

THE PAPYROLOGY OF THE ROMAN NEAR EAST: A SURVEY*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Not all students of the Roman world may have realized that, following extensive discoveries in the last few years, Egypt has ceased to be the only part of the Empire from which there are now substantial numbers of documentary texts written on perishable materials. This article is intended as a survey and hand-list of the rapidly-growing 'papyrological' material from the Roman Near East.¹ As is normal, 'papyrology' is taken to include also any writing in ink on portable, and normally perishable, materials: parchment, wood, and leather, as well as on fragments of pottery (*ostraka*). The area concerned is that covered by the Roman provinces of Syria (divided in the 190s into 'Syria Coele' and 'Syria Phoenice'); Mesopotamia (also created, by conquest, in the 190s); Arabia; and Judaea, which in the 130s became 'Syria Palaestina'. These administrative divisions are valid for the majority of the material, which belongs to the first, second and third centuries. For the earlier part of the period we include also papyri from Dura under the Parthian kings (Nos 34, 36-43, and 166), since they belong to the century before the Roman conquest and illustrate the continuity of legal and administrative forms; and five papyri from the kingdom of Nabataea, which after its 'acquisition' in 106 was to form the bulk of the new province of Arabia, on the grounds that in some sense dependent kingdoms were part of the Empire (Nos 180-184). Both groups are listed in brackets. We also include the extensive material from the first Jewish revolt (Nos 230-256) and from the Bar Kochba war of 132-5 (Nos 293-331), even though it derives from regimes in revolt against Rome. The private-law procedures visible in the Bar Kochba documents are continuous with those from the immediately preceding 'provincial' period (that of the later items in the 'archive of Babatha' and other documents). What changes dramatically after the outbreak of the revolt is language use: Hebrew now appears alongside Aramaic and Greek. But even as late as the third year of the revolt we find contracts in Aramaic. Our list at this point will supplement and correct that given by Millar in *The Roman Near East*, App. B.

Our focus is thus on the Roman Empire. But we should draw attention in passing to the important Greek parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman,² to a newly-published Hellenistic document on parchment from Bactria,³ and to a marriage-contract of 176 B.C. on an ostrakon from Maresha, written in Idumaeae.⁴ We also note here a few examples of papyri found in Egypt, but written in areas of the Greek-speaking half of the Empire other than the Near East.⁵

The papyrology of the Roman Near East is distinguished by the variety of languages employed: not only Latin (with much military material) and Greek (the dominant language), but also Hebrew, Palestinian Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, and Syriac (these latter four can all be considered as Aramaic dialects), plus a few scraps in Parthian and Middle Persian. We include one still unpublished text in Palmyrene, found at Dura-Europos (No. 153), as well as fragmentary papyri, some of which have Greek on one side and Palmyrene on the other, recently discovered in a tower-tomb in Palmyra itself (No. 2). It is reasonable to hope that there will be further such discoveries. There are, however, (to date) no certain examples of writing from this period, on perishable materials, in Phoenician.⁶

* We are very grateful for assistance of various kinds to Dr A. K. Bowman, Dr S. P. Brock, Professor W. Clarysse, Professor D. Feissel, Professor J. Gascou, Professor M. Gawlikowski, the late Professor J. C. Greenfield, Professor D. R. Hillers, Professor L. Koenen, Dr J. R. Rea, Professor H.-A. Rupprecht, Professor E. Tov and Dr A. Yardeni, as well as to Priscilla Lange for her patient and skilful handling of the many successive drafts of this complex text.

¹ A simple method of illustrating the vast accretion of new material would be to compare our list with that of R. Taubenschlag, 'Papyri and parchments from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire outside Egypt', *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 3 (1949), 49 = *idem*, *Opera Minora* II (1959), 29. Note that the interesting review by P. van Minnen, 'The century of papyrology (1892-1992)', *BASP* 30 (1993), 5, contains no reference to texts from outside Egypt.

² E. H. Minns, 'Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan', *JHS* 35 (1915), 22. Pl. in *New Palaeographical Society* 2nd ser., 1.3 (1915), nos 51-2.

³ J. Rea, R. C. Senior and A. S. Hollis, 'A tax receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *ZPE* 104 (1994), 261.

⁴ E. Eshel and H. Klöner, 'An Aramaic ostrakon of an Edomite marriage document from Maresha, dated 176 B.C.E.', *Tarbiz* 63 (1994), 485.

⁵ We make no claim to provide a complete list here, but note as examples (1) *P. Turner*, no. 22 = *P. Colon.* inv. no. 6211, slave sale from Side, Pamphylia, 142; (2) *BGU* III, no. 887 = Mitteis, *Chrestomathie*, no. 272 = *FIRA*² III, no. 133, also slave sale from Side, 151; (3) *BGU* III, no. 913, slave sale from Myra, Lycia, 206; (4) *P. Mich.* IX, no. 546 = *SB* III, no. 7563, application for examination of slave, and copy of contract of sale, Pompeiopolis, Paphlagonia, 207; (5) *P. Oxy.* L, no. 3593, instructions to bank on slave sale, Rhodes, 238-44; (6) *P. Oxy.* L, no. 3594, diploma written in Rhodes, probably same date.

⁶ Phoenician is attested on inscriptions until the very early Imperial period, and on coin-legends until the second century A.D. See F. Briquel-Chatonnet, 'Les derniers témoignages sur la langue phénicienne en Orient', *Rivista di studi fenici* 19 (1991), 3.

What is distinctive, however, is not merely the use in documents on perishable materials of a variety of languages, but the presence of two or more languages in the same archive, or even in the same document: for instance Greek and Syriac in the texts from Mesopotamia and the Middle Euphrates; Nabataean, Aramaic, and Greek in the archive of Babatha; and Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Bar Kochba documents. From the linguistic point of view, the extensive use of Latin loan-words, or translations of Latin terms, in Greek, and the adoption of both Greek and Latin loan-words in Semitic languages, is also noteworthy.⁷

The procedure adopted has been to take the original place of writing (rather than the place of discovery) as the guiding principle of organization. Thus (for example) the papyri and parchments from Dura are divided up on this basis, as is the archive of Babatha, which contains documents emanating from a zone, around the Dead Sea, through which there ran the border between the provinces of Arabia and Judaea; the apparent absence of an awareness of provincial borders, and the fact that they seem to have played a small role in daily life, is noteworthy in itself. Provincial borders were also liable to change, as is particularly clear in the area of Judaea/Palaestina and Arabia, especially in the Late Empire (p. 233 below).

Documents found in Egypt, but written in the Near East, are also included. We have also listed in brackets occasional documents which were written in Egypt, but which make concrete references to earlier transactions recorded in the Near East, and have also given a separate entry in brackets to similar documents which are referred back to in other documents in our main list. We list with a query texts where it is not quite certain whether they emanate from the Near East or not (e.g. No. 11, from 'Apamea'). We list unpublished papyri where these are known from published reports, or where we have permission to refer to them, and also indicate prospective places of publication when known.

For documents from the first three centuries (along with occasional examples from the Late Empire), and as regards most of the region, a geographical sequence will be adopted, starting in Syria ('Phoenice' and then 'Coele') and moving approximately clockwise round the area to Mesopotamia and Arabia. At some points, arbitrary assumptions have had to be made. For instance, it is not always clear whether documents from the Middle Euphrates came from the west or the east bank of the river; and in any case it is not certain whether the Euphrates in fact formed the boundary between the Roman *provinciae* of Syria Coele and of Mesopotamia. Document No. 164 below, a Greek deed of sale of 226, might suggest that some at least of the River Chabur, which joins the Euphrates from the east, lay within Syria Coele. But for reasons of convenience we have classified all documents, including this one, coming from east of the Euphrates as belonging to Mesopotamia.

When we reach Judaea/Syria Palaestina, however, we have found ourselves compelled, for reasons given below (p. 226), to divide the documents of the first three centuries by periods. There is then an almost complete chronological gap in papyrological material from this region until the fifth–seventh centuries, when the names and boundaries of the provinces were different, most of the documents coming from what was then called 'Palaestina Tertia' (see p. 233).

This Late Roman material from the south-western corner of the region includes very significant collections of documents: the newly-discovered, and not yet published, Greek papyri of the fifth–sixth centuries from Petra (Nos 376–425); and the Greek and then (after the Islamic conquest) Greek and Arabic papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries from Nessana (Nos 375, 427–609). Our list thus straddles the boundary between Roman and non-Roman rule at the end of the period, as it does in the earlier stages. But we close the list at that point in time, merely noting here the numerous Greek, Syriac, and Arabic papyri of the seventh–ninth centuries from Khirbet Mird (Hyrkania) in the Judaeian Desert, many of which are very fragmentary.⁸

We note, but have not been able to catalogue here, three small groups of documents which are still unpublished: (1) Aramaic parchments and papyri, and at least one in Greek, said to come — probably falsely — from Qumran Cave 4 (note that three Aramaic parchments will be published in Yardeni, *Textbook*, one of which mentions a 'high priest', KWHN GDWL); (2) a group of Nabataean papyri said to come from Naḥal Şe'elim, but likely in fact to come from Naḥal Hever, and which may well belong to the Babatha archive (these will be published by E. Puech); and (3) a dozen or so Aramaic and five Greek papyri discovered recently in Cave Abi'or near Jericho (cf. Nos 285–6 from the same find-spot).

Since the survey is concerned essentially with social history and the nature of government, as well as with the public or semi-public use of a variety of languages, literary texts as such have been excluded. We

⁷ cf. M. G. Angeli Bertinelli, *Nomenclatura pubblica e sacra di Roma nelle epigrafi semitiche* (1970), and 'I Semiti e Roma: appunti di una lettura di fonti semitiche', *Serta Historica Antiqua* 1 (1986), 145; cf. also Millar, 'Roman Coloniae', and A. Wasserstein, 'Non-Hellenised Jews in the Semi-Hellenised East', *SCI* 14 (1995), 111.

⁸ For a letter written in Syriac (or 'Christian Aramaic'), see J. T. Milik, 'Une inscription et une lettre en araméen christo-palestinien', *RB* 60 (1953), 526, on pp. 533f.; Beyer, *AT*, pp. 403–4.

For 100 of the c. 200 Arabic papyri see A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el Mird*, *Bibl. du Muséon* LII (1963). For some Greek texts, see J. van Haelst, 'Cinq textes provenant de Khirbet Mird', *Ancient Society* 22 (1991), 297 (Greek documents and liturgical texts). Those papyri from Khirbet Mird which belong to the Palestine Archaeological Museum are included in the microfiche edition by E. Tov (n. 10 below).

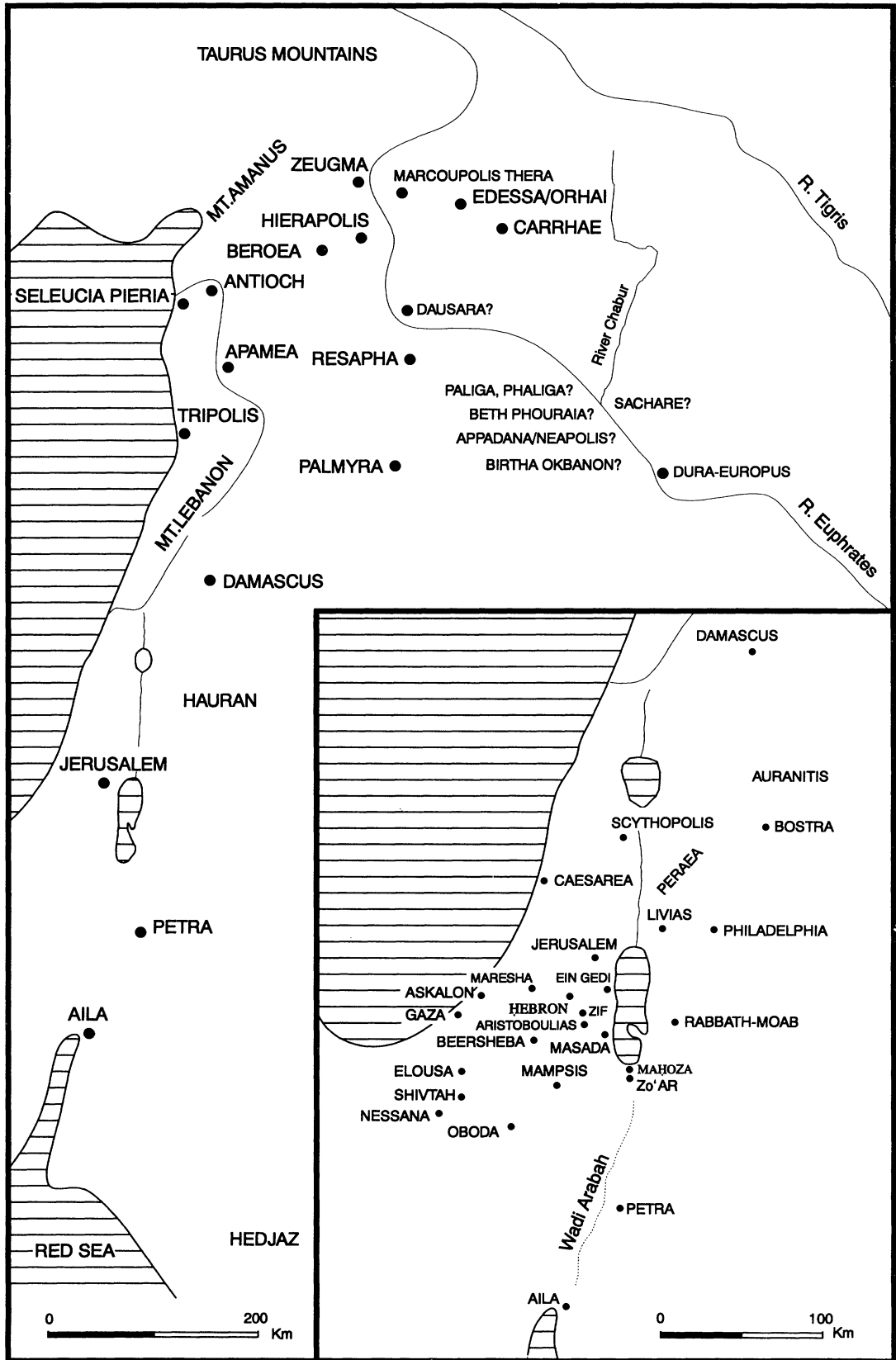


FIG. 1. THE ROMAN NEAR EAST: SITES MENTIONED IN DOCUMENTS

thus do not list the extracts from Hesiod and Babrius written on wax-tablets, and acquired in 1881 in Palmyra;⁹ the literary texts in Greek, along with a Hebrew prayer, from Dura (*P.Dura*, nos 1–11); the mass of Biblical, sectarian and other Jewish texts from Masada, Naḥal Hever, Wadi Muraba'at and Qumran, most of which were in any case written prior to the Roman period;¹⁰ the Greek and Latin literary texts, mainly Christian, of the sixth and seventh centuries from Nessana (*P.Ness.* II and III, no. 95); or the Christian papyri from St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai.¹¹

In each case the entry will be confined to the necessary minimum: main publication, nature of document, place of writing, date (all dates are A.D./C.E.), language(s), material, and essential bibliography. Where a photograph has been published, we add a reference to the relevant plate. Since our intention is to produce a summary list, we do not comment on palaeographical aspects.¹²

Our concern is to make available the already considerable material for writing and documentary practice in the Roman Near East, so we do not include in our list documents from Egypt which merely refer to events in that region, or to persons from it. These texts would form an interesting study in themselves, as regards government, communications, military movements, local political units, ethnicities, and nomenclature.¹³

II. ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
Beyer, AT	K. Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer</i> (1986)
Beyer, <i>Ergänzungsband</i>	K. Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband</i> (1994)
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
BL	<i>Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten</i> 1– (1922–)
Cavenaile, CPL	R. Cavenaile, <i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> (1958)
CEL	P. Cugusi, <i>Corpus Epistularum Latinarum (Papyrologica Florentina XXIII)</i> 1–II (1992)
ChLA	A. Bruckner, R. Marichal <i>et al.</i> , <i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> 1– (1954–)
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions</i>
Daris, <i>Documenti</i>	S. Daris, <i>Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto</i> (1964)
DJD	D. Barthélemy <i>et al.</i> , <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i> 1– (1956–)
<i>Doc.Masada</i>	H. M. Cotton and J. Geiger, <i>Masada</i> II. <i>The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents</i> (1989)
FIRA ²	F. Riccobono <i>et al.</i> , <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i> 1–III (1940–72)
Fitzmyer, PAT	J. A. Fitzmyer, D. J. Harrington, <i>A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts</i> (1978)
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JŚ	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>

⁹ Published by D. C. Hesseling, 'On waxen tablets with fables of Babrius (Tabulae Ceratae Assendeltianae)', *JHS* 13 (1892/3), 293. Later bibliography in M. J. Luzzatto and A. La Penna, *Babrii Mythiambi Aesopei* (Teubner, 1986), xxx. New readings in F. A. J. Hoogendijk and P. van Minnen, *Papyri, Ostraca, Parchments and Waxed Tablets in the Leiden Papyrological Institute (P.L. Bat. 25)* (1991), 92, n. 10.

¹⁰ See E. Tov with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: a Comprehensive Edition of Texts from the Judaean Desert, Companion Volume²* (1995).

Note also, for accessible surveys, G. Vermes, *Qumran in Perspective²* (1994), and *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English⁴* (1995).

¹¹ For these texts see Δαμναδός 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Σινά,

Εισήγησις ἐπὶ τῶν νεωστὶ εὐρεθέντων παλαιῶν χειρογράφων ἐν τῇ Ἱερῇ Μονῇ Σινά, *Jahrbuch der oesterreichischen Byzantinistik* 32.4 (1982), 105; D. Digbassanis, 'The Sinai Papyri', *Proc. XVIIIth Int. Cong. Papyrology, Athens, 1986* 1 (1988), 71.

¹² For the palaeography of texts in Greek from this region note E. Crisci, 'Scritture greche palestinesi e mesopotamiche (III secolo a.C.–III d.C.)', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 15 (1991), 125. Note also E. Crisci, *Scrivere greco fuori d'Egitto. Ricerche sui papiri non egiziani dal IV secolo a.C. all'VIII d.C.* (forthcoming). For the palaeography of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabataean documents see Yardeni, *Textbook*.

¹³ For an earlier survey, see G. Vaggi, 'Siria e Siri nei documenti dell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aegyptus* 17 (1933), 29.

- Masada 1* Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *Masada 1. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions* (1989)
- Millar F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (1993), App. B, 'Documents from the Bar Kochba War'
- Millar, 'Roman *Coloniae*' F. Millar, 'The Roman *Coloniae* of the Near East: a Study of Cultural Relations', in H. Solin and F. M. Kajava (eds), *Roman Policy in the East and Other Studies in Roman History* (1990), 7
- P.Bouriant* P. Collart, *Les papyrus Bouriant* (1926)
- P.Dura* C. Bradford Welles, R. O. Fink, J. Frank Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report v.1: The Parchments and Papyri* (1959)
- P.Euphr.* D. Feissel and J. Gascou, 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen-Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.)', *CRAI* 1989, 535
- P.Euphr. 1–5* D. Feissel and J. Gascou, 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e siècle après J.-C.) 1. Les pétitions (P.Euphr 1 à 5)', *JIS* 65
- P.Euphr.Syr.* J. Teixidor, 'Deux documents syriaques du troisième siècle provenants du Moyen Euphrate', *CRAI* 1990, 144
- P.Lips.* L. Mitteis, *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig 1–(1906–)*
- P.Lond.inv.* F. G. Kenyon *et al.*, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum 1–(1893–)*
- P.Ness.* H. Dunscombe Colt *et al.*, *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir, Palestine) I* (1962); II: *Literary Papyri* (1950), ed. L. Casson and E. L. Hettich; III: *Non-Literary Papyri* (1958), ed. C. J. Kraemer
- P.Oxy.* B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt *et al.* (eds), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1–(1898–)*
- P.Ryl.* *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. IV: Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Periods*, ed. C. H. Roberts, E. G. Turner (1952)
- P.Yadin (Lewis)* N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (1989)
- P.Yadin, no. ** Unpublished *P.Yadin*
- Phoenix* *Phoenix. Ex Oriente Lux*
- PSI* *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto. Papiri greci e latini in Egitto 1–(1912–)*
- RB* *Revue Biblique*
- RMR* R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (1971)
- SB* *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*
- SCI* *Scripta Classica Israelica*
- TIR* *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea, Palaestina, Maps and Gazetteer*, ed. Y. Tsafir, L. di Segni and J. Green (1994)
- Yardeni A. Yardeni, *The Naḥal Şe'elim Documents* (Hebrew, forthcoming)
- Yardeni, *Textbook* A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Hebrew and Aramaic Documents in Cursive Script from the Judaean Desert* (Hebrew, forthcoming)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

The abbreviations of papyri from the Judaean Desert follow Emanuel Tov and Stephen J. Pfann, *op. cit.* (n. 10):

- (1) 34*Se* = Cave 34, Naḥal Şe'elim.
- (2) 8*Hev* = Cave 8, the Cave of Horror, Naḥal Hever.
- (3) 1*Mish* = Cave 1, Cave of the Treasure, Naḥal Mishmar (Wadi Mahras).
- (4) *XHev/Se* = the so-called *P.Şe'elim*, believed to come from the Cave of Letters, Naḥal Hever. To be published in *DJD* xxvii.
- (5) 5/6*Hev* = the Cave of Letters, Naḥal Hever.

III. CATALOGUE

I. SYRIA PHOENICE

- (1. *P.Oxy.* XLII, no. 3053. No pl. Registration of sale of Osrhoenian slave in Oxyrhynchus, Oct./Nov. 252, referring back to previous sale in ἐν Αὐρηλία Τριπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης, in 251. Greek. Papyrus.)

2. Unpublished fragments of documents from the Tower of Kitot, Palmyra. Presumably Palmyra. Later than 40 (building of tower); hands suggest second–third century. Greek and Palmyrene. Papyrus. On display in Museum of Palmyra. Information and photographs kindly supplied by Professor M. Gawlikowski.

2. SYRIA COELE

- 3? *P.Mich.* VIII, no. 482. No pl. Letter to a ‘brother’ referring to sending of something (or someone) to Syria (καὶ πέπομφαν ἀἴτον εἰς Συρίαν). 23/8/133. Greek. Papyrus.
Corrections in M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto. Lettere private nei papiri dei secoli II–IV* (1968), no. 1, whence *BL* VI, p. 82.
4. *P.Lond.Inv.* II, no. 229. Pl. in *ChLA* III, p. 68, no. 200, and *Palaeographical Society* series II, no. 190 (London, 1894). Sale of slave by an *optio* of the Misenum fleet, at Seleucia Pieria. 24/5/166. Latin with subscriptions and signatures in Latin, and with the subscription of the *conductor* in charge of duties on sale of slaves in Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
*FIRA*² III, no. 132; Cavenaile, *CPL*, no. 120. See E. G. Turner, *Actes XV^e Cong. Int. Pap.* I (1978), 30–1.
5. *BGU* III, no. 794. Letter to brother. Antioch. Second century. Greek. Papyrus.
6. *P.Dura*, no. 46. Pls xviii, 2; xix. Letter of soldier. Antioch. Early third century(?). Greek. Papyrus.
7. *P.Dura*, no. 56C. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 99 = *ChLA* VI, no. 33, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 179.3). Letter of *legatus* of Syria Coele, Marius Maximus(?), assigning horse to soldier at Dura. Antioch. 208(?). Latin. Papyrus.
8. *PSI* XIV, no. 1412 (= *SB* VI, no. 9451 = XII, no. 10772). No pl. Private letter. Antioch. Second–third century. Greek. Papyrus.
H. Koskenniemi, ‘Epistula Sarapammonis P.S.I. 1412 particula aucta’, *Arctos* 5 (1967), 79.
9. *P.Euphr.* 1–5, no. 1; first published in *CRAI* 1989, p. 547, fig. 2, p. 546. Petition (λιβέλλος) presented to Iulius Priscus, *praefectus* of Mesopotamia and διέπων τὴν ὑπατείαν, by villagers of Beth Phouriaia on Euphrates, with his *subscriptio* (ὑπογραφή). Antioch. 28/8/245. Greek, with Priscus’ *subscriptio* in Latin (*legi*), and possible traces of Syriac on verso. Papyrus.
- 10? *P.Ryl.* IV, nos 627–9. Memoranda and detailed accounts relating to a journey from Egypt to Antioch and back by Theophanes, a financial official. Partially written in Antioch? c. 317–19. Greek. Papyrus.
For the context see H. Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire* (1981), 40f.; cf. *CEL*, nos 222–3.
- 11? *P.Bouriant*, no. 25. Pl. iii. Letter of the Christian Tarê to her maternal aunt in Coptos announcing the death of her mother. Apamea (in Syria?). Fifth century? Greek. Papyrus.
12. *P.Dura*, no. 56B. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 99 = *ChLA* VI, no. 311, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 179.2). Letter of *legatus* of Syria Coele, almost certainly Marius Maximus, assigning horses to soldiers at Dura. Hieropolis. 207. Latin. Papyrus.
- (13. *P.Lips.*, no. 34. Reference back to receipt by Aurelius Dioscorides, currently ἐν τῷ θείῳ κοιμιάτῳ (l.7), for a sum λόγου ἐνδυμάτων, delivered ἐν Ἱερσπόλει (verso l.9). Hermopolis, Egypt, c. 375. Greek. Papyrus. Corrections in *BL* I, p. 206.)
- 14? *BGU* III, no. 895 (with corrections *ibid.*, *ad fin.* p. 8). No pl. Corrections in *BL* I, pp. 78–9. Testamentary dispositions. Perhaps written in Syria (so U. Wilcken). 136–8. Greek. Papyrus.
15. *P.Dura*, no. 56A. Pl. xxxiv (= *RMR*, no. 99 = *ChLA* VI, no. 311, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 179.1). Letter of *legatus* of Syria Coele, Marius Maximus, assigning horse to soldier at Dura. 208. Latin. Papyrus.
16. *P.Dura*, no. 60B. Pl. xli. Letter of *legatus* of Syria Coele, Marius Maximus, to *tribuni, praefecti*, and *praepositi numerorum*, giving instructions for reception of Parthian ambassador. c. 208. Latin. Papyrus.
RMR, no. 98; *ChLA* VI, no. 315, with pl.; M. L. Chaumont, ‘Un document méconnu concernant l’envoi d’un ambassadeur parthe vers Septime-Sévère (P.Dura 60B)’, *Historia* 36 (1987), 423; *CEL* 178.2.
17. *P.Dura*, no. 60C. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 98 = *ChLA* VI, no. 315, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 178.3). Fragmentary letter of Marius Maximus(?). 208. Latin. Papyrus.
18. *P.Dura*, no. 58. Pl. lx, 1 (= *RMR*, no. 100 = *ChLA* VI, no. 313, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 197). Copy of letter of (?) *legatus* of Syria Coele assigning horses to soldiers at Dura. Mid-third century? Latin. Papyrus.
19. *P.Dura*, no. 59. Pls xxxiii, 6; xl, 2 (= *RMR*, no. 114 = *ChLA* VI no. 314, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 202). Letter of Attius R[ufi]nus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. 241. Latin. Papyrus.
20. *P.Dura*, nos 60D and E-F. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 98 = *ChLA* VI, no. 315, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 179). Fragmentary. Latin letters(?). Papyrus.

- (21. *P.Dura*, no. 121. Pl. lv,2 (= *RMR*, no. 29 = *ChLA* ix, no. 376, with pl.). Two references to *epistulae*(?) of Attius Rufinus (*legatus* of Syria, see No. 19 above), assigning new personnel to centuries of the *cohortes xx Palmyrenorum*. Latin. Papyrus.)
22. *P.Euphr.*, no. 17; *CRAI* 1989, pp. 560–1 (description only). Letter. References to ‘Dusaris’ (Dausara on the Euphrates?) and Resapha. Third century? Greek. Papyrus.
23. *P.Euphr.*, no. 11; *CRAI* 1989, p. 559 (description only). Sale of boat. Beth Phouraia. 232. Greek. Papyrus.
24. *P.Euphr.* 1–5, no. 2; described in *CRAI* 1989, pp. 557–8. Petition to acting governor (διέπων τὰ [μέ]ο[η] τῆς ἡγεμονίας), Marcellus, from inhabitant of Birtha Okbanon. Apparently written at Appadana. Perhaps 245–250 (reference to Persians). Greek. Papyrus.
25. *P.Euphr.* 1–5, no. 5; described in *CRAI* 1989, p. 559. Petition to centurion Iulius Marinus on police duty in Sphorakene (τῶ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐταξίας Σφωρακηνῆς). Apparently written in Sphorakene (references also to proceedings at Appadana). Subscribed on 27/5/243 at Appadana. Greek with Latin subscription (*Acceptavi Apadana VI Kal. Iunias Ariano et Papo cons.*). Papyrus.
26. *P.Euphr.* 1–5, nos 3–4; described in *CRAI* 1989, p. 558. Two copies of petition to *praefectus* Iulius Proculus by *bouleutēs* of Neapolis (Appadana). At Neapolis/Appadana? Probably 252–6. Greek with attestation by petitioner in Syriac (both copies). Papyrus.
27. *P.Euphr.*, no. 8; *CRAI* 1989, p. 559 (description only). Contract of sale of slave. Beth Phouraia, in territory of Appadana (reference to previous sale at Nisibis, see No. 162 below). 27/1/251. Greek. Parchment. Double document.
28. *P.Euphr.*, no. 9; *CRAI* 1989, p. 559 (description only). Contract of sale of slave (reference to previous sale at Nisibis, see No. 163 below). Beth Phouraia. 13/6/252. Greek, with subscription in Syriac. Parchment. Double document.
29. *P.Euphr.*, no. 12; *CRAI* 1989, pp. 559–60 (description only). Contract of deposit (παρακαταθήκη). Beth Phouraia. June 244. Greek, with subscriptions in Greek and Syriac. Parchment. Double document.
30. *P.Euphr.*, no. 13; *CRAI* 1989, p. 560 (description only). Antichretic loan. Beth Phouraia. 1/10/243. Greek. Papyrus.
31. *P.Euphr.*, no. 14; *CRAI* 1989, p. 560 (description only). Annulment of loan contract. Appadana. 21/4/241. Greek. Papyrus.
32. *P.Euphr.*, no. 15; *CRAI* 1989, p. 560 (description only). Nature uncertain. Beth Phouraia. 12/12/235. Greek. Parchment. Apparently double document.
33. *P.Euphr.*, no. 16; *CRAI* 1989, p. 560 (description only). Letter. Reference to transport from Beroea to Zeugma. c. 239–241. Greek. Papyrus.
- (34. *P.Dura*, no. 23. Pl. x,1. Antichretic loan. In the village of Ossa (ἐν Ὀσση κώμη, see No. 35, location unknown). 134 (Parthian period). Greek, with acknowledgements and three signatures in Greek.)
35. *P.Dura*, no. 31. Pl. xiv. Divorce agreement. In the village of Ossa (ἐν Ὀσση κώμη, see No. 34). 4 Artemisios, May, 204. Greek. Parchment. Double document.

Documents of the Parthian Period from Dura (36–43)

- (36. *P.Dura*, no. 13. Pl. vii,2. Application by tax-farmer. Dura? Late first century. Greek. Parchment.)
- (37. *P.Dura*, no. 14. Pl. vii,1. Report of litigation? Dura. Late first/early second century. Greek. Parchment.)
- (38. *P.Dura*, no. 16. Pl. ix,1. Registry roll of copies (fragmentary). Dura. Late first century. Greek. Parchment.)
- (39. *P.Dura*, no. 18. Pls v,3; vi; xxix,2. Deed of gift. Dura. 87. Greek. Parchment. Double document.)
- (40. *P.Dura*, no. 19. Pl. viii,1. Mutual distribution. Dura. 88/9. Greek. Parchment. Double document.)
- (41. *P.Dura*, no. 21. Pl. ix,3. Antichretic loan. Probably Dura. First half of second century. Greek. Double document.)
- (42. *P.Dura*, no. 22. Pl. ix,1. Loan on security. Dura. 133/4. Greek. Parchment. Double document.)
- (43. *P.Dura*, no. 24. Pl. xi,2. Acknowledgement of debt. Probably Dura. 159/60. Greek. Parchment. Double document.)
44. *P.Dura*, no. 12. Pl. xxviii,1. Extract from registry law of succession. 225–250. Greek. Parchment.
45. *P.Dura*, no. 17 A-D. Pl. xiii. Registry roll of copies of financial transactions. Dura. ? c. 180. Greek. Leather.

46. *P.Dura*, no. 25. Pl. xii. Deed of sale. Dura. 4 Peritios, February, 180. Greek. Parchment. Double document.
47. *P.Dura*, no. 27. Pl. xvi,2. Deed of sale. Dura. c. 225–40. Greek with Greek subscriptions and one in Aramaic. Papyrus.
48. *P.Dura*, no. 29. Pl. xxv. Deposit. Probably Dura. 251. Greek with Greek subscriptions. Papyrus.
49. *P.Dura*, no. 32. Pls xxvi; xxvii,3. Divorce agreement. Dura. 254. Greek with subscriptions in Greek and one in Latin. Papyrus. Double document.
50. *P.Dura*, no. 33. Pl. xviii,4. Fragmentary inventory of personal effects. 240–250. Greek. Parchment or leather.
51. *P.Dura*, no. 37. Pl. x,2. Fragmentary contract. Place not stated. Late second century. Greek. Parchment.
52. *P.Dura*, nos 38–44. Pl. xxix. Fragmentary contracts(?). Dura? Third century. Greek. Parchment and papyrus.
53. *P.Dura*, no. 47. Pl. xxx,1. List of members of tribe Zebeinas (φυλή Ζεβεινᾶ) with amounts (assessments?). Dura? Third century. Greek. Parchment.
- 54–7. *P.Dura*, nos 48–51. Pls xxx,2; xxviii,2; xxx,3. Fragmentary lists of names. Dura? Third century. Greek. Parchment and papyrus.
58. *P.Dura*, no. 52. No pl. Fragmentary account. Dura? Third century. Greek. Papyrus.
59. *P.Dura*, no. 53. Pl. xvi,3. Fragment of account. Dura? Second or third century. Greek. Waxed tablet.
60. *P.Dura*, no. 54. Pl. xxxii (= *RMR*, no. 117 = *ChLA* vi, no. 309, with pl.). *Feriale Duranum*. Dura? 225–235. Latin. Papyrus.
61. *P.Dura*, no. 55A and B. Pl. xvii (= *RMR*, no. 90 = *ChLA* vi, no. 310, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 194). File of letters. Dura? 218–222. Latin and Greek. Papyrus.
62. *P.Dura*, no. 61. Pl. xxxviii (= *RMR*, no. 101 = *ChLA* vi, no. 316, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 192). Letter concerning *frumentationes*. Dura? c. 216. Latin. Papyrus.
- 63–4. *P.Dura*, nos 62 and 63 A–B. Pls xxxiii,3; xxxv,1 (= *RMR*, nos 88 and 108 = *ChLA* vi, nos 317, 318, with pl. = *CEL*, nos 193, 187). Fragmentary letters. Dura? ?c. 216; 211. Latin. Papyrus.
65. *P.Dura*, no. 64 A–B. Pl. xxxix (= *RMR*, no. 91 = *ChLA* vi, no. 319, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 199). Letters from *procurator* to *tribunus cohortis*. Reference to Appadana. 221. Latin. Papyrus.
66. *P.Dura*, no. 65. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 109 = *ChLA* vi, no. 320, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 198). Fragmentary letter. Dura? 221. Latin. Papyrus.
67. *P.Dura*, no. 66. Pls xxxviii,4; xxxvi,1; xv,1; xxxvii; xlii; xxxiii,5; xv,2; xxxvi,2; lxii,2 (= *RMR*, no. 89 = *ChLA* vi, nos 321 A–GGG, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 191). Fragmentary correspondence file of Postumius Aurelianus. Dura? 216. Latin and Greek. Papyrus.
68. *P.Dura*, no. 67. Pl. xlvi (= *RMR*, no. 92 = *ChLA* vii, no. 322, with pl. = *CEL*, no. 200). Copy of letter with lists of names. Dura? c. 223–5. Latin. Papyrus.
- 69–81. *P.Dura*, nos 68 and 70–81. Pls xxxv,2; xl,1; xxxviii,2; lxxv,1 (= *RMR*, nos 94, 96, and 105–15 = *ChLA* vii, nos 323, 325–35, with pl. = *CEL*, nos 201, 189, 195, 188, 181, 186, 190, 182, 185, 183, 184, 203). Fragmentary letters. Dura? First half of third century. Latin. Papyrus.
82. *P.Dura*, no. 69. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 95 = *ChLA* vii, no. 324, with pl.). Roster? Dura? Consular dates, interspersed with names. 226, 227, 229. Latin. Papyrus.
83. *P.Dura*, no. 82. Pls l–li (= *RMR*, no. 47 = *ChLA* vii, no. 337, with pl.). Morning report. Dura. c. 233. Latin. Papyrus.
- 84–9. *P.Dura*, nos 83–8. Pls lii,1; lii,2 (= *RMR*, nos 48–9, 54–7 = *ChLA* vii, nos 338–43, with pls). Fragmentary morning reports(?). Dura? 230s–240s. Latin. Papyrus.
90. *P.Dura*, no. 89. Pls lvi–lvii (= *RMR*, no. 50 = *ChLA* vii, no. 344, with pl.). Morning report. Dura (*hiberna coh. XX Palm.*). 239. Latin. Papyrus.
- 91–3. *P.Dura*, nos 90–2. Pls xlvi,1; xlix,1 (= *RMR*, nos 60–2 = *ChLA* vii, nos 347–9, with pls). Fragmentary tabulations. Dura? c. 225–35. Latin. Papyrus.
94. *P.Dura*, no. 93. Pl. xxxiii,7 (= *RMR*, no. 22 = *ChLA* vii, no. 348, with pl.). Fragmentary list of *principales*. Dura? 230–240. Latin. Papyrus.
95. *P.Dura*, no. 94. Pl. lx,2 (= *RMR*, no. 65 = *ChLA* vii, no. 349, with pl.). Fragmentary dispositions of soldiers. Dura? c. 240? Latin. Papyrus.
96. *P.Dura*, no. 95. Pl. lxii (= *RMR*, no. 66 = *ChLA* vii, no. 350, with pl.). Strength report. Dura? 250 or 251. Latin. Papyrus.
97. *P.Dura*, no. 96. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 25 = *ChLA* vii, no. 51, with pl.). Fragmentary list of names(?) with ranks. Dura? c. 245–255. Latin. Papyrus.
98. *P.Dura*, no. 97. Pls lxiv–lxv (= *RMR*, no. 83 = *ChLA* vii, no. 352, with pl.). List of soldiers and horses. Presumably Dura. 251. Latin. Papyrus.
- 99–103. *P.Dura*, nos 98–102. Pls xliii–xlvi (= *RMR*, nos 1–2, 6–8 = *ChLA* vii, nos 353–4, 355–7, with pl.). Extensive rosters with lists of soldiers and their postings. Presumably Dura. c. 224. Papyrus.

- 104.** *P.Dura*, no. 103. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 26 = *ChLA* ix, no. 358, with pl.). List of cavalrymen. Presumably Dura. c. 224. Papyrus.
- 105–18.** *P.Dura*, nos 104; 112–24. Pls lxi,2; xlvi,2; xlix,2; liii; liv; lvi,2; lv,1; lv,2; xxxi,1 (= *RMR*, nos 3, 12, 16, 23, 27, 29, 31–3, 35, 41–4 = *ChLA* ix, nos 367–79, with pl.). Lists of names of soldiers, some fragmentary. Presumably Dura. c. 230s. Latin. Papyrus.
- 119–24.** *P.Dura*, nos 105–10. Pls lxiii; lviii,1; lix; lvii,2; lx,3; lxi,1 (= *RMR*, nos 4, 13–17 = *ChLA* ix, nos 360–5, with pl.). Guard rosters, some fragmentary. 230s–?250s. Dura? Latin. Papyrus.
- 125.** *P.Dura*, no. 125. Pl. xxii,1 (= *ChLA* ix, no. 380, with pl.). Legal decision by Laronius Secundianus, trib. [coh. X]X Palmyreno[rum]. Dura? April 235. Latin with subscription in Latin by *tribunus*. Papyrus.
- 126.** *P.Dura*, no. 126. Pl. xxii,2 (= *ChLA* ix, no. 381, with pl.). Legal decision by same *tribunus* (χελίαρχος). Dura? April 235. Greek, with subscription in Greek by *tribunus*. Papyrus.
- 127.** *P.Dura*, no. 127. Pl. xxii,3 (= *ChLA* ix, no. 382, with pl.). Fragmentary legal decision by same *tribunus*. Dura? No date. Greek. Papyrus.
- 128.** *P.Dura*, no. 128. Pl. xxiv (= *ChLA* ix, no. 383, with pl.). Fragments of an official journal (or more probably reports of proceedings in court). Dura? c. 245. Greek with Latin protocols. Papyrus.
- 129.** *P.Dura*, no. 129. Pl. xxviii,1. Receipt of money for purchase of barley by soldiers. Dura. 225. Greek. Papyrus.
- 130.** *P.Dura*, no. 130. No pl. (= *RMR*, no. 116 = *ChLA* ix, no. 384, with pl.). Labels. Dura? c. 215–245. Latin. Papyrus.
- 131.** *P.Dura*, no. 131. No pl. (= *ChLA* ix, no. 385, with pl.). Marking on equipment. Dura? c. 219–225. Latin. Leather.
- 132–150.** *P.Dura*, nos 132–50. Pls xvi,1; lxvii,1; lxvii,2; xxxi,2 (= *RMR*, nos 118–28 = *ChLA* ix, nos 370–3, 375–89, 395, with pls). Greek and Latin fragments found in Dura. Third century. Papyrus.
- 151.** *SB* vi, no. 9584 (= F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1926), 323–37. Pls cix–x). List of cities in Black Sea area, with distances. Third century? Greek. Parchment, probably from cover of shield.
- 152.** *P.Dura*, no. 151. Pl. lxviii,1. Translation only. Transcription in Cumont, op. cit. (No. 151), 322. Document of unknown character. Place not stated. Third century? Aramaic. Parchment.
See J. T. Milik, 'Parchemin judéo-araméen de Doura-Europos, an 200 ap. J.-C.', *Syria* 45 (1968), 97 (speculative).
- 153.** *P.Dura*, no. 152. Pl. lxviii,1. Document in Palmyrene script, unpublished. Third century? Palmyrene. Parchment.
To be published in D. R. Hillers and E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*.
- 154.** *P.Dura*, no. 153. Pl. lxx,1. Transliteration and translation only. Letter. Place not stated. Second or third century. Parthian. Parchment.
- 155.** *P.Dura*, no. 154. Pl. lxx,2,4. Transliteration only. Letter. References to River Tigris. Third century. Middle Persian. Parchment.
- 156.** *P.Dura*, no. 155. Pl. lxx,3. Transliteration only. Fragment. Third century. Middle Persian. Parchment.
These three Iranian texts (Nos 154–6) appear to have remained unpublished. They are not included in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* III. *Pahlavi Inscriptions* IV: *Ostraca and Papyri*, ed. J. Menasce (1957), or in III.iv–v, *Texts 1: Ostraca, Papyri und Pergamente: Textband* (1992), ed. D. Weber.

3. MESOPOTAMIA

- 157.** *P.Euphr.Syr.*, no. B; *CRAI* 1990, p. 154 + *Semitica* 41/2 (1993), 198–202, fig. 1 on p. 197. Transliteration only. Contract of lease of land. Marcoupolis Thera (BMRQPWLS TR'). September 242. Syriac, with subscription of lessor and declaration by scribe, both in Syriac. Parchment. Double document.
See S. Brock, 'Some new Syriac documents from the third century AD', *Aram* 3.1–2 (1991), 259; B. Aggoula, 'Studia Aramaica III', *Syria* 69 (1992), 391. For first complete publication see J. Teixidor, 'Un document syriaque de fermage de 242 ap. J.-C.', *Semitica* 41/2 (1993), 195.
- 158.** *P.Euphr.*, nos 6–7; *CRAI* 1989, p. 558 (description only; two copies). Contract of sale of slave. Marcoupolis. 6/11/249. Greek with five subscriptions in Syriac. Parchment. Double documents.
- 159.** *P.Euphr.Syr.*, no. A; *CRAI* 1990, p. 147, figs 1–3 on pp. 145–6 and 149. Acknowledgement of receipt of debt from a third party. Hykla-Karka-de Sida 'the new' (BHYKL' KRK' ḤDT' DŠYD'), apparently in the territory of Edessa/Orhai (ʿRHY), and probably to be identified with Marcoupolis (Nos 157–8). 28/12/240. Syriac, with subscriptions in Syriac. Parchment. Double document.
S. Brock, 'Some new Syriac documents from the third century AD', *Aram* 3.1–2 (1991), 259; B. Aggoula, 'Studia Aramaica III', *Syria* 69 (1992), 391.

- 160.** *P.Dura*, no. 28. Pls lxix; lxxi. Contract of sale. Edessa. 243, month Iyyar (April/May). Syriac, with subscriptions in Syriac and Greek. Parchment. Double document.
J. Goldstein, 'The Syriac deed of sale from Dura Europos', *JNES* 25 (1966), 1; F. Rosenthal (ed.), *An Aramaic Handbook* II.1 (1967), 25; H. J. W. Drijvers, *Old-Syriac (Edesseean) Inscriptions* (1972), 54.
- 161.** *P.Euphr.*, no. 10; *CRAI* 1989, p. 559 (description only). Contract for sale of mare. Carrhae (ἐν Αὐρηλία Κάρραις κολωνεία μητροπόλει Μεσοποταμίας). 26/5/250. Greek, with subscriptions in Syriac. Double document.
- (**162.** *P.Euphr.*, no. 8 (see No. 27 above). Reference back to contract of sale of slave in the *colonia* of Nisibis 27/4/250. Presumably in Greek.)
- (**163.** *P.Euphr.*, no. 9 (see No. 28 above). Reference back to sale of slave at Nisibis, at a date previous to 13/6/252. Presumably in Greek.)
- 164.** *P.Dura*, no. 26. Pls xx; xxvii,1. Deed of sale of land. Village of Sachare on the River Chabur, *paracheimasia* of *cohors III Augusta Thracum*. May 227. Greek, with subscription and one signature in Greek, and four signatures in Latin. Papyrus.
- 165.** *P.Dura*, no. 30. Pls xxi; xxvii,2. Marriage contract. Qatna, possibly on River Chabur, *paracheimasia* of *cohors XII*. 1/10/232. Greek, with two Greek and two Latin subscriptions. Papyrus. Double document.
(**166.** *P.Dura*, no. 20. Antichretic loan. In the village of Paliga (or Phaliga). 121 (Parthian period). Parchment. Greek. Double document.)
- 167.** *P.Dura*, no. 45. Pl. xviii,3. Copy of (?) official letter. Apparently from Mesopotamia (l.4: [ἐν τῇ] ἡ Μεσοποταμία εἰμί). Second or third century. Greek. Papyrus.

4. ARABIA

- 168.** *P.Mich.* VIII, no. 466. No pl. Letter of Apollinarius to Sabinus about his being transferred by the first governor of the province, Claudius Severus, from Petra to Bostra, to become a *librarius legionis* (probably *III Cyrenaica*). Bostra. 26/3/107. Greek. Papyrus.
See Cl. Préaux, 'Une source nouvelle sur l'annexion de l'Arabie par Trajan: les papyrus de Michigan 465 et 66', *Phoibos* 5 (1950–51), 123 (= *Mélanges Joseph Homberg* (1951)).
- 169.** *P.Mich.* VIII, no. 465. No pl. Letter of Apollinarius to Tasoucharion, his mother. Bostra. 19 or 20/2/108. Greek. Papyrus.
See R. W. Davies, 'Joining the Roman army', *Bonner Jahrbücher* 169 (1969), 226 and n. 104, arguing for transposing the chronological order of *P.Mich.* VIII, nos 465 and 466.
- (**170.** *P.Oxy.* XLII, no. 3054. No pl. Registration of sale of slave by woman ἀπὸ Βόστρας τῆς Συρίας (*sic*) in Oxyrhynchus, 265, with reference back to previous sale on 13/2/263 in Bostra (κατὰ δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικὸν γενόμενον ἐν Βόστρᾳ).)
- 171.** *P.Bostra*, no. 1. Unpublished petition to *beneficiarius* with two complaints of theft, made by woman from village of Azzeira in territory of Bostra (δρίου Αὐγουστοκολ(ωνίας) μητροπόλεως Βόστρων). In or near Bostra. May 260. Greek with Latin *scriptio*. Papyrus.
- 172.** *P.Bostra*, no. 2. Unpublished. Contract of marriage. Bostra? Third century. Greek. Papyrus.
Both to be published by J. Gascou and D. Feissel.
- 173.** *Pap.Colon* XXII.1, no. 58. Pls xxii–xxiii; *AE* 1991, no. 1584. Victory charm for case before *dux* of Bostra (ἐπὶ Διογενιανοῦ τοῦ δουκὸς Βόστρων τῆς Ἀραβίας) and his assessor. Presumably Bostra. 353/367. Greek. Gold *lamella*.
See R. Kotanski, 'Magic in the court of the governor of Arabia', *ZPE* 88 (1991), 41–60.
- 174.** *ZPE* 101 (1994), 55. Pl. 1 (= *XHév/Se*, no. 3). Loan with hypothec involving a person from Philadelphia. 99 or 109 (consulate of A. Cornelius Palma). Greek. Papyrus.
See H. M. Cotton, 'Loan with hypothec', *ZPE* 101 (1994), 53–9.
- 175.** *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 12. Pls 5–6. Extract from minutes of council (ἀπὸ ἄκτων βουλῆς Πετραίων), appointing guardians to an orphan. Petra. 27/2/124–28/6/125. Greek with four signatures in Nabataean and one in Greek. Papyrus.
- 176.** *P.Mich.* VIII, no. 510. No pl. Letter from mother to son. Apaté (on Red Sea coast?). Dated palaeographically to the second or third century. Greek. Papyrus.
- 177.** *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 16. Pls 13–14. Babatha's land-declaration during the census held in Arabia by the governor, T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus. Rabbath Moab. 2/12/127. Subscribed by Priscus, prefect of cavalry (ἐπαρχος ἱππέων) on 4/12/127. Greek, Nabataean, and Aramaic signatures. Papyrus. Double document.
- 178.** *ZPE* 99 (1993), 117. Pl. xiii,d (= *XHév/Se*, no. 5 = *ZPE* 105 (1995), 176, no. 11). Conclusion to a land declaration by X son of Levi and written by the Nabataean Onainos son of Sa'adalo, during the

census held in Arabia by the governor T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus. Rabbath Moab? 25/4/127 (or 128?). Greek. Papyrus.

H. M. Cotton, 'Fragments of a declaration of landed property from the province of Arabia', *ZPE* 85 (1991), 263–7; 'Another fragment of the declaration of landed property from the province of Arabia', *ZPE* 99 (1993), 115–22. For this and for Nos 191, 200, 204–5, and 214, 'The archive of Salome Komaise daughter of Levi: another archive from the "Cave of Letters"', *ZPE* 105 (1995), 171–208, cf. H. M. Cotton, 'Subscriptions and signatures in the papyri from the Judaean Desert: the χειροχρήσις', *JJP* (forthcoming).

179. *SCI* 8–9 (1985/88), 133–4. No pl. (= *XHev/Se*, no. 7). Land declaration by X son of Simon during the census held in Arabia by the governor T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus. Rabbath Moab? 4 or 11/12/127. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

N. Lewis, 'A Jewish landowner from the province of Arabia', *SCI* 8–9 (1985/88), 132–7.

Documents from Maḥoza from the Regal Period (180–184)

(180. *RB* 61 (1954), 163–5. Pls i-iii between pp. 168–9 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *36). Acknowledgement of debt by heir to forestall implementation of contract of debt with hypothec (from 43) incurred by his father. Jews and Nabataeans are involved in property at Maḥoza which later became Babatha's second husband's. Maḥoza. 59–69. Nabataean. Papyrus.

J. Starcky, 'Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus', *RB* 61 (1954), 161; *IEJ* 12 (1962), 228–9. Republished with new readings in Yardeni, *Textbook*.)

(181. *P.Yadin*, no. *1. Acknowledgement of debt to wife connected with a dowry settlement. Maḥoza. 22 Elul, 10 Sept. 94. Nabataean. Papyrus. Double document.

Described with preliminary extracts, by Y. Yadin in *IEJ* 22 (1962), 239 and *Phoenix* 16/19 (1965/6), 229–30.)

(182. *P.Yadin*, no. *2. Sale of a date-grove in Maḥoza (MḤWZ 'GLTYN) by a Nabataean woman, 'Abi'adan daughter of 'Aftah, to Archelas son of 'Abad'amanu. Maḥoza. 3 Kislev, 19 Nov. 99. Nabataean. Papyrus. Double document.)

(183. *P.Yadin*, no. *3. Sale of the date-grove described in No. 182 to Shimeon son of Menaḥem, Babatha's father. Maḥoza. 2 Tebet, 18 Dec. 99. Nabataean. Papyrus. Double document.

On Nos 182–3 see *IEJ* 22 (1962), 239–41; *Phoenix* 16/19 (1965/6), 230–2; H. M. Cotton and J. C. Greenfield, 'Babatha's property and the law of succession in the Babatha Archive', *ZPE* 104 (1994), 214, n. 22, for extensive quotations.)

(184. *P.Yadin*, no. *4. Sale. Maḥoza(?). 99. Nabataean. Papyrus.)

185. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 5. Acknowledgment of deposit. Maḥoza. 2/6/110. Greek. Papyrus.

186. *P.Yadin*, no. *6. Lease of land? Maḥoza? 119. Nabataean. Papyrus.

187. *P.Yadin*, no. *7. Deed of gift from Babatha's father to her mother of all the property he owns in Maḥoza, to become hers after his death. Maḥoza (MḤWZ 'GLTYN). 24 Tammuz, 13 July, 120. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.

IEJ 22 (1962), 241–4; *Phoenix* 16/19 (1965/6), 232–4; *ZPE* 104 (1994), 214–15, nn. 25–31, for extensive quotations; R. Yaron, 'Acts of last will in Jewish law', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'Histoire Comparative des Institutions* 59 (1992), 34ff.

188. *P.Yadin*, no. *8 (no details given). Sale of a white she-ass. Maḥoza? Tammuz, July?, 112. Aramaic. Papyrus.

189. *P.Yadin*, no. *9. Quittance. Maḥoza? 122. Nabataean. Papyrus.

190. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 13. Pl. 7. Petition from Babatha to the governor, Iulius Iulianus. Maḥoza. Second half of 124. Greek. Papyrus.

191. *ZPE* 100 (1994), 550. Pl. xxxii,c (= *XHev/Se*, no. 5 = *ZPE* 105 (1995), 174–5, no. 1). Receipt for tax on dates. Maḥoza. 29/1/125. Greek with Aramaic subscription. Papyrus.

H. M. Cotton, 'Rent or tax receipt from Maoza', *ZPE* 100 (1994), 547–57; see Nos 178, 200, 204–5, and 214.

192. *IEJ* 44 (1994), 78. Fig. 3 (= *P.Yadin*, no. 10). Babatha's marriage contract (*ketubba*) with Judah son of Eleazar Kthousion. Maḥoza? 125–8. Aramaic. Papyrus.

Y. Yadin, J. C. Greenfield and Ada Yardeni, 'Babatha's Ketubba', *IEJ* 44 (1994), 75–101.

193. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 14. Pls 8–9. Summons sent by Babatha to guardians of her son to appear before the court of the governor, Ti. Iulius Iulianus. Maḥoza. 11 or 12/10/125. Greek with Nabataean and Aramaic signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

194. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 15. Pls 10–12. Babatha's deposition against the guardians of her son. Maḥoza. 11 or 12/10/125. Greek with Aramaic subscription and signatures. Double document.

195–7. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), nos 28–30. Pls 37–8. Greek translations of the formulae for *actio tutelae*. c. 125?

On Nos **175**, **190**, **193–4** see H. M. Cotton, 'The guardianship of Jesus son of Babatha: Roman and local law in the province of Arabia', *JRS* 83 (1993), 94–113.

198. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 31. No pl. Contract? No place or date. Probably after 125. Greek with Aramaic signatures on verso. Papyrus. Double document.

199. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 33. No pl. Copy of petition (ἀντίγραφον ἀξιώματος) displayed at the governor's *conventus*. No place or date. Perhaps c. 125. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

200. *ZPE* 105 (1995), 177–83, no. III (= *XHēv/Se*, no. 5). Deed of renunciation of claims by Salome Komaïse, daughter of Levi, on her mother's behalf. Maḥoza. 127? Greek. Papyrus.

See Nos **178**, **191**, **204–5**, and **214**.

201. *P.Yadin*, no. 17. Pls 15–16. Acknowledgement of deposit. Maḥoza. 21/2/128. Greek with Aramaic subscription and signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

202. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 18. Pls 17–19. Marriage contract (acknowledgement of receipt of dowry and undertaking by groom to add sum of money to it). Maḥoza. 5/1/128. Greek with Aramaic subscription and signatures, and one Greek signature. Papyrus. Double document.

See A. Wasserstein, 'A marriage contract from the province of Arabia Nova: notes on Papyrus Yadin 18', *JQR* 80 (1989), 117.

203. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 19. Pls 20–1. Deed of gift of property in En-Gedi, Judaea, from father to daughter. Maḥoza. 16/4/128. Greek with Aramaic subscription and signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

204. *ZPE* 105 (1995), 185–203, no. IV (= *XHēv/Se*, no. 1). Deed of gift in favour of Salome Komaïse, daughter of Levi, by her mother. Maḥoza. 9/11/129. Greek with Aramaic and Nabataean signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

See Nos **178**, **191**, **200**, **205**, and **214**.

205. Yardeni, no. 12 (= *XHēv/Se*, no. 12 = *ZPE* 105 (1995), 204, no. v). Receipt for date's given to Salome Komaïse, daughter of Levi. Maḥoza? 30/1/131. Aramaic. Papyrus.

See Nos **178**, **191**, **200**, **204**, and **214**.

206. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 20. Pls 22–4. Concession of rights concerning property in En-Gedi, Judaea. Maḥoza. 19/6/130. Greek with Aramaic and Greek subscriptions, and Aramaic signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

207. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 21. Pls 25–6. Purchase of date crop: buyer's declaration. Maḥoza. 11/9/130. Greek with Aramaic signatures and subscriptions. Papyrus.

See No. **208**.

208. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 22. Pls 27–8. Purchase of date crop: seller's declaration. Maḥoza. 11/9/130. Greek with Aramaic signatures and a Nabataean subscription. Papyrus.

See No. **207**.

209. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 23. Pls 29–31. Summons against Babatha to court of governor, Haterius Nepos, for seizing date-groves. Maḥoza. 17/11/130. Greek with Aramaic signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

See No. **210**.

210. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 24. No pl. Deposition against Babatha for seizing date-groves. Probably at Maḥoza. Date missing, probably c. 17/11/130, see No. **209**. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

211. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 25. Pls 32–3. Summons and counter-summons of Babatha and Iulia Crispina to court of governor, Haterius Nepos. Maḥoza. 9/7/131. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

212. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 26. Pls 34–5. Summons and counter-summons of Babatha and Miriam (widows of the same husband) to court of governor, Haterius Nepos. Maḥoza. 9/7/131. Greek with Aramaic signatures. Papyrus. Double document.

213. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 34. No pl. Petition of Babatha against Miriam, displayed at governor's *conventus* (?). No place or date. Perhaps c. July 131. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

214. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 37 (= *ZPE* 105 (1995), 204–7, no. VI). Pl. 40. Marriage contract of Salome Komaïse, daughter of Levi, to Yeshu'a, son of Menaḥem, from Livias in the Peraea (Judaea). Maḥoza. 7/8/131. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

See Nos **178**, **191**, **200**, and **204–5**.

215. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 35. No pl. Summons. No place or date. Perhaps c. August/September 132. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

216. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 27. Pl. 36. Receipt for Babatha's orphan's maintenance. Maḥoza. 19/8/132. Greek with Aramaic subscription. Papyrus.

217. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 32. No pl. Contract? No place or date. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

218. *P.Yadin* (Lewis), no. 32a. No pl. Contract? No place or date. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.

5. JUDAEA/SYRIA PALAESTINA

In the case of Judaea, where drastic changes of regime mark the first two centuries, it seems more helpful to abandon arrangement by place of writing, and to divide the documents into six groups: (1) The First Century up to 66; (2) The First Revolt, 66–73(4); (3) Between the Two Revolts, 73(74)–132; (4) The Bar Kochba Revolt, 132–5; (5) Syria Palaestina after 132; (6) Undated. For provincial divisions in the Late Empire see p. 233 below.

Note on dating the material from Masada: the traditional date for the fall of the fortress is spring 73. This date has been challenged by W. Eck, 'Die Eroberung von Masada und eine neue Inschrift des L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus', *ZNTW* 60 (1969), 282f., and more fully argued in *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970), 93ff., proposing spring 74 instead. Hence 73(74) in all dates. It is assumed by the editors of *Masada* I and *Doc.Masada* that relevant Aramaic and Greek documents belong to Jews, and probably to the *sicarii* who occupied Masada between 66 and 73(74). The Latin papyri must have been brought to Masada from the Roman camps and dumped in locus 1039, 'locus of the scrolls', and hence are dated 'before spring 73(74)'.

(1) *The First Century up to 66*

- 219.** *Doc.Masada*, no. 740. Pl. 8. Document from Year 89 (Pompeian or Gabinian era in Palestine?). 25–35? Greek. Parchment.
- 220.** *IEJ* 40 (1990), 130, no. 1. Fig. 1. Pl. 15. Unknown provenance. Delivery of dried and pressed fig-cakes to a place called Beit Qarnayim. Year 12. Dated palaeographically to first half of first century. Aramaic. Ostrakon.
- 221.** *IEJ* 40 (1990), 135, no. 2. Fig. 2. Pl. 16A. Unknown provenance. Monthly report on delivery of certain goods to various people. Kislev, Nov./Dec. Year 13. Dated palaeographically to first half of first century. Aramaic. Ostrakon.
- 222.** *IEJ* 40 (1990), 140, no. 3. Fig. 3. Pl. 16B. Unknown provenance. Record? Dated palaeographically to first half of first century. Aramaic. Ostrakon.
- 223.** *IEJ* 40 (1990), 140, no. 4. Fig. 4. Pl. 17. Unknown provenance. Report on delivery of barley and bread. Dated palaeographically to first half of first century. Aramaic. Ostrakon.
- On Nos **219–23** see A. Yardeni, 'New Jewish Aramaic ostraca', *IEJ* 40 (1990), 130–52. Seven more ostraca from the same series will be published in Yardeni, *Textbook*.
- 224.** *DJD* II, no. 18. Pl. xxix. Acknowledgement of debt. Kesalon (= Chasalon, *TIR*, p. 103). 55/56. Aramaic. Papyrus.
- See M. R. Lehmann, *Essays and Journeys* (1982), 183–4 (Hebrew), for the correct interpretation. See below, No. **296**.
- 225.** *DJD* II, no. 74. Pl. liii. List of people. Dated palaeographically to first century. Aramaic. Ostrakon.
- 226.** *DJD* II, no. 158. Pl. ci. Document mentioning a C. Iulius and heirs. Dated palaeographically to first century. Latin. Papyrus.
- 227.** *DJD* II, no. 10B. Pl. xxvi. Abecedarium. Dated palaeographically to end of first century. Jewish script.¹⁴ Leather. Palimpsest. See No. **316**.
- 228.** Yardeni, no. 9 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 9). Deed of sale, at Yakum or Yakim (Kh. Yuqin, also called Kh. Bani Dar, near Hebron, see No. **292**). Dated palaeographically to late Herodian period. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
- 229.** Yardeni, no. 10 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 10). Receipt for payment of fine? Dated palaeographically to late Herodian period. Aramaic. Papyrus.
- A. Yardeni, 'A deed of sale from the Judean Desert: Naḥal Se'elim 9', *Tarbiz* 63 (1994), 299.

(2) *The First Revolt, 66–73(74)*

- 230.** *Masada* I, nos 1–301. Pls 1–13. Tags with letters in Jewish and Palaeo-Hebrew script (and some Greek). Likely to have been used as tokens, substitutes for money, by the *sicarii* in food-rationing on Masada. 66–73(74). Ostraca.

¹⁴ The term 'Jewish script' is used to describe the scripts used by Jews in order to write both Aramaic and Hebrew; See F. M. Cross, Jr., 'The oldest manuscripts from Qumran', *JBL* 74 (1955), 147; 'The development of the

Jewish scripts', in G. E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East (essays in Honor of W. F. Albright)* (1965), 170.

231. *Masada* 1, nos 302–80. Pls 14–20. Tags with specific names (Yehoḥanan; Yehudah; Shimeon) in Jewish script, with letters in Palaeo-Hebrew. Likely to have served as tokens, substitutes for money, by the *sicarii* in food-rationing on Masada. 66–73(74). Ostraca.
232. *Masada* 1, nos 381–419. Pls 21–3. Tags with single names in Jewish script. Likely to have served either as tokens or as lots. 66–73(74). Ostraca.
233. *Masada* 1, nos 420–8. Pl. 24. Lists of names in Aramaic. 66–73(74). Ostraca.
234. *Masada* 1, nos 429–40. Pl. 25. ‘Lots’ (one with Ben Yair on it; are these the famous lots mentioned by Josephus, *Bḡ* VII.395?). 66–73(74). Jewish script. Ostraca.
235. *Masada* 1, no. 554. Pl. 45. Demand for payment in the form of a letter. 66–73(74). Aramaic. Ostracon.
236. *Masada* 1, no. 555. Pl. 45. Fragment of letter. 66–73(74). Aramaic. Ostracon.
237. *Masada* 1, no. 556. Pl. 45. Fragment of letter. 66–73(74). Aramaic. Ostracon.
238. *Masada* 1, nos 557–84. Pls 46–7. Instructions for supplying bread. 66–73(74). Aramaic. Ostraca.
239. *Masada* 1, nos 585–605. Pls 48–50. Amounts. 66–73(74). Aramaic. Ostraca.
240. *Masada* 1, nos 606–41. Pls 51–3. Writing exercises in Jewish script, and scribbles. 66–73(74). Ostraca.
241. *Masada* 1, nos 642–701. Pls 54–9. Varia. 66–73(74). Jewish script. Ostraca.
242. *Doc.Masada*, no. 741. Pl. 8. Fragment of letter to Abascantus from Judah concerning delivery of lettuce. 66–73(74). Greek. Papyrus.
243. *Doc.Masada*, no. 743. Pl. 9. Single letters. 66–73(74). Greek. Wood.
244. *Doc.Masada*, no. 744. Pl. 9. List of names. 66–73(74). Greek. Papyrus.
245. *Doc.Masada*, no. 745. Pl. 9. Fragment of letter. 66–73(74). Greek. Papyrus.
246. *Doc.Masada*, no. 746. Pl. 9. Fragments of one or two letters. 66–73(74). Greek. Papyrus.
247. *Doc.Masada*, no. 748. Pl. 9. Bilingual list of names. 66–73(74)? Latin and Greek. Papyrus.
248. *Doc.Masada*, nos 772–7. Pl. 13. Delivery instructions (see above, No. 238). 66–73(74)? Greek. Ostraca.
249. *Doc.Masada*, no. 778. Pl. 14. Instructions? 66–73(74). Greek. Ostracon.
250. *Doc.Masada*, no. 779. Pl. 14. Ledger with names and amounts in drachmae. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostracon.
251. *Doc.Masada*, no. 780. Pl. 14. Ledger with numbers. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostracon.
252. *Doc.Masada*, no. 781. Pl. 14. Memorandum? 66–73(74). Greek. Ostracon.
253. *Doc.Masada*, nos 782–3. Pl. 14. Abecedaria. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostraca.
254. *Doc.Masada*, no. 784–90. Pl. 15. Names. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostraca.
255. *Doc.Masada*, nos 791–2. Pl. 15. Single letters. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostraca.
256. *Doc.Masada*, no. 793. Pl. 16. Fragmentary text. 66–73(74). Greek. Ostracon.
257. *Doc.Masada*, no. 749. Pl. 10. Greek and Latin fragments. First century. Papyrus.
258. *Doc.Masada*, no. 722. Pls 2–3. Pay record of *equus legionis* from Beirut, with two *stipendia* and stoppages. Roman camps near Masada? 72 (perhaps 75). Latin. Papyrus.
259. *Doc.Masada*, no. 723. Pl. 4. Fragments of two lists with names and entries for bandages and oil from Roman military hospital. Camp B near Masada? Shortly before spring 73(74). Latin. Papyrus.
260. *Doc.Masada*, no. 724. Pl. 4. Beginning of letter to Iulius Lupus (to be identified with the homonymous Prefect of Egypt, in office by 25 Feb.–25 March, 73?). Latin with one word in Greek on verso. Papyrus.
261. *Doc.Masada*, no. 725. Pl. 5. Document connected with *xylobalsamum* (see Pliny, *NH* XII.118), cf. *Doc.Masada*, no. 749b (No. 257). Roman camps near Masada. Shortly before spring 73(74). Latin. Papyrus.
262. *Doc.Masada*, no. 726. Pl. 5. Fragment of letter concerning centurion. Roman camps near Masada. Shortly before spring 73(74). Latin. Papyrus.
263. *Doc.Masada*, Nos 727–38. Pls 5–7. Fragments of documents and letters. Roman camps near Masada. Shortly before spring 73(74). Latin. Papyrus.
264. *Doc.Masada*, nos 750–71. Pl. 11. Tags with Roman names: lots for assigning duties? Masada. After spring 73(74). Latin. Ostraca.

(3) *Between the Two Revolts*

265. Yardeni, no. 23 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 23). Deed of sale. Dated palaeographically to between 70 and end of second revolt. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
266. Yardeni, no. 21 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 21). Deed of sale. Dated palaeographically to between 70 and end of second revolt. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
267. Yardeni, no. 22 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 22). Deed of sale. Dated palaeographically to between 70 and end of second Jewish revolt. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.

268. Yardeni, nos 9a; 24; 24a; 25; 27 (cancelled); 31; 32; 33-5; 37 (= *XHev/Se*, nos 9a; 24; 24a; 25; 27). Unidentified fragments. One mentions Kosba, and is likely to belong to a letter from second revolt. Aramaic. Papyrus.
269. Yardeni, no. 11 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 11). Remains of marriage contract? Dated palaeographically to between 70 and end of second revolt.
270. *DjD* II, no. 26. Pl. xxxix. Deed of sale. Date missing. Written by same hand as No. 271. Like Nos 271-84 below, dated palaeographically to between 70 and end of Bar Kochba revolt. Aramaic. Papyrus.
271. *Biblica* 38 (1957), 258-9. Pls ii-iii (= *XHev/Se*, no. 49). Deed of sale of land. Date missing. Written by same hand as No. 270, and perhaps part of same document. Aramaic with signatures in Aramaic and one in Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
See J. T. Milik, 'Acte de vente d'un terrain', *Biblica* 38 (1957), 255-64.
272. *DjD* II, no. 27. Pl. xxxix. Deed of sale. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
273. *DjD* II, no. 28. Pl. xl-xl bis. Deed mentioning property. Rimmon (*TIR*, p. 215, or 'En Rimmon, *TIR*, p. 122). Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
274. *DjD* II, no. 31. Pl. xlii bis. Fragments of deed of sale. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
275. *DjD* II, no. 32. Fig. 29. Pl. xliii. Deed concerning money. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
276. *DjD* II, no. 33. Pl. xliii. Deed concerning money. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
277. *DjD* II, no. 34. Pl. xliii. Fragments of contract. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
278. *DjD* II, no. 35. Pl. xliii. Fragments of contract. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
279. *DjD* II, no. 37. Pl. xliii. Remains of contract and signatures. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
280. *DjD* II, nos 38-40. Pls xliii-iv. Signatures. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
281. *DjD* II, no. 41. Pl. xliv. List of people. Date missing. Aramaic. Papyrus.
282. *DjD* II, nos 49-52. Pl. xlviii. Fragments of letters? Date missing. Aramaic? Hebrew? Papyrus.
283. *DjD* II, nos 53-70. Pls xlix-li. Fragments. Date missing. Aramaic? Hebrew? Papyrus.
284. *DjD* II, no. 71. Pl. li. Fragments. Papyrus. Nabataean.
285. *Eretz Israel* 23 (1992), p. 278, no. 1. Acknowledgement of debt. Dated palaeographically to end of first or beginning of second century. Aramaic. Papyrus.
286. *Eretz Israel* 23 (1992), p. 281, no. 2. Fragments of deed mentioning agricultural products. Dated palaeographically to end of first or beginning of second century. Aramaic, with signatures in Aramaic and Greek. Papyrus.
For Nos 285-6 see E. and H. Eshel, 'Fragments of two Aramaic documents which were brought to Abi'or Cave during the Bar Kokhba Revolt', *Eretz Israel* 23 (1992), 276-85, Hebrew, English summary 155*; Ada Yardeni, 'The script in two fragmentary deeds from the Abi'or Cave', *ibid.*, 327-30, Hebrew, English summary 157*.
287. *DjD* II, no. 7. Pl. xxv. Fragments of contract? Early decades of second century. Hebrew. Leather.
288. *DjD* II, no. 19. Pls xxx-xxxi. Deed of divorce between Jews. Masada. 1 Marḥesvan, Year 6 (of the era of the province of Arabia) = 18/10/111. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* (1971), 188f. and *IEJ* 15 (1965), 119, n. 112, takes it to be Year 6 of the First Revolt, i.e. Oct. 71/2; so do R. Yaron, 'The Mesadah bill of divorce', *Studi in onore di E. Volterra* VI (1971), 433-55, and Yadin and Naveh, *Masada* I, 9-11.¹⁵
289. *DjD* II, no. 20. Pls xxx-xxxi. Marriage contract between Jews, at Ḥardona (near Jerusalem?). 7 Adar, Year 11 (of the era of the province of Arabia, see No. 288 and n. 15), 21/2/117. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
290. *P. Yadin* (Lewis), no. 11. Pls 3-4. Acknowledgment of debt. Babatha's second husband borrows money upon security from centurion of *cohors Thracum milliaria* stationed at En-Gedi. En-Gedi. 6/5/124. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
291. *DjD* II, no. 115. Pls lxxxvi-viii (= *SB* x, no. 10305). Contract of remarriage between Jews, recording dowry and provisions for children. Bethbassi in toparchy of Herodium. 19/10/124. Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
292. *JRS* 84 (1994), 67. Pls i-ii (= *XHev/Se* Gr., no. 2). Cancelled marriage contract between Jews. The groom is from Yakum (or Yakim, see above, No. 228). Aristoboulias of the Zephine (Zif). 130. Greek with signatures in Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
H. M. Cotton, 'A cancelled marriage contract from the Judaeian Desert (*XHev/Se* Gr. 2)', *JRS* 84 (1994), 64.

¹⁵ For Nos 288-9 see Ph. Freeman, 'The era of the province of Arabia: Problems and solution', in H. I. MacAdam, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province*

of Arabia, BAR 295 (1986), 43f., for the use of the era of Arabia in adjacent territories.

(4) *The Bar Kochba Revolt, 132–5*

In the catalogue the following dating-scheme will be adopted, though it should be understood as provisional:

Year One, Nisan-Adar: March/April, 132–Feb./March 133
 Year Two, Nisan-Adar: March/April, 133–Feb./March 134
 Year Three, Nisan-Adar: March/April, 134–Feb./March 135
 Year Four, Nisan-Adar: March/April, 135–Feb./March 136

Year 1: Nisan-Adar: March/April, 132–Feb./March 133

- 293.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), 249, no. 42 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *42 = *5/6Hev*, no. 42 = Millar, no. 1). Text partially reported. Lease of land carried out by two administrators, mentioning water rights. Same hand and same lease as No. **294**. En-Gedi. 1 Iyyar, Year 1, April 132. Aramaic. Papyrus.
- 294.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), 249, no. 43 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *43 = *5/6Hev*, no. 43 = Millar, no. 4). Briefly reported. Receipt by local administrator for thirty nine denarii, paid by Eliezer son of Samuel for land leased from Bar Kochba. Same hand and lease as No. **293**. Year 1, 132. Aramaic. Papyrus.
 Beyer, *Ergänzungsband*, p. 184, v 37.
- 295.** *DjD* II, no. 23. Pl. xxxiv (= Millar, no. 3). Very fragmentary; possibly deed of sale. Place not stated. 10 Shebat, Year 1, Jan./Feb. 133 (Beyer, *AT*, p. 312, suggests possibly Jan./Feb. 67, in the First Revolt). Aramaic. Papyrus.

Year 2: Nisan-Adar: March/April 133–Feb./March 134

- 296.** *Eretz Israel* 20 (1989), 256–7. Provenance unknown, original lost. Acknowledgement of debt. Haḥramat. 20 Kislev, Year 2, Nov./Dec. 133. Aramaic. Leather?
 See M. Broshi and E. Qimron, 'I.O.U. note from the time of the Bar Kochba Revolt', *Eretz Israel* 20 (1989), 256 (Hebrew); and P. Segal, 'The Hebrew IOU note from the time of the Bar Kochba period', *Tarbiz* 60 (1991), 113–18 (Hebrew), for the correct interpretation. See above, No. **224**.
- 297.** *DjD* II, no. 29. Pls xli-xli bis (= Millar, no. 5). Deed of sale of (?) vines. Place not stated. 14 Elul, Year 2, Aug./Sept. 133. Hebrew with signatures in Hebrew and one in Greek. Papyrus. Double document.
- 298.** *DjD* II, no. 24A-L. Pls xxxv-xxxvii (= Millar, no. 6). Series of contracts for lease of parcels of land, some with condition 'until the eve of the remission' (of debts, for Sabbatical Year). Herodium. 20 Shebat, Year 2, Feb. 134. Hebrew. Papyrus.
 Suggested corrections in *IEJ* 11 (1961), 51, and 12 (1962), 253–4.

Year 3: Nisan-Adar: March/April 134–Feb./March 135

- 299.** *Biblica* 38 (1957), 264–5. Pl. iv (= *XHev/Se*, no. 8a = Yardeni, no. 8a = Millar, no. 7). Deed of sale of house, at Kefar Baro (or Bero), with renunciation of claims by the wife, see No. **309**. Written by the same hand as Nos **300–1** below. 20 Adar, Year 3, Feb./March, 134. Aramaic. Papyrus.
 See J. T. Milik, 'Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J.-C.', *RB* 61 (1954), 182–91.
- 300.** *IEJ* 36 (1986), 206. Pl. 26B (= *XHev/Se*, no. 8 = Yardeni, no. 8 = Millar, no. 12). Deed of sale of house, at Kefar Baro (or Bero). Adar, Year 3, Feb./March 134. Written by the same hand as Nos **299** and **301**. Inner text in Aramaic; outer text in Hebrew. Papyrus. Double document.
 M. Broshi and E. Kimron, 'A house sale deed from Kefar Baru from the time of Bar Kokhba', *IEJ* 36 (1986), 201; see J. Naveh, 'Marginalia on the deed from Kefar Baro', *Studies on Hebrew and Other Semitic Languages Presented to Professor Chaim Rabin on his Seventy Fifth Birthday* (1990), 231–4 (Hebrew).
- 301.** Yardeni, no. 26 (*XHev/Se*, no. 26). Document concerning deposits and penalties. Feb./March, 134? (written by the same scribe who wrote Nos **299–300**). Aramaic. Papyrus.
- 302.** *DjD* II, no. 25. Pl. xxxviii (= Millar, no. 11). Deed of sale(?) of land (or 'leasement', Fitzmyer, *PAT*, no. 44). No place stated. 3 Marḥeshvan, Year 3, Oct. 134. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.

- 303.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), 249, no. 44. Pl. 48c (= *P.Yadin*, no. *44 = *5/6Hev*, no. 44 = Millar, no. 8). Described with extracts. Distribution of lands leased from administrator of Bar Kochba. En-Gedi. Same hand as Nos **304–5**. 28 Marḥeshvan, Year 3, Nov. 134. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 304.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), 255, no. 45 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *45 = *5/6Hev*, no. 45 = Millar, no. 9). 34 lines. Described with extracts. Acknowledgement of sub-lease of land leased from administrator of Simeon ben Kosiba. Same hand as Nos **303** and **305**. En-Gedi. 2 Kislev, Year 3, Nov. 134. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 305.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), 255, no. 46 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *46 = *5/6Hev*, no. 46 = Millar, no. 10). Acknowledgement of sub-lease of land leased from administrator of Bar Kochba. 11 lines, described with extracts. Same hand as Nos **303–4**. En-Gedi. 2 Kislev, Year 3, Nov. 134. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 306.** *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 257, n. 51 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *47 = *5/6Hev*, no. 47a+b). Purchase of garden in En-Gedi. 24 Tebet, Year 3, Jan./Feb. 134. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document?
- 307.** Yardeni, no. 7 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 7). Deed of sale. 14 Iyyar, Year 3, April/May 135. Aramaic. Leather. Double document.
- 308.** *XHev/Se*, no. 13 (= Yardeni, no. 13). Quittance given by wife to husband on the occasion of divorce. En-Gedi? 20 Sivan, Year 3, May/June 135. One of the signatures belongs to Masabala son of Shimeon, who appears in many of the Bar Kochba documents and whose signature is recorded in No. **308**. Aramaic. Papyrus.
See A. Yardeni and J. Greenfield in the memorial volume for Menahem Stern (Hebrew, forthcoming).

Year 4: Nisan-Adar; March/April 135–Feb./March 136

- 309.** *DJD* II, no. 30. Pls xli bis–xlii bis (= Millar, no. 13). Deed of sale of land with renunciation of claims by wife, see No. **299**. Place not stated. 21 Tishri, Year 4, Sept./Oct. 135. Hebrew, with signatures in Hebrew. Papyrus. Double document.
- 310.** *DJD* II, no. 22. Pls xxxiii–xxxiv (= Millar, no. 2). Sale of land. 14 Marḥeshvan, Year 4, Oct./Nov. 134 (new reading). Hebrew. Papyrus. Double document.

Year not mentioned, and place normally not indicated

- 311.** Yardeni, no. 30 (= *XHev/Se*, no. 30). Letter addressed to Bar Kochba. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 312.** *DJD* II, no. 42. Pl. xlv (= Millar, no. 14). Letter from the administrators of Beth-Masiko to Yeshu'a ben Galgula, 'chief of the camp', confirming ownership of cow. Beth-Masiko. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 313.** *DJD* II, no. 43. Pl. xlvi (= Millar, no. 15). Letter of Bar Kochba to the same Yeshu'a ben Galgula warning him not to maltreat the Galileans who are with him. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 314.** *DJD* II, no. 44. Pl. xlvi (= Millar, no. 16). Letter of (evidently) Bar Kochba to the same Yeshu'a ben Galgula on delivery of grain, and requiring observance of Shabat. Hebrew. Papyrus.
- 315.** *IEJ* 11 (1961), 41, no. 1 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *54 = *5/6Hev*, no. 54 = Millar, no. 17). Described with extracts; fuller text, whose origin is not stated, in Beyer, *AT*, p. 351. Letter of Bar Kochba to Yehonatan and Masabala, on confiscation of wheat, and threatening punishment of men of Teqo'a and arrest of Yeshu'a bar Tadmoraya. Aramaic. Wood.
- 316.** *IEJ* 11 (1961), 42, no. 2 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *63 = *5/6Hev*, no. 63 = Millar, no. 18). Brief report of fragmentary letter from Bar Kochba. Aramaic. Papyrus.
- 317.** *Aegyptus* 42 (1962), 240, no. 1 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *52 = *5/6Hev*, no. 52 = *SB* VIII, no. 9843 = *IEJ* 11 (1961), 42, no. 3 = Millar, no. 19; revised text in *HUCA* 64 (1993), 114). Letter of Soumaios to Iōnathēs son of Baianos and Masabala requiring delivery of wands and citrons. The writer explains that he has written Ἐλληνεστί (sic), apparently because of the lack of the 'means' — [ἀφόρ]μάς — to write *Hebraesti*. Greek. Papyrus.
See G. Howard and J. C. Shelton, 'The Bar Kochba Letters and Palestinian Greek', *IEJ* 23 (1973), 101; H. B. Rosén, 'Die Sprachen im römischen Palästina', *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 40 (1980), 224 and n. 19; D. Obbink, 'Bilingual literacy and Syrian Greek', *BASP* 28 (1991), 57; H. Lapin, 'Palm fronds and citrons: notes on two letters from Bar Kosiba's administration', *HUCA* 64 (1993), 111.
- 318.** *IEJ* 11 (1961), 44, no. 4 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *53 = *5/6Hev*, no. 53 = Millar, no. 20). Short letter, published in full, of Bar Kochba to Yehonatan son of Ba'aya telling him to help one Elisha. Aramaic. Papyrus.

319. *IEJ* II (1961), 44, no. 5 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *51 = *5/6Hev*, no. 51). Badly-preserved letter mentioning Yehonatan and the people of En-Gedi. Aramaic. Papyrus.
320. *Aegyptus* 42 (1962), 248, no. 2 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *59 = *5/6Hev*, no. 59 = *SB VIII*, no. 9844 = *IEJ* II (1961), 44, no. 6 = Millar, no. 21). Short letter from Annanos to Ionathes referring to help ordered by Bar Kochba. Greek. Papyrus.
321. *IEJ* II (1961), 44, no. 7 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *61 = *5/6Hev*, no. 61 = Millar, no. 22). Brief report of badly-damaged letter of Bar Kochba. Aramaic. Papyrus.
322. *IEJ* II (1961), 44, no. 8 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *50 = *5/6Hev*, no. 50 = Millar, no. 23). 13 lines, of which the first 6 are transcribed. Letter of Bar Kochba to Yehonatan bar Ba'yan (*sic!*) and Masabala bar Simon on despatch of El'azar. Ends with attestation by scribe, Shimeon bar Yehudah. Aramaic. Papyrus.
323. *IEJ* II (1961), 45, no. 9 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *60 = *5/6Hev*, no. 60). Very fragmentary letter to Yehonatan (from Bar Kochba), which contained five lines. Aramaic or Hebrew? Papyrus.
324. *IEJ* II (1961), 45, no. 10 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *58 = *5/6Hev*, no. 58 = Millar, no. 24). Four-line letter, partially reported, to Yehonatan and Masabala. Aramaic. Papyrus.
325. *IEJ* II (1961), 46, no. 11 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *56 = *5/6Hev*, no. 56 = Millar, no. 25). Description with extracts of letter of Bar Kochba to Yehonatan and Masabala referring to the 'Romans', and ordering the bringing of a person called Thyrsus or Theodosus bar Theodorus. Aramaic. Papyrus.
326. *IEJ* II (1961), 46, no. 12 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *49 = *5/6Hev*, no. 49 = Millar, no. 26). Description, with quotation of first four lines, of fourteen-line letter from Bar Kochba reproaching the men of En-Gedi and Masabala and Yehonatan for indifference. Hebrew. Papyrus.
327. *IEJ* II (1961), 47, no. 13 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *62 = *5/6Hev*, no. 62). Very badly preserved text. Hebrew. Papyrus.
328. *IEJ* II (1961), 47, no. 14 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *55 = *5/6Hev*, no. 55 = Millar, no. 27). Description, with quotations, of letter of Bar Kochba to Yehonatan and Masabala mentioning people from Teqo'a (cf. Nos 322-5). Aramaic. Papyrus.
329. *IEJ* II (1961), 48, no. 15 (= *P.Yadin*, no. *57 = *5/6Hev*, no. 57 = Millar, no. 28). Complete(?) text of five-line letter of Bar Kochba to Yehuda bar Menashe ordering sending of two men and two donkeys to Yehonatan and Masabala for the delivery of palm-branches and citrus while Yehuda should send myrtles and willows. Aramaic. Papyrus.
330. *DJD* II, nos 45-8. Pls xlvi-xlviii. Fragmentary letters, possibly from the Bar Kochba war. Hebrew. Papyrus.
331. *DJD* II, nos 49-52. Pl. xlvi. Fragmentary papyri, perhaps in Hebrew.

(5) *Syria Palaestina after 135*

332. *DJD* II, no. 116. Pl. lxxxix (= *SB X*, no. 10306). Marriage contract between Salome and Aurelius, of which only fragments are left. Dated palaeographically to first half of second century. Greek. Papyrus.
- 333? *Pap. Graec. Vindob. Inv.*, no. 19792 (= *SB VI*, no. 9571 = *XIV*, no. 11850). No pl. Receipt for instalment of maritime loan taken out by four men from Ascalon, co-owners of a vessel, through a banker in Alexandria, from two Roman money-lenders. No place stated. Feb. 149. Greek. Papyrus.
See L. Casson, 'New light on maritime loans', *Eos* 48.2 (1956), 89-93; on the date see R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca*, Pap. Flor. xxv (1994), 20-1.
334. *PSI IX*, no. 1026. Pls i-ii (= Cavenaile, *CPL*, no. 117 = *CIL XVI*, p. 146, no. 13 = *Daris, Documenti*, nos 83 and 98 = *ChLA XXV*, no. 784, with pl.). Petition addressed by veterans of Tenth Legion, about to depart for their country of origin, Egypt, to *legatus* of Syria Palaestina, Velius Fidus. Caesarea. 23/1/150. Latin. Papyrus. Double document.
See J. Rea, 'Two legates and a procurator of Syria Palaestina', *ZPE* 26 (1977), 217.
335. *P.Berol.*, no. 21652 recto. *Akten d. XIII Int. Kong. Pap., Marburg/Lahn, 2-6 August 1972* (1974), 241-50. Pl. 3 (= *SB XII*, no. 11043 = *ChLA XI*, no. 466, with pl.). Report of proceedings by Valerius Serenus from the village Meason in the Peraea before a freedman procurator, Aelius Amphigethes, for official certification of his status as *veteranus*. Caesarea, in the temple. 152. Greek with Latin subscription. Papyrus.
See J. Rea, 'Two legates and a procurator of Syria-Palaestina', *ZPE* 26 (1977), 218-21.
336. *DJD* II, no. 113. Pl. lxxxiv. Record of legal proceedings between two Jewish women and *veteranus*? Place not stated. Dated palaeographically to second half of second century. Greek. Papyrus.
337. *DJD* II, no. 114. Pl. lxxxv. Acknowledgement of debt in military circles (Tenth Legion?). Jerusalem? Panemos (June/July)? 171? (perhaps 115 if Statilius Severus is to be identified with the

- suffectus* of that year; or 141, when L. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Avitus and T. Statilius Maximus were *ordinarii*). Greek. Papyrus.
- See P. Benoit, 'Une reconnaissance de dette du II^e siècle en Palestine', *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II (1957), 257-72.
- 338? *P.Mich.* III, no. 161. No pl. (= Cavenaile, *CPL*, no. 128 = *ChLA* v, no. 294, with pl.). Fragment of military receipt mentioning a *classis Aug.* Caesarea (in Palestine?). Second century. Latin. Papyrus.
- See H. Sanders, *MAAR* 9 (1931), 81-5, arguing for Caesarea in Mauretania; *contra*, U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Pap.* 10 (1931), 78, for Caesarea in Palestine.
339. *P.Mich.* VII, no. 445. Pl. x,c (= Cavenaile, *CPL*, no. 194 = *ChLA* v, no. 284, with pl.). Acknowledgment of debt between soldiers of *legio X Fretensis*. Presumably Syria Palaestina. Jerusalem? (ll. 2-3: 'Apud Colon[iam Aeliam Capitolinam in hiber?]nis leg. X Fre[tensis . . .]'). Late second century (188?). Latin. Papyrus.
340. *DjD* II, nos 159-63. Pls ci-cii. Fragments. Dated palaeographically to second century. Latin. Papyrus.
341. *YCS* 28 (1985), 101-2. Pl. viii (= *Bodleian Library, Ms. gr. class. c. 126 (P)*). Ration-warrant for *adiutor memoriae* of Emperor Galerius authorizing supplies between Caesarea and when he joins the *comitatus* in Egypt. Caesarea. 6/12/293. Latin. Papyrus.
- See J. B. Rea, R. P. Salomons and K. A. Worp, 'A ration-warrant for an adiutor memoriae', *YCS* 28 (1985), 101-13. See pp. 111f. arguing for Caesarea in Palestine.
342. *BGU* I, no. 316. Partial pl. in W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* (1925), 89 (= *Mitteis, Chrestomathie*, no. 271 = *FIRA* III², no. 135; corr. in *BL* I, p. 38; v, p. 11; VIII, p. 23). Sale of slave. Ascalon (ἐν κολωνίᾳ Ἀσκ[άλωνι]). 359. Greek. Papyrus.

(6) *Undated, and Place Not Stated*

343. *DjD* II, no. 89. Pl. lxxiv. Account mentioning money and names. Taxes? Rents? Like Nos 344-352, dated to Roman period by editors. Leather. Greek.
344. *DjD* II, no. 90. Pl. lxxv. Accounts (conversions of units of measurement). Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
345. *DjD* II, no. 91. Pl. lxxvi. Account of cereals and vegetables with some unusual names. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
346. *DjD* II, no. 92. Pl. lxxvi. Account of cereals and names. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
347. *DjD* II, no. 93. Pl. lxxvi. An account. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
348. *DjD* II, no. 94. Pl. lxxvii. Summary of accounts with names. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
349. *DjD* II, no. 95. Pl. lxxviii. List of names. Taxes? Leather. Greek.
350. *DjD* II, no. 96. Pl. lxxviii. Account of cereals and vegetables. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
351. *DjD* II, no. 97. Pl. lxxviii. Account of cereals. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
352. *DjD* II, nos 98-102. Pl. lxxix. Fragments of accounts. Taxes? Rents? Leather. Greek.
353. *IEJ* 11 (1961), 53, no. 1. Pl. 23B (= 34*Se*, no. 4). List of names and numbers. Greek. Papyrus.
354. *IEJ* 11 (1961), 54, no. 2. Pl. 23E (= 34*Se*, no. 5). List of names and numbers. Greek. Papyrus.
355. *IEJ* 11 (1961), 55-6, nos 3-6. Pl. 23C, D, F, G (= 34*Se*, no. 6). List of names. Greek. Papyrus.
356. *IEJ* 11 (1961), 56, no. 8. Pl. 23A (= 34*Se*, no. 7). List of names and numbers. Greek. Papyrus.
357. *IEJ* 11 (1961), 59. Pl. 23I, H (= 1*Mish*, no. 2). List of names. Greek. Papyrus.
- On Nos 353-7 see B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek documents from Naḥal Še'elim and Naḥal Mishmar', *IEJ* 11 (1961), 53-62.
358. *IEJ* 12 (1962), 206. Pl. 32A (= 8*Hev*, no. 4). Letter? Greek. Papyrus.
- See B. Lifshitz, 'The Greek documents from the Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962), 201.
359. *IEJ* 12 (1962), 196. Pl. 29A (= 8*Hev*, no. 5). Names. Hebrew. Ostrakon.
360. *IEJ* 12, (1962), 196. Pl. 29B (= 8*Hev*, no. 6). Names. Hebrew. Ostrakon.
- See Y. Aharoni, 'Expedition B — The Cave of Horror', *IEJ* 12 (1962), 186.
361. *DjD* II, no. 9. Pl. xxvi. Account. Aramaic? Hebrew? Leather.
362. *DjD* II, no. 10A. Pl. xxvi. Ledger with names and numerals. Hebrew. Leather.
363. *DjD* II, no. 11. Pl. xxvi. Abecedarium. Jewish script. Leather.
364. *DjD* II, no. 21. Pls xxxii-xxxiii. Marriage contract between Jews. Aramaic. Papyrus. Double document.
365. *DjD* II, nos 103-7. Pl. lxxx. Small fragments of leather with writing on them. Leather. Greek.
366. *DjD* II, no. 118. Pl. xci. Account. Greek. Papyrus.
367. *DjD* II, no. 119. Pl. xci. Account?. Papyrus. Greek with Hebrew letters on back.
368. *DjD* II, no. 120. Pl. xcii. Account? with Jewish names. Greek. Papyrus.
369. *DjD* II, no. 121. Pl. xciii. Account? Greek. Papyrus.
370. *DjD* II, no. 122. Pl. xciii. School exercise? Greek. Papyrus.

371. *DfD* II, no. 123. Pl. xciii. Account? Greek. Papyrus.
 372. *DfD* II, no. 124. Pl. xciii. Account. Greek. Papyrus.
 373. *DfD* II, no. 125. Pl. xciv. Account. Greek. Papyrus.
 374. *DfD* II, nos 126–55. Pls xciv–xcix. Fragments. Greek. Papyrus.

6. PALAESTINA PRIMA AND PALAESTINA TERTIA IN THE LATE EMPIRE

In the fifth and sixth centuries most of central Palaestina formed the province of Palaestina Prima, while the southern part of the former province of Arabia, including the Negev and Sinai, added to Palaestina in the Tetrachic period (Millar, *Roman Near East*, 192), was now 'Palaestina Tertia'. Boundary changes in the fourth century are a matter of controversy, not relevant here.

(1) Palaestina Prima

375. *P.Ness.* III, no. 45. No pl. Receipt. Oindos(?), village using era and calendar of Gaza. 30/3/602. Greek. Papyrus.

(2) Palaestina Tertia

- 376–425. *P.Petra*. In 1993 an estimated total of some fifty carbonized papyrus rolls was found in one room of a building adjoining the church. It is clear that the texts are documentary, and almost certain that they are all in Greek. The writing is in Greek cursive hands of the fifth–sixth centuries, and it is likely that the fire of 551 provides a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁶
- 426a-d. *AJA* 40 (1936), 425 (pl. on figs 1–4) (= *SB* v, nos 8073–6). Four quittances recording fulfilment of obligations in cleaning of cisterns. Sbeita (Subaita/Sobata/Shivtah, *TIR*, p. 234). Sixth century. Greek. Ostraca.
427. *P.Ness.* III, no. 14. No pl. Fragment of contract. Elousa (*TIR*, p. 119). 500–5. Greek. Papyrus.
428. *P.Ness.* III, no. 16. No pl. Division of property involving soldiers from camp at Nessana. Nessana. 11/7/512. Greek. Papyrus.
429. *P.Ness.* III, no. 17. No pl. Fragment of contract of sale. Nessana. 2/2/517 or 7/7/517. Greek. Papyrus.
430. *P.Ness.* III, no. 18. No pl. Marriage settlement. The father, a soldier, acknowledges receipt of *donatio propter nuptias* (εἰς λόγον ἔδνων), and bridegroom's side acknowledges receipt of dowry (πρῶξι). Nessana. May–June 537. Greek. Papyrus.
 See R. Katzoff and N. Lewis, 'Understanding *P.Ness.* III, no. 18', *ZPE* 84 (1990), 211.
431. *P.Ness.* III, no. 19. No pl. Settlement of law-suit between two brothers by *scrinarius* of camp. Nessana. 18/8/548. Greek. Papyrus.
432. *P.Ness.* III, no. 20. No pl. Fragment of marriage contract of soldier. Nessana. January or June 558. Greek. Papyrus.
433. *P.Ness.* III, no. 21. No pl. Division of property between children of couple married in No. 432 and child from previous marriage. Nessana. 30/6/562 or 1/7/562. Greek. Papyrus.
434. *P.Ness.* III, no. 22. Pl. 1. Partition of inherited property. Nessana. 2/11/566. Greek. Papyrus.
435. *P.Ness.* III, no. 23. No pl. Bill of sale of courtyard and oven in exchange for land. Nessana? 560–7? Greek. Papyrus.
436. *P.Ness.* III, no. 24. No pl. Notice to land-officer (λογογράφος) in Elousa of cession of land by two soldier brothers in favour of third. Nessana. 26/11/569. Greek. Papyrus.
437. *P.Ness.* III, no. 25. Pl. 1. Concluding formulae of contract involving soldiers. Nessana? c. 569. Greek, with signatures in Greek. Papyrus.
438. *P.Ness.* III, no. 26. No pl. Acknowledgement of debt. Nessana. 12/1/570. Greek. Papyrus.
439. *P.Ness.* III, no. 27. No pl. Loan of money. Nessana. 570/1. Greek. Papyrus.
440. *P.Ness.* III, no. 28. No pl. Acknowledgement of debt. Nessana. After 572. Greek. Papyrus.
441. *P.Ness.* III, no. 29. No pl. Fragment of summons to appear in court involving soldiers. Elousa. 23/12/590. Greek. Papyrus.

¹⁶ We are particularly grateful to Professor L. Koenen for allowing us to summarize here his preliminary reports on these papyri, which have been distributed by e-mail. Note

also the report in *ACOR Newsletter* 6.1 (1994), 12 and that circulated with *JRA* 7 (1994).

442. *P.Ness.* III, no. 30. No pl. (Recto of No. 467 below). Declaration of heirs concerning inheritance. Nessana. 13/9/596. Greek. Papyrus.
443. *P.Ness.* III, no. 31. No pl. Division of property and land between brothers. Nessana? Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
444. *P.Ness.* III, no. 32. No pl. Cession of land. Nessana? Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
445. *P.Ness.* III, no. 33. No pl. Divorce agreement. Nessana? Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
446. *P.Ness.* III, no. 34. No pl. Fragment of contract. Nessana? Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
447. *P.Ness.* III, no. 35. No pl. Levy of camels and dromedaries. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
448. *P.Ness.* III, no. 36. Pl. 4. Military account. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
449. *P.Ness.* III, no. 37. No pl. List of camel drivers. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
450. *P.Ness.* III, no. 38. No pl. Account of money payments, some sent to Caesarea. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
451. *P.Ness.* III, no. 39. No pl. Two accounts mentioning places around Nessana, followed by varied amounts. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
452. *P.Ness.* III, no. 40. No pl. Account of disposition of wheat. Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
- 453-4. *P.Ness.* III, nos 41-2. Pl. 2. 'Protocols', i.e. the first sheet of papyrus rolls on state-produced papyri,¹⁷ bearing highly decorative and practically unreadable texts. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
455. *P.Ness.* III, no. 43. No pl. Fragmentary contract. Sixth century. Greek. Papyrus.
456. *P.Ness.* III, no. 44. Pl. 3. Receipt of acknowledgement of debt. Nessana. 598. Greek. Papyrus.
457. *SB* III, no. 7011; Th. Wiegand, *Sinai* (1920), pp. 110-13. Found in Hafir el 'Audscha/Auja Hafir = Nessana (not included in *P.Ness.* III). Private document (see No. 458). No place mentioned. Sixth-century writing. Greek. Papyrus.
458. *SB* III, no. 7012 (found with No. 457). Fragmentary document. No place mentioned. Sixth-century writing. Greek. Papyrus.
459. *P.Ness.* III, no. 47. Pl. 3. Exchange of letters between the Abbot of St Sergius, Patrick son of Sergius and the deacon Stephanus Victorius concerning shipment of fish. Nessana and unknown destination. Before 605? Greek. Papyrus.
460. *P.Ness.* III, no. 46. No pl. Acknowledgement of debt to Abbot of St Sergius, Patrick son of Sergius, by Abraham son of Procopius, with witnesses' signatures. Nessana. 16/7/605. Greek. Papyrus.
461. *P.Ness.* III, no. 48. No pl. Loan with hypothec. Nessana? Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
462. *P.Ness.* III, no. 49. No pl. Letter. Nessana? Sixth or seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
463. *P.Ness.* III, no. 50. Pl. 4. Letter from bishop to Abbot of St Sergius of Nessana. Place not stated. Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
464. *P.Ness.* III, no. 52. No pl. Fragment of letter mentioning festival of St Sergius. Place not stated. Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
465. *P.Ness.* III, no. 53. Pl. 3. Letter. Nessana? Before 608? Greek. Papyrus.
466. *P.Ness.* III, no. 54. No pl. (recto of No. 468 below). Fragment of petition of priest to high official(?). Chaphrea (village; near Nessana?). Late sixth or early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
467. *P.Ness.* III, no. 79. No pl. (verso of No. 442 above). Account of offerings to the monastery of St Sergius made by people from Beersheba (*TIR*, p. 75), Elousa and Sobata (*TIR*, p. 234), as well as from unknown localities probably near Nessana. Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
468. *P.Ness.* III, no. 89. Pl. 7 (verso of No. 466 above). Account of trading company. Mention of Mt Sinai. Place not stated. Late sixth or early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
469. *P.Ness.* III, no. 85. No pl. (recto of No. 471 below, same hand as Nos 470-1 below). Account of expenditure. Nessana. End of sixth or second half of seventh century? Greek. Papyrus.
- 470-1. *P.Ness.* III, nos 90-91 (91 is verso of No. 469 above). No pl. Daily records of sales of dates. End of sixth or second half of seventh century (see No. 469)? Greek. Papyrus.
472. *P.Ness.* III, no. 95. No pl. Account. Late sixth or early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
- 473-569. *P.Ness.* III, nos 97-157, and 160-95. No pl. Fragments of Greek papyri from sixth and early seventh centuries, not published in full.
570. *P.Ness.* III, no. 51. Letter from Bishop of Aila (*TIR*, p. 59). Early seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.

APPENDIX; DOCUMENTS FROM NESSANA OF THE EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD. PLACE OF WRITING NORMALLY NOT STATED

- 571-8. *P.Ness.* III, nos 60-7. Pl. 6. Orders for requisitions of wheat and oil, or money (*entagia*). Addressed to Nessana. Oct./Nov. 674-Aug./Sept. 689. Greek and Arabic. Papyrus.

¹⁷ See Justinian, *Nov.* xli.2, and N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974), 125-9.

579. *P.Ness.* III, no. 55. No pl. Receipt for taxes. Probably Gaza (use of Gazan era). April 11, probably 682. Greek. Papyrus.
580. *P.Ness.* III, no. 59. No pl. Payment of land and poll taxes. Probably Gaza. October, 684? Greek. Papyrus.
581. *P.Ness.* III, no. 56. No pl. Release from labour contract. 18/1/687. Greek and Arabic. Papyrus.
582. *P.Ness.* III, no. 57. No pl. Divorce agreement. 1-17/9/689. Greek with signatures in Greek. Papyrus.
583. *P.Ness.* III, no. 58. No pl. Receipt for tax ἐκ τῆς γηωμετρίας τῶν Σαρακινῶν (*sic*). Nessana. Late seventh century. Greek, with signatures in Greek. Papyrus.
584. *P.Ness.* III, no. 68. No pl. Letter. *c.* 680. Greek. Papyrus.
585. *P.Ness.* III, no. 69. No pl. Account of food tax (*vizḳ*). 680/1? Greek. Papyrus.
586. *P.Ness.* III, no. 70. No pl. Order to Georgios, *dioikētēs* of Nessana, for payment of poll tax. *c.* 685? Greek. Papyrus.
587. *P.Ness.* III, no. 71. No pl. Letter on payment of taxes. Reference to *dioikētēs* of Elousa. Seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
588. *P.Ness.* III, no. 72. No pl. Order from governor for guide for Αβου Αλμουγερ μαυλε τοῦ Ερια βε(ν) Αβι Σουφιαν. March 684? Greek. Papyrus.
589. *P.Ness.* III, no. 73. No pl. Orders from governor for guide. December 683? Greek. Papyrus.
590. *P.Ness.* III, no. 74. No pl. Letter on compulsory transport services, from Caesarea to Scythopolis. *c.* 685. Greek. Papyrus.
591. *P.Ness.* III, no. 75. No pl. Letter about tax protest. References to Gaza, Sobata, and Nessana. Late seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
592. *P.Ness.* III, no. 76. Pl. 5. Register of poll-tax (ἀναγο(αφή) ἐπικεφαλαίω(ν)). Nessana. 689? Greek. Papyrus.
593. *P.Ness.* III, no. 77. No pl. Account of tax receipts. *c.* 685-90. Greek, with letter in Arabic on verso (unpublished?), discussed in *P.Ness.* III, p. 159. Papyrus.
594. *P.Ness.* III, no. 78. No pl. Fragmentary account. Late seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
595. *P.Ness.* III, no. 80. No pl. Account of church offerings. Presumably Nessana (church of St Sergius). *c.* 685? Greek. Papyrus.
596. *P.Ness.* III, no. 81. No pl. Account of receipts in kind. *c.* 685?. Greek. Papyrus.
597. *P.Ness.* III, no. 82. Pl. 6. Account of grain yield. Localities in the area of Nessana listed. Seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
598. *P.Ness.* III, no. 83. No pl. Account of wheat. 684/5? Greek. Papyrus.
599. *P.Ness.* III, no. 84. No pl. Fragmentary account. Seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
600. *P.Ness.* III, no. 85. No pl. Account of expenditures. Late seventh century? Greek. Papyrus.
601. *P.Ness.* III, 86. No pl. Fragmentary list of receipts from persons with Arabic names. Seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
602. *P.Ness.* III, no. 87. No pl. Fragmentary list of foodstuffs. Seventh century. Greek. Papyrus.
603. *P.Ness.* III, no. 88. No pl. Fragmentary account, with traces of Arabic document on reverse. Late seventh century. Greek (and Arabic). Papyrus.
- 604-5. *P.Ness.* III, nos 92-3. Pl. 8. Official accounts, with repeated references to instructions from Αβδελμαλεχ, i.e. 'Abd-al-Malik, Caliph in Damascus, 685-705. *c.* 685. Greek. Papyrus.
606. *P.Ness.* III, no. 94. No pl. Account of oil and grain. Seventh century. Greek. Wax tablet.
- 607-9. *P.Ness.* III, nos 158-9, 161. No pls. Fragmentary Greek texts of the Islamic period, not published in full.

IV. CONCLUSION

This is not the place for an extensive discussion of the historical importance of the material, which is the product of the accidents of preservation and discovery, and is diverse in date, location, and context. Its significance for the co-existence and interaction of languages is sketched in the introduction. Beyond that, it obviously has much to reveal about provincial administration, both military and civilian, and the conduct of jurisdiction, as well as about private legal transactions.

Perhaps the most immediate lesson to be drawn from it, however, relates to its relevance to the questions both of personal literacy, whatever the language (or languages) involved, and of access to and use of written documents. A considerable proportion of the documents listed here do not emanate from cities, but from country districts characterized by villages or small towns. Further discoveries and publications can be expected, and the social and cultural history of this region is still in its infancy. This catalogue is offered as a preliminary assessment of the material.

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