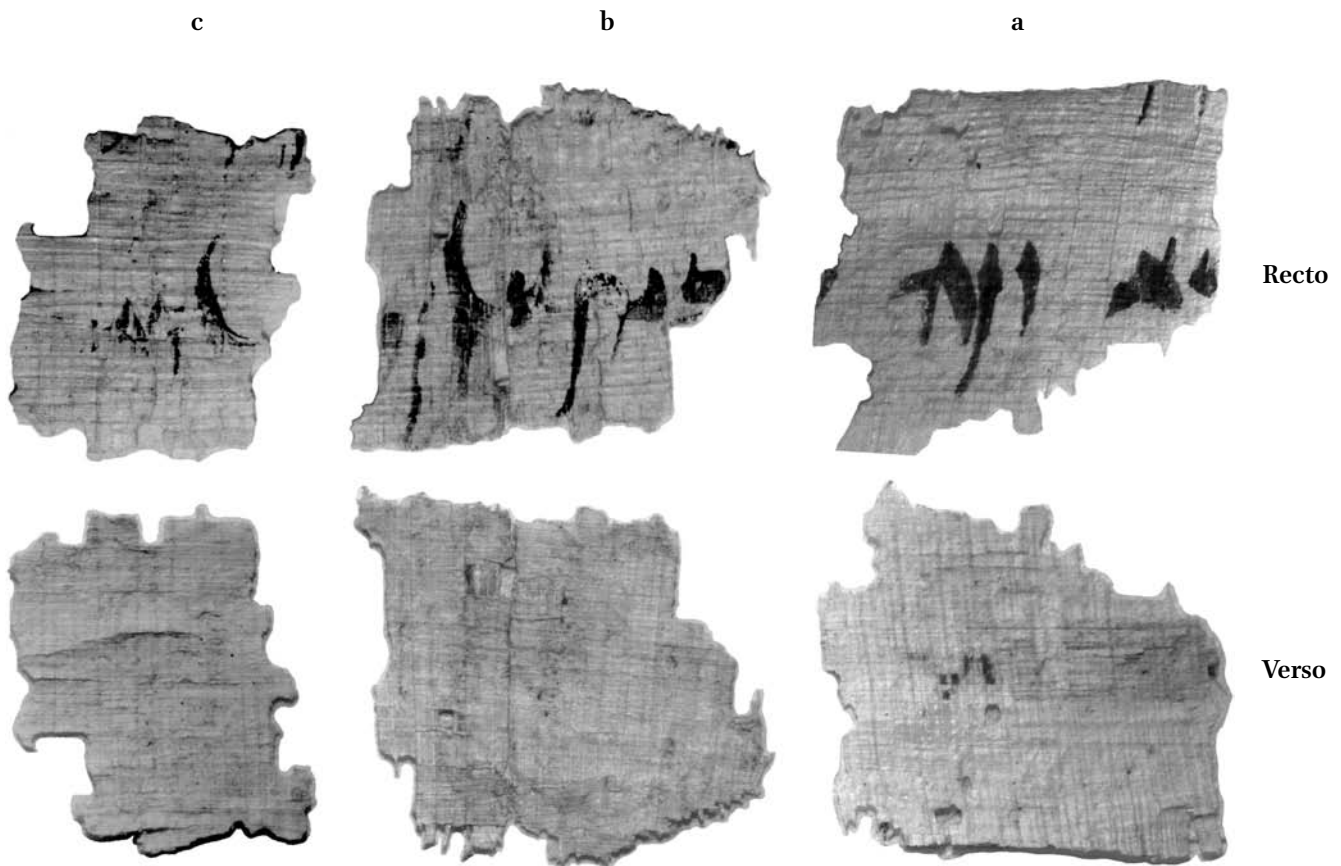
The following are fragments of either contracts or letters. When possible, discussion of text types or philological commentary is made.

1.3.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23971 a–c

Fragment	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
a	2.7 cm; 2.6 cm	○
b	3.0 cm; 2.5	○
c	2.2 cm; 2.4 cm	○
Recto: ⊥	Verso: blank.	

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: The fragments are from the same document; it is unclear if they belong to the same row or different rows of papyrus.



## Recto

	Frag. a	
1'. [...]◦◦ [◦...]		[...◦] ◦◦[...]:1
2'. [...] this [...] ◦[...]		[...]◦ זנה א◦[...]:2
	Frag. b	
1'. [...]◦◦◦ ◦[...]		[...]◦ ◦◦◦[...]:1
2'. [...] Bêt <sup>ʔ</sup> eltaq <sup>ʕ</sup> [ <sup>ʕ</sup> ûm ...]		[... מ(ו)] <sup>ʕ</sup> לתיק <sup>ʕ</sup> לתיא <sup>ʕ</sup> [...]:2
	Frag. c	
1'. [...]◦◦(◦)◦		◦(◦)◦◦[...]:1
2'. {... she/you shall ]bear <sup>ʕ</sup> him/her <sup>1</sup>  [...] <i>LR<sup>ʕ</sup>H<sup>1</sup></i> }		{ <sup>ʕ</sup> לריה[...]  <sup>ʕ</sup> לדיה[...]}:2

## Commentary

The paleography can be compared to Pap. Ber. P. 23933 a (+) b (herein no. 2.5.7). The verso is now blank, though some erasures are evident on frag. a verso and perhaps on frag. b verso. The name Bêt<sup>ʔ</sup>eltaq<sup>ʕ</sup>[<sup>ʕ</sup>ûm suggests that the fragments may belong to the contracts Pap. Ber. P. 13493 and Cairo EM JdE 43485, the latter of which is missing a fragment from line 9 where the name is expected to appear (see *TAD* B4.3 and compare *TAD* B4.4). A physical join to Pap. Ber. P. 13493 could not be confirmed, and there is some doubt based on paleography that the hands are the same. The letter ת here is written with a ʔ-shaped right stroke rather than the ʕ-shaped stroke found on the contracts cited above (see Appendix, Paleography).

**Frag. a.** It is tempting to restore here the often used phrase ספרא זנה “this document.”

**Frag. b.** The crux of the difficult word on line 2 rests on the fourth letter which looks like ʕ at first glance, but upon close inspection of the 1R photographs, the stroke pattern of א is discernable. Based on the known words in the corpus and the fact that the final broken letter looks like the right side of a reverse tilde and, therefore, is probably ק, the name ביתאלתק(ו)מ is the most likely restoration.

In the aforementioned Cairo and Berlin contracts dated to 483 BCE (3 Xer 1), Bêt<sup>ʔ</sup>eltaq<sup>ʕ</sup>[<sup>ʕ</sup>ûm<sup>49</sup> is identified as a century-unit leader in Elephantine/Syene. The name, however, is also known from a Saqqara fragment (Saq. H5–AP99 [5881] recto ii 7 = *TAD* C3.6:12). This second reference indicates that the name was not rare, and therefore, one cannot assume that the century-unit leader is meant here. One should be cautious about dating these fragments.

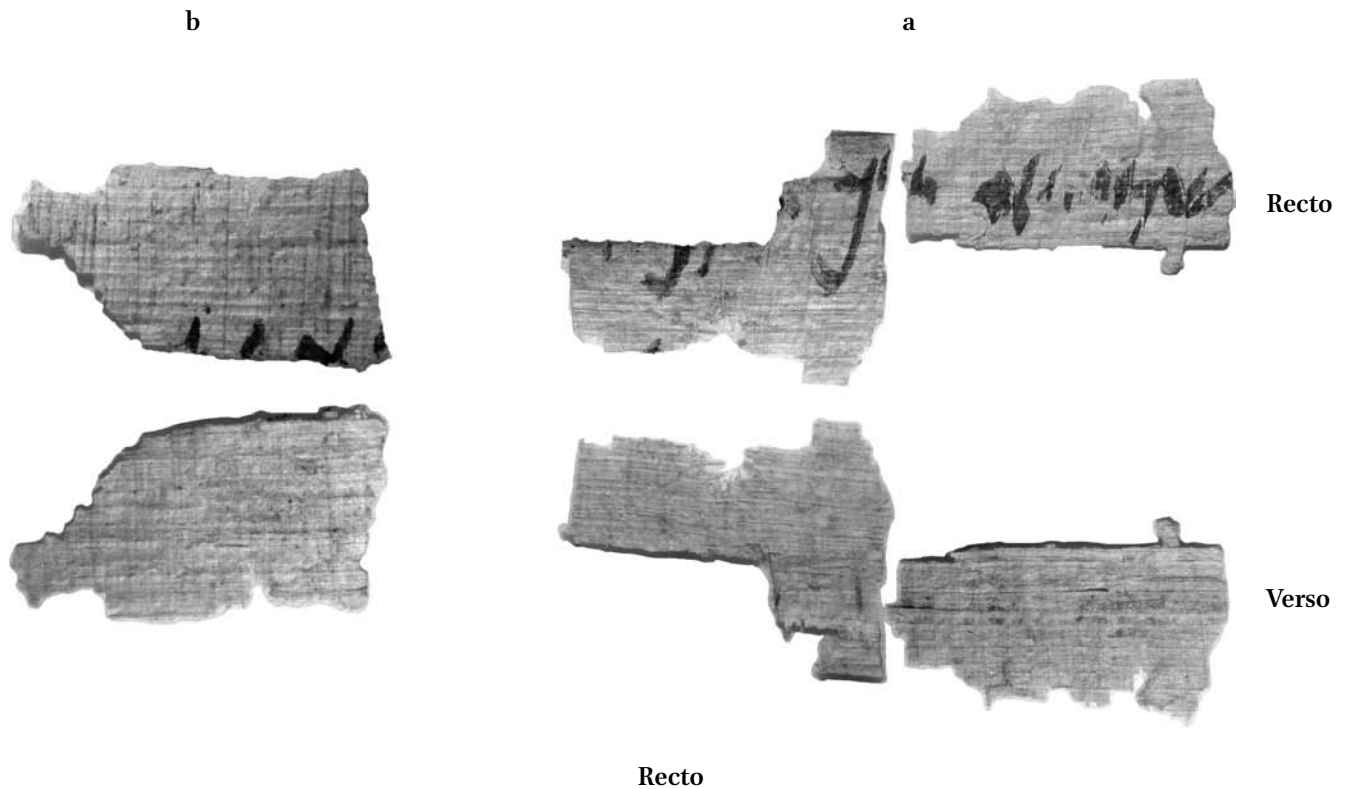
**Frag. c.** The word on frag. c appears to be a form of ילד<sup>ʕ</sup> “to bear (a child)” with a third person singular suffix. The Cairo and Berlin contracts do not concern children, and

therefore, this reading supports the notion that these fragments belong to a different document.

49 For the spelling and grammar of this Semitic name see SEGAL, p. 67.

1.3.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23972 a-c

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	2.6 cm; 1.4 cm	○
Frag. b	2.7 cm; 1.5 cm	○
Recto: ⊥	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: possible traces verso.	Rotation: none (one-sided).	
Material patterns: undetermined.		




---

	Recto	
		Frag. a
1'. [... the God of ]the Heav <sup>f</sup> ens <sup>l</sup> . Your (m.s.) auth <sup>r</sup> ority <sup>l</sup> [...]		[...].ו'אלה [שמיהא יד'כ כ'.....]
		Frag. b
1'. [... ]the <sup>r</sup> e is n <sup>l</sup> ot [...]		[...].ו'אלאית' [...]

---

## Commentary

These fragments constitute a uniquely fine and aesthetically attractive hand that is comparable to only a few papyri and ostraca. The closest hand to this known from the ostraca is LOZACHMEUR's hand 1c, which is a catchall category for fine and carefully written scripts. The possibly priestly hand of AIBL-CIS CG no. 103 is a compelling comparison. As for the papyri, Pap. Ber. P. 23933 a + b (herein no. 2.5.7) is the same hand with possibly the same pen nib. In both groups of fragments, the small four-stroke  $\mathfrak{m}$ 's are particularly diagnostic (see Appendix, Paleography), but the groups of fragments appear, superficially, to not belong together based on material grounds. This is true also of the illegible fragment Pap. Ber. (Temp.) B/AM x 582 g (not edited here)<sup>50</sup> and Pap. Ber. P. 13444 B- P. 23140/13 (+) P. 23140/51 = *TAD* D2.7.<sup>51</sup> Pap. Ber. P. 23135 = *TAD* D4.3 uses a stroke variation of  $\mathfrak{K}$  but is otherwise a similar hand. A comparably small script is found on Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/10 = *TAD* D5.38 and on the same plate P. 23140/61 = *TAD* D1.24, but no joins have been found to these fragments.

**Frag. a.** It is unclear if frag. b sits above or below frag. a. References to “the heavens” are uncommon in the Elephantine corpus. In all documents written *transversa charta*, as this one is, we find the determined form only as  $\mathfrak{A}$  אלה שמיא “the God of the Heavens” (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7:27–28) or one time מרא שמיא “the Lord of the Heavens” (Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7:15). These are epithets for Yahô. In the Hermopolis papyri is found ביה מלכה שמינ “the temple of the Queen of Heavens” (Hermop. 4 = *TAD* A2.1:1), but here “heavens” lacks grammatical determination.

The vertical stroke of the  $\mathfrak{T}$  is lost in the fold's broken crease. The translation “authority,” literally “hand,” is found in administrative texts where large amounts of commodities (e.g. *TAD* C3.14:35) or where humans or lands (e.g. *ADAB* no. A2.5) are in the possession of a person, that is, under their authority.

The second person form suggests that this is a letter, but the rare reference to the deity means that one should not exclude the possibility that this is an affidavit or reference to one.

**Frag. b.** Note the distinctive crown shaped-style of  $\mathfrak{Y}$  in frag. a, which is evident here in frag. b (see Appendix, Paleography).

50 The recto reads: [...]ש {דייה|ריה}{...}, and the verso [...]○○○○○○[...].

51 Published in *TAD* as D2.7 (Pap. Ber. P. 13444B:96/51, 53 sic!). This fragment is part of a contract, as *TAD* rightly classifies it.

1.3.3 Pap. Ber. P. 23179 (+) P. 23964

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23179	5.2 cm; 3.0 cm	1
P. 23964	1.9 cm; 3.6 cm	0
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	

Palimpsest: traces recto and verso. Rotation: top-to-bottom.

Material patterns: P. 23179: contract R body (2 rows); C III or letter R body (2 rows); C iva+b. P. 23964: contract R body (2 rows); C unknown or letter R body (2 rows); C unknown.

P. 23964

P. 23179

Recto



Verso



## Recto

	P. 23179	
1. [...]°L¹		.1. [...]°L¹
2. [...]°Ye¹šobyah		.2. [...]°שביה
	P. 23964	
1'. [...] son of [...]		.1. [...] בר [...]
2'. [...] { [its] [mea] [su] [re] [ment]   [its] [gov] [ernor]   [his] [her] [grai] [n] - [offer] [ing] [it] [down] } [...]		.2. [...] { [ה] [נ] [ה] [ת] [ה]   [מ] [נ] [ה] [ת] [ה]   [פ] [ה] [ת] [ה]   [מ] [ש] [ה] [ת] [ה] } [...] [...]

## Verso

(P. 23179 palimpsest?)

1. [...]...°BM¹	.1. [...]°... [במ]
-----------------	--------------------

## Commentary

For a possible join compare Pap. Ber. P. 13448- P. 13448/3 = *TAD* B5.2. The recto appears to have been well erased, removing any trace of the first text. On the verso of Pap. Ber. P. 23964 are found traces of at least one word, which may have been erased or is effaced.

**P. 23179, line 2.** According to Floren. inv. n. 11913 = *TAD* A3.11 (el Hibeh), one by the name of Yešobyah<sup>52</sup> was the addressee of a letter, and he held a superior position to that of the sender who used the formula מראי ישביה “My lord Yešobyah” in both the letter’s salutation and address line. The name is known at Elephantine on an ink inscription on a limestone epigraph (Pap. Ber. P. 11385 = *TAD* D12.1) as both a first name מ[י]ל[כ]יה Yešobyah son of Mî/alkyah and a patronymic בר ישביה Gemaryah son of Yešobyah. One by the name of בר ידניה was a witness on a contract written at Elephantine (Brooklyn 47.218.92 = *TAD* B3.10:25), and the name is found as a patronymic at least four other times.<sup>53</sup> In light of this, it is possible to arrange the fragments as Pap. Ber. P. 23964 + P. 23179 to produce בר ישביה “son of Yešobyah.” The fibers align, but the break patterns raise some doubt to this arrangement, so it has not been fully adopted here.

**P. 23964, line 2.** The first stroke is not the head of a ב in this hand; compare line 1. If this is a contract, then one can restore משחטה “its measurement,” but this word is not attested in Elephantine letters. If this is a letter

one might restore פחתה “his/her/its governor.” Compare Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7:1, 29 (|| Cairo EM JdE 43465 = *TAD* A4.8:[1], 28). The angle of the first stroke’s declivity is too steep to read ו, but it may be read as a נ type-A (see Appendix, Paleography). In this case one might expect either מנחתה “his grain-offering” or a C-stem of נחת “to bring down.” The latter seems unlikely because with two exceptions,<sup>54</sup> the verb used to transport goods is either אתי “to bring” (C-stem) or שר “to send” (C-stem), and one sends (actually “leads”) humans with דבר in the corpus, though this later word is rarely found among the Judean documents.

52 The name is of Hebrew and not Aramaic origin because Aramaic would have used a ת rather than ש.

53 See מלכיה בר hybwy rbeh ארמי מהחסנ ביב (Cairo EM JdE 43486 = *TAD* B7.2:2); מתנ בר ישביה ארמי סונכנ (Pap. Ber. P. 13448- P. 13448/3 = *TAD* B5.2:2); מהנ בר ישביה (Cairo EM JdE 43472 = *TAD* A4.3:1); בר ישביה (Pap. Ber. P. 23180 [herein no. 1.3.4]).

54 Cairo EM JdE 43477 = *TAD* A3.8:13 and Pap. Ber. P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/4 + P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/7 (+) P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/8 (+) P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/10 = *TAD* D1.13:5.

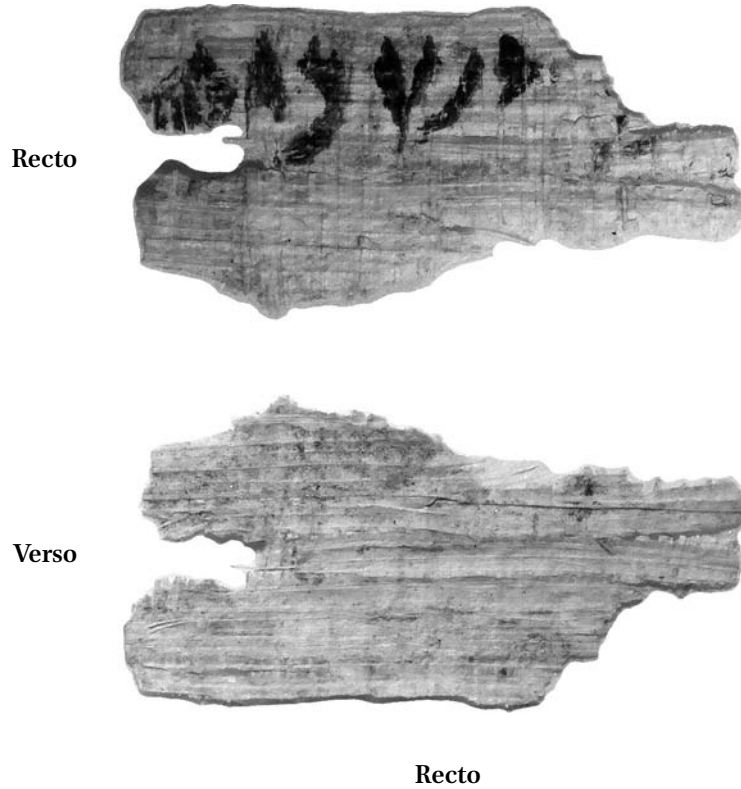
1.3.4 Pap. Ber. P. 23180

Width: 3.4 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank (possible trace of ink).

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: two adjoining halves of papyrus rows. Half column; not C 1a.




---

 1'. [...]° ʿson<sup>1</sup> of Yešobyah[ ...]
 

---



---

 [...]° ʿbrʿ ישביה [ ...] 1'
 

---

### Commentary

For discussion of Yešobyah see Pap. Ber. P. 23179 (herein no. 1.3.3).



1.3.5 Pap. Ber. P. 23181 a (+) b

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a (left)	2.1 cm; 2.9 cm	1
Frag. b (right)	2.8 cm; 3.0 cm	1
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom (likely)		
Material patterns: contract R doc.; C Ib or II (a and/or b) or letter R add.; C unknown.		

**b****a****Recto****Verso**

## Verso

1'. [... ?]ôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a<sup>1</sup> |H]ôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [... {son of |daughter of}  
Za]ʿkk<sup>1</sup>ûr ([...])

([...]) ז[כור (בר |ברת) ... ]{[א]ושיע |ה]ושיע' [...]. 1'

## Commentary

No text appears on the recto, the side with the sheet-join. The orientation of the writing on the verso is determined by the overlapping direction of the sheets (see Introduction: Placing Fragments, Material Features). This means that the orientation of the text on the verso to that on the recto is as though the document were flipped side-to-side. This unusual orientation can result from the writer turning the folded package 180° before its address or docket is inscribed.

The handwriting should be compared to Pap. Ber. P. 23182 (herein no. 1.3.6).

**Frag. a.** The surviving letters are certain, even ע, which is slightly damaged.

**Frag. b.** The ו and ד|ך are clearly distinct from one another. The traces of the first letter look like כ. Of the known onomasticon, the stroke pattern only matches זכור.

The names ʿôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a, Hôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a, and Zakkûr are common, which makes it difficult to identify the relationship between the names. (1) If one spaces the fragments so that this is one person's name and his patronymic then it may be [PN] son of Zakkûr in Cairo EM JdE 43492 = *TAD* B2.5; either Zakkûr son of ʿôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a son of Zakkûr (זכור בר אושע בר זכור) or Yahôšama<sup>ʿ</sup> daughter of Hôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a son of Zakkûr (יהושמע ברת הושע בר זכור) from Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = *TAD* C3.15:3, 101; or ʿôše<sup>ʿ</sup>a son of Zakkûr (אושע בר זכור) from Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 3 = *TAD* D1.6:2. (2) Frag. a may be a first name and frag. b the patronymic of another person. (3) Alternatively, patronymics may not have been used.

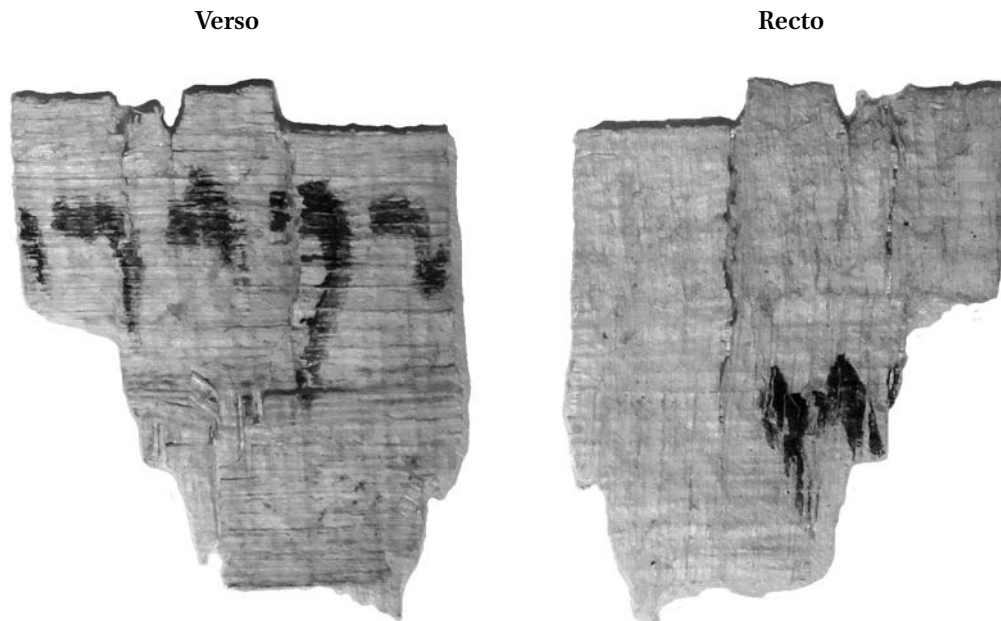
1.3.6 Pap. Ber. P. 23182

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 3.0 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): 1. Verso: ||

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: side-to-side.

Material patterns: one row of papyrus (contract R doc. or letter R add.); column unknown.



Recto

1'. [...]°H [...]

[...] ח°[...]':1

Verso

1'. [...] (?)Espiw°[...]

[...] ספיו°[(א) ...]':1

### Commentary

The handwriting should be compared to Pap. Ber. P. 23181 a (+) b (herein no. 1.3.5).

**Verso.** The side-to-side orientation of the opistograph suggests that the verso is a docket or more likely an address, and for this reason -ספיו- is understood here as a name. See discussion of a similar orientation on Pap. Ber. P. 23181 a (+) b (herein no. 1.3.5). What is read here as 1 could be 7, but this seems unlikely since there is no pronounced crown (see Appendix, Paleography). Besides, the verb √ספ is hardly (if ever)<sup>55</sup> attested in IA (ThWAT IX p. 533), much less in a hypothetical Gp-stem as would be neces-

sary here. Also, the noun meaning “sapphire” is not (yet) found in Aramaic sources from Egypt.<sup>56</sup> The conclusion is to read here a so far unattested spelling of an Egyptian name or an Egypto-Semitic hybrid which begins with the common elements *Ns-pʔ*-(...) DN “she/he who belongs to (...) DN,” such as אספמת (Egy. *Ns-pʔ-mdw/mtr*) or אספעמרא (Egy. *Ns-pʔ-ʔ-mr*).<sup>57</sup> It is possible that the traces of the final letter are ס whose right side does not descend to the baseline (see Appendix, Paleography). If so, the Egyptian god Isis or Osiris, both of whom are commonly found in the Aramaic onomasticon, may be meant here.

55 See Lipiński, “New Aramaic,” 255–256 for the one occurrence thought to be a verb.

56 See also LEMAIRE<sup>2</sup> no. 361 and discussion of *SPR* therein.

57 Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 102.

1.3.7 Pap. Ber. P. 23965

Width: 2.8 cm; Height: 1.4 cm Recto: ⊥

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: letter or contract R low. body; contract C 1b, C 11a, or C 11b or letter C 1b, C 11, C 111, or C 1va.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]◦[...]

2'. [...] and they brought/bring (m.p.) [...]

3'. [...]ᵀ¹ ◦ᵀ¹◦ ◦◦[...]

[...]◦[...]:1

[...]◦ואיתוי [...]:2

[...]◦◦ ◦ᵀ¹◦ ᵀ¹[...]:3

### Commentary

Text type: contract or letter.

For possible joins compare Pap. Ber. (Temp.) B/AM x 580 x, fol. 45 (illegible fragment) and Pap. Ber. P. 13461 B-P. 23140/68 = *TAD* D4.16. What looks like ink on the verso is the visible recto in the IR photographs. Paleographically, compare Pap. Ber. P. 23963 a (+) b (herein no. 1.2.8).

**Line 2.** The Elephantine/Syene documents generally use the *hafel* pattern for the C-stem of root אִתִּי. The *afel*, as is found here, is known from letters written to *Elephantine/Syene* (e.g. Hermop. 3 = *TAD* A2.4:11–12; Hermop. 5 = *TAD* A2.5:5; Hermop. 6 = *TAD* A2.6:10 and Padua Mus. Civ. Aram. Pap. 1 verso 3–4 [= *TAD* A3.3:10–11]).<sup>58</sup> This suggests that the fragment is a letter, but it is possible that a writer who prefers such spellings was working at Elephantine/Syene writing contracts.

<sup>58</sup> Also, according to *TAD* A3.8:14, the word לֵאִיתִי on Cairo EM JdE 43477v ln. 3 may be an *afel* infinitive, but it may also simply mean “there is not.”

1.3.8 Pap. Ber. P. 23966

Width: 1.4 cm; Height: 0.8 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: traces.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...] silver[ ...]

[...] כסף [...] 1'

---

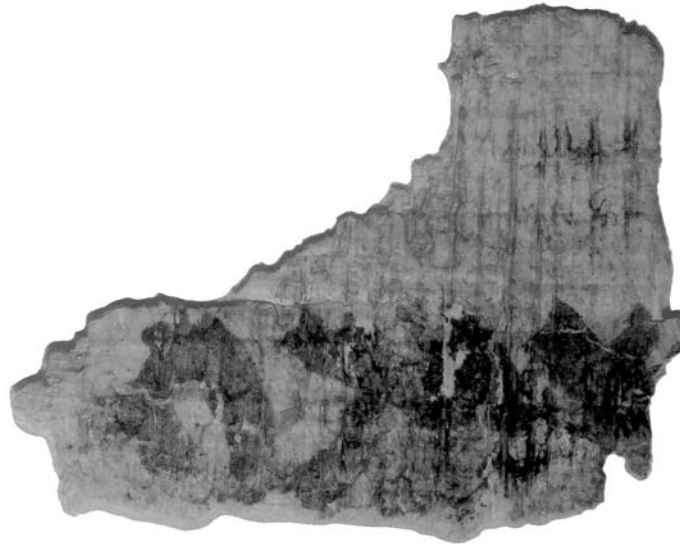
### Commentary

Although the pen-nib, hand, and papyrus quality are similar to Pap. Ber. P. 23177 (herein no. 1.2.12), the fragments do not join, according to the museum's conservator.

1.3.9 Pap. Ber. P. 23183

Width: 3.0 cm; Height: 2.5 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Recto



Verso



Recto

---

 1'. [...] Šibah [...]

 1'. [...] שיבה [...]
 

---

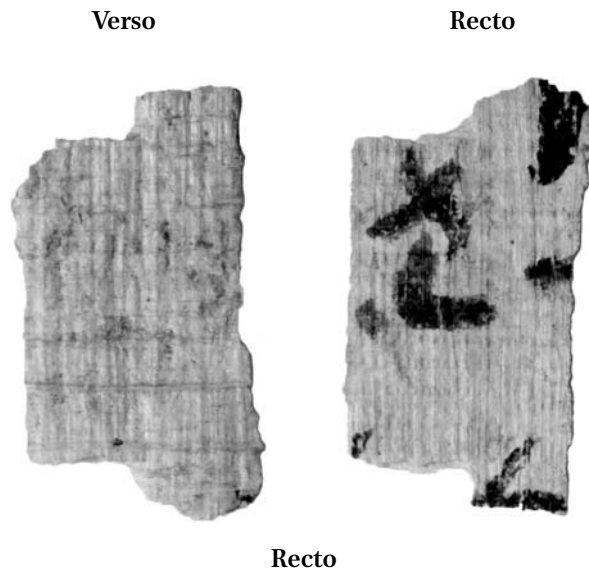
### Commentary

Much of the verso is missing. The pen's tine is tall and the hand produces stout letters, which are hardly spaced. The letters resemble those found among a contract's witnesses or less likely on a letter. The traces of a palimpsest, or more likely an erasure, are evident. Compare the paleography found on Pap. Ber. P. 13461 B- P. 13448/12 = *TAD* D4.14.

**Line 1.** The writer first wrote **שב** then erased **ב** and continued to spell the name **שיבה**. This name is found on Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1:2 (Ø.x.11 Dar II = ?? .07.413 BCE) as a patronymic, **סונ ארמי זי סונ בר שיבה מחסיה** "Maḥseyah son of Šībah, an Aramean of Syene."

1.3.10 Pap. Ber. P. 23185

Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 2.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.



1'. [...]◦◦[...]

Do

not●

2'. [...]◦[◦]◦[...]

[...]◦◦[...]'1

א

●ל

[...]◦[◦]◦[...]'2

### Commentary

This fragment has been edited as part of the Aramaic papyri after consultation with Jan Moje, Ruth Duttenhöfer, and Andrea Hasznos, who confirmed that it was neither Demotic, Greek, nor Coptic. What is preserved is a vertically written interlinear insertion of אַל or לאַ. What I read as אַ could be read as אַ, but the scribal techniques regarding the formation of interlinear letters, which are generally smaller than those the writer is comfortable composing, have never been systematically studied. Since the insertion appears closer to the upper line, this is interpreted as a sublinear insertion. Sublinear insertions are rare, but known in the corpus, especially for single letters (e.g. Brooklyn 47.218.95 = *TAD* B3.4:7, אַל).

This interlinear insertion is unique because the letters are stacked vertically, and the insertion uses a dot after ל. The dot may be an indication that this is a correction.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> See discussion of dots in Moore, "Scribal Dot," 5–8 and Moore, "Clermont-Ganneau," *forthcoming*.



1.3.11 Pap. Ber. P. 23186

Width: 1.0 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...]◦ 3◦◦[(+)...]

[... ] 𐤃 𐤍 ◦ [...]'1

---

### Commentary

The papyrus is so thin that the ink on the recto is visible through the verso in the IR photographs.

1.3.12 Pap. Ber. P. 23187

Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 1.3 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°[...]  
 2'. [... PN-]ʿlʿl son of[ ...]

[...]°[...]:1  
 [...]ʿlʿl בר[...]:2

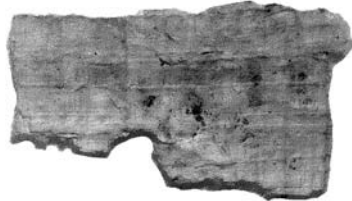
### Commentary

Ink is visible through the thin papyrus in the IR photographs. Paleographically, compare the circular shape of the letters' crowns to Pap. Ber. P. 23973 (herein no. 1.3.26) and Cairo EM JdE 43476 = *TAD* A4.4.

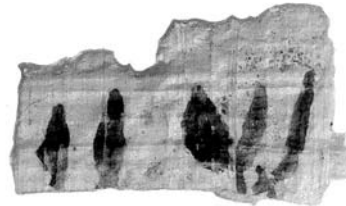
1.3.13 Pap. Ber. P. 23188

Width: 1.5 cm; Height: 1.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [... ]2(+) sh(ekels)[ ...]
 

---



---

 [...]"ψ[ ...]':1
 

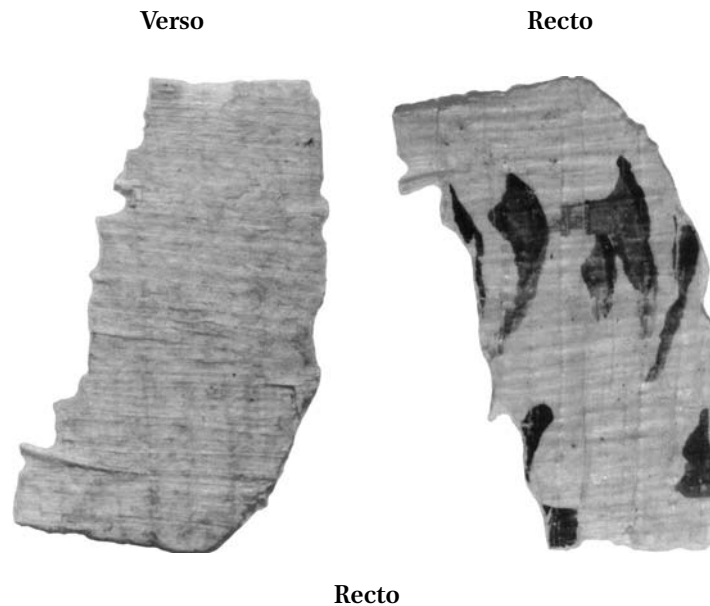
---

### Commentary

The abbreviation ψ for shekel is found frequently throughout the corpus in all documentary text types.

1.3.14 Pap. Ber. P. 23189

Width: 1.4 cm; Height: 2.3 cm Recto:  $\perp$   
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one papyrus row. Column unknown.



1'. [... ]'you/she shall<sup>1</sup> be[ ...]  
 2'. [... ]° L[...]

1'. [... ]'ת'הויה' [... ]'  
 2'. [... ]° ל' [... ]'

### Commentary

Compare the pen-nib and stroke variation of ה in Pap. Ber. P. 23193 (herein no. 1.3.18).

**Line 1.** What is read here as ו may also be פ (see Appendix, Paleography), but the letter combination -תהפ- would be either an unattested name or a C-stem verb, of which only נפקו "to go out" is common; פקדו "to command" or פשרו "to loosen" is rarely attested. None of these roots match the stroke pattern of the final broken letter. Therefore, the verb must be הוה "to be."

1.3.15 Pap. Ber. P. 23190

Width: 4.1 cm; Height: 2.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one papyrus row. Column unknown.

Recto



Verso

Recto

1'. [...]°°[...]  
 2'. [...]the 'f'ort. [...] did not[ ...]

[...]°°[...]'1  
 [...]°°[...]'2

Commentary

For possible joins consider Pap. Ber. P. 13456 = *TAD* A4.4 or  
 Pap. Ber. P. 13445 C- P. 13445 C/17 = *TAD* D1.33.

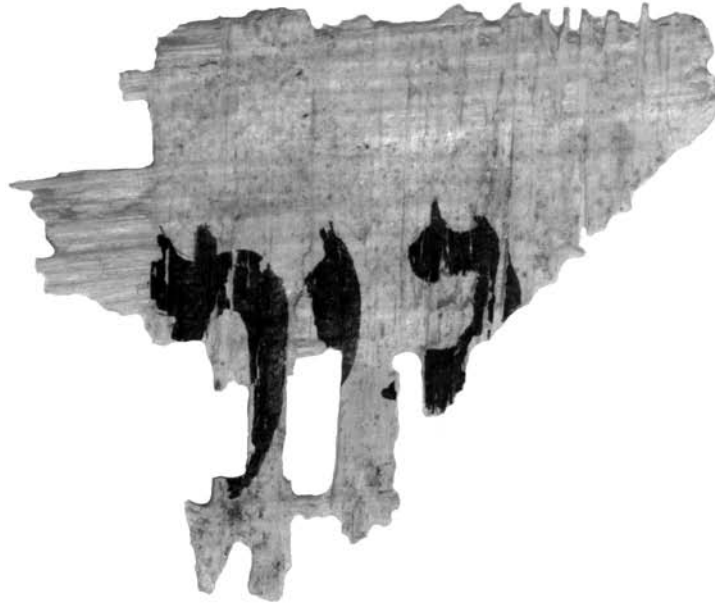
Line 2. The horizontal of the ך is visible just below

the ך. Either the term Syene (סני) or Elephantine (יב) are  
 expected to precede “the fort.”

1.3.16 Pap. Ber. P. 23191

Width: 3.2 cm; Height: 2.8 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one papyrus row. Column unknown.

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

 1'. [...] {Bazm[î |at the tim[e of} ...]

 [...] {Bazm[î |Bazm[î} [...] 1'.
 

---

### Commentary

No other papyrus has the speckled markings found on this very light (almost white) papyrus.

**Line 1.** The letter combination is not common. The name Bazmî is found at Saqqara (72/3-AP2 [6129] = SEGAL no. 195 ln. 2), and seems to be the better option. Alternatively, one may read the common noun ܡܢ “time,” which is attested in IA, but only clearly three times at Saqqara (see Schwiderski, p. 285). The one proposed instance of this term at Elephantine (Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 23140/65 = *TAD* D5.31), is highly questionable, especially since the common word for time in these Aramaic documents is ܡܢܝܢ.

1.3.17 Pap. Ber. P. 23192

Width: 3.2 cm; Height: 1.5 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...] ʾyour (m.p.)ʾ [...]°[ ...]

[...] ʾיכמ(°)[...] ʾ1

---

Verso

---

1'. [...] ʾtoʾ °°°ʾSʾ[...]

[...] ʾסʾ°°(°)ʾלʾ [...] ʾ1

---



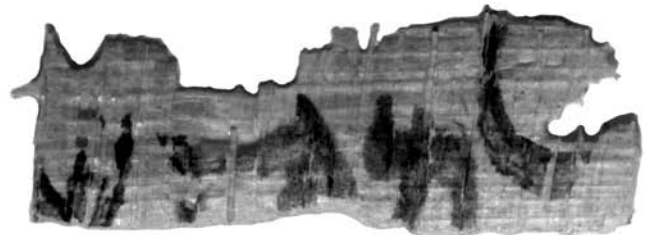
1.3.18 Pap. Ber. P. 23193

Width: 3.2 cm; Height: 1.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: Half of a papyrus row. Column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...] {LMH<sup>1</sup>WKL<sup>1</sup>[(◦)...]} |for <sup>1</sup>the<sup>1</sup> bride-<sup>1</sup>price<sup>1</sup>[ ...]}

[... {]} |למה<sup>1</sup>וכל<sup>1</sup>[(◦)] |למה<sup>1</sup>רא<sup>1</sup> |...]:1

### Commentary

**Line 1.** The letters למה- are clear. The following looks like ו but could be ז, פ, or נ, the one after looks like ע or כ, and the final stroke looks like a י, the horn of an א, or ל (see Appendix, Paleography for a discussion of each letter). The lack of clear word breaks rules out \*למה זכיר “Why that one (f.s.)” Likewise, C-stem infinitives never retain a medial י in IA, therefore, something like \*למהזכיר “to make remember” is improbable. A C-stem infinitive of כהל / יכל “to be able” comes to mind, but should be written with either לה- (*hafel* pattern) or למ- (*afel* pattern)—not both.<sup>60</sup>

Reading a G-stem infinitive of הלך, which in Aramaic is II-weak, is epigraphically the best choice, but this is unlikely because, although the Semitic root exhibits great variation (see *DNWSI*, pp. 280–282) and is best explained by a hypothetical root הוד in Old Aramaic (ThWAT IX, p. 229); its attested spelling is למהכ (e.g. Cairo EMJdE 43493 = *TAD* A3.112) in IA.<sup>61</sup>

Alternatively, the final strokes could be construed as an effaced רא-. This eliminates the linguistic problem of reading הלך, but is epigraphically more difficult.

<sup>60</sup> Additionally, the root is rarely found in the I-w verbal pattern (ThWAT IX, p. 351) and clear evidence of a functional C-stem is lacking (see FOLMER, p. 634 n. 187).

<sup>61</sup> That said writers invented variable conventions to deal with such problems, and these conventions are not easy to identify. For example in IA, סלק is rendered as both מנסק in which the נ is thought to be a scribal convention that represents gemination while its variant form מסלק is thought to be a historical spelling. FOLMER § 2.4 (pp. 87–88) sees neither as representative of the pronounced form *missaq*\*. If correct, then by analogy we have here a scribal convention of an invented historical spelling

למהכ “to go to ...” (without a word break, see MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 10), which is distinct from the colloquial spelling למהכ.

1.3.19 Pap. Ber. P. 23194

Width: 4.4 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...] °°°°([...])  
 2'. [from (time-X)] 1un'til even, the month (of) ([...])

((...))°°°° [...]:1  
 ([...]) [מן ...] 1ע'ד זנה ירח

Verso

1'. [...]°

°[...]:1

### Commentary

On material grounds compare Pap. Ber. P. 23157 (herein no. 1.1.11) and fragments mentioned there for possible joins. At first glance, this is the left column of the papyrus and the left edge of the text, but the fibers are slightly bending on the recto's left edge, so this may be a fold break rather than the document's edge. If so, the *vacat* on the verso indicates the last line of an opostographic letter or contract or a space after a witness' name.

**Line 2.** This unique syntactical form requires some discussion to explain the preposition and demonstrative. There is no evidence to justify reading זנה as an alternative to the preposition and relative pronoun (עד זי; examples found in MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 88d–f). The idiom עד זנה survives only once elsewhere, in the Yedanyah letter Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = TAD A4.7:20 || Cairo EM JdE 43465 = TAD A4.8:19 where in Pap. Ber. P. 13495 it is written sandhi, that is without a space, and it is preceded by the conjunction ו (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 10a).

In her study on adverbs of time, FOLMER found no example of the word order demonstrative—noun in

Elephantine letters or contracts when the preposition עד (normally in the legal idiom ועד עלמ זנה) is used (pp. 327–329, 685–687). The conjunction ו is optional in this formula (e.g. Cairo EM JdM 37111 = TAD B2.9:9–10). FOLMER (p. 328) notes the exceptional use of demonstrative—noun in the prepositional phrase of the Yedanyah letters, but claims, “there are several attestations of the word order demonstrative—noun.”<sup>62</sup> The new fragment helps to clarify the issue. Here the writer expresses a *continuum* which does not end at the present (יומא), as in Pap. Ber. P. 13495 || Cairo EM JdE 43465, but at a point described in the future “a month / the month of [...]”<sup>63</sup> In

<sup>62</sup> On the following page, FOLMER provides 3–4 examples of בזכ זמנא and similar forms with ב in the Saqqara papyri. Presumably this evidence leads her to conclude, “In adverbs of time headed by a preposition, then, the order demonstrative—noun is frequent, except when the noun *ywm* is modified by a demonstrative pronoun” (329). I find this statement to be an overgeneralization.

<sup>63</sup> By comparison, consider the distributive notion of time in Pap.

no example that I can find is ירח or a particular month ever qualified by זנה and, therefore, translating “this month” (demonstrative—noun) must be ruled out. I contend that the idiom expresses the following meaning, “from (time-X) to this, (end point).” The emphasis lies on the prepositional phrase עד זנה, which as its attested sandhi writing suggests, is a grouped construction that functions as a single preposition.<sup>64</sup>

---

Ber. P. 23148 (herein no. 1.1.1).

64 By comparison, consider על דבר or על זנה (see Moore, “Persian Administrative,” 52–53 n. 20).

1.3.20 Pap. Ber. P. 23195

Width: 2.0 cm; Height: 3.0 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...] on/to [...]

2'. [...] until [...]

[...] על [...]:1

[...] עד [...]:2

### Commentary

**Line 2.** The  $\tau$  looks more like a  $\sigma$ , but since no letter appears to precede this two-letter word,  $\tau\epsilon$  is a more probable reading.

1.3.21 Pap. Ber. P. 23196

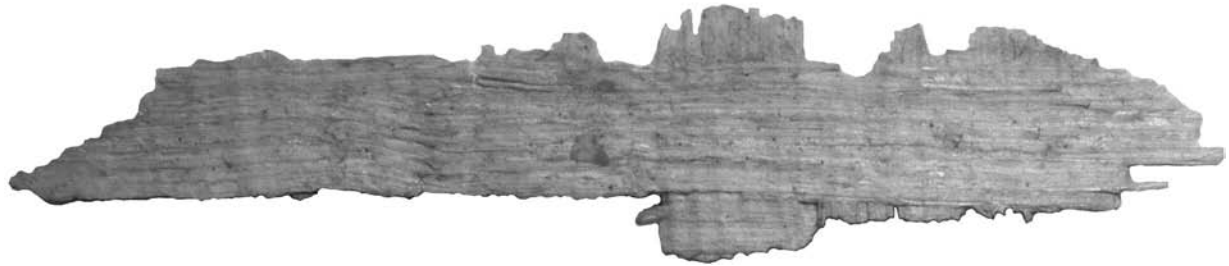
Width: 5.6 cm; Height: 1.2 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: half row of papyrus (bot.); contract C 11a or 11b or letter column unknown.

## Recto



## Verso

## Recto

---

 1'. [... PN-]ḥ<sup>1</sup> son of H<sup>1</sup>ôše<sup>s</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [...]  


---



---

 1': [...]'ה' בר ה'ושע' [...]  


---

1.3,22 Pap. Ber. P. 23197

Width: 1.4 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: approximately one row of papyrus; column unknown. Perhaps water damaged.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [... ]<sup>1</sup>Ma<sup>1</sup>ḥs<sup>1</sup>eya<sup>1</sup>[h ...]

---

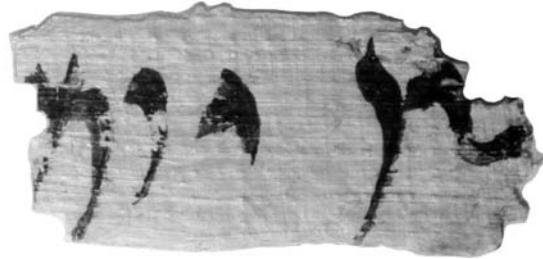
 [... ]<sup>1</sup>מ<sup>1</sup>חסי<sup>1</sup>י<sup>1</sup>ה [... ]:1
 

---

1.3.23 Pap. Ber. P. 23145

Width: 1.4 cm; Height 2.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: approximately one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

1'. [...]within [#] day[s ...]

ו'. [...]ביני יומ[נ] [...]

---

1.3.24 Pap. Ber. P. 23198

Width: 4.1 cm; Height: 3.7 cm Recto: ⊥

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.

Material patterns: two rows of papyrus. Letter R add. or contract R doc.; column unknown.

Verso

Recto



Verso

---

 1'. [...] and 'Aḥi'aḥb' [...]

 [...] וְאַחִיאַחַב' [...] :1
 

---

### Commentary

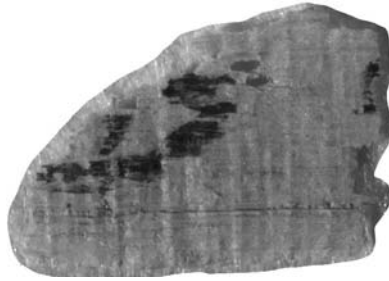
At first glance this appears to be the missing docket to Pap. Ber. P. 13493 = *TAD* B4.4, in which 'Aḥi'aḥb is a contractual party because this fragment shares paleographic features with that document. That roll, however, has a sheet-join on its docket row of papyrus, unlike this fragment.



1.3,25 Pap. Ber. P. 23199

Width: 1.6 cm; Height: 1.1 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] {compensate <sup>r</sup>(f.s.)<sup>1</sup>/my welfare |Šelemya[h] ...}

 [...] {שלמיא<sup>r</sup> |שלמיא<sup>r</sup>[ה]} [...] :1
 

---

Verso

---

 1'. [...] ° so<sup>r</sup>n of<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

 [...] ° בר<sup>r</sup>[...] :1
 

---

### Commentary

Paleographically, compare Pap. Ber. P. 23173 (herein no. 1.2.3) based on **ⲛ** and the pen's nib.

**Recto, line 1.** The final stroke sits high on the line, and appears to be a **ⲛ**. The name Šelemayah (or Šelemaya?) is that of one of the two sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7:29). It is also known from Elephantine, but only in lists (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 23103 = *TAD* C3.4:3 and Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = *TAD* C3.15:24).

1.3.26 Pap. Ber. P. 23973

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 1.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one or half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] {Re<sup>a</sup>/friend |know!} [...]

 [...] {רע|דע} [...]:1
 

---

### Commentary

Paleographically compare Pap. Ber. P. 23187 (herein no. 1.3.12). The papyrus is of high quality. Both the letters  $\gamma$  and  $\gamma\delta$  resemble Demotic signs (see Appendix, Paleography), but presently I interpret the script here as Aramaic.

**Line 1.** If interpreted as  $\gamma\epsilon$ , then this may be the first occurrence of the noun meaning “friend” in the singular; compare the plural in Pap. Ber. P. 13446 Fv 3 (Ahiqar) = *TAD* C1.1:161. The proper name Re<sup>a</sup> is also a possible reading (see Hermop. 4 = *TAD* A2.1:3 and Sheikh Faql 1.6 = *TAD* D23.1:6). If understood as  $\gamma\delta$ , this would be the only attestation of the imperative of  $\sqrt{\gamma\epsilon}$  “to know” in the Elephantine documents. The ellision of the initial  $\gamma$  is expected in I- $\gamma$  imperative forms (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 31c).

1.3.27 Pap. Ber. P. 23900

Width: 3.5 cm; Height: 0.7 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: half row of papyrus; half a column of unknown placement.

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

 1'. [...] 'they were giving' [...]

 1': [...] 'הוּ יִהְיֶה' [...]
 

---

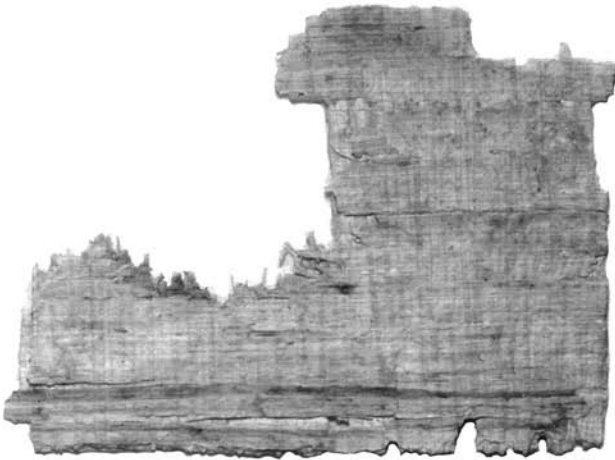
### Commentary

**Line 1.** The first ׀ sits slightly lower than the second, and thus part of its head survives. The reading יהב for the second word is certain. The periphrastic verbal tense, as found here, is well attested in IA (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 55g).

1.3.28 Pap. Ber. P. 23901

Width: 3.9 cm; Height: 2.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: upper row of papyrus; column C 1a.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [∘∘]∘[...]  
 2'. {they ʿopeʿned |ʿand you/she shallʿ see}[ ...]

[...]∘[∘∘]:1  
 [... {∘}יִתְחַזַּק | יִפְתַּח]':2

### Commentary

Paleographically, compare Pap. Ber. P. 23152 a (+) b (herein no. 1.1.5). For discussion of the variation of פִּתְחֹ and חִזְקֹ see Appendix, Paleography.

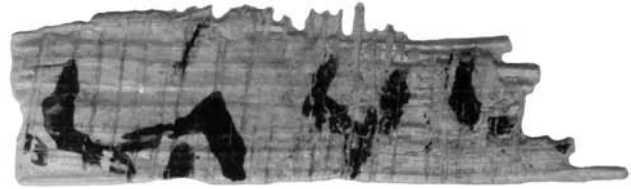
1.3,29 Pap. Ber. P. 23902

Width: 3.4 cm; Height: 0.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Break patterns: half row of papyrus. Half a column.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°[...]  
 2'. [...] ]<sup>l</sup>to the hand of<sup>l</sup> [the] one(s) go<sup>l</sup>ing<sup>l</sup>[...]

[...]°[...]:1  
 [...]א(י)]<sup>l</sup>עליד<sup>l</sup>הלכ<sup>l</sup>א(י):2

### Commentary

**Line 2.** The first word is fairly clear, and a name or title is expected after עליד. The final letter of the second word looks, at first glance, to be an א or י, but so far no *nomen agentis* or name is attested with the string \*הלי- or \*הלא-. Therefore, I interpret the mark as the crown of a כ that extends beyond its vertical (see Appendix, Paleography). The G-stem substantive participle הלכ “goer” is known from AIBL-CIS CG no. 46 concave 3 and CG no. 101 convex 3.

1.3.30 Pap. Ber. P. 23903

Width: 2.3 cm; Height: 2.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]◦ I [...]  
 2'. [...] in the name of/balsam (oil) [...]

[...]◦א'נה [...]':1  
 [...] בשמ [...]':2

1.3.31 Pap. Ber. P. 23904

Width: 1.9 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] we shall sa[y ...]

 1': [...] נאמר [...] ר [...]
 

---

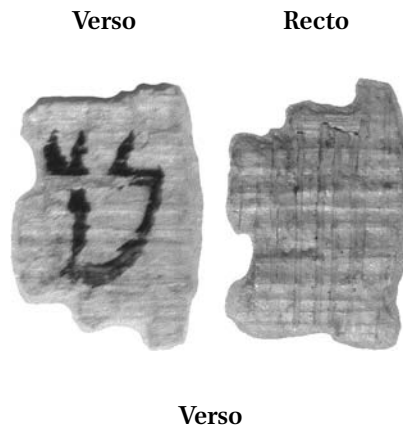
### Commentary

Three layers of papyrus are visible on the bottom of the verso; this indicates a sheet-join, even though the visible sign of the sheet-join on the recto is broken. The high quality papyrus and lack of a palimpsest suggests that this is from a contract, but the first person plural content raises doubt and favors interpreting this as a letter.

**Line 1.** My reconstruction seems likely, though the G-stem imperfect first person plural verb  $\sqrt{\text{אמר}}$  is not yet otherwise attested at Elephantine.

1.3.32 Pap. Ber. P. 23906

Width: 0.8 cm; Height: 1.2 cm Recto: blank.  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ⊥  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.




---

1'. [...] son of [...]

[...] בר [...]:1

---

### Commentary

The hand is not calligraphic, suggesting this is a letter or a witness on a contract.



1.3.33 Pap. Ber. P. 23907

Width: 2.3 cm; Height: 1.7 cm Recto: 1  
Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso

Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...]◦ thi's'1[ ...]

[... ]'1◦[... ]'1

---

1.3.34 Pap. Ber. P. 23908

Width: 1.7 cm; Height: 1.2 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank (|| pal.).  
 Palimpsest: verso. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Recto



Verso



Recto

1'. [...] 1' [...] [...]

[...] 1' א'גה' [...] [...]

Verso Palimpsest

1'. [...] 000 [...] [...]

[...] 000 [...] 1'

### Commentary

The letters on the verso are only visible in the IR photographs published here, and they are too broken to read. The width of the verso's strokes is larger than that on the recto further supporting the interpretation that the verso contains a palimpsest and that the verso is not merely effaced. The orientation of the palimpsest is uncertain.

1.3.35 Pap. Ber. P. 23909

Width: 2.4 cm; Height: 2.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]◦[...]  
 2'. [...]◦ wri[tten]/wro[te ...]

[...]◦[...]'1  
 [... כת(י)ב ...]'2

### Commentary

A stray ink dot is visible on the bottom portion of the recto. This does not appear to be from a palimpsest or erasure. The spelling כתִּיב is preferred but admittedly כת(ו)ג “tunic” is possible. The lost first word may be זי “which.”

1.3.36 Pap. Ber. P. 23910

Width: 2.2 cm; Height: 2.2 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°°[...]  
 2'. [...] ma'n¹[ ...]

[...]°°[...]':1  
 [...] גב'ר¹[...]:2

### Commentary

**Line 2.** Alternatively, read גב'ר "to collect taxes," though this verb is limited to record rolls in known Egyptian Aramaic sources and mostly to administrative leather scrolls in the Bactrian evidence (*ADAB* nos. C1.49; C4.6, 10, 23, 25, 39, 40, 44, 46, and 48). Only once is it found in a Bactrian letter (*ADAB* no. A8.2). The noun גבר, however, is ubiquitous.

1.3.37 Pap. Ber. P. 23911

Width: 2.2 cm; Height: 1.9 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

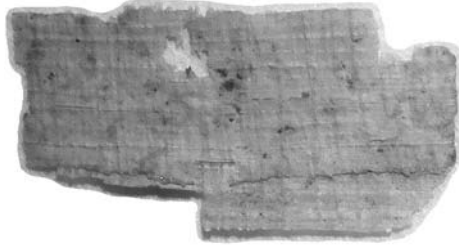
1'. [...] son of P°[...]  
 2'. [...]°[...]

[...] בר פס' 1  
 [...]°[...]' 2

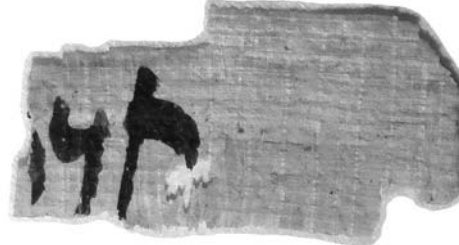
1.3.38 Pap. Ber. P. 23912

Width: 2.4 cm; Height: 1.2 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Break patterns: half (?) row of papyrus; contract or letter C 1a.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. You shall be 'ab<sup>1</sup>[le ...]

 1' תכיה' [ל ...]
 

---

### Commentary

**Line 1.** By comparison with the surviving ת, the final stroke is longer with a more vertical stance. This eliminates reading כהב√. See discussion of כהל√ on Pap. Ber. P. 23169 (herein no. 1.1.24).

1.3.39 Pap. Ber. P. 23914

Width: 1.7 cm; Height: 2.1 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] and 'I[ ...]

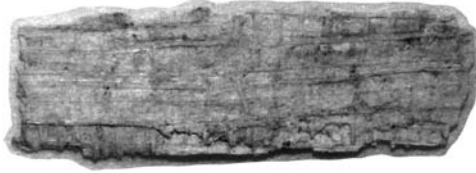
 [...] ואנ'ה' [...] 1'
 

---

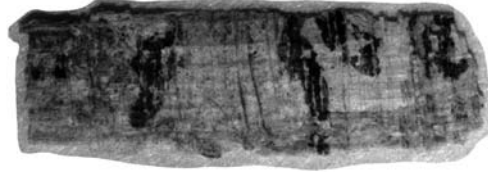
1.3.40 Pap. Ber. P. 23915

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 0.7 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Break patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...]ʿšʿ to/for us ʿoo[...]

 [...]ooא לנ ʿשʿ[...].1
 

---



1.3.41 Pap. Ber. P. 23916

Width: 2.0 cm; Height: 1.0 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

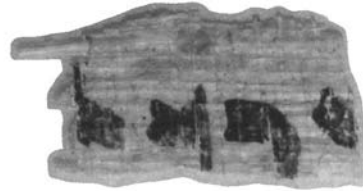
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [... ]<sup>1</sup>who<sup>1</sup> carr<sup>i</sup>'es[ ...]

 [... ]<sup>1</sup>מ<sup>1</sup>יב<sup>1</sup>ל[ ...]':1
 

---

1.3.42 Pap. Ber. P. 23917

Width: 2.5 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: ⊥  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: top-to-bottom.  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...] {WH( )oo |MH( )oo} [ ...]

[...] {oo( )מח | oo( )וח} [...] :1

---

Verso

---

1'. [... shall g]i've ʿtoʿ him/her [...]

[...] ʿתִּנְלִיהַ [גַּן ...] :1

---

1.3.43 Pap. Ber. P. 23919

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 0.9 cm Recto: 1

Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.

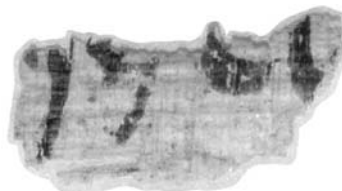
Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [... ]'o'n the docu[ment (of) ...]

 [... ]'o'n the docu[ment (of) ...]
 

---

1.3.44 Pap. Ber. P. 23905

Width: 2.8 cm; Height: 0.8 cm Recto: blank.  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ||  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: half row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Verso

---

 1'. [... ]<sup>1</sup>it shall<sup>1</sup> be fi<sup>1</sup>lled<sup>1</sup> [with ...]
 

---



---

 [... ]<sup>1</sup>תמלא<sup>1</sup> [ב ...]
 

---

### Commentary

**Verso.** The  $\aleph$  only partially survives. The  $\sqrt{\text{מלא}}$  “to fill” in the Dt-stem is only known from contracts, where it refers to the satisfaction of the creditor who is owed repayment (e.g., Brooklyn 47.218.88 = *TAD* B3.1.11), but the writing on the verso here, leaves some doubt about whether this is a contract or letter.

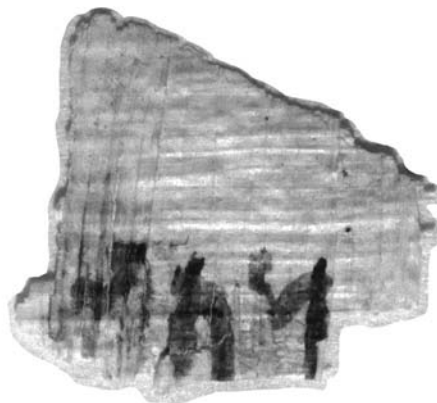
1.3.45 Pap. Ber. P. 23920

Width: 1.9 cm; Height: 1.8 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] wro<sup>r</sup>te<sup>l</sup> [...]

 1': [...] כת'ב' [...]
 

---

1.3.46 Pap. Ber. P. 23921

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: blank.  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: || (?)  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Verso (?)

---

 1'. [...] to yo<sup>r</sup>u<sup>1</sup> (m.p.)[ ...]

 [...]'1 לכו<sup>m</sup>'[...]
 

---

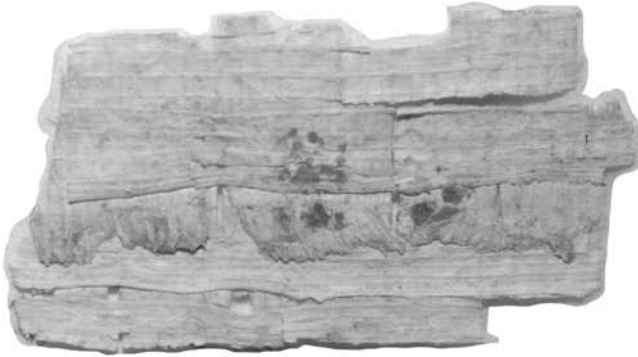
### Commentary

**Verso.** The second person plural dative pronoun suggests that this is a letter or contract, but the fiber orientation raises doubt.

1.3.47 Pap. Ber. P. 23974

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 1.6 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): 1. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]○○○  
 2'. [...]Y which is yours (m.s.)

○○○[...]':1  
 י'י ל'ב [...]':2

### Commentary

The paleography calls to mind Pap. Ber. P. 23161 (herein no. 1.1.15); Pap. Ber. P. 23169 (no. 1.1.24); and Pap. Ber. P. 23189 (no. 1.3.14). The verso contains clear evidence of at least four sheets of papyrus and possibly traces of glue. As such, this is not a factory sheet-join, which leaves some doubt as to whether it is a contract or letter.

1.3.48 Pap. Ber. P. 23949

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 1.7 cm Recto: 1  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none.  
 Material patterns: one row of papyrus; column unknown.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1. ' [...] according to the stone-weight<sup>f</sup>s of<sup>l</sup> [ the king ... ]  
 2. ' [...] <sup>f</sup>and B<sup>l</sup>° [...]

1. ' [...] באבני<sup>f</sup> [ מלכא ... ]  
 2. ' [...] יוב<sup>f</sup>° [...]

### Commentary

Although one highly unusual reference to an Egyptian temple weight standard is known (אבני פתח “the stone-weights of Ptaḥ” Pap. Ber. P. 13493 = *TAD* B4.2:2), the numerous other occurrences refer to the government standard, “stone-weights of the king.”



## 2 Fragments Parallel to Fibers

2.1 *Report*

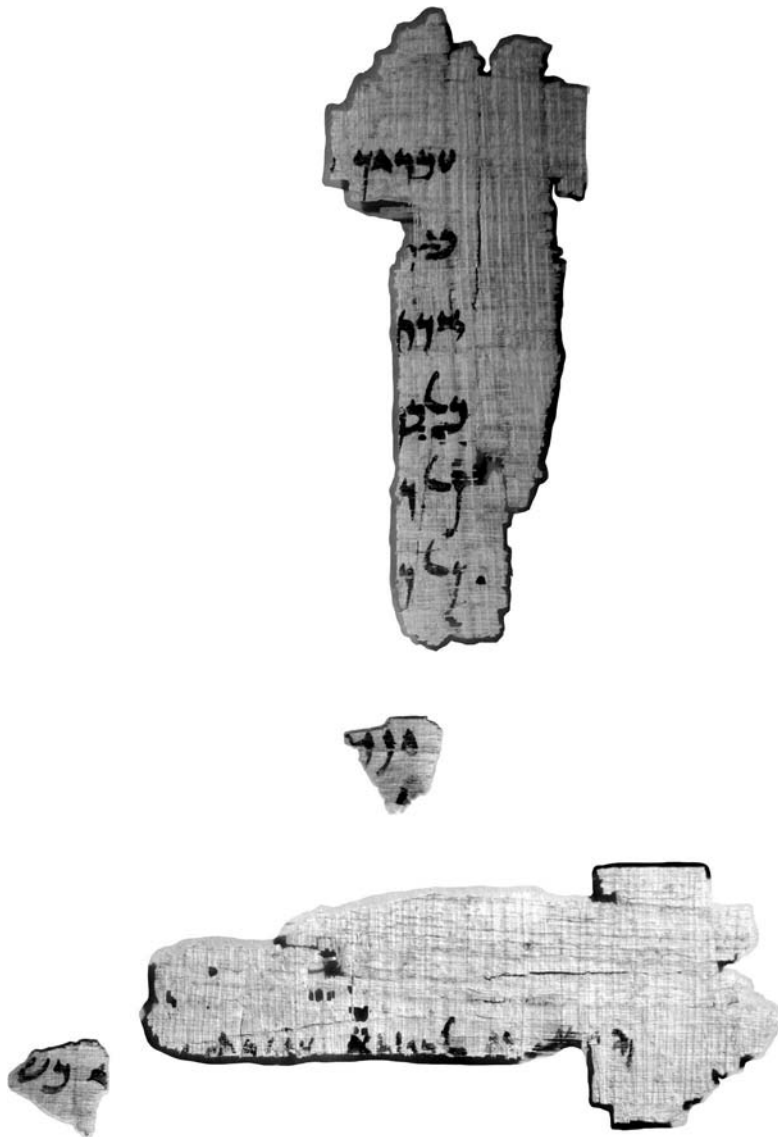
2.1.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and P. 23967

**Bibliography**

COWLEY nos. 68, 12; 66, 3; and 66, 6+66, 1+66, 5+66, 2; SACHAU Pap. 74 / Taf. 61, 12 and Pap. 72 / Taf. 59, 3, 6+1+5+2; TAD A4.6 (recto); D2.28 (verso)

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23922 a (large)	4.8 cm; 12.0 cm	○
P. 23922 b (small)	1.8 cm; 1.8 cm	○
P. 23967	9.5 cm; 15.3 cm	1
Recto:	Verso: P. 23922 a (+) b:   ; P. 23967: blank.	
Palimpsest: none.	Rotation: top-to-bottom then 90° counterclockwise.	

P. 23922 a (+) b Recto



P. 23922 a (+) b Verso

## P. 23922 a (+) b

## Recto

1. Your (m.s.) servants ◦[...]	1. עבדיכ ◦ [...]
2. BY ◦[...]	2. בי ◦ [...]
3. <sup>?</sup> Arta-[...]	3. ארת[...]
4. with bri <sup>f</sup> ck <sup>l</sup> [s ...]/Belba <sup>f</sup> ni <sup>l</sup> [ ...]	4. בלבני <sup>f</sup> [ג] [...]
5. all {D[...] R[...]}	5. כל {ד[...] ר[...]}
6. all {D◦[...] R◦[...]}	6. כל {ד◦[...] ר◦[...]}
7'. {He shall go/lead do[wn ...] Înḥa[rou ...]}	7'. ינח[ת]   ינח[רו] ר[...]
8'. ◦[...]	8'. ◦[...]

4: בלבני<sup>f</sup>[ג] TAD בלב◦

## Verso

1'. 'The <sup>l</sup> do <sup>c</sup> ument <sup>l</sup> which belongs to 'Buṭet <sup>l</sup> a <sup>?</sup> . His/Her/its ◦◦◦ ◦[...] <sup>l</sup> YBŠ	1'. ס'פרא זי ל'בטת'א ◦◦◦ ה ◦[...] <sup>l</sup> י בש[...]
---	--

1: ס'פרא TAD ספ[ר]א | ל'בטת'א TAD לבטתא | ◦◦◦ ה TAD אנתתה זי

## Commentary

TAD edited the recto of the previously known fragments together but edited the verso of Pap. Ber. P. 23922 separately. The museum's conservators had incorrectly added more fragments to plate Pap. Ber. P. 23967.<sup>65</sup> The fragments are now reglazed as they appear here.

No definitive evidence links the upper and lower fragments of this document together as TAD has edited them. Only anecdotally observed paleographical observations and general material features are similar. I will treat the fragments separately, though I acknowledge they may come from the same manuscript, which is why they are edited under one document number in this edition.

**P. 23922 a (+) b.** TAD edits the recto as a letter making note that it is written parallel to the recto's fibers, a feature that has yet to be well studied as regards the document's content (genre) and function. This is especially the case for the meaning of the verso, which is written parallel to the verso's fibers and at 90° to the recto's text.

COWLEY referred to this document as a report (179), while Schwiderski sees it as a special form of a petition.<sup>66</sup> No other manuscript with these physical features survives in the Aramaic corpora from Egypt, which makes the placement on the new fragment (Pap. Ber. P. 23922 b) certain.<sup>67</sup> For further discussion on a possible report genre see Pap. Ber. P. 23933 a (+) b (herein no. 2.5.7).

The writing on the new fragment is better preserved than that on the larger fragment, perhaps owed to the fact that it must be placed past the fold break and, therefore, was exposed to different conditions *in situ*.

**Line 2.** The third letter could be ת (producing בית "house"), ד, or ו.

**Line 3.** -Arta-... is the beginning of a Persian name.

**Line 4.** The final long vertical stroke can only be פ or נ, and reading פ produces an unknown string of letters. The spelling (-)בלבני may be a name which is known

65 Currently, plate Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A includes additional fragments arranged as if they belong to the document, though they do not: Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 23140/30 = TAD D5.11; Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 23140/43 = TAD D5.12; Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 23140/87 = TAD D5.13; Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 13445/3 = TAD D5.14; Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 23140/66 = TAD D5.26; and Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A- P. 23140/80 = TAD D5.20.

66 Schwiderski, *Handbuch*, 113.

67 Some manuscripts may contain a palimpsest that is written perpendicular to the overwritten text e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 23928 (herein no. 2.3.1) and Pap. Ber. P. 13445 E- P. 13448/2 = TAD D1.19. These two documents both have Demotic palimpsests. One Aramaic report survives in which the response is written perpendicular to the original message on the same side (Cairo EM JdE 43493 = TAD A3.1).

once as a patronymic on the Syene Ration List (Cairo EM JdE 43479 i 14 = *TAD* C3.14:14) and which is of Babylonian origin, *Bēl-bani* (or *Bēl-ibni*).<sup>68</sup> Alternatively, it may mean “with bricks” from the noun *לְבִנָּה*. This term is known in the corpus in formulaic lines regarding security pledges and compensation (Pap. Ber. P. 13491 = *TAD* B3.1:9; Brooklyn 47.218.93 = *TAD* B3.13:11; Cairo EM JdE 43485 = *TAD* B4.3:18; and Pap. Ber. P. 13476 = *TAD* B4.6:11), but there is no reason to exclude it as a functional reference to a building material.

**Lines 5–6.** It may be coincidence that these two lines begin with the same word, or this may be a formatting feature of the manuscript/genre.

**Line 7.** The new fragment belongs to this document based on material, paleographic, and formatting similarities. It must sit some centimeters below the surviving fragment, and a distinct cluster of fibers on the verso confirms that the text aligns with the right edge of the column. If Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and Pap. Ber. P. 23967 belong to the same manuscript and the same column of text, then line 7 (and line 8) likely begin Pap. Ber. P. 23967 line 1 (and line 2).

The restoration is tentative. The letter combination *ינצ* or *ינח* is rare in 1A sources. In this hand the *ח* and *צ* are only distinguishable by the longer left vertical of the *צ* (see P. 23967 line 11), which is broken here. The most attested roots (*נצל* “to reclaim, remove” C-stem and *נצה* “to be diligent” Dt-stem) are not found in a stem that would match this orthography. Deriving the word for *נטר* “to watch,” which is attested once in the by-form *נצר* (Bayerische StaBi Pap. Aram. mon. 1 = *TAD* B1.1:8) and retains the initial *נ* in the G-stem imperfect, is not a satisfactory solution (but see P. 23967 line 4). Lastly, *נצר* “to divide (payment),” which is known from the late Persian Bactrian documents (*ADAB*, p. 207) is so far not attested in earlier Persian period Egypt, leaving it an unfavorable reading. One is left with reading *ינח*. The only appearance of this letter combination is in the restored name *ינחרו* (*?Tr.t-Hr.r.r=w*<sup>69</sup> *Īnḥarou*) in an *?*Aršama letter Bodl. Lib. Aram. IV = *TAD* A6.7:7, but in theory one may read here an imperfect form of the verb *נחת* “to go down.” The difficulty with this verbal form is that all but one of the few attestations (none of which come from Elephantine) exhibit the ellision of the *נ* (MURAOKA AND PORTEN, § 33b). The spelling in Saq. H5-AP 36 [1583] = SEGAL no. 6 ln. 3 *אנחת*, however, retains *נ*, and for this reason, *ינחת* is a viable reading here. The

retention of the *נ* may be a sign that the verb is in a D-stem rather than a G-stem pattern (see Syriac D-stem “to lead down”).

**Verso, line 1.** *TAD*’s reading for *בטתא* *Buteta*<sup>?</sup> is superior to COWLEY’S *בחתא*, even though the name is not known elsewhere, but *TAD*’s *אנחתה* for the last letters do not match the surviving stroke patterns, which are now more visible in the new photographs.

68 Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches*, 27; Porten, Zadok, and Pearce, “Akkadian Names,” 4, 8.

69 See Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 101; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 82; and Tuplin, “Commentary,” 40.

P. 23967 Recto



## P. 23967

## Recto

1'. [...] <sup>f</sup> M <sup>1</sup> ◦[◦]◦ Bagadata son of ◦[...]	1'. [...] <sup>f</sup> M <sup>1</sup> ◦[◦]◦ בגדת בר ◦ [...]
2'. [...]◦ they came to Fort <sup>f</sup> Eleph <sup>1</sup> antine [...]	2'. [...]◦ אתו לוי <sup>f</sup> ב בירתא [...]
3'. [...] <sup>f</sup> (there) in <sup>1</sup> . Those Egypt <sup>f</sup> ian <sup>1</sup> for <sup>f</sup> ce <sup>1</sup> [s ...]	3'. [...] <sup>f</sup> בגו <sup>f</sup> חילי <sup>f</sup> א [א]א <sup>f</sup> לכ מצרי <sup>f</sup> א [...]
4'. [...] <sup>f</sup> na <sup>1</sup> mes of the men <sup>f</sup> wh <sup>1</sup> o(m) <sup>?</sup> Abiyitneṣe <sup>f</sup> r <sup>1</sup> ◦[...]	4'. [...] <sup>f</sup> יש <sup>f</sup> מהת גבריא זי <sup>f</sup> אביתנציר <sup>f</sup> ◦ [...]
5'. {[...] <sup>f</sup> S  [...] <sup>f</sup> T} son of Peṭeneter by nam[e], 1 (person), Pia son of H <sup>1</sup> ◦[...]	5'. [...] <sup>f</sup> צ[...] <sup>f</sup> ת{ת[...] <sup>f</sup> בר פטנתר שמ[ה] / פיא בר ח◦ [...]
6'. [...] the men, whose na[m]es are written ◦[...]	6'. [...] <sup>f</sup> גבריא זי ש[מ]התהמ כתיב ◦ [...]
7'. [...] men from us they sei[z]ed (and) bound in chains [...]	7'. [...] <sup>f</sup> גברנ מנאח[ד]ו אסרו בכבלנ [...]
8'. [... Be] <sup>f</sup> fo <sup>1</sup> re Cambyses, Babylonians su <sup>f</sup> pport <sup>1</sup> [ed him], Hrs[...]	8'. [...] <sup>f</sup> ק[ד]מ כנבוזי סיבל <sup>f</sup> [וה]א בבלי <sup>f</sup> נ הרס[...]

1'. [...]<sup>f</sup>M<sup>1</sup>◦[◦]◦ TAD [א]מצרי<sup>f</sup>א | לכ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]לכ חיל | TAD [א]חילי<sup>f</sup>א | ◦◦ TAD [א]בגו<sup>f</sup> ליב | 3: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]מ[...]<sup>f</sup> | 2: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]אתו לוי<sup>f</sup>ב בירתא | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]א<sup>f</sup>לכ מצרי<sup>f</sup>א | 3: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]יש<sup>f</sup>מהת גבריא זי | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]אביתנציר<sup>f</sup> | 4: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]צ[...]<sup>f</sup>ת{ת[...]<sup>f</sup> בר פטנתר שמ[ה] / פיא בר ח◦ | 5: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]גבריא זי ש[מ]התהמ כתיב | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]גברנ מנאח[ד]ו אסרו בכבלנ | 6: | ◦[...]<sup>f</sup> TAD [א]ק[ד]מ כנבוזי סיבל<sup>f</sup>[וה]א בבלי<sup>f</sup>נ הרס[...]<sup>f</sup> | 8:

## Commentary

The verso is blank. The names in the document are not Judean, but rather Persian and Egyptian. This document is the closest to a report of military activity as any found on the island, but like a chronicle, it makes reference to a past event, namely in the time of Cambyses.

**Line 1.** See Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b line 7 above. The name בגדת is found in a cuneiform Babylonian text from Nippur and well attested in the Aramaic documents from Elephantine.<sup>70</sup> Note that the dark spot under the  $\tau$  is a shadow in the IR photograph caused by a hole in the papyrus.

**Line 4.** The new fragment fills a hole in the middle of the papyrus. The reading is still difficult because the end of the word is lost and because it spells an unattested name. I read אביתנציר “my father shall be guarded,” which is perhaps of Syro-Mesopotamian origin. The structure of the Babylonian name *Nabû-tadd{a}i{nu-uṣur}* comes to mind.<sup>71</sup> But Babylonian names ending in -uṣur are transcribed in IA as אצר-, so this may be the first clear example without א.<sup>72</sup> This is more likely an Aramaic form using the Gt-stem of נצר/נטר.

**Line 5.** The name פטנתר is Egyptian, *P3-dj-(n3)-ntr.w*.<sup>73</sup> The name פיא is also Egyptian, *P3-ḥw* or *P3-j-ḥw*,<sup>74</sup> and if his last name were Egyptian, it may have begun with the  $\eta$  element as in Pap. Ber. P. 13445 A-P. 23140/43 = TAD D5.12.

**Line 8.** The last word may be an Egyptian proper name that begins Ḥor-, as in Ḥorsaisi (*Hr-s3-3s.t*).<sup>75</sup> The mention of Cambyses does not date the papyrus, but only provides a terminus post quem. All letters in the new reading “Babylonians” are certain except for the second, which is highly probable; no other word was found to match the orthography and stroke pattern. The word before “Babylonians” certainly begins with  $\mathfrak{h}$  and the traces of a בל can be made out in the new photographs. The decipherment of the line now provides a short glimpse into a historical/historiographical event during the time of Cambyses in which Egyptians and Babylonians (fighting on behalf of the Persians) clashed. The conflict calls to mind the ongoing insurrections mentioned throughout the <sup>?</sup>Aršama leather collection.

70 See Eilers, *Iranische*, 87–88.

71 Tallqvist, *Neobabylonisches Namenbuch*, 149.

72 See the list of names in Porten, Zadok, and Pearce, “Akkadian Names,” 1–12, esp. 8–11. Only in an unreliable (TAD D, p. 267) handcopy of Graffiti from Aswan made by Archibald Sayce (TAD D22.42), is a spelling without א found in IA.

73 Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 101.

74 Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 101.

75 Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 103.

2.2 *Accounts and Lists*

2.2.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23923 a–f

See Plate 3.

**Bibliography**

PORTEN no. 10; TAD C3.9.

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	4.7 cm; 4.2 cm	0
Frag. b	8.2 cm; 11.5 cm	1
Frag. c	2.8 cm; 4.4 cm	0
Frag. d	6.0 cm; 5.9 cm	0
Frag. e	5.0 cm; 12.1 cm	1
Frag. f	2.0 cm; 4.7 cm	0
Recto:	Verso: ⊥	
Palimpsest: traces recto and verso. Rotation: side-to-side.		



Frag. a, recto ii'

1'. [PN son of PN, *ywr*]2'. [PN] his [wi]<sup>1</sup>fe<sup>1</sup>, gr[eat] lady3'. Bellê her daughter Ḥ[<sup>o</sup>, great ]<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>[dy]4'. Total person(s): 4 herein. [*ywr*, 1;]5'. great [ladi(es)], 2 <sup>1</sup>he<sup>1</sup>[rein]

1'. [ ... בר ... יור ]

2'. [אנ] [את]ה נשנ ר [בה]

3'. בלה ברחה ח[ ] [ינ]ה [שנ רבה]

4'. כל נפש !!! בלגו' [יור ]

5'. [נשנ] רבה !! יב' [גו]

2: TAD + [ ... אנתתה נשנ רבה ] | [אנ] [את]ה TAD | [אנ] [את]ה TAD | ח[ ] [ינ]ה [שנ רבה] TAD | ח[ ] [ינ]ה [שנ רבה] TAD | 4: בלגו' TAD בגו



Frag. b, recto iii'

1'. [...] <sup>o</sup> [...] <sup>o</sup> [...]	1': [...] <sup>o</sup> [...] <sup>o</sup> [...]
2'. [... yw]r, 3; gr[eat] ladi(es) [# (herein)].	2': [... יו]ר [פ]יש' [ב]גו]ר [בה ... (בגו)]
	<i>vacat</i>
3'. [...] <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> [... ywr]	3': [... יור] <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> [...]
4'. [PN daugh] <sup>f</sup> ter <sup>l</sup> of Paḥapî, his [( <sup>o</sup> ) <sup>o</sup> ] <sup>o</sup> , great lady	4': [... בר]ת' פחפי [( <sup>o</sup> ) <sup>o</sup> ] <sup>o</sup> נשנ רבה
5'. [PN-] <sup>o</sup> s her son, under the <i>li<sup>f</sup>mi<sup>t</sup></i>	5': [... ס] ברה תחת מיס'תא
6'. [PN-] <sup>o</sup> s her son, under the <i>limit</i>	6': [... ס] ברה תחת מסתא
7'. [Total ] <sup>f</sup> pe <sup>l</sup> [rs] <sup>f</sup> on <sup>l</sup> (s): 4 herein. <sup>f</sup> ywr, 1; great lady, [1].	7': [כל [ינ]ש' [פ]יש' [ב]גו יור' נשנ רבה [ ]]
	<i>vacat</i>
8'. [PN-] <sup>f</sup> son of Peṭôsirî, y <sup>f</sup> w <sup>r</sup>	8': [... ט] בר פטוסרי יור
9'. [PN ] <sup>f</sup> dau <sup>l</sup> [gh] <sup>f</sup> ter <sup>l</sup> of Ḥôr, great lady	9': [... ]ב' [ר]ת' חור נשנ רבה
10'. [...] <sup>f</sup> T <sup>l</sup> [...]	10': [... ]ת' [...]

10: TAD - | 2: יר' בה ... (בגו)] TAD [רבה ...] | 3: <sup>o</sup> TAD <sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup> | 4: <sup>o</sup> TAD <sup>o</sup><sup>o</sup> [תה] | 5: ס<sup>o</sup> TAD [...] פ' מיס'תא TAD מסתא | 7: [כל  
 [ינ]ש' [פ]יש' TAD [כל נפש] | יור' TAD יור | [ ] TAD [בגו] | 8: יור' TAD יור | 9: יב' [ר]ת' TAD [בר]ת | 10: [ת' [...]] TAD [...] [כל נפש] ]



Frag. c, recto iv'

---

*vacat*

1'. Ḥôr s'on of' [PN, ...]

2'. [Te]'tep' daughter of [PN ..., great lady]

3'. [Total pe]rson(s): 2 'he'[rein. *ywr*, 1; great lady, 1  
herein.]

1' יחור' ב'ר' [...]

2' [ת]תפ' ברת' [... נשנ רבה]

3' [כל נ]פש // יב' [גו יור / נשנ רבה / בגו]

*vacat*

4'. [...]°°[...]

4' [...]°°[...]

---

 2: [ת]תפ' ברת' [... נשנ רבה] TAD [°°[...]] | 3: יב' [גו יור / נשנ רבה / בגו] TAD [גו] [...]





Frag. d, recto v'

1'. {°' [...]   °Y [...]   °L [...] }	{ [...]   [...]   [...] }	:1
2'. Paḥ <sup>1</sup> nûm {son of <sup>1</sup>  [her]son <sup>1</sup> }{ ... }	פח <sup>1</sup> נומ {בר <sup>1</sup>  בר <sup>1</sup> [ה] ... }	:2
3'. Teṭeḥarôer {dau <sup>1</sup> ght <sup>1</sup> [er of  [her]dau <sup>1</sup> ght <sup>1</sup> [er] ... }	תטחרור {בר <sup>1</sup> [ת] בר <sup>1</sup> [תה] ... }	:3
4'. Tetep her daughter °[...]	תתפ בר <sup>1</sup> תה °[...]	:4
5'. Hôr her son [...]	חור בר <sup>1</sup> ה [...]	:5
6'. 5° Taḥê her daughter[ ...]	תחי בר <sup>1</sup> תה [...]	:6

1: TAD - | 2: פח<sup>1</sup>נומ {בר<sup>1</sup>|בר<sup>1</sup>[ה] ... } TAD פחנוס בר [ ... יור ] | 3: {בר<sup>1</sup>[ת]|בר<sup>1</sup>[תה]} TAD בר[ת]



Frag. e, recto vi'

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. [... ]'we'aned girls '1'[(+) ...]   | [...] 'ח'סילנ' ו'ח' [...].1                                    |
| 2. [... ]to Ḥôr 1o[(+) ...]  | [...] לחור ח' [...].2  |
| 3. [... ]great [la]di(es):'2'[(+) ...]   | [...] נ'שג רבה ו'ח' [...].3                                    |
| 4. [... ]Ḥôr and o[...]  | [...] חור ו' [...].4   |
| <i>vacat</i>   |  |
| 5. [The total] of the 'pers'on(s) who were in 'S'yene in the month of {'Me'l[sôr'e   'M'l[ehîr} (#)] | [...] כל' ]נפ'שא זי ביס'ונג בירח } 'מ' [סורע ]מ' [חיר} [...].5 |
| 6'. [... ]GNKM [oo] herein oo[...]   | [...] גנכמ [oo] בגו oo [...].6                                 |
| 7'. [... ]collected in [Sye] 'ne'l[ ...]   | [...] מאספ ב[סו] 'נ' [...].7                                   |
| 8'. [... ]to/for 'se'rvants/girls o[...]   | [...] ל'ע' לימנ o [...].8                                      |



Frag. f, recto unplaced

- 
1. [...]ʿun¹der ʿthe¹ *limit*  
 2. [...]ʿL¹[...]

ʿ1: [...]ʿתח¹ת מסת¹א  
 ʿ2: [...]ʿל¹[...]

---

ʿ1: תח¹ת TAD | תח¹ת | מסת¹א TAD | מסת¹א TAD :2: ʿל¹ TAD ל



**Frag. f, verso unplaced**

---

*Blank*

---

## Verso



Frag. e, verso i'

---

*traces of one illegible line*

[...]





**Frag. c, verso (blank)**

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*blank with traces of an illegible palimpsest*

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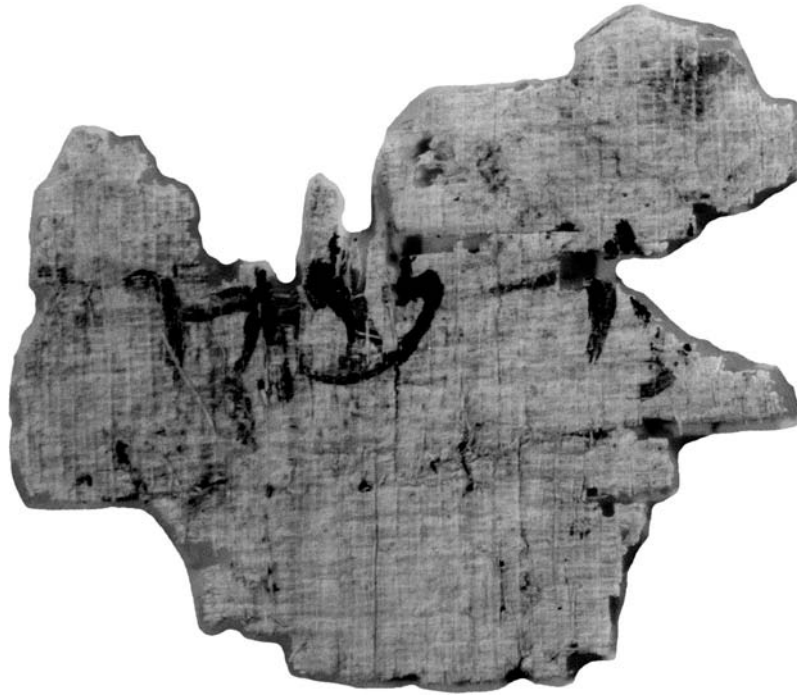
Frag. b, verso ii<sup>76</sup>

1.	{[PN-]• <i>dns</i> [...]  [PN-]• <i>rns</i> [...]}	{[...]•רנס[••]  [...]•דנס[••]}	:1
2.	[PN-] <sup>?</sup> [his] wif <sup>f</sup> e <sup>1</sup> , [great lady]	[...]•א אנת <sup>1</sup> ת <sup>1</sup> ה נשנ רבה]	:2
3.	Me <sup>1</sup> šəneh [her] daug <sup>f</sup> hter <sup>1</sup> [, ...]	ימ <sup>1</sup> סחנה ביר <sup>1</sup> ת <sup>1</sup> [תה ...]	:3
4.	Peṭesobeq [her son, ...]	פטסבק [ברה ...]	:4
5.	Total person(s): '4 <sup>1</sup> [ herein. ...]	כל נפש // בגו ...]	:5
<i>vacat of 3 lines</i>		<i>vacat of 3 lines</i>	
6.	'6o <sup>1</sup> [(+ ...)]	... (+) '6o <sup>1</sup>	:6

- TAD :6 | [...]•רנס[••] |[...]•דנס[••] :1 | TAD אנת<sup>1</sup>ת<sup>1</sup>ה [ה] :2 | TAD אנת<sup>1</sup>ת<sup>1</sup>ה [ה] :3 | ימ<sup>1</sup>סחנה TAD מסחנה | ביר<sup>1</sup>ת<sup>1</sup>תה [תה] TAD בר [...] :6

76 There are traces of ink on the right (blank) side of the verso. Compared to the darkness of the ink on the left side of the verso, one may conclude that the right side is a palimpsest.





Frag. a, verso iii' (?)

1'. [...]•H 1 seah.

1: [...]•ה'סא'ה /

1: ה'סא'ה TAD ברה

### Commentary

Text type: record roll. Genre: account.

Possible joins include Pap. Ber. P. 23927 a–c (herein no. 2.5.2) and Pap. Ber. P. 23133 (= TAD D5.30),<sup>77</sup> but the evidence is not strong enough to consider editing these with the present fragments.

When Porten first published all but fragment e, he correctly identified its affinities with Cairo EM JdE 3484 = TAD C3.10, a damaged list from Saqqara, which shares the same structure and unique terminology (PORTEN no. 10). The new fragments and the new IR photographs provide evidence that this manuscript may be an administrative collection list (of possibly silver) from Egyptian family units at Syene and, therefore, may be identified as an account. It is written on a palimpsest that was well erased. It appears to be formatted like the Yahô Collection List (Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = TAD C3.15) in that (1) the recto is formatted as a list (mostly) according to social groupings, (2) a summary of content appears toward the end of the list, (3) but then

the list continues after the summary, and (4) a small number of names are written in one column on the latter half of the verso. Unlike the Yahô Collection List, there is evidence of a line of description near the beginning of the verso and possibly one column's blank space serving as a handle sheet on the recto. This verso line is written over the palimpsest, which suggests that it belongs to the composition on the recto. This is determined by reconstructing the break patterns and recognizing that only half, perhaps the upper half, of the roll survives (see plate 1).<sup>78</sup>

The only fragment that can be placed with some modicum of certainty is frag. d because it contains the marginal tally number 50. By using the Yahô Collection List as a model, one expects approximately 21–25 names per column of text. Because this new document is formatted with frequent *vacats* between family units, something closer to 21 or fewer names per column is expected. Further-

<sup>77</sup> According to PORTEN, p. 48.

<sup>78</sup> By comparison, note that column iv of the recto of the Yahô Collection List also includes the 50th name (Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = TAD C3.15).

more, the first two columns may have been one or two lines shorter since the manuscript's description could have extended across the top of the first two columns of names (as does that of the Yahô Collection List). Alternately, the description may be found on the verso of frags. e and d, and if so, the name list may have begun at the top of the recto on frag. a, without a description. Regardless, the fiftieth name should appear on the roll's fifth column. *TAD* places frag. d in column three, but they do not reconstruct the manuscript's format/layout as is done here (see plate 1).

One expects an average sheet-join distance of approximately 14.5 cm, a column width of approximately 8–10 cm, and intercolumnar margins of approximately 1.5–2.5 cm. Plate 1's reconstruction negotiates this information along with the physical properties of the sheets, especially around the two visible sheet-joins and the break pattern, which is best realized by the fold-crease and break on frag. d. Fortunately, frag. d also contains the edges of clearly defined creases, giving us the circumference of the flattened roll as it was *in situ*, which can then be used to estimate the fold pattern of the whole roll. The actual height of the roll is lost, but based on other rolls one expects it was between 28–32 cm. Line spacing is c. 1.0 cm.

**Frag. a, recto ii.** Porten reconstructs an additional line (*TAD* ln. 2), which includes a second wife. This is due to the total of two great ladies on line 5. The daughter on line three, however, is not designated **מסתא** "under the *limit*," but rather a [◦]◦ח. The top of a letter that follows this lost word is visible in the IR photographs. It matches the top stroke of a ג. Thus the daughter of this family unit is likely the second great lady accounted for in the total.

**Line 1.** The restoration of **יור** "אשך" is based on the other surviving entries. The meaning of the term is uncertain. Since "great lady" appears to designate a woman of status (ln. 2), who likely owns property, money, or commodities one might suspect that **יור** is a taxonomic counterpart for the male.<sup>79</sup>

**Line 2.** The term **נשן רבה** "great lady" is restored based on the surviving entries and on the fact that the group must contain two great ladies according to the total tally in line 5. The meaning of the phrase is not clear, but based on context it must be an administrative (if not also a social) taxonomy of a woman (**אנתה**). Examples of the use of **נשן** in the contracts suggests that this term refers to a woman who has the resources and status to legally represent herself, even among men (or perhaps like men). Porten holds a similar view and has pointed out that perhaps the phrase *nb.t pr* "lady of the house" (pl. *nbw.t pr.w*) may be the Egyptian counterpart to the Aramaic phrase great lady found

here; he suspects that the Aramaic is a calque on the Egyptian (PORTEN, pp. 34–35.). The difficulty with this calque theory is that the etymology of **נשן** is not clear. It is once spelled **נשינ** in reference to an Egyptian woman (Brooklyn 47.218.94 = *TAD* B3.12.1), and this spelling has led some to interpret it as a grammatically plural form with a singular meaning.<sup>80</sup> This is not correct since it is attested in this manuscript as both singular and plural with the same spelling; such words are often loanwords into Aramaic (e.g., **פתפ** "food-ration[s]"). To complicate matters, Porten and Yardeni read **אנתה רבה** "great woman" on Pap. Ber. P. 13443 = *TAD* D6.1+2 (leather), though I cannot make out the first word of this phrase in the IR photographs. The relationship between "great lady" and "great woman" (if it is correct) along with **מראה** "mistress/lady" remains unknown.<sup>81</sup>

**Line 3.** The term **בלה** is an Egyptian female's name (*Bl.t*).<sup>82</sup> The choice to translate the ambiguous pronoun on the word daughter as "her" rather than PORTEN/*TAD* "his" is owed to the grammar of the line. The nearest antecedent is the woman. The question remains: is the list to be thought of as a dual tiered list of social categories, the male and all other people are "his," or does the list represent multiple social categories with each underaged child being the tax burden of the preceding great lady? In the latter interpretation each child would be "hers." That the groupings tally males and great ladies and that a grouping can have more than one great lady favors the latter interpretation. See further discussion on recto iii 7.

**Lines 4–5.** Summation of persons appears in a variety of texts. A summation line is found in a contract, **כל גבר / נשן /** "(in) total 1 man (and) 1 woman" (Brooklyn 47.218.95a–b = *TAD* B3.4), and is used to identify the types of legally responsible parties in that document. This comparison

80 Segert, "Bezeichnung," 619–621.

81 A misnomer once existed concerning the phrase **נשן בית** found in the <sup>?</sup>Aršama leather collection. It was first translated as "women of the house" (DRIVER nos. 8–9), but is now understood as "people of the house" from Akkadian *nīšī bīt* (see Kaufman, *Akkadian*, 78). The term **נשן** meaning "men" or "people" is now known from the later Idumea ostraca (YARDENI nos. 63, [213] and **נשאנ** from EPH<sup>1</sup>AL AND NAVEH no. 201). The distribution of **נשן** meaning "woman" is also known outside of Egypt (LEMAIRE<sup>3</sup> no. 24). Related to this is the difficult construction in the Hermopolis letters **ואנשתה בתי שלמ אחי** "Greet my brother(.) *Bitya/my house* and his/its *women/lady/people* (?)" (e.g. Hermop. 4 = *TAD* A2.1:14). There is no clear cognate in Akkadian with Aramaic **נשן**. The only terms similar in spelling that refer to status are *aššatu* "wife, woman" and *assinnu* "cultic oblate" in the temples of Ištār, the latter of which refers to individuals who transverse gender and status norms.

82 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 101; Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* 1/2, 145 with Gk equivalent Βελλης.

79 See Moore, "Social Historical," forthcoming.

helps to confirm that יור "ywr" in the present document means something like "male/man" (גבר). The only complete line of a summation of persons in an administrative list is from Cario EM JdE 43479 = *TAD* C3.14:28, and it reads בגו / מ / ט / ז / נ / פ / ש : 54 [כ] ל נפש ז : 54 herein" (col. ii ln. 8). In this example the term בגו is placed at the end of the items to be tallied and used, as elsewhere, adverbially.<sup>83</sup>

The structure of the summations includes a total number of persons followed by an itemized list according to the individual classifications. See further notes on recto iii 7.

**Frag. b, recto iii.** This fragment retains nearly a complete column width. The bottom of some letters are visible on the top of the fragment. The *vacat* between lines 2 and 3 is relatively narrow.

**Line 4.** The male Egyptian name פחפי (*P3-Hp*) is the end of a great woman's patronymic.<sup>84</sup> Whether she was a wife or a daughter is unclear. *TAD* sees the traces of the lost letter (◦) in ה◦[◦◦(◦)] as ת. This is probably correct, but is this person a wife (*TAD*) or a daughter (compare recto i 3)?

**Lines 5–6.** All attested Egyptian names ending in ס appear to be too long to fit in the break.

The precise meaning of תחת מסתא is uncertain. Porten translates it as "under sufficiency" while noting the term's usage in other NWS contexts; he also asks whether it means "under age" or "under [the parent's] control" (PORTEN, p. 36). The vast majority of surviving Aramaic accounts concern either the state (or another institution) giving or taking money or items from those on the account. The new reading of the word shekel on the verso of frag. d supports this meaning for the present list also. Therefore, I interpret the phrase to refer to children who are not responsible for the tax burden or not deemed eligible for the ration distribution. They are below the *limit* of eligibility, whatever that limit was: age, resources, status, etc.

**Line 7.** See notes on recto i 4–5. *TAD* reconstructs a tally for the total number of children, but this seems to be incorrect. The title "her son" or "her daughter" parallels the title "his wife," which is also found in this grouping. In the final tallies, only a total of persons followed by an itemized list of the category ywr and the category "great lady" appear; the number of wives are not tallied. Therefore, one would expect the itemized tally to include either the number of those "under the *limit*" or, if in fact the term means excluded, no tally for these individuals, as in fact is the case here. Besides, the list's reader could easily calculate the number excluded by subtracting the itemized list

from the total.

**Line 8.** The male Egyptian name פטוסרי (*P3-dj-Wsr*) and its variants are known from many Aramaic sources from Egypt.<sup>85</sup> As for the lost first name, of the known Egyptian onomasicon in Aramaic, Porten suggests אספמט, פטחרפחרט, or פמט (PORTEN, p. 37.). The name פטחרפחרט is too long, and אספמט is a hapax spelling for the common name אספמת. The short name פמט (×2, Brooklyn 47.218.94 = *TAD* B3.12:20; [Pap. Ber. P. 13485 = B7.3:5]) better fits the break and has an equal distribution with its variant spelling פמת (×2, Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = *TAD* C3.15:72; Pap. Ber. P. 23120 = *TAD* D3.10:2).

**Line 9.** The male Egyptian name חור (*HR*)<sup>86</sup> is a common hypocoristic found at Elephantine.

**Frag. c, recto iv.** *TAD* edits this as an unplaced fragment, but Porten suspects that it may belong just above frag. d. With the recovery of column v, which is nearly the same height as frag. b, and with the arrangement of the fragments based on the break patterns, it seems better to place this as the sole surviving text of column iii.

**Line 1.** See recto iii 9.

**Line 2.** The final letter of the first name is clearly a פ or a defective ג. Of the few attested Egyptian Aramaic female names ending with this letter, only תתפ (*T3-dj=f*;<sup>87</sup> see recto v 3) fits the break.

**Frag. d, recto v.** Visible in the IR photos is the tale of a letter from a line above the name Paḥnûm; it is not a *vacat*. This line is likely either the name of a wife or of more children.

**Line 2.** As expected, the name פחנומ (*P3-Hnm*)<sup>88</sup> and its variant פחנו are well attested in the Elephantine documents.

**Line 3.** The female Egyptian name תטחרור (*T3-dj-Hrwr*)<sup>89</sup> is so far only attested here.

**Line 4.** For תתפ (*T3-dj=f*)<sup>90</sup> see recto iv 2.

**Line 5.** See recto iii 9.

**Line 6.** The number 50 is a marginal tally of the preceding names in the list. The fact that it falls on a child, most of which appear to be "under the *limit*" and excluded from the itemized tallies suggests that the marginal tally is of all persons on the list up to the number 50. The female Egyptian name תחי (*T3-hj*) is so far only attested here.<sup>91</sup>

83 CAL, "bgw" (accessed 14DEC2020).

84 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102. LOZACHMEUR, p. 499 suggests also Pa-ḥ'pj.

85 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 101. For further discussion of the name in the Elephantine ostraca, see LOZACHMEUR, p. 499.

86 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103; LOZACHMEUR, pp. 495–496.

87 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103.

88 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102; LOZACHMEUR, p. 498.

89 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103.

90 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103.

91 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 103.

**Frag. e, recto vi.** This column is compiled from fragments found in the Aramaic Box. It contains a sheet-join, which allows one to better reconstruct the manuscript's layout. The surviving right sheet is similar to the left sheet of frag. d, so I have arranged them as the right and left portions of the same papyrus sheet. The content appears to be an administrative summary (compare the ends of the Syene Ration List and the Yahô Collection List). Besides the physical and paleographic similarities, the unique phrase *שן רבה* [נ] connects the fragment to the Egyptian name list.

**Line 1.** The term *חסילנ* is difficult to read, but highly likely. The *ל*, *ס*, and *נ* are certain, and the *ח* is highly likely. It looks as though *חסנ* was written then the *נ* erased and a *י* written over the erasure, but there may also be interference here from the palimpsest. This is the first attestation of *חסל* "to wean" in any early Aramaic dialect (compare Syriac). The form *חסילנ* is a feminine<sup>92</sup> plural G-stem passive participle from the root *חסל* "to wean," and renders "weaned girls." The stroke that follows is either the numeral 1 or a *כ*, but the stroke does not seem long enough to be a *כ*. Compare the numeral 1 on line 3. The last line of this fragment also contains a class of females, see line 8. Perhaps these are related to the children "under the *limit*" found in the body of the list?

**Line 2.** The meaning of *לחור* in this broken context is perplexing. Perhaps the god Horus is meant here, and if so, this is the first attestation of the deity's name in Aramaic on Elephantine/Syene. Some servitors of the Khnum temple are named Hôr (e.g. *TAD* [B3.7.8]; B3.11.6). At the end of the Yahô Collection List the three gods Yahô, <sup>?</sup>Ešembêt<sup>?</sup>el, and <sup>?</sup>Anatbêt<sup>?</sup>el are all apparently distributed funds from the collection. In that summary the god is mentioned without a title *אלהא* "god," and the syntax is *לדנא*, like that found here.

**Line 3.** The readings are certain.

**Line 4.** The final letter looks like a *ח*, but *ך* is also possible. Note the different styles of *י*'s in this line.

**Line 5.** A summation line follows a *vacat*. The traces of the first two letters are uncertain, *נפ*. If my reading is correct, this is the first attestation of the noun *נפש* with the determinative particle *א*- in IA. It is found in Qumran Aramaic on 4Q20 (4QapGen) col. 22 ln. 19 where it is a collective singular form, *הב לי נפשא די א'תי לי די שביא עמד* "give (m.s.) me the living who are mine who are the captives with you." The reading *סונ* "Syene" seems likely. A proper name for a month is expected after "in the month of," and

the traces of the final letter in the line appear to be a *מ*. Only Mesôr<sup>e</sup> or Mehîr begins with a *מ* in the Egyptian and Babylonian calendars.

**Line 6.** The first letters clearly look like *גנכמ*, but this is an incomprehensible string of letters. Could this be *ה-נכס* "... H property" where only the left half of the *ה* survives and the *ס* is defectively written? The reading *בגו* "herein" is clear in the IR photograph.

**Line 7.** The reading of the first word is certain. *אספ* "to gather" is not otherwise attested in IA, though it appears frequently in Hebrew (*אסף*), Ugaritic (*<sup>?</sup>asp*), Phoenician (*אסף*), and all periods of Akkadian (*esēpu*); it seems probable then that it may have been used in administrative Aramaic as well. *אסף* "to add" is known in IA in the C-stem, but one expects its participle to be spelled *מאספ* (compare *TAD* [A6.10:5]). One may choose to read *מאספ* (-) as an unattested proper name, though this is still elusive. I tentatively read here a Dp-stem participle of *אספ* and translate "collected."<sup>93</sup> Only one short word that begins with *ב* follows *מאספ*. The trace of its final letter appear to be the top of a *נ* that begins above the line (compare *נ* in the previous line). The word *בסונ* "in Syene" nicely fits the space and is preferred over *ביב* "in Elephantine."

**Line 8.** All characters of the first word are legible in the IR photographs. The form *עלימנ* can be understood as a defectively masculine plural noun or more likely a correctly spelled feminine plural meaning "young (servant) women." Compare the reading "weaned girls" in line one and "great ladies" in line 3.

**Frag. e, verso i.** The single line across the middle of the fragment is illegible. The reading may be [...]*ב* [...], but this is a best guess. The line may be the beginning of a long line that continues in the next fragment. Faint traces of the erased palimpsest are visible, but nothing is legible nor are lines easily delimited.

**Frag. d, verso i cont'd (?)**. The original text is erased less well on this fragment, and four lines of the erased palimpsest are discernible, though not legible. The traces of ink on the very bottom edge of the verso likely belong to the poorly erased palimpsest because the width of the strokes are greater than those found on the overwritten text. By comparison, note that the Demotic palimpsest of the Yahô Collection List is unevenly erased with the Aramaic writer erasing only parts of the original text at times. The IR photographs yield new readings of the overwritten line. Most importantly one can easily read the letters *שק*. A smudge from the palimpsest appears to the right of the *ש* and was mistaken by *TAD* to be an overwritten letter. Of

92 I am strictly following the orthography. More context is needed to determine if the writer avoids the discretionary *י* of the masculine plural ending *י*'-.

93 For a discussion of the D-stem passive participles in IA see MURAOKA AND PORTEN, §30.

the few words that begin -שק, only שקל occurs frequently and is expected in administrative documents. The visible traces of the following letters allow for this reading as well. This new reading provides the reason for the list, though it remains unclear if the list's individuals pay or receive silver. Because the term מאסף "collected" appears on the new recto fragment (e), I prefer to interpret this as a collection list.

**Frag. c, verso.** No traces of an overwritten text survive. Evidence of at least three lines of the erased palimpsest are visible, but illegible, in the 1R photographs.

**Frag. b, verso ii.** Traces of the end of perhaps the third column of the erased text are visible. Traces of the beginning of the fourth column are legible.

This surviving group of names in the overwritten text is the only evidence that the list continued after the apparent summary in frag. e recto vi. The implication of what I read as a marginal number means that at least one short group of names is missing after a *vacat*, and that we should restore at least five names between the end of the list on the recto and the beginning of the names on this fragment, whether these 5(+) names belong on the recto or verso is unclear and depends on whether the surviving fragments are the top half or the bottom half of the original roll. As for the formatting, compare the Yahô Collection List, which also exhibits a *vacat* on the verso column of names after the recto's summary.

**Line 3.** The initial מ is almost completely missing. מסחנה (*Mshn.t*) is a female Egyptian name that derives from the goddess of birth, Meskhenet.

**Line 4.** פטסבק (*P3-dj-Sbk*)<sup>94</sup> is a male Egyptian name.

**Frag. a, verso iii (?).** Three lines of the illegible palimpsest are visible. PORTEN notes that the writing on the verso is clear, but he inexplicably provides no edition or commentary of the verso in the editio princeps (39). *TAD* reads "his son" followed by the number 1. The difficulty with this is that ברה would be the end of a summation line, but there is no evidence of a preceding line. Close examination of the photographs reveals that the third letter is shaped like א, with a distinctive horn, and the second letter looks more like ט. The line may simply be a stray administrative note added to the blank portion of the manuscript.

**Frag. f, unplaced.** The placement of this fragment is uncertain. PORTEN suspects that it falls left of frag. d recto (37), and would therefore sit between frag. c and d in the reconstructed layout found here. I have not been able to confirm such a placement. It is nonetheless clear that the

fragment belongs to this manuscript because the recto uses the unique idiom, "under the *limit*."

94 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102.

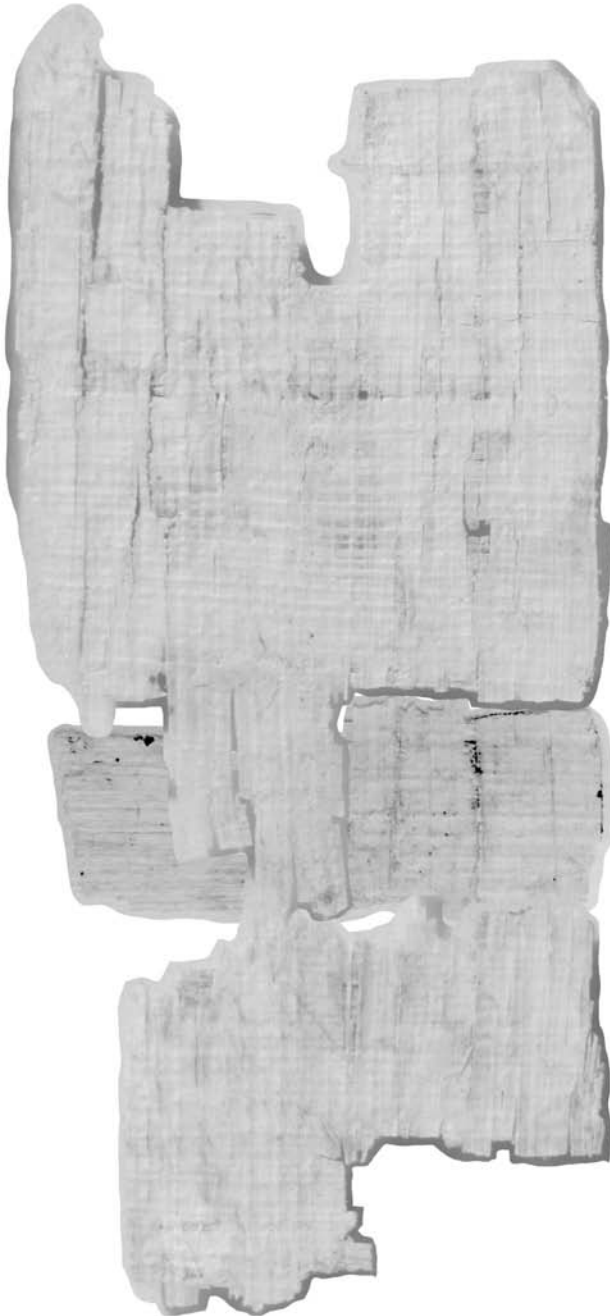
2.2.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23924

### Bibliography

COWLEY no. 67, 6; SACHAU Pap. 73, 6 / Taf. 60, 6; *TAD* D3.3

Width: 4.1 cm; Height: 8.8 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso



Recto



## Recto

1'. [PN-]n son of Psa <sup>f</sup> m <sup>l</sup> [î]	[...]ג בר פסמ <sup>f</sup> [י]':1
2'. {[PN-]bh  [PN-]bm} son of K <sup>f</sup> b <sup>l</sup> [-...]	[...]בה {במ[...]} בר כ'ב[...]' :2
3'. [PN-]° son of { <sup>g</sup> gz°[...]  <sup>t</sup> tz°[...]}	{[...]}אתז°[...] אגז°[...]' :3
4'. [PN]° son of Peṭḥ[ <sup>num</sup> ]	[...]° בר פטח[נמ] :4
5'. {[PN-] <sup>f</sup> k <sup>l</sup>  [PN-] <sup>f</sup> p <sup>l</sup> son of { <sup>k</sup> k[-...]  <sup>p</sup> p[-...]}	{[...]}אפ[...] אכ[...]} בר { <sup>f</sup> f[...]  <sup>l</sup> l[...]} :5
6'. [Wah]p <sup>l</sup> re <sup>s</sup> son of [PN]	[...]וח <sup>f</sup> רע <sup>s</sup> בר [PN] :6
7'. {[Peṭḥar]pḥra[t]  [Teṭḥar]pḥra[t] son of PN}	[...]ט {פטהר[פחיר]ט [טטהר[פחיר]ט} בר [PN] :7

[...]אגז° TAD {[...]}אתז°[...]|אגז°[...]| [...] TAD °[...]:3 {[רא]}כב[דא]|כב[רא] TAD [...]כ'ב|בה[...]| TAD {במ[...]|בה[...]}:2 |[י] TAD פסמ[...]:1  
 [...]°{°[ד|ר]פח[...]} TAD {טטהר[פחיר]ט|[פטהר[פחיר]ט]}:7 |[...]}° TAD [נמ] TAD °[...]:4 |

## Commentary

Text type: record (roll/scrap). Genre: undefined (name list).

This papyrus appears to be a scrap that was used to write a list of (mostly) Egyptian names. The purpose of the list is unknown. The stylus' nib is round and (b)rush-like, not showing signs of a sharpened edge or tines.

TAD D3.3 first published the smaller lower fragment from the East Berlin collection, but did not place it, although the editors recognized that it belonged to the same document as the larger fragment. When the two papyri were conserved, the smaller fragment was placed above the larger fragment, probably due to the fact that the vertical fibers on the verso agree. Now, we have directly joined the lower fragment to the larger one, and the new fragment from the Aramaic Box contains the recto that was previously lost between the lower and larger fragments.

**Line 1.** The Egyptian name Psamî (*p<sub>3</sub>-(n)-šmy.t*) is known at Elephantine (Pap. Ber. P. 13485 = TAD B7.3;7; AIBL-CIS CG nos. 143; 223).<sup>95</sup>

**Line 2.** The final letter of the first name is transcribed in TAD as ה, but the new photograph reveals that the strokes may resemble מ. Many names end in -בה, and all forms attested so far are Semitic. The name כבדא, which TAD restores, would be the only clear example of a Semitic name on this list.<sup>96</sup> No previously known name from Elephantine ends in -במ. TAD correctly reads the line's final letter as ב against COWLEY and SACHAU, both of whom prefer ט.

**Line 3.** It is not clear if the third letter of the patronymic is ת or ג without more examples from this hand. Regardless, neither string of letters is previously known as a name at Elephantine.

**Line 4.** Of the known Egyptian names in Aramaic only Peṭḥn'û'm fits here. Compare הושע בר פטחנ'ום, a witness on Cairo EM JdE 37107 = TAD B2.2:17.

**Line 5.** The first name is unknown, and a large variety of Aramaic names of Egyptian origin end in -כ or -פ. The first letter of the patronymic is certainly א (compare line 3) and not כ (compare line 2). Names beginning -אכ are very rare in the Aramaic onomasticon, with only the name אכי so far attested in Egypt (graffito TAD D22.53), while a variety of non-Semitic names begin with -אפ.

**Line 6.** Reconstruction follows TAD, and the name Wah-pre<sup>s</sup> is Egyptian.<sup>97</sup>

**Line 7.** The restored Egyptian name is either Peṭḥar-pḥraṭ or Teṭḥar-pḥraṭ from the known onomasticon.<sup>98</sup>

95 LOZACHMEUR, p. 501. Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 90 derives the name from *p<sub>3</sub>-mš*.

96 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 55.

97 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 101; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 80.

98 Vittmann, "Ägyptische Onomastik," 102–103; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 88, 96.

2.2.3 Pap. Ber. P. 23926 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43479

## Bibliography

COWLEY no. 24; SACHAU Pap. 19 / Taf. 21–22; TAD C3.14.

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23926 (center)	2.1 cm; 2.1 cm	○
Recto:	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: none.	Rotation: none (one-sided).	



Recto col. iii

10. And that (of) ◦[...] was 'g'iven: (the) ration(s) to the  
[EN] troop [... in the district of]  
11. Tšet[reš (under the authority of PN) ... ]1,690(+).

*vacat*

12. [...]◦◦◦ [◦◦]◦ 'of Me<sup>l</sup>hîr, yea<sup>r</sup>[...]  
13. [...] as the food (ration)[... ]? and from ?[...]  
14. [...]1(9)7(+).

10. וזי ◦ [...] ויהיב פתפ לחילא [...] מדינת]  
11. תשיט'רס ביד [...] לפ וו וו וו ל זב זב זב זב [...]

12. [...]◦◦◦ [◦◦]◦ 'למ'חיר שנת' [...] ]  
13. [...] במכליא [...] ] א ומנא [...] ]  
14. [...] ל זב זב זב זב ר וו וו וו [...] ]



### Commentary

No photograph of the verso of Cairo EM JdE 43479 is available. The present photograph is a digital reconstruction based on SACHAU's plates and my IR photographs of the new fragment. Based on line spacing and break patterns this fragment can be placed either here or in a lost column. A *vacat* precedes iii ln. 10, and *TAD*'s edition of the other columns should be consulted because this new small fragment from the Aramaic Box does not prompt the need to reedit the complete record roll here.

**Line 12.** The elongated vertical on the final ך|ד is a feature of this hand (e.g., ונפר "Wenofre," recto iii ln. 4).

**Line 13.** The fragment contains the word במכלא, which was only previously known from the Syene Ration List (recto iii 3 = *TAD* C3.14:34). The word is now also known from another new account fragment edited herein, no. 2.2.4 (Pap. Ber. P. 23932). The new fragment may sit in column iii (ln. 13), where based on the formula from the top part of the column, the word במכלא is expected. It is not clear to what degree this term differs from the often used Old Iranian loanword פרתפ "food-ration(s)" (*CAL* "ptp, ptp' n.m. ration" accessed 23MAY2021),<sup>99</sup> which is found in the same summary (ln. 10).

<sup>99</sup> See also Tavernier, *Iranica*, 410.

2.2.4 Pap. Ber. P. 23932

Width: 1.3 cm; Height: 3.9 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ⊥  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: side-to-side.



Recto

1'. [... f]ood-rations, [20(+) ...]  
 2'. [... f]ʿoʿod-rations 20[(+) ...]  
 3'. [... f]ood-ration ʿ20ʿ[(+) ...]  
 4'. [... ]ʿfʿood-rations ʿ20ʿ[(+) ...]

[... (+) כ]לנ[מ ...] :1  
 [... (+) כ]לנ[מ ...] :2  
 [... (+) כ]לנ[מ ...] :3  
 [... (+) כ]לנ[מ ...] :4

Verso

1'. [...]§  
 2'. [...]T 2  
 3'. [...]°  
 1'. °[...]

col. i  
 col. ii

ʿ[...]:1  
 // ת[...]:2  
 °[...]:3  
 [...]:1

## Commentary

This fragment appears to be part of a record roll account that records distributed food-rations.

**Recto.** A list of the same word is repeated on the recto of this fragment. The clearly legible string of letters כּלנ- is followed by a sign that sits high on the line, is composed of at least two strokes, and is without an apparent word break. Only א, י, or a rare form of ס (see Appendix, Paleography) are the possible letters, none of which produce a comprehensible or satisfying word. The verb יכל "to be able" or the (pro)noun כל "all, every, total" with a first common plural suffix comes to mind, but neither this verbal root nor a first common pronominal suffix are expected in a list, and even if they were, what would one make of the final character? Close examination of the photograph reveals that the final character is made of two, mostly horizontal strokes on top of each other, that is, it resembles the number 20. It is known from the corpus that numbers frequently sit next to preceding words without a word break, as is the case here. Traces of a horizontal or diagonal stroke are found on the right edge of line 4. The only commodity or measurement that agrees with the legible string of letters and could be restored based on the trace of the initial letter on line 4 is מכל "food-ration." This word is known from the Syene Ration List (Pap. Ber. P. 23926 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43479 herein no. 2.2.3). The handwriting and lines' spacing on that account, however, differ from that found here, and therefore, this fragment must belong to a separate accounting.

**Verso.** The number "2" on the verso confirms that it too contained an account.

2.3 *Memoranda*

2.3.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23928

**Bibliography**

TAD D3.1.

Width: 4.9cm; Height: 8.2cm

Sheet-join(s): 1.

Palimpsest: Demotic, 90° to overwritten text.

Recto: ||

Verso: ⊥

Rotation: side-to-side.

Verso

Recto



Recto

---

1'. Memorandum of Em[mer. ...]	1' דכרנ כנ[תנ ...]
2'. The document in the hand of[ ...]	2' ספרא ביד[ ...]
3'. emmer, [#] <i>peras</i> [ ...]	3' כנתנ פרס[נ ...]
4'. and to the 'ha'nd of 'r <sup>21</sup> [...]	4' וליזד יא' [...]
5'. ◦(◦)◦◦ N◦◦r <sup>21</sup> [...]	5' ◦(◦)◦◦ נים יא' [...]

---

Verso

---

1'. [... ]the [... ] which (he) ga've <sup>1</sup> [ ...]	1' א זי יהיב' [...]
2'. [... ] the [mon]th of Epiph on the #[ ...]	2' ח אפפ בם [...]
3'. [... ] <sup>2</sup>	3' // [...].

---

*vacat*

1' יהיב' TAD [... ] יהב[...]

## Commentary

This document is a record roll with a memorandum, as identified by the presence of the emic genre marker, דכרנ/זכרנ (see Introduction, Placing Fragments: Text Types). The highly brittle quality of the papyrus and its dark brown coloring suggest that it may have suffered some moisture damage. Could it have come from house *k* (Introduction, History: Dating)?

The document contains an illegible Demotic palimpsest written 90° to the overwritten text. Note that the Aramaic column begins just left of a sheet-join.

**Line 1–2.** A memorandum דכרנ/זכרנ is an administrative summary of an important document.<sup>100</sup> Note the reference to a document in line 2. Only here is the term spelled with a  $\daleth$  rather than a  $\zeta$  in surviving IA documents from Egypt.<sup>101</sup> The spelling implies that the writer is from a different Aramaic scribal tradition than those who wrote the other memoranda entries in Egypt.

**Line 3.** I follow *TAD* here and read פרט as a dry measure. It is possible to translate instead “(commodity) allotment.” Translating “Persia(n)” seems highly unlikely.

**Line 4.** The first letter must be  $\nu$  because the  $\nu$  in this hand exhibits an articulated crown, and  $\nu$  exhibits its expected shape (verso, line 1). Traces of the word’s  $\nu$  are visible around the break.

**Line 5.** Enough of the letters survive, making a proposal enticing, but no known string of letters that match the stroke pattern produces a convincing reading.

**Verso, line 1.** The verso continues with another entry on the record roll. It is uncertain if this is also a memorandum or simply an unlabeled entry. Like that on the recto, the verso refers to property/items, but here by using  $\sqrt{\text{יהב}}$  “to give” and a final quantity ending in “2(+).”

**Line 2.** Note that the month “Epiph” is Egyptian, and no Babylonian equivalent is given.

<sup>100</sup> Moore, “Who Gave,” 81–86.

<sup>101</sup> The spelling in the unprovenanced Bactrian document *ADAB* no. C4.52 is probably also  $\daleth$  though the letter is effaced. In the book of Ezra 4–7 it is only attested with  $\daleth$ .

## 2.3.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23929 a–c

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	6.7 cm; 6.9 cm	0
Frag. b	2.2 cm; 3.9	1
Frag. c	1.8 cm; 3.6 cm	1
Recto:	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: none.	Rotation: none (one-sided).	

## P. 23929 a

Verso



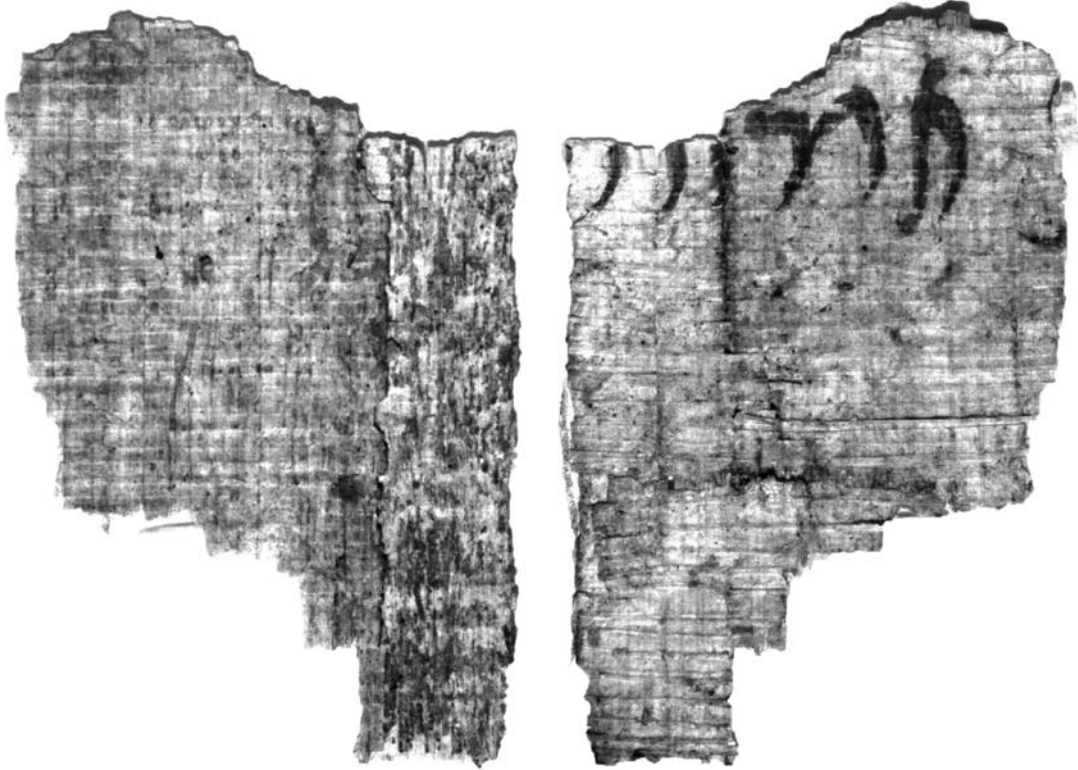
Recto



P. 23929 b

Verso

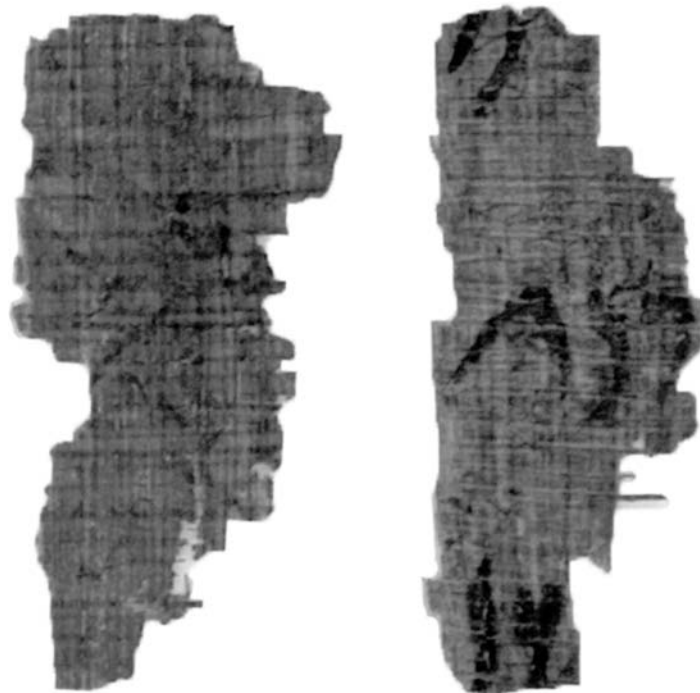
Recto



P. 23929 c

Verso

Recto



## Frag. a

*vacat*

1'. [...] <sup>f</sup>Miptaḥyah daughter of Zakk'û<sup>l</sup>[r ...]  
 2'. [...] <sup>o</sup>to *Td's<sup>l</sup>mt* daughter of 'Zakkûr<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

1'. [...] <sup>f</sup>מפטח'יה ברת זכיו<sup>l</sup>[ר ...]  
 2'. [...] <sup>o</sup>לתדעס'מת ברת זכיו<sup>l</sup>[ר ...]

## Frag. b

1'. [...] <sup>o</sup>she/you shall su<sup>f</sup>e him<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

1'. [...] <sup>o</sup>תגרויה<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

## Frag. c

1'. [...] <sup>o</sup>[...]  
 2'. [... Vid]ranga[...]  
 3'. [...]KN[...]

1'. [...] <sup>o</sup>[...]  
 2'. [...] ויד[רנג[...]  
 3'. [...] כנ[...]

## Commentary

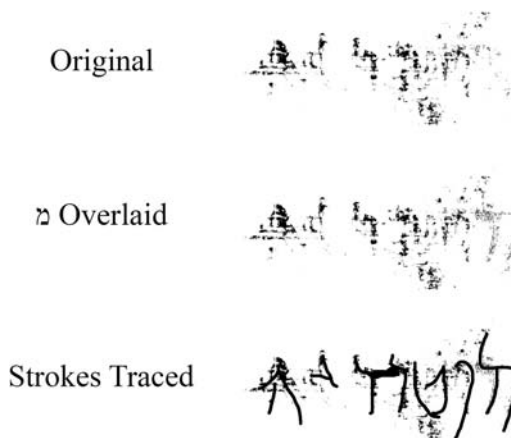
The layers of the sheet-join on frag. c came apart while photographing, which is why the recto and verso are different shapes.

The judicial term on frag. b suggests that this may be a memorandum (זכרון-entry) of a litigation concerning commodities. This fragment also contains a sheet-join on the right edge of the recto, and may sit right of frag. a

The papyrus is high quality, but brittle, perhaps having experienced moisture damage like that known from house k (Introduction, History: Dating).

**Frag. a, line 1:** The final letter of the first word is certainly ה, and the second to the final letter is י. The first few letters are damaged and difficult to read. The tall initial stroke looks, at first glance, to be a ל, but when compared to the height of the מ from line 2, it seems better to read the first letter of line 1 as a מ. The third letter from the end looks like a ו, but a horizontal stroke protruding rightward confirms that it is ה. The two letters between the initial מ and ה are smudged. The following figure includes the original ink extracted via Photoshop, a copy of that extraction with the מ from line 2 superimposed on first letter. That composite image is then copied again and the visible stroke patterns of all the letters are traced in the final line of the figure.

## Pap. Ber. P. 23929 a, Line 1 Word 1



The next word ברת is clear, and indicates that a name should follow. The only two Miptaḥyahs known from the other documents are Mip/bṭaḥyah daughter of Maḥseyah (e.g., Cairo EM JdE 37108 = *TAD* B2.7) and Mip/bṭaḥyah daughter of Gemaryah (e.g., Cairo EM JdE 43489 = *TAD* B5.5:11). The stroke pattern of the two letters of the patronymic do not match either of the expected names. It must be concluded that this is a third and previously unknown female by the name of Miptaḥyah. The strokes match the string זכו-

**Line 2.** The legible word is ברת, so the preceding word must be a female's name. The name *Td's<sup>l</sup>mt* appears to match the strokes. The מ, ד, and final ת are certain. After consulting with Jan Moje, I would propose that this a form



of the Egyptian name structure: *T3.di-DN*. Admittedly, this structure is normally represented as *TṬ-DN* in Aramaic, but here the divine name appears to be *Ns-mtr* “sacred emblem of Khnum” (producing *T3.di-Ns-mtr*), and perhaps the dental and nasal meeting prompted the writer to choose *ṭ* in this case rather than *ṣ*.<sup>102</sup>

**Frag. b.** The final three letters of Vidranga’s name are certain. Litigation can occur “before the commander” (קדמ רב הילא; e.g. Cairo EM JdE 37113 = *TAD B2.10*),<sup>103</sup> which is one of Vidranga’s titles. The traces of three lines suggests that this may be a different record entry than that found in frag. a or that the third and final line did not extend the length of the column. The three layers of papyrus that make up frag. b indicate that it was a sheet-join.

**Frag. c.** The reading גרי√ “to sue, litigate” is certain. It is not decided whether the form is feminine, as the entry on frag. a might suggest, or a masculine second person singular and, therefore, a citation of a court record.

<sup>102</sup> Egyptian dentals are represented by *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, or *ṭ* depending on the writer and neighboring phonetic conditions. See Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik;” and Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, 28 n. 39.

<sup>103</sup> See Botta, *Aramaic*, 112.

2.4 *Oaths/Court Records*

2.4.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23939

Width: 1.5 cm; Height: 2.5 cm    Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none.            Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces verso.        Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°° °[...]  
 2'. [...] (he) swore[ ...]

[...]° °°[...]. '1  
 [...] Ⲙⲙ[ ...]. '2

**Commentary**

The pen and stylus are large. The thickness of the stylus does not match Pap. Ber. P. 13485 = *TAD* B7.3, a fragmentary oath document, though the hand is similar. It is possible that the fragment belongs to Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1 or Cairo EM JdE 43486 = *TAD* B7.2, based on content.

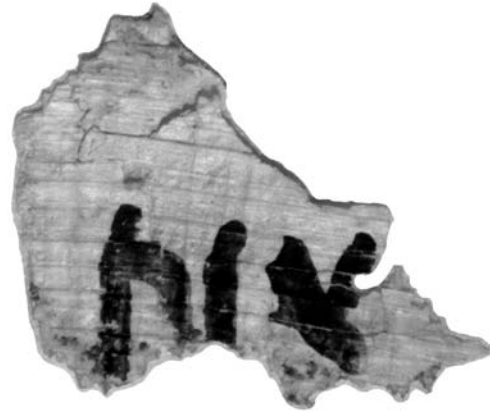
2.4.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23942 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43490 (?)

Width: 2.2 cm; Height: 1.7 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces. Rotation: none.

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

1. [...] you (m.s.) [...]

[...] תאנא [...] .1

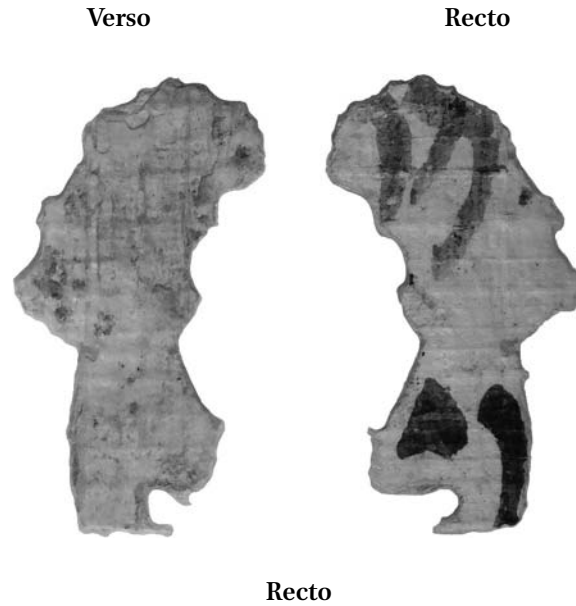
---

### Commentary

The letters are relatively large. A second person pronoun is rare to find on most types of record rolls, suggesting that this is a judicial record. The shape and size of the letters as well as the edge of the pen (evidenced by א) match those found on Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1 and, therefore, may belong with Pap. Ber. P. 23941 (herein no. 2.4.3).

2.4.3 Pap. Ber. P. 23941 (+) Cairo EM JdE 43490 (?)

Width: 2.1 cm; Height: 2.6 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: top-to-bottom.



1. [...] <sup>l</sup>sa<sup>l</sup>i<sup>d</sup>l[...]  
 2. [...]PY[...]

[...] <sup>l</sup>א<sup>l</sup>מ<sup>l</sup>ר<sup>l</sup> [...] .1  
 [...] <sup>l</sup>פי[...] .2

### Commentary

Three layers of papyrus are visible on the verso's upper edge. Three-layered sheet-joints are more often typical of record rolls in this collection. The letters are large. Uniquely, the writer appears to hold the stylus at a variable angle, whereby both sides of the pen are used. On material and paleographic grounds this seems to belong to the same document as Pap. Ber. P. 23942 (herein no. 2.4.2) and Cairo EM JdE 43490 = *TAD* B7.1.

2.5 *Unclassified*

2.5.1 Pap. Ber. P. 23925 a–b (of a–e)

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	2.0 cm; 1.5 cm	○
Frag. b	1.5 cm; 2.5 cm	○
Recto:	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: none.	Rotation: none (one-sided).	

Frag. a Recto



Frag. b Recto



Recto

---

1'. [...] lest[ ...]	<b>Frag. a</b>	1'. [...] הגנ לא [...]
1'. [...]BN [...]	<b>Frag. b</b>	1'. [...] בנ [...]
2'. [...] ] <sup>f</sup> E <sup>1</sup> g <sup>f</sup> y <sup>1</sup> [pt(ians) ...]		2'. [...] ]מ'צ'ר'ינ [...]

---

**Commentary**

These two fragments indirectly join to Pap. Ber. P. 13448-P. 23140/84 (+) P. 13448-P. 23140/96 (+) P. 13448-P. 13445/4 = *TAD* D2.11. *TAD*'s assessment of the previously published fragments as a contract seems unlikely. The content that survives is not overtly legal in nature, and the document is written parallel to the recto's fibers. Most revealing, the fold pattern does not resemble a contract, but rather a record roll. It is possible that these are either part of a court record, memorandum, or report. Because the format of the document is unknown and the new fragments remain unplaced, only the new fragments a and b are edited here.

2.5.2 Pap. Ber. P. 23927 a-c

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	1.2 cm; 2.2 cm	○
Frag. b	1.5 cm; 2.5 cm	○
Frag. c	1.5 cm; 2.2 cm	1 (?)
Recto:	Verso: blank	
Palimpsest: traces recto.	Rotation: side-to-side.	

Frag. c Recto



Frag. b Recto



Frag. a Recto



Recto

1'. {[...]D <sup>2</sup> [...]  [...]R <sup>2</sup> [...]} 2'. [...]6[(+) ...]	<b>Frag. a</b>	{[...]רא[...]  [...]דא[...]}'1 [...] ]'''[...' ]'2
1'. [...]°[...] 2'. [...]°° 6[(+) ...] 3'. [... Me]ḥ'îr, Yea[r ...] 4'. [...] Šahpîm <sup>1</sup> [û ...] 5'. {[...]Y <sup>N</sup> 1  [...]H <sup>1</sup> } [...]	<b>Frag. b</b>	[...]°[...]'1 [...]'''°[...]'2 [...] מ'ח'יר שנ[ת ...]'3 [...] שחפ'ימ'ו[ ]'4 [...] { 'ח[...]  'ינ[...]}'5
1'. [...]°°[...] 2'. {[...]D  [...]R} t <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup> /ʔ[...] 3'. [...] ]Seḥa <sup>1</sup> [ ...] 4'. [...]°[...]	<b>Frag. c</b>	[...]°[...]'1 [...] ע'ל'י[ר] { [...] } ד[...]'2 [...] ]' צח'א[ ...]'3 [...]°[...]'4

## Commentary

These fragments are from a record roll, and may also belong to the Syene Ration List (Cairo EM JdE 43479 = *TAD* C3.14 [herein no. 2.2.3]), but they have yet to be placed with confidence. Frag. b could belong on recto iii 13 = *TAD* C3.14:44, as does Pap. Ber. P. 23926 (herein no. 2.2.3), or on a new column of that document. That said, there are stains on these fragments that resemble those on the Collection List of Egyptian Family Units (Pap. Ber. P. 23923 a–f [herein no. 2.2.1]). The writer of frag. a appears to use the same stylus as frag. b, and the material is similar. For this reason, it is edited here even though it contains no legible words. The illegible palimpsest on frag. a may be Demotic or Aramaic. If it is Aramaic, read: [...] בר ◦ [...]. Frag. c is edited here based on material and paleographical considerations. The pen's nib profile is slightly different than the other two fragments, but this may be due to either the writer twisting the pen, using a different pen, or sharpening the pen. It is unclear if frag. c is a section of a sheet-join.

**Frag. b, line 3.** Compare the reading on the Syene Ration List recto iii ll. 2, 12 = *TAD* C3.14:33 and 43 and herein no. 2.2.3 ln. 12.

**Line 4.** The Egyptian name Šəḥpîmû (Tʃj-ḥp-jm=w)<sup>104</sup> is known from Cairo EM JdE 59204 = *TAD* A5.4:2; Mus. Vat. Inv. No. 22955 = C3.19:10, 13; and BM E 14219 = D7.13:5.

**Frag. c, line 2.** One may interpret this line as “[PN so]n of” in which the letters לַע begin a patronymic. Alternatively, if this is an administrative note on a list, then “[...]{D|R}” ends a word, and לַע is the preposition “to.”

**Line 3.** The common Egyptian name Šəḥaʿ (*Dd-ḥr*)<sup>105</sup> is certain.

<sup>104</sup> Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 104.

<sup>105</sup> Vittmann, “Ägyptische Onomastik,” 104.

2.5.3 Pap Ber. P. 23968; P. 23969; P. 23970

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
P. 23968	2.6 cm; Height: 1.8 cm	1
P. 23969	1.5 cm; 2.1 cm	1
P. 23970	2.1 cm; 2.5 cm	0
Recto: ⊥	Verso:	
Palimpsest: verso (?). Rotation: side-to-side.		

P. 23970

P. 23969

P. 23968

Recto



Verso



P. 23968

Recto

---

1'. [...]◦◦T <sup>l</sup> [...]	[...]T <sup>l</sup> ◦◦[...]:1
2'. [...]◦N {Menaḥe[m ...]   Menaḥe[met ...]}	{[...]מנחמת   [...]מנחמ}◦[...]:2

---

Verso

---

1'. [...]◦[◦◦]◦◦[...]	[...]◦[◦◦]◦◦[...]:1
-----------------------	---------------------

---



## P. 23969

## Recto

1'. [...]ʿG¹ {4ʿo¹[(+) |2ʿ1¹[(+)] ...}  
 2'. [...] his [ve]ssel |I} [...]

{[...]ʿ| [...]ʿ} ʿג [...] :1  
 [...] {אנה | אנה} [...] :2

## P. 23970

## Recto

1'. [...] {Hôdô |Hôdav[yah] ...}  
 2'. [...]° Gemaʿr¹[yah ...]

[... {יה | הודו] [...] :1  
 [...] {גמ'ר' | יה} [...] :2

## Verso

1'. °° [...]  
 2'. °° [...]

[...]°° :1  
 [...]°° :2

## Commentary

These administrative fragments are edited together because they share similarities in material, line spacing, and paleographic features (e.g. the ם's in frags. a and b are similar). They are given separate inventory numbers because the evidence is not strong enough to propose that they belong to the same document with a high enough degree of certainty.

**P. 23968.** The names Menaḥem and Menaḥemet are well attested throughout the corpus. There is no reason to assume that מנחה “grain offering” is intended here because it is not attested outside letters, except once on a so-called amulet (AIBL-CIS CG no. 103).<sup>106</sup>

**P. 23969.** If the pronoun “I” is meant here, then this is likely an entry in a report or memorandum. The alternative “his vessel” seems unlikely to be found in an administrative account, so if this is intended, then it too may be a sign that this fragment comes from a record or memorandum entry.

**P. 23970.** Whether the writing on the verso is a remnant of an erased text or an effaced continuation of the recto is uncertain. The readings and restorations on the recto are highly certain and the names are common.

<sup>106</sup> According to Moore, “Clermont-Ganneau,” *forthcoming*.

2.5.4 Pap. Ber. P. 23930

**Bibliography**

PORTEN no. 12; TAD D3.24.

Width: c. 5.4 cm; Height: c. 9.3 cm    Recto: ||  
Sheet-join(s): 1                                  Verso: ⊥  
Palimpsest: none.                                  Rotation: side-to-side.

Verso

Recto



Recto

**Frag. a**  
*vacat*

1. [...] year 16 of [...]

1. [...] שנת [...] ל

*vacat*  
**Frag. c**

1. [...] ◦ [...]  
2. [...] ◦ NP ◦ [...]

1. [...] ◦ [...] .1  
2. [...] ◦ נפ ◦ [...] .2

## Recto

## Frag. b

1. [...]° B° [...]
2. [...] B<sup>L</sup> [...] [...]
3. [...] 3 [...]

- [...]° ב° [...] .1  
 [...] ב<sup>L</sup> [...] .2  
 [...] 3 [...] .3

*vacat*[...]?[...] TAD *vacat* :4 | [...] ב<sup>L</sup> TAD [...] ב<sup>L</sup> :2

## Verso

## Frag. b

1. [...] 4<sup>1</sup>
2. [...] 4
3. [...] 4<sup>1</sup>

- ! 4<sup>1</sup> [...] .1  
 ! 4 [...] .2  
 ! 4<sup>1</sup> [...] .3

- TAD :3 | - TAD :2 | [...]°°[...] TAD ! 4<sup>1</sup> [...] :1

## Commentary

*TAD* presents the fragments as though they were turned top-to-bottom, but the strokes on the verso of frag. b indicates that the papyrus was turned side-to-side. The relationship among the fragments is not clear. No direct join can be made and the fragments should be spaced farther apart. Frags. a and c share a distinctive set of vertical fibers, and it is clear that frag. a sits above frag. c, but the gap between them is unknown. Where frag. b sits is unknown.

**Frag. a.** The new fragment, matches the material quality, break patterns, pen-nib, and letter size of the other fragments. The few surviving fibers on the left sheet of frag. a also align with the new fragment. The writer appears to have written the number 13 then began to write a different letter, perhaps either a ל due to parablepsis or ן which commonly follows numerals in administrative measurements; compare the ן on frag. b. verso. Alternatively, he simply shifted while writing. Once realizing the number should be 16, according to the standard grouping of three tally marks (𐤎), he simply wrote the remaining two numerals and continued with no signs of correction. One expects the name of a king to follow the ל, and since the bulk of the papyri come from the reign of Darius II, one might postulate that this is a reference to 408 BCE (16 Dar II), though 449 BCE (16 Art I), 469 BCE (16 Xer I), and 506 BCE (16 Dar I) are possible. If this is a memorandum, the date refers to a cited document. The repetitive list on frag. b indicates that this is more likely an account (see below).

**Frag. c.** The surviving stroke of the final broken letter is not ρ against PORTEN, p. 43 and *TAD* (implicitly).

It is too linear and favors reading נפרת “litigation.” The opening date formula combined with the fact that this is formatted as a record roll suggests that this may be a collection of court proceedings/contracts (perhaps in memorandum-style). Compare memorandum entries on Pap. Ber. P. 13447v = *TAD* C3.13.

**Frag. b verso.** The purpose of this account is unknown, but proper names usually precede lists of identical numbers at the end of lines (e.g., Pap. Ber. P. 13488 = *TAD* C3.15).

2.5.5 Pap. Ber. P. 23184

**Bibliography**

TAD D5.15

Width: 1.8 cm; Height: 4.4 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 (?) Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Recto



Recto

1'. to brin<sup>g</sup>[ ... ]

2'. {planting (area) |we shall desi[re] ... }

3'. tuni[c ... ]

1'. למוביל' [...] ]

2'. {נצב |נצב[ה] ... }

3'. כתו[נ] ... ]

1: למוביל' TAD למובל | 2: נצב[ה] TAD [ה] נעב' [ד] | 1' נעב' [ר]

**Commentary**

These three lines of text appear to be right justified, suggesting that this is the beginning of a column written at the sheet-join. The upper fragment was first published in TAD (D5.15).

**Line 2.** The letters are certain, but this string of letters is not otherwise attested at Elephantine. In NWS, נצבה “stele” is both a physical item and a genre identifier of a stele-inscription. This seems an improbable reading on a papyrus record roll, but it should be remembered that monumental Aramaic is known from Elephantine and Syene (AIBL-CIS Box 6, copy 2 [squeeze of Cairo EM JdE 36448] ≈ TAD D17.1), and even written on papyrus (Darius Inscription). The meaning נצב “orchard,” or better “planting (area),” is found in the unprovenanced Idumea ostrakon EPH<sup>c</sup>AL AND NAVEH no. 189, in the context

of (administrative) land allotments חקל. Such a location would not have existed on Elephantine, but very well could have made up the farmland allotments that existed off the island.<sup>107</sup> The meaning “we shall desire” from √צב is also a viable translation since the root is known from the corpus. That this is an administratively formatted fragment, however, favors the interpretation “planting (area).”

<sup>107</sup> While it is possible that an orchard may have existed among the Judean community lands off the island, no record of tree produce is known from the well documented commodities shipped to and from the island in the ostraca (Lemaire, “Judean Identity,” 366–367).

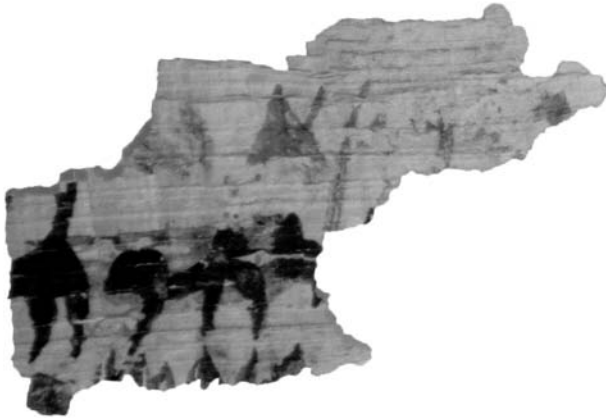
## 2.5.6 Pap. Ber. P. 23931 a (+) b

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a	2.8 cm; 1.8 cm	○
Frag. b	2.2 cm; 2.7 cm	○
Recto:	Verso: none	
Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none (one-sided).		

Frag. a

Frag. b

Recto



Verso



## Frag. a Recto

---

1'. [...]{ <sup>oo</sup> D <sup>1</sup> T <sup>2</sup>   <sup>oo</sup> R <sup>1</sup> T <sup>2</sup> } of/which <sup>oo</sup> [...]	[...]°° זי {תא <sup>ר</sup> °°[ ...]   תא <sup>ד</sup> °°[ ...]}:1
2'. [... ]he shall be[ ...]	[...] יהוה[ ...]:2
3'. [... ] <sup>1</sup> they saved <sup>1</sup> [ ...]	[...] <sup>1</sup> שזבו <sup>1</sup> [ ...]:3

---

## Frag. b Recto

---

1'. [... ]Gemaryah <sup>1</sup> so <sup>1</sup> [n of ...]	[...] גמריה <sup>1</sup> ב <sup>1</sup> [ר]:1
2'. [... ]Mah <sup>1</sup> s <sup>1</sup> [eyah ...]	[...] מחי <sup>1</sup> סי <sup>1</sup> [ה]:2
3'. [... ]°[...]	[...]°[...]:3

---

## Commentary

These fragments appear to belong to the same record roll, based on paleography and material features, but they do not join.

**Frag. a.** The line spacing is narrower than frag. b, thus it must sit below or above frag. b. Line 2 may be an interlinear insertion, and is written over an erasure or palimpsest. Line 3 is badly damaged, but the <sup>1</sup> and <sup>1</sup> are likely, and the <sup>1</sup> are probable.

**Frag. b.** Line 1 is written over an erasure or palimpsest.

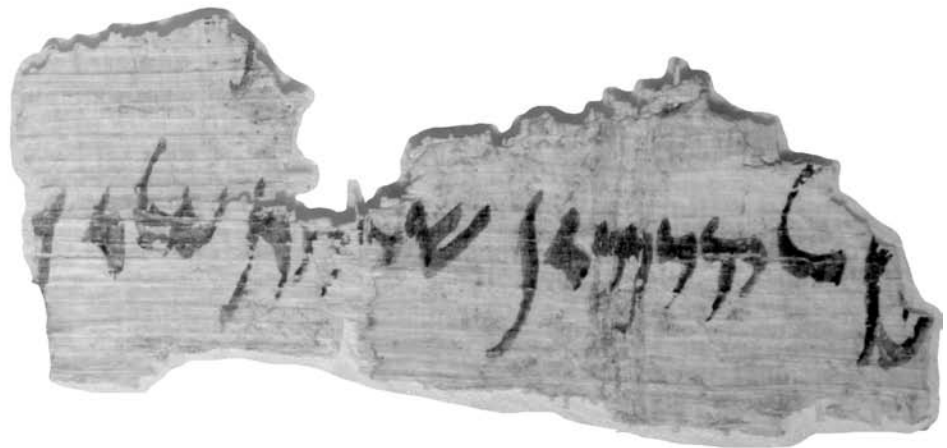
2.5.7 Pap. Ber. P. 23933 a (+) b

Texts	Width; Height	Sheet-join(s)
Frag. a (right)	4.6 cm; 1.7 cm	1
Frag. b (left)	1.5 cm; 3.2 cm	0
Recto:	Verso: blank.	
Palimpsest: none.	Rotation: none (one-sided).	

Frag. b Recto



Frag. a Recto



## Recto

1'. [...]◦[◦◦◦◦◦]◦[...]  
 2'. [...]◦T¹. Previously, you (m.s.) sent me T¹K¹[...]

[...]◦[◦◦◦◦◦]◦[...].1  
 [...]◦T¹ לקדמיני שיל'חת עלי יב' [...].2

1'. [...]◦[ ]¹B¹{D|R}{1|W|Z}

Frag. b

{1|W|Z}{D|R}¹B¹◦[...].1

## Commentary

This document uses the language of a letter, but is written parallel to the recto's fibers. Thus, it may be a memorandum that summarizes an administrative letter<sup>108</sup> or one of the few examples of a report genre known from the papyri (e.g. Pap. Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and Pap. Ber. P. 23967

[herein no. 2.1.1]).<sup>109</sup> Additionally, Pap. Ber. P. 23930 (= herein no. 2.5.4) shares similar script and material features, but no direct join to that manuscript has been made. Paleographically, the hand resembles the small and fine print

108 So too Pap. Ber. P. 13497 = *TAD* A4.9. The sole surviving memorandum from Bactria also contains dialogue (*ADAB* no. C4 ll. 52–57), and may be a summary of an official document (see Moore, "Who Gave" 82–83 nn. 49, 51–52.).

109 I consider those epistolary documents that begin עבד "servant of" as types of reports. Of the few examples (Cairo EM JdE 43493 = *TAD* A3.1 [first text, recto 1]; Cairo EM JdE 43467 = *TAD* A4.10 recto ||; perhaps Cairo EM JdE 43494 = *TAD* A3.2; and Pap. Ber. P. 23922 [herein no. 2.1.1] ||), all but one are written parallel to the recto's fibers. In his discussion of the formula of Cairo EM

found in only a few other papyri: Pap. Ber. P. 23971 a–c (herein no. 1.3.1) and Pap. Ber. P. 23972 a–c (herein no. 1.3.2). The ך, in particular, stands out as rare (see Appendix, Paleography).

**Frag. a, line 2.** This spelling of the adverbial phrase לְקַדְמִי is rare in the surviving Aramaic sources; it is only otherwise found in Pap. Ber. P. 13497 = *TAD* A4.9:10, a memorandum of a letter. But in the same document one finds the form לְקַדְמִנִּי only two lines prior (ln. 8) and מִן קַדְמִנִּי before that (ln. 5). The expected form is simply קַדְמִנִּי. The same word without לְ is found in Pap. Ber. P. 13495 = *TAD* A4.7:25 (by Yedanyah the priest), leaving one to wonder if this is a diagnostic feature of Yedanyah the priest's diction/orthography, and if so, are these finely written fragments composed by him?

The idiomatic construction שְׁלַח + dative preposition “to send (word) to” has been observed (ThWAT, pp. 755–758). In general, however, the papyri use עַל, with few exceptions, while the less formal ostraca missives use לְ, which leaves one wondering if the difference is owed more to formality and training than a more coherent linguistic system like that FOLMER, § 5.1–5.2 sought to find.

**Frag. b.** This fragment is taller than the previous, but approximately the width one expects given the roll's vertical fold pattern. The hand and pen are the same. This is the end of a line/column, and is the edge of the document because the line begins to curve upward as though the writer were trying to fit more words on the line while maintaining a margin. At one point we had joined the fragments. We were later unconvinced by their disjointed fibers and separated them.

---

JdE 43467, Schwiderski, *Handbuch*, 113 claims that this document is missing the address and greeting because “sich der Text an eine höhergestellte Persönlichkeit wendet (vgl. die Relationsbezeichnungen עֲבָדֶיךָ ‘deine Knechte’ und אֱלֹהֵינוּ ‘unser Herr’ in Z. 7 und 12).” I fail to see why a document sent to a higher official would be less formulaic. Perhaps instead, these are notes from which the formal letter could be drafted and sent or paraphrases of formal letters.



2.5.8 Pap. Ber. P. 23934

Width: 2.8 cm; Height: 4.2 cm

Sheet-join(s): 1.

Palimpsest: traces side 1. Demotic written upside down.

Recto: see commentary.

Verso: see commentary.

Rotation: top-to-bottom. See commentary

Side 2



Side 1



Side 1

1'. [...]2(+)<sup>s</sup>(hekels)/karsh[ ...]

[...]1'1[...][...]

Side 2

*Demotic (180° to recto)*

*Demotic (180° to recto)*

## Commentary

The fold and break pattern resemble a record roll more than a contract or letter. The recto and verso are written in two different hands and styli. The IR photographs show that the palimpsest contains non-Aramaic characters and the ductus and size of the strokes resemble Demotic. The document is flipped across a horizontal axis. In such cases, the document is usually written *transversa charta*. Here, however, the palimpsest and the overwritten text are written parallel to the fibers on only one side. This feature along with the fact that the two sides are written in different hands makes it difficult to determine which side is the recto and which the verso.

**Side 1.** The letter  $\psi$  followed by two tally marks is discernible. While it is possible, that a name ending in  $\psi$  is intended here, such names are not common, and the vast majority of cases where  $\psi(-)$  precedes a number, one finds the abbreviation “s(hekel)” or the word “karsh.”

2.5.9 Pap. Ber. P. 23935

Width: 2.2 cm; Height: 1.6 cm      Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none.                  Verso: ⊥  
 Palimpsest: traces recto and verso.    Rotation: top-to-bottom.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°[ ]°[...]  
 2'. [...]they caused 'it<sup>1</sup>/ his/her/its bones[ ...]

[...]°[ ]°[...]:1  
 [...]גרמויה[...]:2

Verso

1'. [...]° { 'I shall<sup>1</sup> b[e | 'I shall take<sup>1</sup> posse<sup>1</sup>ssion-status<sup>1</sup> ...]

[... {א'הי'ה|א'ה'ח[סנ]}°[...]:1

### Commentary

The palimpsest is illegible, but the strokes are large and, therefore, probably also Aramaic.

**Line 2.** The letters are clearly written with a professional and elegant hand. The fourth letter appears to be a  $\text{v}$  since, the crown of a  $\text{ד}$  is distinctively horned in this hand. For this type of  $\text{v}$  see Appendix, Paleography.

Unless this is an unattested proper name, one should read  $\text{-גרמ-}$ . The Aramaic  $\sqrt{\text{גרם}}$  “to cause to happen” is otherwise not attested in IA or earlier dialects. If read as a noun the word “bone” is widely attested, even in IA (BL Pap. 106 = *TAD* Cl.2:6). The root is well attested in later Aramaic dialects in the G-stem (CAL “grm” accessed 01MAY2021).

**Verso, line 1.** The  $\text{א}$  and  $\text{ה}$  are certain, the third letter less so. The vertical seems too short to be  $\text{כ}$  or  $\text{מ}$ , leaving only  $\text{ד}$ ,  $\text{ר}$ ,  $\text{ז}$ ,  $\text{ו}$ , or  $\text{ח}$  (less likely  $\text{ס}$  or  $\text{פ}$ ). There is a word break before  $\text{א}$ , and the string  $\text{-אה-}$  is not common. The verb “to be,” which is more frequently found, or the first person of  $\sqrt{\text{חסנ}}$  (C-stem) “to hold possession-status” (see Bodl. Lib. Aram. XIII = *TAD* A6.11:3) are the best guesses from the known lexicon. The name  $\text{אהורמזד}$ , known only from the Darius inscription, seems highly unlikely. Another name

beginning  $\text{-אהור-}$  is theoretically possible, but this Zoroastrian theophoric element need not use  $\text{ו}$  (see *ADAB*, pp. 57–58).

2.5.10 Pap. Ber. P. 23936

Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 1.4 cm

Sheet-join(s): none. (see comments)

Palimpsest: none.

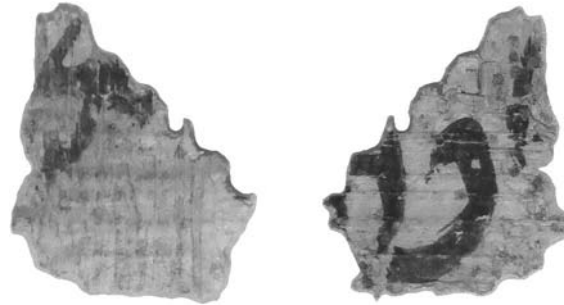
Recto: ||

Verso: ⊥

Rotation: side-to-side.

Verso

Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] {of<sup>l</sup> Pa<sup>h</sup>o<sup>l</sup>[ns] | to<sup>l</sup> Pa<sup>h</sup><sup>l</sup>[n'û'm] ...}

 [...] {ל'פ'ח'ח' [נס] | ל'פ'ח' [נ(ו)מ]} [...] :1
 

---

Verso

---

 1'. [...] and the se<sup>l</sup>rva<sup>l</sup>nt of<sup>l</sup>/ma<sup>l</sup>d<sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>[ ...]

 [...] '1וע'ב'ד' [...] :1
 

---

### Commentary

The recto contains an unusual overlap of papyrus. The stroke of the ל is written over this strange feature.

**Recto.** The letter combination -לפח is almost exclusively found in the spelling of the month פחנס "Paḥons" (e.g., Cairo EM JdE 37112 = TAD B2.8:1) or the proper name לפחנ(ו) "Paḥn'û'm" (e.g., פחנום Brooklyn 47.218.93v ln. 1 = TAD B3.13:15; פחנמ Cairo EM JdE 43480 = TAD C4.6:5)

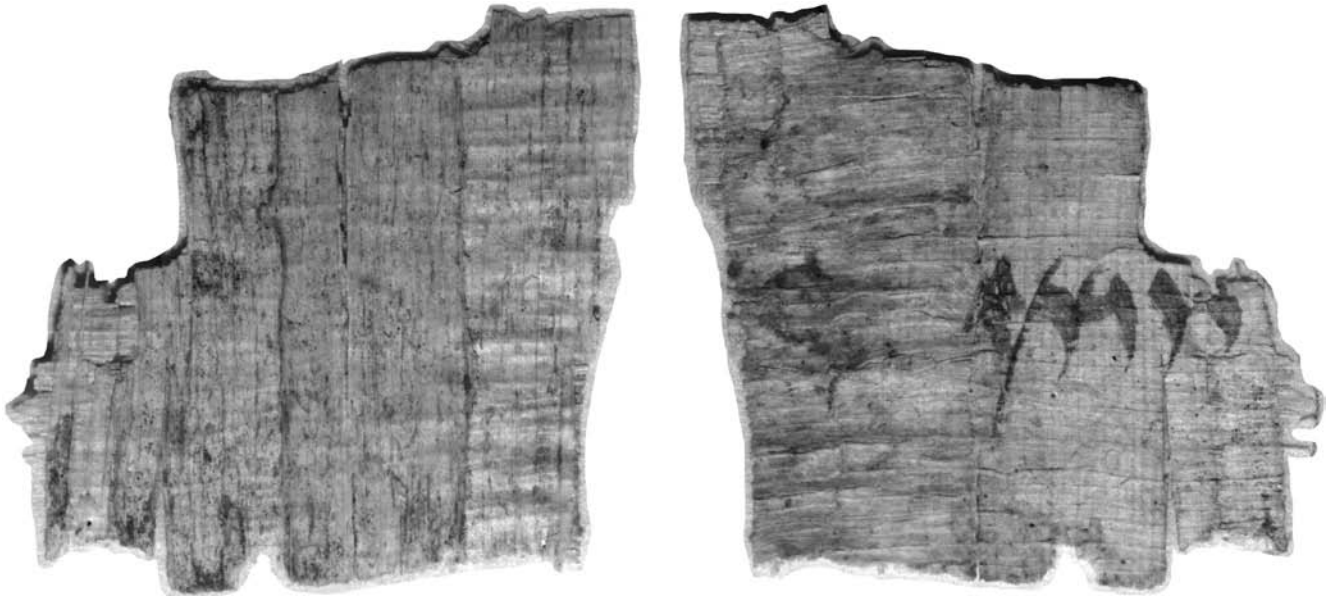
**Verso.** The bottom of ו and right traces of ט are visible.

2.5.11 Pap. Ber. P. 23937

Width: 4.0 cm; Height: 3.5 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso

Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] the new (one)

---

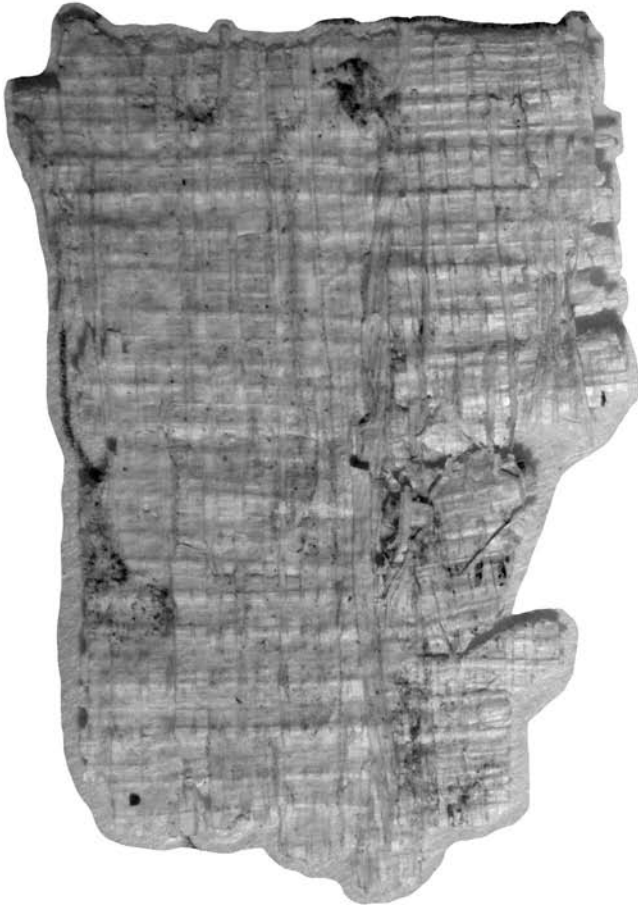
 1'. [...] חדתא
 

---

2.5.12 Pap. Ber. P. 23938

Width: 3.0 cm; Height: 4.2 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): 1. Verso: ⊥  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. {...}K | {...}N} ma<sup>r</sup>de<sup>l</sup>/ser<sup>r</sup>vant<sup>l</sup>[ ...]  
 2'. [...]°[...]

[...]° ע'בד' {ג[...]|כ[...]} :1  
 [...]°[...] :2

### Commentary

The mark above and left of ט is a stray mark on a piece of papyrus folded over from the verso.

2.5.13 Pap. Ber. P. 23940

Width: 2.1 cm; Height: 2.6 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): 1 Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso



Recto



Recto

---

 1'. [...] bull [...]

 1'. [...] תור [...]
 

---

### Commentary

The sheet-join is visible on the recto, and appears to be made of three layers of papyrus. There may be an illegible palimpsest on the otherwise blank recto.

The 1 resembles the angular 1 found on many ostraca (see Appendix, Paleography). The characters have an upright or slightly leftward leaning ductus.

The word "bull" occurs only one other time in the corpus (Cairo EM JdE 43467 = *TAD* A4.10:10) and in reference to possible sacrifices/offerings.

2.5.14 Pap. Ber. P. 23943

Width: 2.0 cm; Height: 3.1 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: none.

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [...] se'rvant<sup>1</sup>[ ...]  
 2'. [... he g]ave 'you<sup>1</sup>[ ...]

[...] ע'לִימָא' [...]:1  
 [...] ]הבִּיכִ' [...]:2

### Commentary

Traces of a palimpsest on the verso are illegible, but may have been written 90° to what would be expected from the overwritten recto text.



2.5.15 Pap. Ber. P. 23944

Width: 1.7 cm; Height: 2.2 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Verso



Recto



Recto

1'. [... ]<sup>l</sup>son of<sup>l</sup> ◦ [...]  
 2'. [... ]Ḥanan[(yah) ...]

[...] ◦ 'בר[ ...] :1  
 [...] חננ[ (יה) ] :2

### Commentary

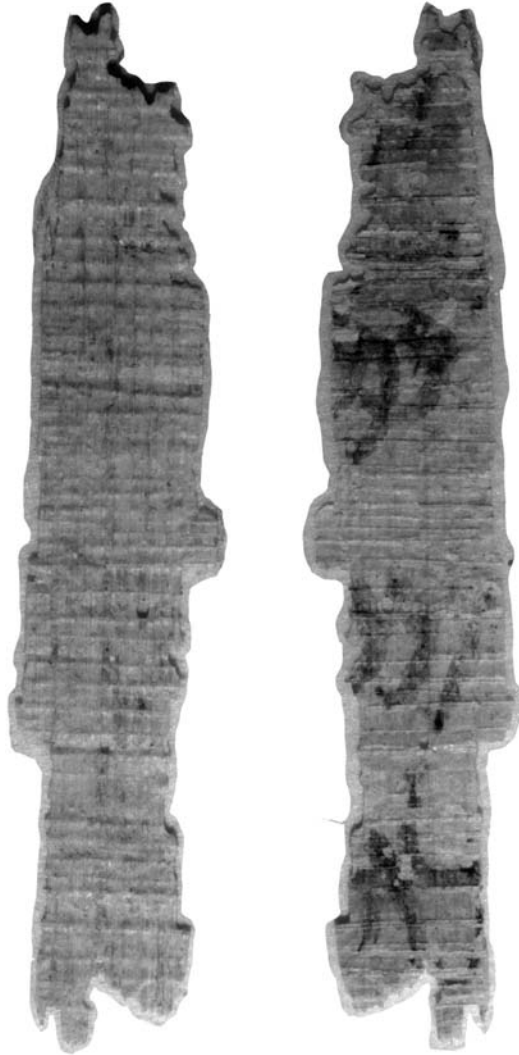
√<sup>l</sup>חננ, like that found in biblical Aramaic (Dan 4:24; 6:12), is so far not attested in 1A sources from Egypt. So line 2 is best read as the name Ḥanan(yah), which is well attested in the corpus (e.g. Cairo EM JdE 37109 = TAD B2.11:16; AIBL-CIS CG no. 113; CG no. X2).

2.5.16 Pap. Ber. P. 23946

Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 6.4 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces recto. Rotation: none.

Verso

Recto



Recto

1'. [...]°°[...]  
 2'. [...]BM[...]  
 3'. [...]silver[ ...]  
 4'. [...]ʿaʿll of it[ ...]

[...]°°[...]:1  
 [...]במ[...]:2  
 [...]כסף[...]:3  
 [...]יכזלה[...]:4

### Commentary

This belongs to one of the fragmentary accounts, possibly even the Collection List of Egyptian Family Units (likely near frag. e) or the Syene Ration List.

2.5.17 Pap. Ber. P. 23947

Width: 5.3 cm; Height: 0.9 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: blank.  
 Palimpsest: traces verso. Rotation: none (one-sided).

Recto



Verso

Recto

---

 1'. [... PN] 'son of' Ḥa'ggay,<sup>1</sup> 10

 1'. [...]' בר' ה'גי' ר
 

---

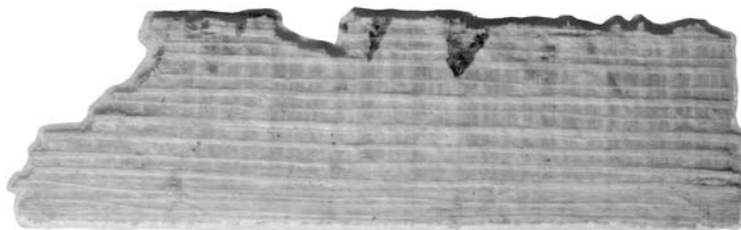
### Commentary

Evidence of what may be a second column appears on the left edge of the recto. The shape of the fragment resembles that of a contract or letter, but the slight bending of the fibers in the center suggests that this was folded like a record roll. It is clear the patronymic is only three letters. One is tempted to read אהי or מהי, but neither string produces a known name, whereas חגי is common at Elephantine. The vertical and top of the diagonal of ג do not touch here.

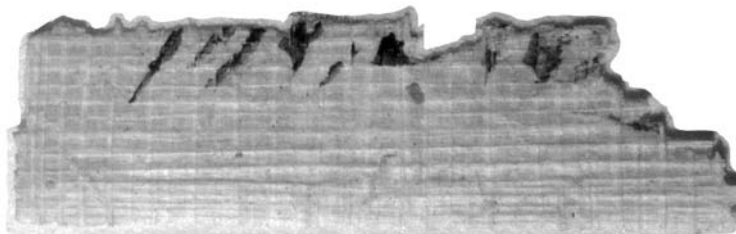
2.5.18 Pap. Ber. P. 23948

Width: 4.1 cm; Height: 1.2 cm Recto: ||  
 Sheet-join(s): none. Verso: ⊥  
 Palimpsest: none. Rotation: side-to-side

Recto



Verso



Verso  
Reconstructed



Recto

1'. ○○○ ○○[...]

[...]○○ ○○○'1

Verso

[...]◦ ʿAbd-ʿEšmun

ʿabdešmun'◦[...]'2

**Commentary**

Although the letters are broken, only *ʿ* is in doubt, yet it remains the best reading given the known onomasticon. This is the first attestation of an *ʿEšmun*-type Phoenician name in Aramaic from Elephantine, though it is known in Phoenician from the site (Ost. Ber. P. 11427 = LIDZBARSKI no. 37).



## Papyri Register

All Berlin fragments published for the first time here begin with the temporary number “B/AM x” as discussed in the introduction.

AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2 has not (yet) been assigned a different number.

Edition number	Manuscript number (pap.)	Old and/or temporary numbers	Papyri previously in <i>TAD</i>
1.1.1	Ber. P. 23148 (+) P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8	P. 13461 B- P. 13448/13 + B/AM x 428, fol. 17 + B/AM x 420, fol. 16 (+) P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8	<i>TAD</i> D4.4 (P. 13461 B- P. 13448/13) <i>TAD</i> D1.18 (P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8)
1.1.2	Ber. P. 23149 a-c	a = B/AM x 431, fol. 17 + B/AM x 433, fol. 17 + P. 13445 D- P. 23140/17 + P. 13445 D- P. 13445 B/3 + P. 13445 D- P. 13461/6 b = x 476 jj, fol. 26 c = P. 13445 D- P. 13461/10	<i>TAD</i> D1.26
1.1.3	Ber. P. 23150	B/AM x 504, fol. 32 + B/AM x 453, fol. 21 + P. 13445 E- P. 13461/1	<i>TAD</i> D1.21
1.1.4	Ber. P. 23151 a-b	a = P. 13461 A- P. 13461/3 + B/AM x 405, fol. 11 b = P. 13461 A- 23140/25	
1.1.5	Ber. P. 23152 a (+) b	a = B/AM x 430, fol. 17 + B/AM x 432, fol. 17 b = B/AM x 570, fol. 44	
1.1.6	Ber. P. 23153	B/AM x 476 b, fol. 26 + B/AM x 476 c, fol. 26 + B/AM x 582 a, fol. 47	
1.1.7	Ber. P. 23154	B/AM x 550, fol. 39 + B/AM x 623, fol. 55	
1.1.8	Ber. P. 23155	B/AM x 477 b, fol. 27 + B/AM x 477 l, fol. 27 + B/AM 581 d, fol. 46	
1.1.9	Ber. P. 23954 a-c	a = B/AM x 477 f, fol. 27 b = B/AM x 477 o, fol. 27 c = B/AM x 477 q, fol. 27	
1.1.9	Ber. P. 23956	B/AM x 454, fol. 21	
1.1.9	Ber. P. 23957	B/AM x 457, fol. 21	
1.1.10	Ber. P. 23156	B/AM x 476 d, fol. 26 + B/AM x 476 f, fol. 26	
1.1.11	Ber. P. 23157	B/AM x 402, fol. 11	
1.1.12	Ber. P. 23158	B/AM x 516, fol. 33	
1.1.13	Ber. P. 23159	B/AM x 413 a, fol. 13	
1.1.14	Ber. P. 23160	B/AM x 458, fol. 21	
1.1.15	Ber. P. 23161	B/AM x 476 e, fol. 26	
1.1.16	Ber. P. 23958	B/AM x 466 a, fol. 23	

1.1.17	Ber. P. 23162	B/AM x 475 e, fol. 25	
1.1.18	Ber. P. 23163	B/AM x 477 a, fol. 27	
1.1.19	Ber. P. 23164	B/AM x 477 c, fol. 27	
1.1.20	Ber. P. 23165	B/AM x 518 kk, fol. 34	
1.1.21	Ber. P. 23166	B/AM x 582 v, fol. 47	
1.1.22	Ber. P. 23167	B/AM x 586, fol. 48	
1.1.23	Ber. P. 23168	B/AM x 483, fol. 28	
1.1.24	Ber. P. 23169	B/AM x 556, fol. 41	
1.1.25	Ber. P. 23170	B/AM x 587, fol. 48	
1.1.26	Ber. P. 23913	B/AM x 581 e, fol. 46	
1.1.27	Ber. P. 23918	B/AM x 582 bb, fol. 47	
1.2.1	Ber. P. 23171	P. 13444 B- P. 23140/49 + B/AM x 595, fol. 49	TAD D2.27
1.2.2	Cairo EM JdE 43485 + Ber. P. 23172	Cairo EM JdE 43485 + B/AM x 551 jj, fol. 40	TAD B4.3
1.2.3	Ber. P. 23173	B/AM x 477 y, fol. 27	
1.2.4	Ber. P. 23174	B/AM x 568, fol. 44	
1.2.5	Ber. P. 23959	B/AM x 542, fol. 38	
1.2.6	Ber. P. 23955	B/AM x 477 g, fol. 27 + B/AM x 477 aa, fol. 27 + B/AM x 477 kk, fol. 27 + B/AM x 477 ee, fol. 27	
1.2.7	Ber. P. 23960	B/AM x 490, fol. 29 + B/AM x 609 hh, fol. 51	
1.2.8	Ber. P. 23963 a (+) b	B/AM x 488, fol. 29 (+) B/AM x 491, fol. 29	
1.2.9	Ber. P. 23962	B/AM x 577, fol. 44	
1.2.10	Ber. P. 23175	B/AM x 476 ff, fol. 26	
1.2.11	Ber. P. 23176	B/AM x 509, fol. 32	
1.2.12	Ber. P. 23177	B/AM x 574, fol. 44	
1.2.13	Ber. P. 23178	B/AM x 545, fol. 39	
1.3.1	Ber. P. 23971 a-c	a = B/AM x 551 dd, fol. 40 b = B/AM x 551 z, fol. 40 c = B/AM x 551 r, fol. 40	
1.3.2	Ber. P. 23972 a-b	a = B/AM x 551 y, fol. 40 + B/AM x 551 l, fol. 40 b = B/AM x 551 w, fol. 40	
1.3.3	Ber. P. 23179 (+) P. 23964	P. 23179 = B/AM x 478, fol. 28 P. 23964 = B/AM x 480, fol. 28	
1.3.4	Ber. P. 23180	B/AM x 548, fol. 39	
1.3.5	Ber. P. 23181 a (+) b	a = B/AM x 468, fol. 24 b = B/AM x 427, fol. 16	
1.3.6	Ber. P. 23182	B/AM x 511, fol. 32	
1.3.7	Ber. P. 23965	B/AM x 571, fol. 44	
1.3.8	Ber. P. 23966	B/AM x 393 b, fol. 9	
1.3.9	Ber. P. 23183	B/AM x 426, fol. 16	
1.3.10	Ber. P. 23185	B/AM x 466 k, fol. 23	
1.3.11	Ber. P. 23186	B/AM x 475 ll, fol. 25	
1.3.12	Ber. P. 23187	B/AM x 475 nn, fol. 25	
1.3.13	Ber. P. 23188	B/AM x 475 rr, fol. 25	
1.3.14	Ber. P. 23189	B/AM x 477 k, fol. 27	

1.3.15	Ber. P. 23190	B/AM x 481, fol. 28	
1.3.16	Ber. P. 23191	B/AM x 482, fol. 28	
1.3.17	Ber. P. 23192	B/AM x 486, fol. 29	
1.3.18	Ber. P. 23193	B/AM x 489, fol. 29	
1.3.19	Ber. P. 23194	B/AM x 563, fol. 42	
1.3.20	Ber. P. 23195	B/AM x 492, fol. 29	
1.3.21	Ber. P. 23196	B/AM x 493, fol. 29	
1.3.22	Ber. P. 23197	B/AM x 518 d, fol. 34	
1.3.23	Ber. P. 23145	B/AM x 518 n, fol. 34	
1.3.24	Ber. P. 23198	B/AM x 523, fol. 35	
1.3.25	Ber. P. 23199	B/AM x 525 f, fol. 36	
1.3.26	Ber. P. 23973	B/AM x 525 ee, fol. 36	
1.3.27	Ber. P. 23900	B/AM x 533, fol. 37	
1.3.28	Ber. P. 23901	B/AM x 541, fol. 38	
1.3.29	Ber. P. 23902	B/AM x 546, fol. 39	
1.3.30	Ber. P. 23903	B/AM x 609 dd, fol. 51	
1.3.31	Ber. P. 23904	B/AM x 609 ff, fol. 51	
1.3.32	Ber. P. 23906	B/AM x 393 u, fol. 09	
1.3.33	Ber. P. 23907	B/AM x 609 x, fol. 51	
1.3.34	Ber. P. 23908	B/AM x 525 ttt, fol. 36	
1.3.35	Ber. P. 23909	B/AM x 551 q, fol. 40	
1.3.36	Ber. P. 23910	B/AM x 551 x, fol. 40	
1.3.37	Ber. P. 23911	B/AM x 551 gg, fol. 40	
1.3.38	Ber. P. 23912	B/AM x 551 kk, fol. 40	
1.3.39	Ber. P. 23914	B/AM x 581 h, fol. 46	
1.3.40	Ber. P. 23915	B/AM x 581 q, fol. 46	
1.3.41	Ber. P. 23916	B/AM x 582 b, fol. 47	
1.3.42	Ber. P. 23917	B/AM x 582 d, fol. 47	
1.3.43	Ber. P. 23919	B/AM x 582 gg, fol. 47	
1.3.44	Ber. P. 23905	B/AM x 609 p, fol. 51	
1.3.45	Ber. P. 23920	B/AM x 477 m, fol. 27	
1.3.46	Ber. P. 23921	B/AM 418 w, fol. 15	
1.3.47	Ber. P. 23974	B/AM x 584, fol. 48	
1.3.48	Ber. P. 23949	B/AM x 551 t, fol. 40	
2.1.1	Ber. P. 23922 a (+) b and P. 23967	P. 23922 a = P. 13445 A- P. 13461/12 P. 23922 b = B/AM x 582 h, fol. 47 P. 23967 = P. 13445 A- P. 13445/23140/88 + P. 13445 A- P. 13445/1 + P. 13445 A- P. 13445/6 + B/AM x 476 q, fol. 26 + P. 13445 A- P. 13445/5 + P. 13445 A- P. 13445/2	<i>TAD</i> A4.6 (recto); D2.28 (verso)
2.2.1	Ber. P. 23923 a-f	a = P. 23134 + P. 23132 b = P. 23128 c = P. 23131 d = P. 23129 e = B/AM x 582 q, fol. 47 + B/AM x 560, fol. 42 + B/AM x 599, fol. 50 + B/AM x 598, fol. 49 f = P. 23130	<i>TAD</i> C3.9
2.2.2	Ber. P. 23924	P. 13444 D- P. 13448/6 + B/AM x 552, fol. 41 + P. 13444 D- P. 23140/20	<i>TAD</i> D3.3



2.2.3	Cairo EM JdE 43479 (+) Ber. P. 23926	P. 23926 = B/AM x 518 g, fol. 34	TAD C3.14
2.2.4	Ber. P. 23932	B/AM x 456, fol. 21	
2.3.1	Ber. P. 23928	Pl. 13461 A- P. 13445B-5 + B/AM x 455, fol. 21 + B/AM x 466 u, fol. 23	TAD D3.1
2.3.2	Ber. P. 23929 a-c	a = B/AM x 447, fol. 20 + B/AM x 448, fol. 20 b = B/AM x 464, fol. 22 c = B/AM x 461, fol. 22	
2.4.1	Ber. P. 23939	B/AM x 394 a, fol. 10	
2.4.2	Ber. P. 23942	B/AM x 404, fol. 11	
2.4.3	Ber. P. 23941	B/AM x 394 n, fol. 10	
2.5.1	Ber. P. 23925 a-b (of a-e)	a = B/AM x 394 m, fol. 10 b = B/AM x 394 x, fol. 10 c = P. 13448- P. 23140/84 d = P. 13448- P. 23140/96 e = P. 13448-13445/4	TAD D2.11
2.5.2	Ber. P. 23927 a-c	a = B/AM x 476 r, fol. 26 b = B/AM x 476 o, fol. 26 + B/AM x 476 x, fol. 26 c = B/AM x 518 u, fol. 34	
2.5.3	Ber. P. 23969	B/AM x 476 j, fol. 26	
2.5.3	Ber. P. 23968	B/AM x 476 a, fol. 26	
2.5.3	Ber. P. 23970	B/AM x 476 u, fol. 26	
2.5.4	Ber. P. 23930	P. 23123 + B/AM x 394 aa, fol. 10	TAD D3.24
2.5.5	Ber. P. 23184	Pl. 13461 D- P. 23140-82 + B/AM x 394 l, fol. 10	TAD D5.15
2.5.6	Ber. P. 23931 a (+) b	a = B/AM x 476 w, fol. 26 b = B/AM x 476 t, fol. 26	
2.5.7	Ber. P. 23933 a (+) b	a = B/AM x 449, fol. 20 + B/AM x 518 l, fol. 34 b = B/AM x 539, fol. 38	
2.5.8	Ber. P. 23934	B/AM x 425, fol. 16	
2.5.9	Ber. P. 23935	B/AM x 518 b, fol. 34	
2.5.10	Ber. P. 23936	B/AM x 413 b, fol. 13	
2.5.11	Ber. P. 23937	B/AM x 460, fol. 22	
2.5.12	Ber. P. 23938	B/AM x 434, fol. 18	
2.5.13	Ber. P. 23940	B/AM x 466 m, fol. 23	
2.5.14	Ber. P. 23943	B/AM x 471, fol. 24	
2.5.15	Ber. P. 23944	B/AM x 476 z, fol. 26	
2.5.16	Ber. P. 23946	B/AM x 527, fol. 37	
2.5.17	Ber. P. 23947	B/AM x 531, fol. 37	
2.5.18	Ber. P. 23948	B/AM x 536, fol. 38	

## Paleography

Imperial Aramaic (IA) paleography is still very much in its infancy. The early editors of IA texts, especially SACHAU, COWLEY, and Aimé-Giron, frequently and anecdotally refer to paleographic features but supplied no comprehensive discussion on the matter. In the 1960's interest in the subject began to rise, perhaps in response to the interest in the Hebrew paleography of the Dead Sea Scrolls. At that time, those writing on Aramaic more generally, such as Franz Rosenthal,<sup>1</sup> encouraged paleographic analysis. As a result, new editions of IA texts, such as those by Rainer Degen,<sup>2</sup> began to supply paleography charts.

Joseph Naveh's doctoral dissertation, published in 1970 was the first accessible study to present a historical perspective on the changes in the Aramaic script. Although his short work focused on the Aramaic script from every period in antiquity, IA, especially the Elephantine documents, sits prominently in his study. Naveh adapted vocabulary used by Frank Moore Cross with minor variation,<sup>3</sup> and boldly claimed, "Paleography, as an auxiliary to history, should aim to establish the dates of undated documents through a methodical study of the development of the script."<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately in lieu of a reasoned methodology, coherent taxonomy, and careful textual analysis, he provides a general discussion of his own highly selective hand copies, and sprinkles throughout his study unfounded historical vignettes. His analytical criteria include two distinctive categories, "lapidary" and "cursive," with the latter subdivided into "extreme cursive," "formal cursive," and "vulgar cursive." To each subdivision he associates notions of classism (by all modern accounts): extreme cursive is written by the "cultured person," formal cursive by "the professional scribe," and vulgar cursive by one "of limited schooling."<sup>5</sup> Without providing formal descriptions of and criteria for these classifications, he continues by contradicting his own system with this statement: "It should be remembered that not every script can be conveniently classified as one of these sub-styles: moreover, not always can a particular inscription be characterized as lapidary or cursive."<sup>6</sup> He then negates his own system by identifying many of the writers or texts as "semi-" extreme or formal throughout the book. There is no doubt that he developed an expertise while working on the project, but he fails to convey that expertise in a systematic study of every character in his dataset. Nonetheless, the conclusions of his expert-opinion—and it must be recognized solely as an opinion and not argued deductions—have resonated throughout the last 50 years of scholarship and have served, for some, as evidence for historical analysis.<sup>7</sup>

1 E.g. Rosenthal, *Aramäische*, esp. chap. 2.

2 Degen, "Elephantine I," and Degen, "Elephantine II."

3 Cross and Naveh's classifications have been recently taken to task in Longacre, "Disambiguating," 101–128 and Longacre, "Comparative," esp. n. 60.

4 Naveh, *Development*, 6.

5 Naveh, *Development*, 6.

6 Naveh, *Development*, 6.

7 The *TAD* appears to have adopted Naveh's perspective, and it dates sources, particularly the IA ostraca, according to his recommendation, that is, to the first quarter of the fifth century BCE (Naveh, *Development*, 37–40; *TAD* D7). This may be due to Yardeni's approval of Naveh's work, describing it as a "detailed analysis" (Yardeni, "Papyrological," 152 n. 1). Some historical studies have ultimately relied on Naveh's opinion as a basis for further social historical reconstructions, e.g. van der Toorn, *Becoming*, 117 (here Naveh's opinion is perpetuated without citation). The only other dedicated study to the paleography of the Elephantine papyri

Dissenting views have been proffered, but these have also been overlooked, perhaps because they do not use paleography to date sources. Studies by Peter Daniels on calligraphic features of IA hands, by Gerrit van der Kooij on the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, and by H el ene LOZACHMEUR on the Elephantine ostraca have focused on the more fundamental issue of how we responsibly organize paleographic observations.<sup>8</sup> Van der Kooij's work, in particular, models an approach that incorporates many historical and material aspects of scribal culture into a systematic study of the letters of a particular document. Daniels', Van der Kooij's, and LOZACHMEUR's studies were written before the recent turn in Northwest Semitic paleographic analysis to digital aids and approaches. The digital examination of manuscripts' photographs, requires researchers to consider what components of Aramaic letters might be empirically defined—if only at the level of the image's pixel, and the use of databases now allows researchers to provide well organized data analysis. As the earlier challenges of Daniels, van der Kooij, and LOZACHMEUR intimated and as the developing digital approaches show, the use of paleography to effectively date sources, is not on the immediate horizon, but rather paleographic analysis may be useful for a variety of social historical observations, such as writer profiling or the reconstruction of handwriting pedagogy.

The use of paleographical analysis to date IA sources, in particular, should be suspended, pending more detailed data analyses, but also in view of a very reasonable consideration: many of the dated Persian period Aramaic sources reveal that a variety of script types coexisted, and that the Aramaic script's development cannot be easily traced in a mostly linear fashion, as Naveh would have us believe. The dated documents with multiple hands such as contracts and some decrees, have yet to be examined in a systematic way. Even the most casual look at such documents reveals that forms labelled "early" in Naveh's study coexist with "later" forms. Naveh attempted to skirt the problem by acknowledging the existence of diverse scripts on contracts, but by writing them off as "vulgar," that is, written by uneducated individuals whose hands are not worth close consideration.<sup>9</sup> Notions that contract witnesses were uneducated or behind their times, speaks to the inappropriate social assumptions found in his study. The contract witnesses and administrative personnel who signed decrees, are better assumed to be men of social prestige (and as the evidence now stands, they were only men) with access to and means for education. Some of these hands are as aesthetically pleasing as the actual contract writer's or as the so-called chancellery hand found on the decrees, so to assume that those which are less elegant are the product of individuals who had limited access to education is historically problematic.

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is Byrne, "Aramaic," 291–313. His approach and discussion follow the model of Naveh, and thus provide a second, and hardly different opinion on scripts known from Aramaic papyri. In the same volume as Byrne, Lemaire, "Scripts," 235–252 provides a discussion of the epigraphic and ostraca evidence from the Persian period. This study is a welcomed step in the right direction. It provides many examples of the same letter in relatively few inscriptions, thereby moving toward an ordered taxonomy. Unfortunately, the discussion is based on hand copies, and relies on Naveh's uncritical assessment of the ostraca as a control for dating the scripts found on Lemaire's sources.

8 Daniels, "Calligraphic," 55–68; van der Kooij, "Artifactual," 49–57; and LOZACHMEUR, pp. 145–168. Van der Kooij's study is an exercise that resembles the approach proposed in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "Early North-West." Although its scope does not consider the Elephantine material, one should also consider David Walter Nasgowitz's 1966 dissertation, "Rise of Aramean," which was never published, but demonstrates a first attempt at a systematic classification of Aramaic paleography, and which is superior in methodology and approach to the contemporary work of Naveh.

9 Naveh, *Development*, 22, 30.

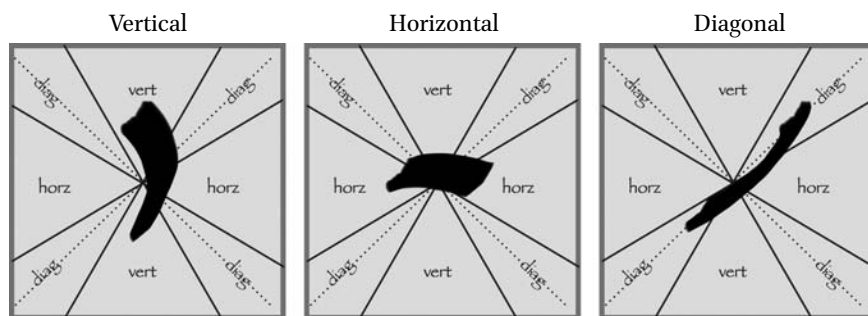
LOZACHMEUR, who used her paleographic discussion as a framework for describing how she, as an editor, understood documents, set a welcomed precedent. This study will likewise attempt to move the discussion of Aramaic paleography in a productive direction. What follows is a description of the observations made throughout this study regarding the IA scripts. This will not only serve as another perspective on the variation of the Persian period scripts but also as supporting justification for the readings made in this edition.

This discussion then will focus on the basic architecture (i.e. type) of each letter and on the strokes and pen-lifts the writers used to form the letters. Unique here is a discussion of the letters or parts of letters that may be confused with other letters, and thereby produce misreadings of the fragments.

In this discussion I have opted for a modified (and simplified) vocabulary based on typographical anatomy. The following terms are descriptive and not categorical: “ascend,” “cursive,” “declivity,” “descend,” and “linear”.

Writers did not rule the papyrus, but used an imaginary hanging line (i.e. top line) and baseline. In most cases an imaginary mean line is also discernable.

The terms “diagonal stroke,” “horizontal stroke,” and “vertical stroke” refer to a line that begins at one point and runs ultimately<sup>10</sup> in a *linear direction*. The stance and curviness of the stroke is defined within a range of variation of roughly 30°. “Rounded strokes” move in a circular direction and generally exceed the 30° threshold.<sup>11</sup>

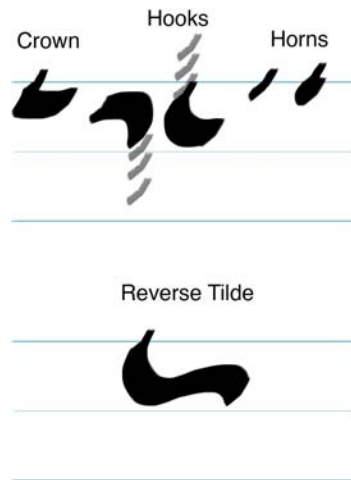


Determining Linear Stroke Types

In addition to these four simple strokes, letters are built with a relatively small number of paradigmatic features, which include: a crown, hook, horn, and reverse tilde. The crown was a paradigmatic scribal feature (see **𐤒** below) made of a horn that begins above the hanging line and descends slightly under it, with a vertical stance or a leftward declivity. Sometimes with an intermediary pen-lift, other times with a simple change in the pen's direction, this horn attached to the left side of a short horizontal stroke, that runs left-to-right under the hanging line and that connects on the left side of a vertical stroke. Hook refers to the beginning or end of a crook-shaped stroke; it mostly appears on vertical strokes. In some cases, distinguishing a hook from a short horizontal stroke is difficult, but in this study hooks connect to the beginning or end of a stroke without an intermediary pen-lift. Both the independent horn and the reverse tilde are clear in the figure below.

10 For rounded strokes, the linear length of the stroke visually exceeds the height/width of its arc.

11 The height/width of its arc is  $\geq$  the linear distance between the instroke and outstroke.



#### Letters' Structural Features

The archetypes discussed below are hand copies, made with a digital stylus, whose nib is cut out from the papyri photographs. These archetypes are based on a careful examination of each letter, which is found in the supporting file (<http://doi.org/10.6084/mg.figshare.19382882>). It should be remembered that these are heuristic archetypes used to *describe* the decisions made for this edition; they are not intended to be prescriptive for the classification of other Aramaic sources.



All occurrences are of one type (A), written with three strokes and two pen-lifts. The basic architecture of the stroke includes (1) a vertical or diagonal center stroke, followed by a pen-lift; (2) a left-to-right horizontal stroke that intersects the center stroke just above the mean line and is followed by a pen-lift; and (3) a horn that sits right of the center stroke or intersects it, with a height that generally begins at the mean line and ascends higher than the center stroke.

When the first stroke stands mostly vertical and runs the height of the line, strokes 1+2 may be confused with י or the left half of ה. In such cases the horn (stroke 3) may exhibit a small inverse hook and resemble ל.

When the first stroke descends diagonally from left-to-right, stopping near or slightly past the mean line, strokes 1+2 may be confused with י. If strokes 1+2 with this ductus descend to the baseline, then confusion with י is possible.

In the rare instance an א resembles a more Phoenician form, the letter may be confused with כ type-B, but when both are attested they are distinguishable.<sup>12</sup>



The letter כ can be divided into two types. Type-A is written with two strokes and one pen-lift and type-B with three strokes and (often) two pen-lifts.

Type-A stroke 1 is generally a short diagonal stroke without a horn. Type-A stroke 2 generally a (cursive) diagonal stroke, but when it stands at a fairly vertical or diagonal ductus, the letter resembles י or פ.

Type-B strokes 2+3 form a crown, though it is not always clear if the strokes are divided by a pen-lift or merely a change in the pen's direction. The structure of the

<sup>12</sup> The so-called archaic (א) *alef*, which is more akin to a Phoenician *alef* (א) and which is known as a textual unit divider in the Ahiqar manuscript, does not appear in this publication's collection of fragments.

crown is a paradigmatic stroke pattern used by many writers in many letters. Nearly identical crowns appear on ך|ד. Depending on the writer, some forms of ך, ב, מ, and נ as well as the tilde of ק and forms of ס type-B also resemble this crown. Type-B, stroke 3 is prone to be more rounded than diagonal. Stroke 3 may extend horizontally on the baseline, which is a unique feature of the letter.

א ג

All occurrences are of one type (A), written with two strokes and one pen-lift.

Stroke 1 is a mostly vertical or slightly slanting left-to-right stroke, and stroke 2 is a diagonal stroke beginning at the top of 1 and descending right-to-left.

Depending on the angle and intersection of the two strokes, the letter may take the basic shape of ה without its short vertical stroke. If written small, it may resemble ך.

י/י ך/ד

י|ד are indistinguishable and exhibit the same general type (A), which uses three strokes and (often) two pen-lifts.

The letter has a “crown” (strokes 2 + 3), which may be confused with ב type-B, as well as the other letters discussed above (י, ב, מ, ג, ס, and ק). On occasion a י type-A in some hands may resemble a ך|ד, but in such cases the ך|ד of the same hand never resembles י when both are attested.

ה ה

All occurrences are of one type (A), written with three strokes and two pen-lifts.

The left half of the letter (strokes 2 + 3) may be confused with ך depending on the ducatus, leaving a יי or יי pattern. In damaged/effaced contexts, strokes 1 + 2 may resemble the first stroke and crossbar of ה. Likewise, if stroke 3 is faded or missing, the structure of strokes 1 + 3 may be confused with ג. On rare occasion, a poorly written מ (type-B) may be confused with ה.

י י

All occurrences of י resemble the same basic shape, but may be divided into two types: type-A is written with two strokes and one pen-lift. Type-B is a crook-shaped stroke, a hook attached to a vertical stroke. Sometimes the difference between the two types is indistinguishable without multiple examples. In both types the hook begins in the middle of the upper half of the line, but sometimes may sit under the hanging line.

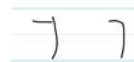
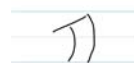
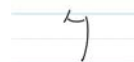
Type-A may be mistaken for ך|ד, but when examples in the same hand are available, the distinction becomes clear. The same is true of possible confusion with ב type-A.

Type-B resembles the “hook”-shape that the letter’s name derives from. Writers that use this shape, may—though not always—use the same shape to write פ, which can be indistinguishable. In such a case, the letters differ only in that פ may be slightly longer or begin on the hanging line, rather than near the mean line. Furthermore, in some instances type-B may be indistinguishable from י, the numeral 1, or the numeral 7, depending on the articulation of the hook,<sup>13</sup> but when examples are extant in a given hand, differentiation is often clear.

י ז

All occurrences are of one type (A), written with a single vertical stroke.

Confusion with the numeral 1 and the letter י type-B are possible. In the frequently attested letter combination יז, the ז may be difficult to identify, if written as a diagonal stroke with rightward declivity and parallel to or overlapping the diagonal of the י.



13 See for example the discussion in Moore, “Scribal Dot,” 5 n. 11.

## ח ה

The basic structure of ח includes two vertical strokes and a crossbar. This may be constructed based on two types: type-A in which each stroke is followed by a pen-lift in the order of (1) right vertical, (2) left vertical, and (3) crossbar; or type-B in which the crossbar and right vertical are formed without a pen-lift in the order of (1) crossbar, (2) right vertical, and (3) left vertical.

Ductus plays significant role in the letter's identification. The vertical strokes for each type are generally the same length, though in cursive hands the left vertical may be slightly longer. The crossbar may be either a horizontal or a vertical stroke. Similarly, the ductus of the whole letter may be rotated greatly, up to 45°, thereby turning the verticals into diagonals with a rightward declivity.

Letter type plays little to no role in misreadings, which are mostly owed to ductus. when the letter stands more vertically it may be confused with צ type-A. When the ductus produces a noticeably diagonal stance the letter may be confused with ט.

## ט ט

All occurrences are of one type (A), written with three strokes and two pen-lifts. It is not always clear what order the strokes are written in.

It may be confused with ל or in some cases לו, both of which are common letter combinations. On occasion confusion with ח with a slanted ductus (see above) is possible.

## י י

All occurrences are of one type (A), written with two strokes and one pen-lift, but three variations in the stroke pattern produce different looking letters.

The most common stroke pattern is a vertical first stroke that extends from the hanging line to or just below the mean line and a left-to-right horizontal stroke that sits on the mean line and intersects stroke 1 on its left side.

In a few instances, stroke 1 descends from the hanging line to the mean line with a leftward declivity. Stroke 2 then begins on the mean line and at the base of stroke 1, then moves left-to-right. This resembles the paradigmatic crown shape (see ב).

A final pattern is a highly cursive form of the first pattern formed by a short horn followed by a round stroke that extends from the hanging line to the mean line. Stroke 2 then begins left of stroke 1 and is a round stroke that sits in the cavity of stroke 1—touching and almost parallel to stroke 1.

In many hands י and strokes 1+2 of י are identical. When crown-shaped, it may be confused with letters associated with that paradigmatic form (ב, ר, ד, כ, מ, ג, ק, ס). In broken contexts confusion with ל is possible.

## כ ז

Type-A is written with two strokes and one pen-lift. Type-B is written with three strokes and two pen-lifts.

Both types begin with a long vertical or diagonal stroke that descends from the hanging line past the baseline, and if diagonal, with a leftward declivity. A crown is then written left of the stroke. For Type-A the crown is a round stroke that forms a cup that may be confused with כ or the left half of ש.

Type-B exhibits a more paradigmatic crown (see ב). Sometimes, the base of this crown (i.e. stroke 3) is slightly longer than that found on crowns of other letters (ב, ר, ד, י, מ, ג, ק, ס) in the same hand.

In the rare instance a hand exhibits forms more akin to Phoenician script, an י may be confused as a כ, but when both are attested they are distinguishable.

⸘

Type-A is written as a single stroke that extends from the mean line to well above the hanging line, into the interlinear space, even to the baseline above. At the mean line the stroke exhibits a small hook. The result is an upside down ם|ן.

As with ך, when the hook extends long enough to be considered its own stroke, it is difficult to determine if this was made with a pen-lift, or merely a change in the stroke's direction.

Type-B is rare. In very few instances does one find a small barb, written after a pen-lift, extending downward with leftward declivity from the right side of the horizontal. This may have been made by simply dotting with the pen.



⸙ ן

Type-A is written with three strokes and one pen-lift. Type-B is written with three strokes and two pen-lifts. Type-C is written with four strokes and three pen-lifts.

Type-A begins with a long reverse tilde before turning downward to form a diagonal/vertical stroke. The horizontal portion of the tilde is then bisected with a diagonal stroke. Type-B and Type-C are a ך or ם with small ן (type-A) written in the upper half of the line. Types B and C may then be confused with these letter combinations. Type B, in particular, has the same number of strokes as ן and on rare occasion they may be confused depending on the letter's stance.



⸚ ן

Type-A is a curvilinear stroke written from top-to-bottom with no pen-lifts and descends past the baseline.

Type-B is a curvilinear stroke written from top-to-bottom that descends past the baseline. Its upper portion exhibits a horn or a crown shape. Occasionally, one can determine that this horn/crown is written after a pen-lift, but in such cases these may be deemed an immediate correction to ensure the letter does not resemble ם. Type-A may be confused with the extended form of ך, while type-B is most often confused with ם of ן depending on the hand. In broken contexts or certain letter combinations, the crown of type-B, may be confused with that of other letters with the paradigmatic crown (see ן), namely ן, ך, ם, ן, ן, ן, ן, ן, ן.



⸛ ן

Type-A is written with a small ך-shaped stroke in the top half of the line, then a pen-lift. The tale of the ך-shaped is crossed by a second stroke of the same basic shape.

Type-B is written with a small ך-shaped stroke in the top half of the line, then a pen-lift. Beginning on the right edge of the ך-shape, a crown is written; the writing direction then turns downward into a vertical stroke without a pen-lift. (Frequently in documents outside this collection, the crown and vertical stroke are separated by a pen-lift.)

The small ך-shape can sometimes be written so short and with a leftward turn at the end that it resembles a ך-shape, causing confusion with ך.

The number 3 is often written identically to type-A, but generally context will disambiguate the two.

Type-B's crown shape may be confused with other paradigmatic crown-shaped letters (see ן), namely ן, ך, ם, ן, ן, ן, ן, ן, but since the crown appears near the mean line, this is rarely an issue.

In rarer cases, the right side of the letter may not extend to the baseline but ends near the mean line.





ו ע



All occurrences are of one type (A), written with two-strokes and one pen-lift in the upper half of the line.

Confusion with the upper part of ן type-A, the upper part of a ז type-B, or the left portion of ש, is possible especially in broken contexts.

פ



All occurrences are of one type (A), written with a small hook on the hanging line followed by a long vertical stroke that generally descends past the baseline.

Confusion with ף and ץ type-A is possible.

צ ת



Type-A is written with a vertical stroke that descends from the hanging line to just below the mean line. A parallel stroke that descends below the baseline is written left of stroke 1. A cross bar then connects the two in the upper half of the line. A pen-lift occurs between strokes 1–2 and 2–3.

Type-B is written with a long vertical stroke that descends from the hanging line to below the baseline. After a pen-lift, a short round or diagonal stroke with a leftward declivity is written right of stroke 1 from the hanging line to the mean line. Stroke 2 intersects stroke 1 at the mean line.

Type-A is easily confused with ן that exhibits a vertically oriented ductus. In some hands it may resemble the letter combination ן

Type-B resembles the letter combination ן or ן, and its upper portion may be confused with ץ. It may also resemble the numeral ן.

ק

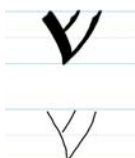


All occurrences are of one type (A), written with a wide reversed tilde (~), which then turns into a (normally) short vertical stroke that descends past the mean line. After a pen-lift a vertical begins on the left side of the reversed tilde and descends to or normally past the baseline.

The start of the reverse tilde may resemble the paradigmatic crown of other letters (see ב), namely ב, ך, ך, ך, ך, ך, ך, ך. In this sense, the stroke pattern may better resemble that used to write the numeric adjective ך. In a broken context the right and lower parts may resemble ן or ן. Although the numerical adjective ך is distinct from ק in a given hand, unless both are attested, the distinction may not be evident.

ך/ך See ך/ך.

ש



All occurrences are of one type (A), written with an initial vertical or diagonal stroke with rightward declivity, standing the full height of the line. Then two diagonal strokes with leftward declivity and parallel to each other are written from the hanging line and descend toward the first stroke, which they intersect at the baseline (stroke 3) and the mean line (stroke 3).

The letter is easily confused with the numeral ש. The structure may also resemble the letter combination שׁ in some hands.

ת



All occurrences are of one type (A), written as a short (generally ך-shaped though sometimes ך-shaped) right stroke that descends from the hanging line to or past the mean line. After a pen-lift, a left stroke that begins slightly above the hanging line descends along the left edge of stroke 1, continuing below the baseline.

The simple structure is that of the letter combination  $\aleph$  or  $\aleph$ , where  $\aleph$  is type-A, but most often  $\aleph$ 's stroke exhibits a leftward declivity (f) at its start, which is not found on  $\aleph$ .

### Additional Comments

The contemporary Demotic script contains signs or parts of signs that resemble many Aramaic characters. Demotic signs that resemble  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ , or  $\aleph$  are frequent in Demotic sources from the Persian and Ptolemaic periods. Furthermore, parts of many Hieratic signs may resemble Aramaic characters. The scarcity of bilingual Aramaic-Egyptian sources at Elephantine limits the possibility of misreading an Egyptian fragment as Aramaic, but the mixed assemblage of the find-spots does not rule out the possibility.

In a minority of cases it appears as though a hand may have been trained in Phoenician, or in an Aramaic script closer to Phoenician. The extreme rarity of Phoenician papyri excludes misreading a fragment as written in the Phoenician language, though it remains possible that Phoenician language speakers wrote in Aramaic with Phoenician-like letters.

# Glossary

## Anthroponyms

(\* indicates an alternative interpretation; see commentary.)

Romanized	Aramaic	Text No.	Line
...s	ס[...]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 5'
...q	ק[...]	1.2.13	recto 2'
...bh	בה[...]	2.2.2	recto 2' *
...bm	במ[...]	2.2.2	recto 2' *
...h	ה[...]	1.3.21	recto 1'
...ṭ	ט[...]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 8'
...yah	יה[...]	1.1.2	recto 3'
...k	כ[...]	2.2.2	recto 5' *
[PN-]י <sup>ל</sup>	ל[...]	1.3.12	recto 2'
...n	נ[...]	2.2.2	recto 1'
...natan	נתנ[...]	1.2.11	recto 1'
...p	פ[...]	2.2.2	recto 5' *
...ṣ	צ[...]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5' *
...t	ת[...]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5' *
...?	א[...]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 2'
[...] <sup>o</sup> dns[...]	[...] <sup>o</sup> דנס[...]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 1' *
[...] <sup>o</sup> rns[...]	[...] <sup>o</sup> רנס[...]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 1' *
...p <sup>o</sup>	פ <sup>o</sup> [...]	1.1.3	verso 1
...?	[...] <sup>o</sup> א	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 1' *
...y...	[...] <sup>o</sup> י	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 1' *
...l...	[...] <sup>o</sup> ל	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 1' *
...s	ס[...]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 6'
?Abiyitneṣer	אביתנצר	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 4'
?gzo	[...] <sup>o</sup> גזו	2.2.2	recto 3' *
?Iddinnabû	אדננבו	1.2.7	recto 3
?Iddinnabû	אדננב <sup>o</sup> י	1.2.9	recto 1'
?Ôsiri- <sup>o</sup>	אוסר <sup>o</sup>	1.1.16	verso 1'
?Ûrî	אורי	1.1.2	recto 1'
?Ôše <sup>o</sup> a	אושיע	1.3.5	frag. a (+) b verso 1' *
?Aḥî <sup>o</sup> ab	אחיאב	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
?Aḥî <sup>o</sup> ab	אחיאב	1.3.24	verso 1'
?Aḥy(ô)	אחי(ו)	1.1.2	recto 2' *
?k...	[...] <sup>o</sup> כ	2.2.2	recto 5' *
?Eshôr	אסחור	1.1.12	verso (pal) 1'
?Espîw <sup>o</sup> ...	[...] <sup>o</sup> אספיו	1.3.6	verso 1'
?Espemet	אספמת	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
?p...	[...] <sup>o</sup> פ	2.2.2	recto 5' *
?Arta...	[...] <sup>o</sup> ארת	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 3
?tz <sup>o</sup>	[...] <sup>o</sup> אתז	2.2.2	recto 3' *
B <sup>o</sup>	ב <sup>o</sup>	1.1.2	verso 2
Bagadata	בגדת	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 1'

(cont.)

Romanized	Aramaic	Text No.	Line
Bazmî	[בזמני]	1.3.16	recto 1' *
Buṭeta?	יבטתא	2.1.1	P. 23922 b verso 1
Bêt'eltaq'ûm	[ביתא'לת'ק' (ו)מ]	1.3.1	frag. b recto 2'
Bēlbani	בלבני	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 4
Bellê	בלה	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 3'
Gemaryah	[[גמריה]]	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
Gemaryah	[גמרי'יה]	2.5.3	P. 23970 recto 2'
Gemaryah	[גמריה]	2.5.6	frag. b recto 1'
Darí'ûš	[ד'ריאוש]	1.2.8	recto 1
Hôdô	[הודו]	2.5.3	P. 23970 recto 1' *
Hôdavyah	[[הודויה]]	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
Hôdavyah	[הודו'יה]	2.5.3	P. 23970 recto 1' *
Hôše'a	הויש'ע	1.1.2	recto 2'
Hôše'a	הושע	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
Hôše'a	[ה'ושיע']	1.3.5	frag. a (+) b verso 1 *
Hôše'a	[ה'ושע']	1.3.21	recto 1'
Wahpre <sup>c</sup>	[וח'פרע]	2.2.2	recto 6'
Vidranga	[ויד'רנג]	2.3.2	frag. c recto 2'
Zakkûr	[זכ'ור']	2.3.2	frag. a recto 1'
Zakkûr	[זכ'ור']	2.3.2	frag. a recto 2'
Zakkûr	[ז'זכ'ור]	1.3.5	frag. a (+) b verso 1
Ḥo...	[... ח]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
Ḥābib	חבב	1.1.2	verso 2
Ḥaggî	ח'גי	2.5.17	recto 1'
Ḥôr	[חור]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 4'
Ḥôr	[חור']	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 1'
Ḥôr	חור	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 9'
Ḥôr	חור	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 5'
Ḥôr	חור	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 2'
Ḥanan / Ḥananyah	[... חננ]	2.5.15	recto 2'
Ḥrs...	[... חרס]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 8'
Ya'ûš	יאוש	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
Yahô... <sup>c</sup>	[... יהו]	1.1.3	verso 1
Yehôyišma <sup>c</sup>	[יהוישמע]	1.1.2	verso 1
Yehôyišma <sup>c</sup>	יהוישמע	1.1.2	verso 3
Yeḥmolyah	[יהח'מליה]	1.1.8	recto 1' *
Înḥarou	[ינח'רו]	2.1.1	P. 23922 b recto 7' *
Yešobyah	ישביה	1.3.3	P. 23179 recto 2'
Yešobyah	[ישביה]	1.3.4	recto 1'
kb...	[... כב']	2.2.2	recto 2'
Cambyses	כנבוז	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 8'
Mahseyah	[מח'סי'יה]	2.5.6	frag. b recto 2'
Mahseyah	[מ'ח'סי'יה]	1.3.22	recto 1'
Menaḥem	[מנח'מ]	2.5.3	P. 23968 recto 2' *
Menaḥemet	[מנח'מת]	2.5.3	P. 23968 recto 2' *
Mešeneh	מ'סחנה	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 3'
Miptaḥyah	[מ'פטח'יה]	2.3.2	frag. a recto 1'

(cont.)

Romanized	Aramaic	Text No.	Line
Mattan	מתנ	1.1.3	recto 1' *
Nabû...	נבו[...]	1.2.6	recto 1'
Saraka	סרכ	1.1.6	verso 1
°Abd-°Ešmun	עבדאשמנ	2.5.18	verso 1'
°l...	על[...]	2.5.2	frag. c recto 2' *
°Ananî	ענני	1.2.7	P. 23961 recto 2'
P°...	פ[...]	1.3.37	recto 1'
Phzw	פהז	1.2.1	verso 1
Paḥnûm	פח'נומ	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 2'
Paḥn'û'm	פ'ח[ג(ו)מ]	2.5.10	recto 1' *
Paḥapî	פחפי	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 4'
Paḥapî	פח'פי	1.1.24	verso 2'
Peṭôsirî	פטוסרי	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 8'
Peṭḥnum	פטח[נמ]	2.2.2	recto 4'
Peṭḥarphkraṭ	[פטחר]פח'ר[ט]	2.2.2	recto 7' *
Peṭeneter	פטנתר	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
Peṭesobeq	פטסבק	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 4'
Pîa	פיא	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
Psamî	פס'מ[י]	2.2.2	recto 1'
Psamî	פס'מ[י]	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2	verso 1'
Ptaḥ	פ'תח	1.1.15	recto 1' *
Şeḥa°	[צח'א]	2.5.2	frag. c recto 3'
Re°a	רע	1.3.26	recto 1' *
Şaḥpîmû	שחפ'מ[ו]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 4'
Şîbah	[שיבה]	1.3.9	recto 1'
Şelemyah	[שלמ'י[ה]]	1.3.25	recto 1' *
Shepneît	[שפ'נ[ית]]	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2	recto 2'
Td°smt	תדעס'מת	2.3.2	frag. a recto 2'
Taḥê	תחי	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 6'
Teṭeḥarôer	תטחרור	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 3'
Teṭḥarphkraṭ	[תטחר]פח'ר[ט]	2.2.2	recto 7' *
Tiqvat(i)ya°	תקותיא	1.1.3	recto 2'
Tetep	[ת]תפ	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 2'
Tetep	תתפ	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 4'

## General Glossary

(\* indicates an alternative interpretation; see commentary.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
אבנ stone (no.)	באבני] [	1.3.48	recto 1'
אזל to go (vb.)	אזלית] [	1.1.18	recto 2' *
אח brother (no.)	אחי	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto 2
אחד to seize (vb.)	ואחי] [	1.1.2	recto 2' *
אחד to seize (vb.)	אח[ד] ו	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 7'
אחה sister (no.)	אחית] [	1.1.15	verso 1'
איכ how, as (prep./conj.)	אחתי	1.1.3	recto 2'
	איכ]	1.1.2	verso 1
אל to (preposition)	א'אי] [	1.1.5	recto 3
	אל	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto 2
	אל]	1.1.5	verso 1
	[אל]	1.1.5	recto 1
	ל[א]	1.1.11	verso 3'
אל-2 not (particle)	ל/●אל]	1.3.10	recto 1'
אלה god (no.)	אל'ה	1.1.18	recto 2' *
	[אלה]	1.3.2	frag. a recto 1'
אלכ those (demon.)	אל'כ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 3'
אמה female-servant (no.)	אמית'א	1.1.2	recto 3'
אמר to say (vb.)	[אמר]	1.2.8	recto 2
	אמר]	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
	[...]'אמר] [	2.4.3	recto 1'
	אמר] [	1.1.7	recto 2'
	לאמר[ר]	1.1.25	recto 2'
	נאמר[ר]	1.3.31	recto 1'
אנה I (prono.)	אנה	1.1.3	verso 2
	[אנה]	2.5.3	P. 23969 recto 2' *
	א'נה]	1.1.26	verso 1'
	א'נה	1.3.30	recto 1'
	א'נה]	1.3.34	recto 1'
	ואנ'ה]	1.3.39	recto 1'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
אנת you (prono.)	אנת	2.4.2	recto
אנתה woman, wife (no.)	אנתה [אנת]ת	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 2'
אנתו wifehood (no.)	אנתו [אנת]ת	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 2'
אספ to collect (vb.)	אספ [מאספ]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 7'
אסר to bind (vb.)	אסרו	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 7'
אפ moreover (conj.)	אפ [א]פ	1.1.17	recto 1'
אפפ (month of) Epiph (no.)	אפפ	2.3.1	verso 2'
אתי to come (vb.)	אתו	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 2'
	אתי	1.1.26	verso 1'
	יהי	1.1.11	verso 2'
	ואיתו	1.3.7	recto 2'
ב in, on, with (prep.)	ב	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
	ב	1.2.8	recto 1
	[ב]	1.3.44	verso 1'
בבלי Babylonians (no.)	בבלי	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 8'
בגו within, herein (prep./adv.)	בגו [בגו]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 3'
	בגו	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
	בגו [בגו]	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 5'
	[בגו]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 2'
	בגו	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	בגו	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 5'
	בגו [בגו]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	[בגו]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	בגו	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 6'
בינ between, among (prep.)	בינ [בינ]	1.3.23	recto 1'
בירה fort (no.)	בירתא	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 2'
	בירתא [בירתא]	1.3.15	recto 2'
בעי to seek (vb.)	בעי [תבעי]	1.1.19	recto 1'
בר son (no.)	בר [ב]	Paris AIBL- CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2	verso 1'
	בר	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 1'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	בר	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
	בר	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
	[בר]	1.1.2	verso 1 *
	בר	1.1.2	verso 2
	[בר]	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 1'
	בר	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 8'
	בר	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 1'
	בר	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 2' *
	[(בר)]	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
	[(בר)]	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
	בר	2.2.2	recto 1'
	בר	2.2.2	recto 2'
	בר	2.2.2	recto 3'
	בר	2.2.2	recto 4'
	בר	2.2.2	recto 5'
	בר	2.2.2	recto 6'
	[בר]	2.2.2	recto 7'
	בר	1.3.3	P. 23964 recto 1'
	בר	1.3.4	recto 1'
	[(בר)]	1.3.5	frag. a (+) b verso 1 *
	[בר]	2.5.6	frag. a recto 1'
	בר	1.2.11	recto 1'
	בר	1.2.13	recto 2'
	בר	1.3.12	recto 2'
	[בר]	2.5.15	recto 1'
	[בר]	2.5.17	recto 1'
	בר	1.3.21	recto 1'
	בר	1.3.25	verso 1'
	בר	1.3.32	verso 1'
	בר	1.3.37	recto 1'
	ברה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 5'
	ברה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 6'
	[ברה]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 4'
	[ברה]	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 2' *
	ברה	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 5'
ברת, ברה daughter (no.)	ברת	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 4'
	[ברת]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 9'
	ברת	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 2'
	[ברת]	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 3' *
	ברת	2.3.2	frag. a recto 1'
	ברת	2.3.2	frag. a recto 2'
	[(ברת)]	1.3.5	frag. a (+) b verso 1 *
	ברת	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 3'
	[ברת]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 3'
	[ברת]	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 3' *
	ברת	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 4'



(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	ברתה]	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 6'
	וברתה	1.1.3	verso 1
	וברתה'	1.1.3	verso 1
	בר[ת]	1.1.2	verso 1 *
בשמ	בשמ	1.3.30	recto 2' *
balsam oil (no.)			
גבר	גבר'ר]	1.3.36	recto 2'
man, person, each (no./prono.)			
	גבריא	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 4'
	גבריא	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 6'
	גברנ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 7'
גרי	תגרויה'י]	2.3.2	frag. b recto 1'
to sue (vb.)			
גרמ	גרמויה'י]	2.5.9	recto 2'
to cause to happen (vb.)			
דגל	דגל[	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 5
d <sup>e</sup> gal-unit (no.)			
	דגל[ל]	1.2.7	recto 3
דכ	דכ]	Paris AIBL-	verso 2'
(demon.)		CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frags. 1+2	
דכרנ	דכרנ	2.3.1	recto 1'
memorandum (no.)			
דמי	בדמי	1.1.2	recto 4'
value (no.)			
	דמי'י]	1.2.3	recto 1'
	ידמ'י[א]	1.2.10	recto 2'
הוי	יא'ה'וי[ה]	2.5.9	verso 1' *
to be(come) (vb.)			
	הווי'	1.3.27	recto 1'
	יהוה[	2.5.6	frag. a recto 2'
	ית'הויה'	1.3.14	recto 1'
	יתה'וי]	1.1.10	recto 3'
הוכ	למה'וכל'י]	1.3.18	recto 1'
to proceed (vb.)			
	תהכ]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 6
היר	הירא	1.1.2	recto 4'
<i>Hyr</i> (property yield?) (no.)			
הלכ	הליכ'י[א]	1.3.29	recto 2'
to walk (vb.)			
הנ	הנ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 5'
if (particle)			
	הנ	2.5.1	frag. a recto 1'
זבנ	למזבנ	1.1.6	recto 2'
to buy (G-stem) (vb.)			

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
זי that, which, of (rel. prono.)	זי	2.2.3	recto iii 10
	זי	2.1.1	P. 23922 b verso 1
	זי <sup>1</sup>	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 4'
	זי	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 6'
	זי	1.1.2	recto 4'
	זי	1.2.1	verso 1
	זי	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5'
	[(זי)]	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
	זי <sup>1</sup>	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 1
	זי	2.3.1	verso 1'
	זי <sup>1</sup>	1.1.6	verso 2
	זי	1.1.7	recto 2'
	זי	2.5.6	frag. a recto 1'
	זי <sup>1</sup>	1.1.11	recto 2
	זי[	1.1.18	recto 2'
	זי	1.1.19	recto 1'
	זי	1.3.47	recto 2'
זיל belonging to (prep.)	זיליכ <sup>1</sup> [(י)]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 4
זמן time (?) (no.)	זמן[ג]	1.3.16	recto 1' *
	זנה	1.3.1	frag. a 2'
זנה this (prono.)	זנה[	1.2.13	recto 1'
	זנה	1.3.19	recto 2'
	זנה <sup>1</sup> [	1.3.33	recto 1'
חדת new (adj.)	חדתא	2.5.11	recto 1'
חוב obligation (no.)	חוב[	1.2.1	verso 1
חזי to see (vb.)	חזי <sup>1</sup> [חזי]	1.3.28	recto 2' *
	חזי <sup>1</sup> [זה]	1.1.8	recto 1' *
	חזי <sup>1</sup> [תחזה]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 5
חטבת striped cloth (no.)	ח[ט]בת <sup>1</sup>	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 8'
חטה wheat (no.)	חטה	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 3'
חי life, living (no.)	חי <sup>1</sup> [לחיא]	1.1.14	recto 2' *
חיט to inspect (vb.)	חיט <sup>1</sup>	1.1.12	verso (pal) 2' *
	חיט <sup>1</sup>	1.1.12	verso (pal) 2' *
חיל troop (no.)	חילי <sup>1</sup> [א]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 3'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	לחילא	2.2.3	recto iii 10
חלמ	לחלמ	1.1.8	recto 1'
to dream (vb.)			
חמר	יח'מ]ר'	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4' *
wine (no.)			
חמר - 2	יח'מ]ר'	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4' *
donkey (no.)			
חסל	יח'סילנ]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 1'
to wean (vb.)			
חסנ	יא'ה'ח'סנ]	2.5.9	verso 1' *
to possess (G-stem); to have possess-status (C-stem) (vb.)			
	חסינ	1.1.2	recto 5'
חרש	חרש	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4'
plow (no.)			
טב	ט'ב'	1.1.9	P. 23957 recto 3'
good (adj.)			
	יטב' [...]	1.1.13	verso 2'
יב	לוי'ב	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 2'
Elephantine (no.)			
יבל	למוב'ל]	2.5.5	recto 1'
to bring, carry (vb.)			
	ימ'ז'ב'ל]	1.3.41	recto 1'
יד	ביד]	2.3.1	recto 2'
hand (no.)			
	[ביד]	2.2.3	recto iii 11
	יב'ז'ד]	1.1.9	P. 23957 verso 3'
	ול'ז'ד	2.3.1	recto 4'
	יד	1.1.9	P. 23957 verso 2'
	יוד'כ	1.3.2	frag. a recto 1'
	לוי'ז'ד]	1.1.10	recto 3' *
ידע	דע	1.3.26	recto 1' *
to know (vb.)			
יומ	יומ]נ]	1.3.23	recto 1'
day (no.)			
יור	[יור]	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 1'
ywr-male-status (no.)			
	[יור]	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
	[יור]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 2'
	[יור]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 3'
	יור'	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	יור'	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 8'
	[יור]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
ילד	יל'ז'ד'ל'ב]	1.1.9	P. 23954 a recto 2'
to bear (vb.)			
	[ת]לדי'ה'	1.3.1	frag. c recto 2' *

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
ימא to swear (vb.)	]ימא[	2.4.1	recto 2'
ינק infant (no.)	]לינק'יא[	1.1.22	verso 1'
ירח month (no.)	בירח	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5'
	ירח	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto 1
	ירח	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto 1
	ירח	1.3.19	recto 2'
	ח[יר[	2.3.1	verso 2'
ישר to send (an item) (vb.)	הושרו	1.1.2	verso 3
	הויש'ר[רי]	1.1.2	verso 2
יתר surplus (no.)	]וי'תרה'י[	1.1.2	recto 1'
כבל chains	בכבלנ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 7'
כהל to be able (vb.)	]תכהל[	1.1.24	recto 2'
	תכיה'ל[ל]	1.3.38	recto 1'
כל all, every, total (no./prono.)	]כ'לה[...]	2.5.16	recto 4'
	כל	1.1.3	verso 2
	כל	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 1
	]כל'ז[	1.1.10	recto 1'
	כ'ל'ז	1.1.23	recto 1'
	כל	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 5
	כל	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 6
	כל	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
	[כל]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	כל	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 5'
	[כל]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	[כל]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5'
כמ- your (m.s.) (suf. prono.)	יכמ' (°)[...]	1.3.17	recto 1'
כנת emmer (no.)	]כנתנ[	2.3.1	recto 1'
	כנתנ	2.3.1	recto 3'
כסף silver, silver-rate (no.)	]כסף[...]	2.5.16	recto 3'
	ב'כסף'	1.1.3	recto 2'
	כסף	1.2.3	recto 1'
	]כסף[	1.3.8	recto 1'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
כפמ	כפמ]	1.2.13	recto 1'
according to, at the instruction of (prep.)			
כרש	ש[ (כר) ..]	2.5.8	side 1
karsh-measurement (no.)			
כתב	כתב	1.2.1	verso 1
to write (vb.)			
	כתב]ר	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
	כתב	1.3.45	recto 1'
	כת(י)ב]	1.3.35	recto 2'
	כתיב	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 6'
כתונ	כתונ]ג	2.5.5	recto 3'
tunic (no.)			
ל	ל]ר[ ...]	1.1.5	recto 3
to, for, of (prep.)			
	[... ל]	1.2.1	verso 1
	[ל]	1.2.5	recto 3'
	[... ל]	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
	[... ל]	1.2.8	recto 1
	ל]...]	2.5.4	frag. a recto 1'
	ל]ר[	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 3'
	[ל]	1.1.2	verso 2
	ל	1.1.2	verso 1
	ל]ר[	1.1.10	recto 3' *
	ל]ר[	1.1.18	verso 2'
	ל]ר[	1.2.5	recto 4'
	ל]ר[	1.1.6	recto 2'
	ל]ר[	1.1.20	recto 2'
	ל]ר[	1.1.27	recto 1'
	לכ	1.3.47	recto 2'
	לכמ	1.1.3	verso 2
	לכ]מ	1.3.46	verso (?) 1
	לנ	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 4 *
	לנ]	1.1.9	P. 23954 a recto 3'
	לנ	1.3.40	recto 1'
לא	ולא]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 6
not (part.)			
	ולא	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 9'
	ולא]	1.1.3	verso 2
	לא	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 4 *
	לא	1.1.5	recto 2
	לא]	1.1.22	recto 2'
	לא	1.3.15	recto 2'
	לא]	2.5.1	frag. a recto 1'
לאית, לאיתי	לא]אית	1.3.2	frag. b recto 1'
there is not (vb.)			

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
לבנה brick (no.)	בלבני <sup>א</sup> [ג]	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 4
לבש garment (no.)	לבש <sup>א</sup> [ל]	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4'
לחי wicked (adj.)	לבשכ <sup>א</sup> [ל]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 6
לקדמינ formerly (adv.)	ולחי <sup>א</sup> [ל]	1.1.14	recto 2' *
לקח to take (vb.)	לקדמינ	2.5.7	frag. a recto 2'
מאנ vessel (no.)	לקח [...] [ל]	1.1.20	recto 1'
מדינה district (no.)	למלקחה [ל]	1.2.5	recto 3'
מהר bride price	מאנ [מ]	2.5.3	P. 23969 recto 2' *
מחיר (month of) Meḥîr (no.)	מדינתא	1.1.2	recto 5'
מכל food-ration (no.)	מדינת [מ]	1.1.14	recto 1'
	מדינת [מ]	2.2.3	recto iii 10
	למהיר <sup>א</sup> [ל]	1.3.18	recto 1'
	למחיר <sup>א</sup> [ל]	2.2.3	recto iii 12
	למחיר <sup>א</sup> [ל]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5' *
	למחיר <sup>א</sup> [מ]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 3'
	למכלי <sup>א</sup> [מ]	2.2.3	recto iii 13
	למכלינ [מ]	2.2.4	recto 1'
	למכלינ [מ]	2.2.4	recto 2'
	למכלינ [מ]	2.2.4	recto 3'
	למכלינ <sup>א</sup> [מ]	2.2.4	recto 4'
	למכלינ <sup>א</sup> [ל]	1.3.44	verso 1'
מלא to fill (vb.)	למלא [מ]	1.2.1	verso 1
מלח boatman (no.)	מלכא	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
מלכ king (no.)	מלכא [מ]	1.2.8	recto 2
	מלכא [מ]	1.3.48	recto 1'
מנ from (prep.)	ומנ	2.2.3	recto iii 13
	מנ	1.1.2	recto 5'
	מנ	1.1.2	verso 2
	מינ <sup>א</sup> [מ]	1.1.11	recto 1
	מינ <sup>א</sup> [מ]	1.1.11	verso 2'
	מינ <sup>א</sup> [מ]	1.1.27	verso 1'
	מנ [מ]	1.3.19	recto 2'
	מנ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 7'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
מנה share, portion (no.)	מנת	1.1.10	recto 1'
מנחה grain-offering (no.)	מנחה	1.3.3	P. 23964 recto 2' *
מסורע (month of) Mesôre <sup>c</sup> (no.)	מסורע	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5' *
מסתא limit, underage (no.)	מסתא	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 5'
	מסתא	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 6'
	מסתא	2.2.1	frag. f recto unplaced 1'
מצרי Egyptian/Egypt (no.)	מצרי	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 3'
	מצרי	2.5.1	frag. b recto 2'
משהה measurement (no.)	משהה	1.3.3	P. 23964 recto 2' *
משכ leather (no.)	משכ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4'
מת land (no.)	מת	1.1.3	recto 1' *
נא Thebes (no.)	נא	1.1.14	recto 1'
נחת to go down (vb.)	נחת	1.1.22	recto 2'
	נחת	1.3.3	P. 23964 recto 2' *
	נחת	2.1.1	P. 23922 b recto 7' *
נפש person, self (no.)	נפש	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
	נפש	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	נפש	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 5'
	נפש	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	נפש	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5'
נצב planting (area), orchard (no.)	נצב	2.5.5	recto 2' *
נצל to remove (vb.)	נצל	1.1.5	recto 2
נשנ lady(-status) (no.)	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 2'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 3'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 5'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 2'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 4'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 9'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 2'
	נשנ	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 2'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	[נשנ]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	נ[נ]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 3'
יהב/ נתנ to give (vb.)	יב[ה(oo)]	1.1.22	verso 1'
	יב[נ]ת'נל'ה	1.3.42	verso 1'
	אנתנ	1.2.5	recto 3'
	אנתננה	1.2.4	recto 1'
	יב[ה]	1.3.27	recto 1'
	יב[ה]...	2.3.1	verso 1'
	יב[ה]יכ'...	2.5.14	recto 2'
	יב[ה]	2.2.3	recto iii 10
	יב[ה]ת'נתנ	1.2.5	recto 4'
	יב[ה]ת'נ'ת'נו'נ	1.1.7	recto 2'
סאה seah-measurement (no.)	יב[ה]סאה	2.2.1	frag. a verso iii' 1'
סבל to support (vb.)	יב[ה]סבל[וה]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 8'
סבר to hope (vb.)	יב[ה]ס'בר	1.1.19	verso 1'
סונ Syene (no.)	יב[ה]ס'ונ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 5'
	יב[ה]ס'ונ'נ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 7'
ספר document (no.)	יב[ה]ספר	1.2.1	verso 1
	יב[ה]ספר	1.2.2	P. 23172 verso 1
	יב[ה]ספ'ר	1.3.43	recto 1'
	יב[ה]ספרא	2.1.1	P. 23922 b verso 1
	יב[ה]ספרא	2.3.1	recto 2'
	יב[ה]ספרא	1.2.13	recto 1'
סתתר stater (no.)	יב[ה]סת'ת'רנ	1.2.10	recto 1'
עבד to make, to do (vb.)	יב[ה]ואעבד	1.1.5	recto 3
	יב[ה]יע'בדונ'	1.1.2	recto 3' *
	יב[ה]נעבד	1.1.21	recto 1'
	יב[ה]עבד	1.1.6	verso 1
	יב[ה]עבד'ר'...	1.1.10	recto 2' *
	יב[ה]עבדי	1.1.2	verso 1
	יב[ה]יע'בדי'י'	1.1.25	verso 2' *
	יב[ה]יע'בדי'ת'	1.1.7	recto 1'
	יב[ה]תעבד	1.1.5	recto 3
	יב[ה]תעבד	1.1.12	verso (pal) 1'
	יב[ה]תע'בדונ'	1.1.2	recto 3' *
עבד-2 (male-)servant (no.)	יב[ה]עבד	1.1.6	verso 1
	יב[ה]ע'בד'ר'...	2.5.12	recto 1'
	יב[ה]יע'בדי'י'	1.1.25	verso 2' *



(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	עבד'א]	1.1.10	recto 2' *
	עבדיכ	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 1
עבור	עבור'ר	1.1.6	recto 2'
grain (no.)			
עד	עד'א[...]	1.3.19	recto 2'
until (prep.)			
	עד	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 5
	עד	1.3.20	recto 2'
על	על]	1.1.7	recto 2'
on, to (prep.)			
	יעל'ז]	1.1.9	P. 23956 verso 2'
	[על]	1.1.11	recto 1
	על	1.3.20	recto 1'
	יע'זל	1.3.43	recto 1'
	עיל'ז[...]	2.5.2	frag. c recto 2' *
	עלי	2.5.7	frag. a recto 2'
עלדבר	עלדב'ר]	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 2
therefore (prep.)			
עליד	עליד'א]	1.3.29	recto 2'
by means of (prep.)			
עלימ	עלימ'א[...]	2.5.14	recto 1'
male-servant (no.)			
עלימה	ל'יע'לימנ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 8'
female-servant (no.)			
עמ	ו'וע'מ'א]	1.2.5	recto 1'
with (prep.)			
ערבנ, ערבנ	ערבנ]	1.1.2	recto 5'
security, pledge (no.)			
פחה	פ'חת'ה'	1.3.3	P. 23964 recto 2' *
governor (no.)			
פחנס	ל'ל'פ'ח'א[נס]	2.5.10	recto 1' *
(month of) Paḥons (no.)			
פקיד	פקי'ד]	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8
officer (no.)			Recto 1
פרס	פרס[ג]	2.3.1	recto 3'
peras-measurement (no.)			
פתגמ	פתגמ	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 7
message (no.)			
פתח	ל'ופ'תח	1.1.15	recto 1' *
to open (vb.)			
	ל'פת'חו	1.3.28	recto 2' *
פתפ	פתפ	1.1.12	verso (pal) 2'
ration (no.)			
	פתפ	2.2.3	recto iii 10
צבי	נצב[ה]	2.5.5	recto 2' *
to desire (vb.)			

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
קדמ before (prep.)	ק[ק]דמ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 8'
רב great (adj.)	ר[ר]בה	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 2'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 3'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 5'
	ר[ר]בה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 2'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 4'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 9'
	[רבה]	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 2'
	[רבה]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 2'
	[רבה]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
	רבה	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 3'
רע friend (no.)	רע	1.3.26	recto 1' *
שקל → ש (abbrev.)			
שאל to ask (vb.)	שאל[...]	1.1.2	recto 3'
שוב to leave (vb.)	שוב[ ]	2.5.6	frag. a recto 3'
שלח to send (word) (vb.)	שלח[ ]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 7
	שילזחת	2.5.7	frag. a recto 2'
	ש[ ]לזחת	1.1.27	recto 1'
שלם to greet, to compensate (vb.)	שלם	1.1.3	recto 2'
	שלם	1.1.3	recto 2'
	[שלם]	1.1.3	verso 1
	שלם	1.1.3	verso 1
	שלם	1.1.23	recto 1'
	שלמי	1.3.25	recto 1' *
שמ name (no.)	בשמ	1.3.30	recto 2' *
	שמ[ה]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
	שמ[ה]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 4'
	שמ[ה]התהמ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 6'
שמיא heavens (no.)	שמיא[ ]	1.3.2	frag. a recto 1'
שנא to hate (vb.)	שנא	1.2.6	recto 1'
שנה year (no.)	שנת[ ]	2.2.3	recto iii 12
	שנת[ ]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 3'
	שנת	2.5.4	frag. a recto 1'

(cont.)

Root	Word	Text No.	Line
	[שנת]	1.2.8	recto 1
	[שנת]	1.2.8	recto 1 alt
שער barley (no.)	ישער'נ	1.2.1	verso 1
שקל shekel (no.)	ש[...]	2.5.8	side 1
	ש[	1.3.13	recto 1'
	שקלינ'	2.2.1	frag. e (+) d verso i' 1'
	]שקל'נ]	1.2.10	recto 1'
	]שק'לנ]	1.2.12	recto 1'
שתי to drink (vb.)	]ש'תינ	1.1.10	recto 2' *
שתינ sixty (no.)	]ש'תינ	1.1.10	recto 2' *
תור bull (no.)	תור	2.5.13	recto 1'
תחת instead of (prep.)	תחת	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 5'
	תחת	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 6'
	]תח'ת	2.2.1	frag. f recto unplaced 1'
תנה here (adv.)	]תנ'ה'	1.1.9	P. 23957 recto 1'
תשטרס Tšetres (no.)	[תש'ט'רס]	2.2.3	recto iii 11

### Broken Words

(\* indicates an alternative interpretation; see commentary.)

Word	Text No.	Line
יבמ'...	1.3.3	P. 23179 verso 1'
...יב'...	1.1.9	P. 23954 a verso 2'
יב'ד'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'דו'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'דז'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'ר'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'רו'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'רוז'...	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
יב'ד'תא	2.5.6	frag. a recto 1' *
יב'ר'תא	2.5.6	frag. a recto 1' *
יב'...	1.3.1	frag. a recto 2'
יב'...	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frag. 1 + 2	verso 2'

(cont.)

Word	Text No.	Line
אא[...]	1.1.6	verso 1'
ה[...]	2.2.1	P. 23954 a verso iii' 1'
ח[...]	1.3.6	recto 1'
[...]י[...]	1.1.16	recto 2'
ל[...]	1.3.3	P. 23179 recto 1'
מ[...]	1.1.8	recto 1'
נ[...]	2.5.3	P. 23968 recto 2'
[...]נע[...]	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 5' *
[...]פע[...]	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 5' *
קינ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23956 recto 1'
ת[...]	2.5.7	frag. a recto 2'
תה[...]	1.1.9	P. 23954 c recto 1'
א[...]	2.3.1	verso 1'
א[...]	2.2.3	recto iii 13
א[...]	1.1.21	recto 1'
ב[...]	1.1.9	P. 23956 verso 2'
[...]במ[...]	2.5.16	recto 2'
בנ[...]	2.5.1	frag. b recto 1'
ג[...]	2.5.3	P. 23969 recto 1'
גנכמ[...]	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 6'
ד[...]	2.5.2	frag. c recto 2' *
ד[...]	1.1.15	verso 1' *
[...]דא[...]	2.5.2	frag. a recto 1' *
דבא[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 4' *
דש[...]	1.1.13	recto 1' *
...ח[...]	1.3.42	recto 1' *
ח[...]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 5' *
ח[...]	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frag. 1+2	recto 2'
חמ[...]	1.1.18	verso 2'
י[...]	1.3.47	recto 2'
יא[...]	1.1.15	verso 2'
ינ[...]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 5' *
ית[...]	1.1.7	verso 2'
כ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23956 verso 1' *
כ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23957 verso 3'
כ[...]	2.5.12	recto 1' *
[...]כנ[...]	2.3.2	frag. c recto 3'
ל[...]	1.1.9	P. 23957 recto 2'
[...]ל[...]	2.2.1	frag. f recto unplaced 2'
[...]ל[...]	1.1.9	P. 23954 c recto 2'
[...]ל[...]	1.1.19	recto 2'
ל[...]	1.1.2	verso 2'
ל[...]	1.1.6	verso 2
[...](...)ל[...]	1.1.17	verso 1'
[...]ל[...]	1.2.9	recto 2'
[...]לד[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 9' *

(cont.)

Word	Text No.	Line
[...]ליׁ[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 2
[...]לׁמ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23957 verso 2'
[...]לׁר[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 9' *
ׁלׁרׁה[...]	1.3.1	frag. c recto 2' *
לת[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 7
ׁמ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23954 b recto 1'
ׁ[ׁ]ׁמׁ[...]	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 1'
...מח[...]	1.3.42	recto 1' *
ג[...]	2.5.12	recto 1' *
[...]גׁשׁ[...]	1.1.17	recto 2'
עמ[...]	1.1.2	recto 4'
ׁעמׁ[...]	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 1
[...]פׁי[...]	2.4.3	recto 2'
ׁצׁ[...]	2.2.4	verso i 1'
ר[...]	2.5.2	frag. c recto 2' *
ר[...]	1.1.15	verso 1' *
[...]רׁא[...]	2.5.2	frag. a recto 1' *
רׁבׁא[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 4' *
רׁשׁ[...]	1.1.13	recto 1' *
ׁשׁ[...]	1.3.40	recto 1'
ׁשׁ[...]	1.1.2	recto 2'
[...]שׁיׁ[...]	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 1
ׁתׁ[...]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 10'
ת[...]	2.2.4	verso i 2'
ׁתׁ[...]	1.3.7	recto 3'
]ת[...]	1.1.9	P. 23956 verso 1' *
ׁתׁ[...]	1.1.15	recto 2'
צׁתׁ[...]	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 8'
דׁתׁ[...]	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frgs. 1 + 2	recto 1' *
רׁתׁ[...]	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frgs. 1 + 2	recto 1' *
ׁבׁאׁ[ׁ]ׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.7	verso 2'
הׁ[ׁ]ׁ[ׁ]ׁ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 4'
הׁ[ׁ]ׁ	2.1.1	P. 23922 b verso 1
תׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.3	recto 1'
לׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.12	verso (pal) 2'
[...]לׁזׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.3	verso 3
[...]לׁזׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.8	verso 2'
ׁגׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.3	recto 1'
ׁ[ׁ]פׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 2'
ׁתׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.24	verso 1'
[...]טׁ[ׁ]ׁ	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frgs. 1 + 2	verso 3'
ׁלׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.3.7	recto 3'
[...]מׁ[ׁ]ׁ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 7'
[...]תׁ[ׁ]ׁ	2.5.3	P. 23968 recto 1'

(cont.)

Word	Text No.	Line
[...]א <sup>1</sup>	2.3.1	recto 4'
[...]א	2.2.3	recto iii 13
[...]א <sup>1</sup>	1.1.9	P. 23956 recto 1'
[...]א	1.1.14	recto 1' *
[...]א <sup>1</sup>	1.1.14	recto 2'
[...]א	Paris AIBL-CIS Cl.-G. 51, Unl.2.3. Frag. 1 + 2	recto 1'
[...]א	1.1.3	recto 1'
[...]א	1.3.40	recto 1'
[...]א <sup>1</sup> ח	1.1.9	P. 23957 recto 2'
[...]א <sup>1</sup> מ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 6'
[...]א <sup>1</sup> נא	1.1.10	verso 1'
[...]ב	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 8' *
[...]ב	2.3.1	verso 2'
[...]ב	2.5.4	frag b recto 1'
[...]ב	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 2
[...]ב <sup>1</sup> ל	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 3 *
[...]ב <sup>1</sup> ל	2.5.4	frag b recto 2'
[...]בש	2.1.1	P. 23922 b verso 1
[...]ד	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 5 *
[...]ד	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 6 *
[...]ד <sup>1</sup> ל	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 3 *
[...]ה	1.1.19	verso 1'
[...]ה	1.3.15	recto 2'
[...]ה	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 4'
[...]ה <sup>1</sup> ב	1.3.48	recto 2'
[...]ה <sup>1</sup> ה	1.1.9	P. 23954 b recto 1'
[...]ה	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 3'
[...]ט	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 8' *
[...]י	1.1.14	recto 1' *
[...]י <sup>1</sup> א	1.1.5	recto 4
[...]י <sup>1</sup> ב	2.5.7	frag. a recto 2'
[...]ל	1.3.14	recto 2'
[...]ל <sup>1</sup> א(א)	1.3.17	verso 1'
[...]ל <sup>1</sup> ב	1.1.15	recto 2' *
[...]ל <sup>1</sup> ד	1.1.15	recto 2' *
[...]ל <sup>1</sup> ר	1.1.15	recto 2' *
[...]מ	1.1.1	P. 13445 E- P. 13448/8 Recto 2
[...]מ <sup>1</sup> א	2.3.1	recto 5'
[...]מפ	2.5.4	frag c recto 2'
[...]פ	1.1.4	hand 1 recto 3
[...]ר	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 5 *
[...]ר	2.1.1	P. 23922 a recto 6 *
[...]ר <sup>1</sup> ל	1.1.4	hand 2 verso 3 *
[...]רש	1.1.9	P. 23957 recto 3'
[...]רש	1.1.11	verso 3'
ת	1.1.3	verso 2

(cont.)

Word	Text No.	Line
לֹּת	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 7' *
׳ֹת	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 7' *
[...]ת	1.1.2	recto 4'

### Numerals

Value	Aramaic Number	Text No.	Line
1 (+)	ʃ[...]	1.1.9	P. 23954 a recto 3'
1 (+)	[...]ʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 1'
1	ʃ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4'
1	ʃ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 4'
1	ʃ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 8'
1	ʃ	2.1.1	P. 23967 recto 5'
1	[ʃ]	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
1	[ʃ]	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
1	[ʃ]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
1	[ʃ]	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
1	ʃ	2.2.1	frag. a verso iii' 1'
1	ʃ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
1	ʃ	2.5.7	frag. b recto 1' *
2 (+)	ʃʃ[...]	2.3.1	verso 3'
2 (+)	[...]ʃʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 3'
2 (+)	[...]ʃʃ	2.5.8	side 1
2 (+)	[...]ʃʃ	1.3.13	recto 1'
2	ʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 5'
2	ʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. c recto iv' 3'
2	ʃʃ	2.2.4	verso i 2'
3 (+)	[...]ʃʃʃ[...]	2.5.4	frag b recto 3'
3	ʃʃʃ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 2'
3	[ʃʃ]ʃʃʃ	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 3'
3	ʃʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 2'
3	ʃʃ[ʃ]ʃʃ[ʃ]	1.2.10	recto 1'
4 (+)	ʃʃʃ[...]	1.2.3	recto 1'
4 (+)	ʃʃʃʃ[...]	2.5.4	frag b verso 1'
4 (+)	ʃʃʃ[...]	2.5.4	frag b verso 2'
4 (+)	ʃʃʃʃʃ[...]	2.5.4	frag b verso 3'
4	ʃʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. a recto ii' 4'
4	[ʃʃ]ʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 5'
4	ʃʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. b recto iii' 7'
6 (+)	[...]ʃʃʃʃʃʃ[ʃ...]	2.5.2	frag. a recto 2'
6 (+)	[...]ʃʃʃʃʃʃʃʃ[...]	2.5.2	frag. b recto 2'
6	[ʃʃʃʃʃ]	1.2.10	recto 1'
10 (+)	[...]ʃʃʃʃʃʃ	2.2.1	frag. e recto vi' 2'

(cont.)

Value	Aramaic Number	Text No.	Line
10	𐤒	2.5.17	recto 1'
15 (+)	[(+)]𐤍𐤍𐤒	1.2.8	recto 1
16	𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤒	2.5.4	frag. a recto 1
20 (+)	[(+)]𐤒	2.2.4	recto 1'
20 (+)	[(+)]𐤒	2.2.4	recto 2'
20 (+)	[(+)]𐤒𐤒 <sup>1</sup>	2.2.4	recto 3'
20 (+)	[(+)]𐤒𐤒 <sup>1</sup>	2.2.4	recto 4'
21 (+)	[...]𐤒𐤒	2.5.3	P. 23969 recto 1' *
30 (+)	𐤒𐤒𐤒[...]	1.1.1	P. 23148 recto 3'
40 (+)	[...]𐤒𐤒𐤒	2.5.3	P. 23969 recto 1' *
50	𐤒𐤒𐤒	2.2.1	frag. d recto v' 6'
60 (+)	[(+)]𐤒𐤒𐤒 <sup>1</sup>	2.2.1	frag. b verso ii' 6'
1(9)7(+)	𐤒𐤍𐤍𐤍𐤒(𐤒)𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒[...]	2.2.3	recto iii 14
300 (+)	[...]𐤒𐤍𐤍𐤍[...]	1.3.11	recto 1'
1,690(+)	[...]𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒𐤒[...]	2.2.3	recto iii 11



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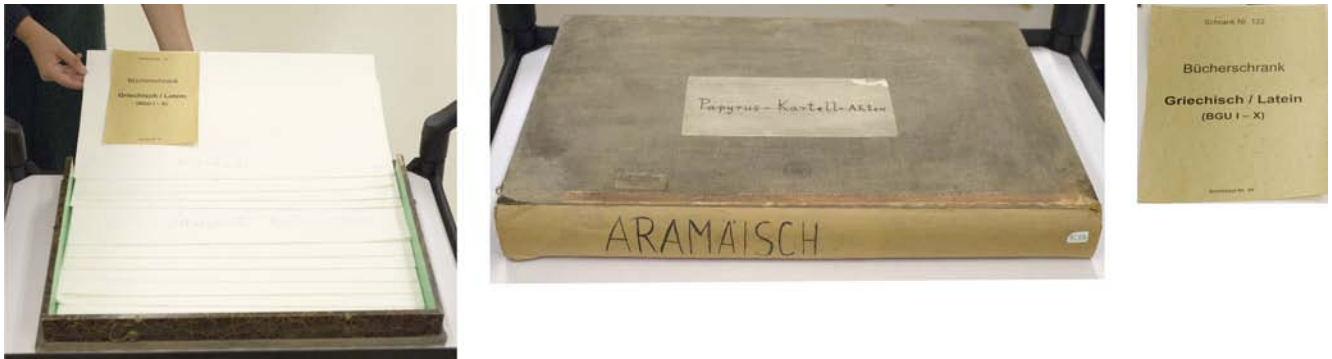


PLATE 1 The Aramaic Box

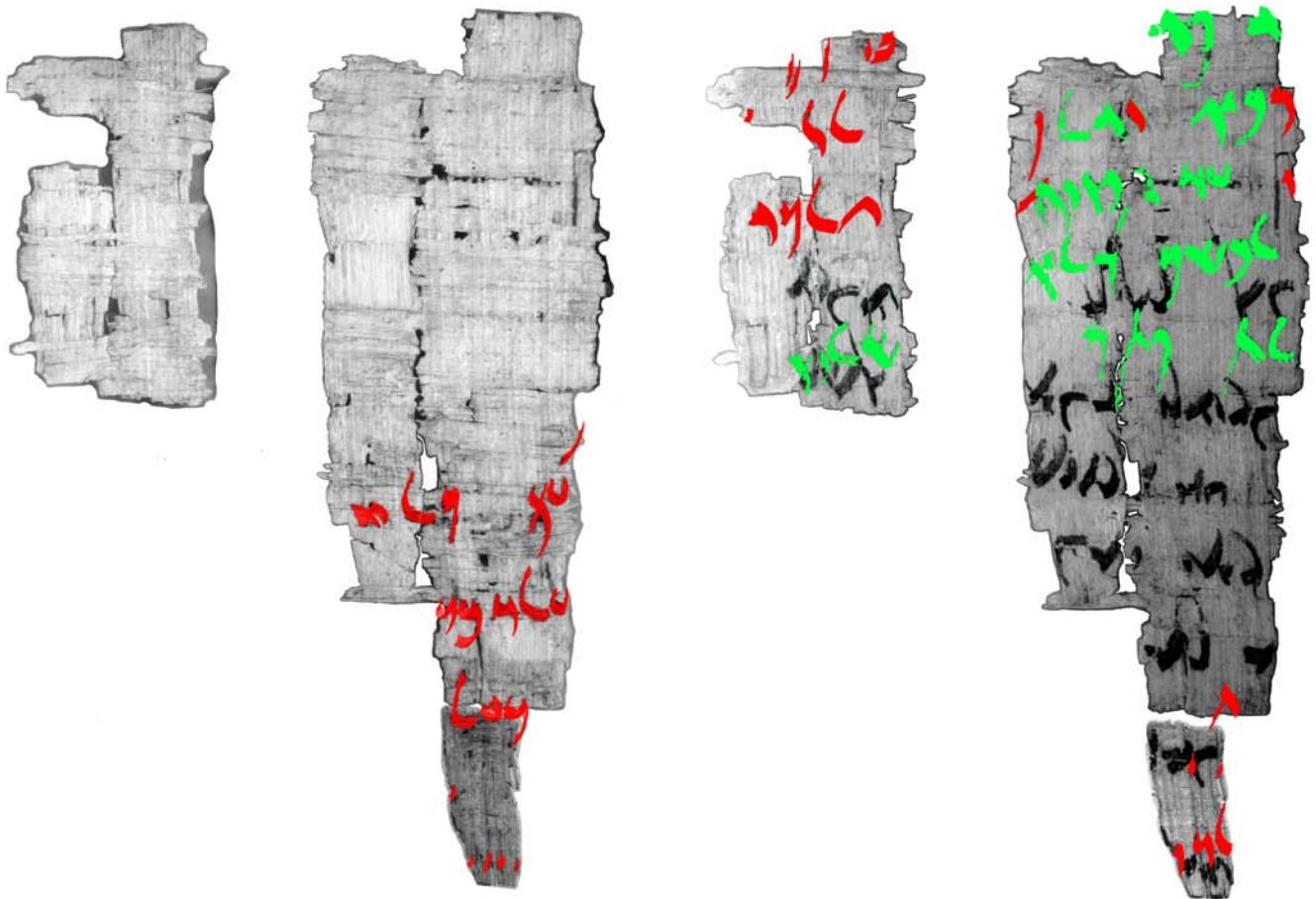


PLATE 2 Mirrored Textual Impression on Pap. Ber. P. 23151

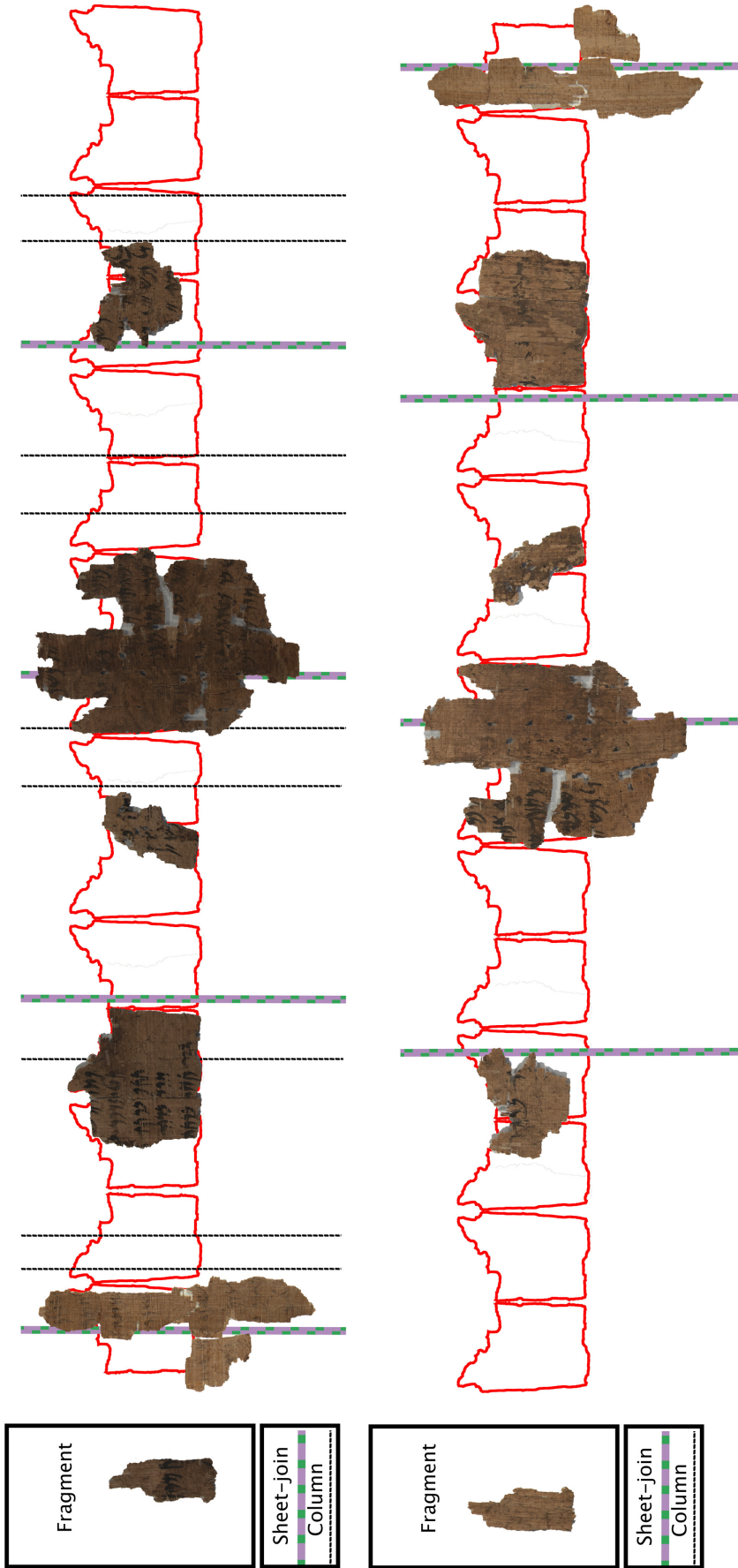


PLATE 3 Manuscript Reconstruction of Pap. Ber. P. 23923 a-f