

The Elephantine Papyri in English  
Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change  
*Second Revised Edition*

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ORIENTIS ANTIQVI (DMOA)

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P. M. M. G. AKKERMANS, C. H. J. de GEUS, E. HAERINCH,  
TH. P. J. VAN DEN HOUT, M. STOL, D. VAN DER PLAS

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THE ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI IN ENGLISH

The Elephantine Papyri in English  
Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change  
*Second Revised Edition*

BEZALEL PORTEN

With

*J. Joel Farber, Cary J. Martin, Günther Vittmann,  
Leslie S. B. MacCoull, Sarah Clackson*

and contributions by

*Simon Hopkins*

*Ranon Katzoff*

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## FOREWORD

The twin forts, mainland Syene and the island of Elephantine, were a triple border — geological, ethnic, and political. Aswan is the region of the first cataract, a home to Nubians, and a springboard for commercial and military expeditions into the south, in ancient as in modern times. Prized all over Egypt for its red granite that went into making statues, sarcophagi, and building blocks, the quarry on the east bank is noted for the 41.75 m, 1168 ton Unfinished Obelisk<sup>1</sup> while the cliffs on the west bank display the Tombs of the Nobles, St Simeon's Monastery, and the contemporary Mausoleum of the Aga Khan. Among the significant finds on the island are the Twelfth Dynasty shrine of the divinized Hekaib, a Sixth Dynasty nomarch, the standing pillars of Alexander II in the Temple of Khnum, the Greco-Roman Khnum-eum with its gilded rams, and the Roman period Nilometer. At the time that the forerunner of the present High Dam was being built and improved (1891-1902, 1907-12, 1928-34), dealers and scholars were discovering on the ancient mounds hundreds of papyri and ostraca in a half-dozen scripts and tongues — hieratic, demotic, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic.<sup>2</sup> The Aramaic documents told of the existence of a Jewish Temple in the fifth century BCE. [In 1961 I drew up a plan of the Temple area on the basis of the house documents (see figure in **B21**).<sup>3</sup> In 1998 the archeologist Cornelius von Pilgrim confirmed this plan by superimposing upon it the plan of the German excavations (see figure in **B22**).<sup>4</sup>]

This book brings together 175 of these documents, spanning three thousand years. Most of them are presented here in English *translation* for the first time. Each document is descriptively *titled* for quick reference. It is *headed* by a tabular listing of its vital statistics (date, size, parties, objects), *introduced* by a brief analytical abstract of its contents and significance, and liberally *annotated* with philological, legal or epistological, and general comments, and numerous cross-references. Our translations take their cue from the ancient legal scribe, who composed his document using fixed formulae and technical terms that lay ready to hand. Thus, we have employed a *literal*, word-for-word translation, rendering each legal or technical term the same way each time it occurs. To aid the modern reader we introduce a system of *paragraphing* with descriptive marginal *captions* for each clause or topical section at the same time that we apply *superscript* numeration of the lines in order to facilitate reference to the original. Unlike other anthologies of multi-lingual ancient texts, where the editor serves only as collector, I have played an active role in translating

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<sup>1</sup> R. Engelbach, *The Aswan Obelisk* (Cairo, 1922)

<sup>2</sup> Convenient summaries are L. Habachi and H. Riad, *Aswan* (Cairo, 1959); J. Kamil, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1983), 35-49; V. Seton-Williams and P. Stocks, *Blue Guide Egypt* (London, 1988), 624-633.

<sup>3</sup> *JAOS* 81 (1961), 38-42.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the references in B. Porten, "Elephantine and the Bible" in L.H. Schiffman, ed., *Semitic Papyrology in Context* (Leiden, 2003), 73-84.

most of the documents, heavily edited several successive drafts, and worked to maintain uniformity of style and consistency of translation and annotation throughout the entire collection. The sensitive reader is thus able to trace continuity and change in cultural patterns across three millennia.

Just as the publication of the Aramaic Mibtahiah archive, acquired on the antiquities market in 1904 and published in large format in 1906, was the stimulus for the German and French expeditions of 1906-1909, so my work on the Aramaic *Archives from Elephantine*, published in 1968, was the stimulus for this present collection. I assiduously collated every Aramaic text and in conjunction with the palaeographer Ada Yardeni have issued four volumes of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (1986, 1989, 1993, 1999 = TAD A-D), with Hebrew and English translation. Her keen eye has yielded many improved readings which her sure hand has validated in full-size copy. This edition serves as the basis for the Aramaic texts included here and the method of translation (literal, literate, and literary) and annotation employed there has been extended to all the other text groups in this collection.

At the same time that I was preparing the Aramaic *Textbook* I was meeting annually with the late George R. Hughes of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, to translate and annotate the demotic texts. After completing twenty-five documents, I fortuitously met Cary Martin, a demotist trained at Birmingham and Cambridge and now an Honorary Research Associate at University College London. He reworked all the translations, expanded the commentary, added twelve more documents, prepared a prosopography, and wrote an introduction.<sup>5</sup> We corresponded extensively and met together briefly during my annual trips abroad. I painstakingly read and edited several successive drafts.

The most intimate collaboration took place with J. Joel Farber, now emeritus at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This, too, was a fortuitous nexus. It began in 1980 with Farber drawing up draft translations and commentary of the Greek texts and my editing. We then met annually for a week or so at a time, for a month each in 1989 and 1991, and for the fall of 1993, when we jointly wrote the introduction to the Greek texts. Scrupulous care was taken throughout to translate each legal phrase the same way each time and to cross-reference all occurrences. Followed up by collation of the texts in the British Museum in October, 1986 and 1987, this approach yielded the unexpected redating of five documents and the relocation of an important fragment.<sup>6</sup> Most significantly, the mutual stimulation generated by our close collaboration was ample warrant for a procedure that brought together two specialists from distinct but related fields. We have been additionally fortunate in obtaining helpful comments from numerous colleagues, particularly Diana Delia, James Keenan, Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski, John Oates, William Willis, and especially the late John Shelton, who reviewed the whole Greek section

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<sup>5</sup> P. Berlin 15520 (C6), 13619 (C7), 15516 (C8), 15519 (C9), 13543 (C11), 13587 (C19), 15609 (C21); P. Padua (C22); P. Dodgson (C26); P. Moscow 135 (C30); P. Berlin 13541 (C36), 15774 (C37).

<sup>6</sup> J.J. Farber and B. Porten, *BASP* 23 (1986), 81-98.

and whose many observations are recorded *ad locum*. The prosopography was prepared with the able assistance of Farber's student Andrew Wolpert.

The Fourth International Congress of Demotists that met at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago in September, 1990 was an occasion for organizing a special session on late antiquity to clarify many of the questions that arose in conjunction with the Patermouthis archive. While Farber spoke on family disputes, Geneviève Husson lectured on houses, James G. Keenan on the army, and Leslie S.B. MacCoull on Christianity.<sup>7</sup> To expand the linguistic horizon of our anthology, we made exception to our concentration on papyri and asked MacCoull for a translation and commentary of the published Coptic ostraca. These, too, went through several drafts and a joint introduction was written together with Farber. The translation was further edited, with MacCoull's agreement, by Sarah J. Clackson of Cambridge. She added three papyri,<sup>8</sup> associated with the Greek Patermouthis archive, and four ostraca.<sup>9</sup>

While documents in all the above language groups appeared together in archives or in museum collections, hieratic papyri from Elephantine were never considered a self-contained or homogeneous collection. Nonetheless, they extend the chronological horizon by some fifteen hundred years and so their inclusion was greatly to be desired. But it was not easy to find, on such short notice, a scholar capable and willing to undertake the task. Christopher Eyre of the University of Liverpool kindly supplied me with a list of documents and Günter Vittmann of the University of Würzburg did the translation and commentary in record time.

At the last minute, certain Arabic and Latin documents from Elephantine/Syene came to my attention. The former were translated by Simon Hopkins and the latter were treated by Ranon Katzoff. My student Yun, Sungduk prepared the Aramaic prosopography.

The final task of editing was mine. This meant adding cross-references from one document group to another and writing an overall introduction that sought to highlight features of continuity and change.

Working intensely and individually with five different collaborators over extended periods of time has convinced me of the benefits to be gained from joint labor and extensive consultation. We are most grateful to Dr. F.Th. Dijkema of E.J. Brill Publishing House who saw right away what was not obvious to many others — that three millennia of Elephantine is a significant cultural phenomenon worthy of inclusion in a single volume. It was through the admirable computer skill of Mrs. Ronit Nikolsky that the documents spanning this long period were united and formatted into camera-ready copy. Communication with Brill during this period was handled most proficiently by Trisha Radder via e-mail. Special commendation is due my student-typists, especially Julie Lieb and Randal Slavens who labored so assiduously and aimed so conscientiously at the goal of zero typos. I hope we all succeeded. Finally, appreciation is expressed to various bodies who over the years extended financial assistance — research funds from Franklin and Marshall College

<sup>7</sup> Essays published in *BASP* 27 (1990), 111-162.

<sup>8</sup> *ST* 181 (E1), 96 (E3), *Br. Library Or.* 6943(12) (E2)

<sup>9</sup> *ST* 91 (E17), *Egyptian Museum Cairo J.* 68678 published by R. Englebach 38 (1938), 47-51 (E18), *VC* 19 (E19), Hall Pl. 88 No 5 (E20).

and the Hebrew University, the Federman Fund of the Hebrew University, and the Institute for the Study of Aramaic Papyri.

ט"ו באב, תשנ"ו

Bezalel Porten  
Jerusalem  
15 Ab 5756 that is July 31, 1996

## FOREWORD TO SECOND REVISED EDITION

In the years following the publication of the hardback edition, there appeared seventeen reviews. Appreciation was expressed for the several features that made this work special, that were laid out at the beginning of the original Foreword. As one of the reviewers observed, “each translation is preceded by a papyrological précis in tabular form and a substantial abstract of the document and its circumstances; the text is tagged with [marginal] descriptors pointing out its formal parts; and is explained by very detailed and illuminating footnotes. ... it is important to emphasize very strongly the wealth and quality of the ‘Commentary,’ and our debt to Porten and his collaborators.”<sup>1</sup> It did not escape notice that I “organized the multiple working sessions with the various translators, was involved ... to varying degrees with the various translations in order to achieve ‘uniformity of style and consistency of translation and annotation throughout the entire collection.’”<sup>2</sup> As a translation, the book stimulated further thought. One reviewer noted that “reading English translated works in forms like this can be the important preliminary stage to deciding which kinds of detailed studies one would want to actually begin. In other words, one of the great services provided by this work is precisely the ability to allow one’s imagination to follow the easy reading of texts with excellent notes available at the bottom of each page, while making one’s own notes in the generous margins. The work, in short, invites creativity and raises questions.”<sup>3</sup>

I insisted on a “literal word-for word translation, rendering each legal or technical term the same way each time it occurs.” As noted, this was meant to allow a tracing of such terms as they recurred in the different languages down through the ages. The footnotes are replete with such cross references. I went a step further and applied my method to all the texts. With a penchant for alliteration, I called it “literal, literate, and literary.” Yet this tripod does not always rest on an even plane. One reviewer found the demotic translations “unusually unreadable. Whereas, for instance, Porten both correctly and elegantly renders a certain Aramaic legal expression by ‘to withdraw,’ C.J. Martin translates the demotic equivalent ‘to be far from,’ hence several occurrences of ‘to cause to be far from.’”<sup>4</sup> In seeking to be literate and somewhat literary, I employed “withdraw.” Martin, on the other hand, remained true to the literal at the expense of the other two legs of the tripod. Each language has an equivalent term for “to be far” — *רחק* in Aramaic and *wy* in demotic. Whereas the Aramaic term occurs only in the simple conjugation, demotic has a built-in awkwardness since it appears also in the causative and in the stative. A.F. Botta has

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<sup>1</sup> P.E. Dion, *BASOR* 308 (1997), 105.

<sup>2</sup> D. Pardee, *JNES* 59 (2000), 130.

<sup>3</sup> D.L. Smith-Christopher, *JBL* 121 (2002), 160; see, too, D. Pardee, *JNES* 59 (2000), 130.

<sup>4</sup> P.E. Dion, *BASOR* 308 (1997), 104.



devoted a book-length study to the relationship between the two terms, in Aramaic and in demotic.<sup>5</sup>

Other reviewers, however, found my translations anything but elegant. Recognizing that my literal translations were intended “to permit continuity of usage to be perceivable to the reader, that continuity being visible both within a language corpus and across the temporal and linguistic barriers,” the reviewer goes on to say, “Having used this volume in a course on Imperial Aramaic, I confess that I found the English sometimes incomprehensible without knowledge of the Aramaic that it is purporting to convey.”<sup>6</sup> Another reader takes aim at my rendition of a complaint in an Aramaic letter (**B5:7-8**) and praises the Greek editor, Farber, who “seems to have resisted the editor’s pressure to translate into this kind of unreadable English. Frequently a footnote gives a more idiomatic sense; without this, in some cases the reader could only guess what the translator meant to convey.”<sup>7</sup> When we compare my rendition of the cited passage with that of the reviewer in one of his well-known publications,<sup>8</sup> I confess that my tripod of three *l*’s wobbled. My translation was certainly literal, may have been literate, but surely was not literary, and so I have changed it in the current publication. On the other hand, I find any connection between his translation and the original purely coincidental. Paraphrase is not translation.

Porten	Lindenberger
And what is this that a letter you have not dispatched to me?!	What’s wrong? Why haven’t you sent me a letter?
And I, a snake bit me and I was dying and you did not send (to inquire) if alive I was or if dead I was.	Even when I nearly died of snakebite, you didn’t write to see whether I was alive or dead!

Writing in a similar vein, another critic insists that “the translation is often stilted and, in my opinion, overly literal to the point of missing idiomatic nuances. Porten translates idiomatic *whzyn bhwm* literally as ‘and we gazed upon them’ (**B19:17** and n. 57), although it really means ‘and we saw their downfall.’” The reviewer then proceeds to cite cognates from the Bible and the Mesha stela.<sup>9</sup> In passing judgment, however, he overlooked my comment just four footnotes earlier (n. 53). Commenting on a variant translation of the parallel Aramaic word (“gloat over” for *hwh b-*), I quote the passages cited by the reviewer, even adding some, and note that this “was a frequently used idiom, particularly in poetic passages, to express gratification for divine assistance in bringing about the downfall of an enemy....” “Saw their downfall” is a flaccid translation. “Gloat over” or “gaze upon” strives to render in a single English word with preposition the single Aramaic/Hebrew word plus the preposition *bet*, much as Hebrew *‘nh* means “answer” while *‘nh b-* means “testify

<sup>5</sup> A.F. Botta, *The Aramaic and Egyptian Legal Traditions at Elephantine: An Egyptological Approach* (London, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> D. Pardee, *JNES* 59 (2000), 130.

<sup>7</sup> J.M. Lindenberger, *JAOS* 119 (1999), 344.

<sup>8</sup> J.M. Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters* (Atlanta, 2003; Second edition), 35.

<sup>9</sup> B.A. Levine, *IEJ* 49 (1999), 285.



against.” By insisting on holding on to the translation “see,” one is forced to add the word “downfall” in English that translates nothing in the Aramaic.

Translation is an art and requires not a little finessing. We should strive to match the original, word for word and phrase for phrase, even though following the word order of the original may not always yield the most felicitous rendition and should give way to that of the receiving language. The same reviewer who found “the English sometimes incomprehensible,” caught the thrust of the book when he added, “My guess is that the book will be most intensively used by specialists in the various language groups, both in their own research and as a teaching tool. It will, however, serve very well as a jumping-off point for researchers not acquainted with one or the other of the languages translated here but who are interested in one of the myriad topics touched upon by these texts: legal history, epistolography, social practices, history of the various ethnic groups represented, etc.”<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, in the first edition, three documents in the Aramaic chapter suffered serious omissions, and these have now been added: **B15:12**, **B16:7-9**, **B17:4-5**. Various corrections and additions have been made in other documents and figures have been added to **B21-23**, **B25-26**, and **B31**. Authors newly quoted include Botta,<sup>11</sup> Briant,<sup>12</sup> Gross,<sup>13</sup> Kottsieper,<sup>14</sup> Lindenberger,<sup>15</sup> Muffs,<sup>16</sup> Nutkowicz,<sup>17</sup> Porten,<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> D. Pardee, *JNES* 59 (2000), 130.

<sup>11</sup> A.F. Botta, *The Aramaic and Egyptian Legal Traditions at Elephantine: An Egyptological Approach* (London, 2009); “The Legal Function and Egyptian Background of the שליש Clause: A Reevaluation,” *Maarav* 13 (2006) 193-209; “רחק in the Bible, a Reevaluation,” *Biblica* 87 (2006), 418-420; “Scribal Traditions and the Transmission of Legal Formulae in the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine,” *Revista del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental* 1 Nueva Serie (2006), 153-168; “A Reevaluation of the use of זבן and יהב in Elephantine,” *Antiguo Oriente* 6 (2008), 99-108; “How Long Does an Eternal Covenant Last? עולם in the Light of Aramaic-Egyptian Legal Documents,” *The Bible Translator* 59 (2008), 158-163; “Hated by the Gods and your Spouse: Legal Use of אש in Elephantine and its Ancient Near Eastern Context” in R.G. Kratz and A.C. Hagedorn, eds., *Law and Religion in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2011).

<sup>12</sup> P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, 2002; trans. of 1996 French ed. by P.T. Daniels).

<sup>13</sup> A.D. Gross, *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition*, (Leiden, 2008), reviewed by A.F. Botta, *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009), 91-101.

<sup>14</sup> I. Kottsieper, “Die Religionspolitik der Achämeniden und die Juden von Elephantine” in R.G. Kratz, ed., *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden* (Gütersloher, 2002), 150-178.

<sup>15</sup> J.M. Lindenberger, *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters* (Atlanta, 2003; Second Edition).

<sup>16</sup> Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine, with a Prolegomenon by Baruch A. Levine* (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1 The Near and Middle East, 66 [Leiden, 2003]).

<sup>17</sup> H. Nutkowicz, “Concerning the Verb *šn* in Judaeo-Aramaic Contracts from Elephantine,” *JSS* 52 (2007), 211-225.

<sup>18</sup> B. Porten in W.W. Hallo and K.L. Younger, *The Context of Scripture* (Leiden, 2002), III, 116-217; “Elephantine” in R. Westbrook, ed., *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law* (Leiden, 2003), II, 863-881.

Stolper,<sup>19</sup> Tavernier,<sup>20</sup> Vargyas,<sup>21</sup> von Pilgrim,<sup>22</sup> and Wesselius.<sup>23</sup> Works of general utility have been written by Folmer,<sup>24</sup> Muraoka and Porten,<sup>25</sup> Porten,<sup>26</sup> and Porten and Lund.<sup>27</sup> Both the Demotic and Hieratic chapters underwent a thorough reworking and numerous works of a specific nature were added to their respective footnotes. In the Demotic chapter, the first three entries were reordered on the basis of a study by Chauveau (C1 > C2, C2 > C3, C3 > C1),<sup>28</sup> and the recto and verso in C22 were rearranged on the basis of a study by Depauw.<sup>29</sup> Works of a general utility include those by den Brinker-Muhs-Vleeming,<sup>30</sup> Locher,<sup>31</sup> and Vittmann,<sup>32</sup> as well as the Chicago Demotic Dictionary.<sup>33</sup>

With these goals in mind, the Society of Biblical Literature has agreed to add it to their affordable paper-back series that would allow specialists in one field to savor the texts in a cognate field and to observe the continuity from texts that came before theirs and the changes that developed in the texts that followed theirs — all this in a span of three millennia. Like an archeologist who digs a baulk to unearth strata, we get “a very narrow but very deep cross-section”<sup>34</sup> of no less than seven different languages and cultures on Egypt’s southern border, Elephantine.

Special gratitude is due to three persons who made the transition to this revised version possible. My assistant, Matthew Kletzing, updated the Word files to accord with the requirements of current publishing and labored with deliberation to produce an error-free text. My former student and current colleague, Alejandro F. Botta,

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<sup>19</sup> M. Stolper, “The Governor of Babylon and Across-the-River in 486 B.C.,” *JNES* 48 (1989), 283-305.

<sup>20</sup> J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158. Leuven, 2007).

<sup>21</sup> P. Vargyas, “Weight Standards and Fineness of Silver in Aramaic Documents from Elephantine” in Z. Csabai, ed., *From Elephantine to Babylon: Selected Studies of Péter Vargyas on Ancient Near Eastern Economy* (Budapest, 2010), 247-256.

<sup>22</sup> C. von Pilgrim, “Tempel des Jahu und ‘Strasse des Königs’ — ein Konflikt in der späten Perserzeit auf Elephantine” in S. Meyer, ed., *Egypt — Temple of the Whole World: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann* (Leiden, 2003), 303-317.

<sup>23</sup> J.-M. Wesselius, “Language Play in the Aramaic Letters from Hermopolis,” *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006), 243-258.

<sup>24</sup> M.L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leiden, 1995).

<sup>25</sup> T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic. Second Revised Edition* (Leiden, 2003).

<sup>26</sup> B. Porten, “Elephantine and the Bible” in L.H. Schiffman, *Semitic Papyrology in Context* (Leiden, 2003), 51-82.

<sup>27</sup> B. Porten and J.A. Lund, *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* (Winona Lake, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> M. Chauveau, “La chronologie de la correspondance dite «de Phérendatès», *RdÉ* 50 (1999), 269-271.

<sup>29</sup> M. Depauw, *The Demotic Letter* (Sommerhausen, 2006), 348-350.

<sup>30</sup> A.A. den Brinker-B.P. Muhs-S.P. Vleeming, *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents (Dem. BL.)* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> J. Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit (AfP Beiheft 5; Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1999).*

<sup>32</sup> G. Vittmann in the *TLA* (Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae; <http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/>); *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

<sup>33</sup> *Chicago Demotic Dictionary (CDD)* (<http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/edd/>, 2001-).

<sup>34</sup> D. Pardee, *JNES* 59 (2000), 130.

finessed the tricky problem of transferring fonts, labored indefatigably at every stage of the proofreading process, and guaranteed smooth transfer from editor of the volume to editor of the series. As the latter editor, Bob Buller efficiently nursed this new edition through to the final printing process. Appreciation is due to Jennifer Pavelko of Brill who facilitated the incorporation of the book into the SBL publication program.

Bezalel Porten

Jerusalem

מוצ"ש כ"ו בטבת, תשע"א

26 Teveth 5771 that is New Year's Day 2011

## SIGLA OF TRANSLATED TEXTS

- BGU VI = W. Schubart and E. Kühn, *Papyri und Ostraka der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin, 1922).  
BGU XIV = W. M. Brashear, *Ptolemäische Urkunden aus Mumienkartonage* (Berlin, 1980).  
BKOE = F. Hintze, "Berliner koptische Ostraka aus Elephantine," *ZÄS* 104 (1977), 97-112.  
BKT V = *Berliner Klassikertexte*, V. W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, eds., *Griechische Dichterfragmente* (Berlin, 1907).  
Ch.L.A. = A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, eds., *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores XI* (Dietikon-Zurich, 1979).  
S.J. Clackson, "Four Coptic Papyri from the Patermouthis Archive in the British Library," *BASP* 32 (1995), 97-116.  
R. Engelbach, "A Coptic Ostrakon Mentioning Ieb (Elephantine)," *ASAE* 38 (1938), 47-51  
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SB = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. In progress since 1913.  
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TAD = B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. (Jerusalem), 1986 (= TAD A); 1989 (= TAD B); 1993 (= TAD C).  
VC = W.E. Crum, *Varia Coptica* (Aberdeen, 1939), No. 19.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ÄAT = *Ägypten und Altes Testament* (Wiesbaden)  
AfP = *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*  
ADAI = *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* (Berlin)  
ÄgAbh = *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* Wiesbaden)  
AION = *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*  
AJT = *The American Journal of Theology*  
Anc. Soc. = *Ancient Society* (Leuven)  
ArOr = *Archiv Orientalní*  
ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* (Cairo)  
AV = *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* (Mainz)  
BA = *Biblical Archaeologist*  
Bal. = P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt* (2 vols, London, 1954)  
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
BASP = *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*  
BdÉ = *Bibliothèque d'Étude* (Cairo)  
BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)  
BM = W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905)  
BO = *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Leiden)  
BSEG = *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* (Geneva)  
CAH VII/1 = *The Cambridge Ancient History, VII/1*, ed., F.W. Walbank e.a. (Cambridge, 1984)  
CDD = *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* (<http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/edd/>, 2001)  
CdÉ = *Chronique d'Égypte* (Brussels)  
J. Černý, CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976)  
CH = *Code of Hammurabi*. G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford, 1952-1955)  
CKÄ = S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit. Eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Der Abu Mina), der Sketis (Wadi n-Natrun) und der Sinai-Region*. 6 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1984-1992)  
CIS = *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*  
W. Clarysse, *Pros. Ptol. IX* = W. Clarysse, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica IX* (Leuven, 1981) = *Studia Hellenistica* 25  
COS III = W.W. Hallo and K.L. Younger, eds., *The Context of Scriptures* (Leiden, 2002).  
CPR VII = H. Zilliacus, J. Frösen, P. Hohti, J. Kaimio, M. Kaimio eds., *Griechische Texte IV*, (Vienna, 1979)  
Crum CD = Crum, W.E., *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939)  
Dem. BL. = A.A. den Brinker-B.P. Muhs-S.P. Vleeming, *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2005)  
Demot. Nb. = *Demotisches Namenbuch*, ed. E. Lüdeckens et al. (Wiesbaden, 1980-)  
Dict. = A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia, 1953)  
W. Erichsen, *Glossar* = W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954)  
FHN = *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, ed. T. Eide-T. Hägg-R.H. Pierce-L. Török (Bergen, 1994-2000)  
FIRA III = *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani, pars tertia, Negotia*, ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Florence 1943. Reprinted Florence, 1969)  
A. Gardiner, *Grammar* = A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford, 1957)

- GM* = *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* (Göttingen)  
 G. Husson, *OIKIA* = G. Husson, *OIKIA, Le vocabulaire de las maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris, 1983)  
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 Hall = H.R. Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraca, Stelae etc in the British Museum* (London, 1905)  
 Heuser, PN = G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten. I Untersuchungen* (Studien zur Epigraphik und Papyruskunde 1.2. Leipzig, 1929)  
*HSCP* = *Harvard Studies in Comparative Philology* (Boston)  
 H.-W. = A. Heisenberg and L. Wenger, *Byzantinische Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Leipzig, 1914)  
*ILR* = *Israel Law Review* (Jerusalem)  
*IOS* = *Israel Oriental Studies*  
*JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*  
*JARCE* = *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* (New York)  
*JEA* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)  
*JESHO* = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)  
*JJP* = *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*  
*JNES* = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)  
*JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)  
*JRS* = *Journal of Roman Studies*  
 JS = John Shelton in a personal communication to the editor  
*JSSEA* = *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* (Toronto)  
*KAI* = H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1968)  
*LÄ* = W. Helck and E. Otto, *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975-)  
*Late Ramesside Letters* = see bibliography for **A7** (J. Černý; E.F. Wente)  
 LE = Laws of Eshnuna.  
*LGG I* = *Lexicon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, I* (OLA 110, Leuven etc; 2002)  
*LGG III* = *Lexicon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, III* (OLA 112, Leuven etc; 2002)  
*LGRE* = R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Warsaw, 1955)  
*LRE* = A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602* (Norman, 1964)  
*LSJ* = H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9<sup>th</sup> edition; Oxford, 1940), with *Supplement* by E.A. Barker (Oxford, 1968)  
 MacCoull = L.S.B. MacCoull, "Christianity at Syene/Elephantine/Philae," *BASP* 27 (1990) 151-162  
*MAI* = *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*  
 MAL = Middle Assyrian Laws. G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935)  
*MÄS* = *Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* (Munich - Berlin)  
 Maspero, *Org.* = J. Maspero, *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine* (Paris, 1912)  
*MBGAEU* = *Mitteilungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* (Berlin)  
*MD(A)IK* = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* (Mainz)  
*MIFAO* = *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)  
 Mitteis, *Chrest.* = L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie de Papyruskunde* II, 2 (Leiden, 1912)  
*OBO* = *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* (Freiburg [Switzerland] - Göttingen)  
*OLA* = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Louvain)  
*OLP* = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (Louvain)  
*OMH* = E. Stefanski and M. Lichtheim, *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu* (University of Chicago Oriental Institute publication 71; Chicago, 1952)  
*OMRO* = *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden)  
*O. Wilck.* = U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien* (2 vols.; Leipzig/Berlin, 1899)  
 Pestman = P. W. Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed; Leiden, 1994)



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- P. Oxy.* = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London, 1898-)
- Preisigke, *WB* = F. Preisigke and E. Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1925-1931), in progress + two supplements
- PSBA* = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- P. Sta. Xyla* = B.G. Mandilaras, *P. Sta. Xyla. The Byzantine papyri of the Greek Papyrological Society* vol. 1 (Athens, 1993)
- H. Ranke, *Personennamen* = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, three volumes (Glückstadt, 1935-1977)
- RB* = *Revue Biblique*
- RdÉ* = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- RÉG* = *Revue des études grecques*
- RÉS* = *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* (Paris)
- RIDA* = *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* (Brussels)
- RS* = *Revue Semitique.*
- RSO* = *Rivista di Studi Orientali* (Rome)
- SAK* = *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg)
- SAOC* = *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (Chicago)
- SEL* = *Studi epigrafici e linguistici*
- Select Papyri* = A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (London, 1932)
- SPBM* = H.I. Bell, "Syene Papyri in the British Museum," *Klio* 13 (1913) 160-174
- ST 439* = L. S. B. MacCoull, "Further Notes on ST 439 (= *P. Lond.* V. 1720v)," *ZPE* 96 (1993), 229-234 plus plate VI
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- TSBA* = *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- TLA* = *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (<http://aaww.bbaw.de/tla/>)
- UPZ II* = U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (ältere Funde)*, II, *Papyri aus Oberägypten* (Berlin, 1957)
- VT* = *Vetus Testamentum*
- Wb* = A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1928-1963)
- Wolff = H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Agyptens* (Munich, 1978), II
- WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- ZÄS* = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin - Leipzig)
- ZAW* = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
- K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften* = K.-Th. Zauzich, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1971)
- K.-Th. Zauzich, *DPB I* = K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, I, Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* (Berlin, 1978)
- K.-Th. Zauzich, *DPB III* = K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, III, Papyri von der Insel Elephantine* (Berlin, 1993)
- ZPE* = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

{ } = word(s) redundantly written by the scribe

< > = word(s) supplied by editor on the assumption they were unintentionally omitted by the scribe

( ) = resolution of a symbol or abbreviation; also used for whole English words supplied by editor to complete the sense.

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