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**Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period
(539-332 BCE) in light of the Aramaic
Documents**

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ABSTRACT

Siljanen Esko: *Judeans of Egypt in the Persian Period (539-332 BCE) in Light of the Aramaic Documents*

This study aims at finding out what kind of picture the Aramaic documents found from Egypt present about Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period (539-332 BCE). The main research questions are: (1) What picture do the Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt provide about the Judean settlement of Egypt during the same period in question? (2) How do these documents present the religion of the Judeans of Egypt? (3) Did the Judeans of Egypt have any knowledge of the texts and traditions included in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the Torah? (4) What kind of picture do these Aramaic documents provide about the administration, military and economic organization of the Persian Empire in Egypt? The data consists of the 1,042 Aramaic documents dating from the Persian period, found from Egypt and published up through the year 2013. Historical analysis is implemented in three phases: source criticism to verify the reliability and validity of the sources, content analysis to analyze the data and interpretative dialogue to understand the findings in relation to the research questions. The vast data complements the picture provided by previous research placing the Judeans of Egypt in the historical context of the Persian Empire.

The findings, in relation to the research questions, show that: (1) the Judeans were settled in Egypt mainly in the areas of Elephantine in the South as well as in the region of Memphis in the North. Through this research the picture of the Judean settlement in Egypt in general and of the Judean military garrison in Elephantine in particular becomes clearer. The research confirms the previously suggested theory that the Judean settlement of Egypt was rather old, most probably dating back to the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BCE. Judeans served as loyal subjects of the Persian Empire in the positions of regular soldiers and professional Aramaic scribes. (2) They possessed a religious group identity that was mainly Yahwistic; however, clear evidence also exists to prove their partial religious acculturation, especially with the Arameans. (3) The Judeans of Egypt drew from the same source of religious tradition as the texts of the Hebrew Bible; however, their knowledge of the traditions known from the Torah was limited. They maintained good relationships with the High Priest of Jerusalem, although they did not know about the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. No copy of the texts of the Hebrew Bible has been found from Egypt. Thus, it is very probable that the religious tradition was passed down to the Judeans of Egypt in oral form. In addition, this study (4) enhances the current understanding of well-organized Persian Imperial administration with an effective economic system, and powerful army that was present and active in Egypt during the first Persian period (525-404 BCE). Its greatest challenges were the peripheral location of Egypt from the heartland of the Empire and the evident corruption of its officials. Since the end of the 5th century BCE, the Persian rule in Egypt began fading, and also the Judeans of Egypt disappeared from the scene.

This study enriches recent understanding of the Judean settlement of Egypt through its vast data of Aramaic documents that have been systematically examined. The findings confirm that Judeans had families with them in Egypt, a fact which indicates the long age of their settlement. A novel finding in this study is the fact that the Judeans occupied mainly the positions of regular soldier and professional Aramaic scribe. This research shows that the Judean community of Egypt mainly had a Yahwistic group identity. The greatest token of this identity was their temple of Yahu in Elephantine. Yahwistic names were also still highly preserved by the Judeans of Egypt during the Persian period.

Keywords: Judeans of Egypt, Persian period, Aramaic documents, Elephantine.

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Sola Gratia – Soli Deo Gloria!

Jerusalem, February 2017

Esko Siljanen

ABBREVIATIONS

AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Akk.	Akkadian
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by J.B. Pritchard. New Jersey: Princeton, 1955.
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i> . Ugarit-Verlag.
AS	<i>Assyriological Studies</i> , Chicago.
BaAr	<i>Babylonische Archive</i> , Dresden.
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BDB	Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, (eds.), <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . With an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1959.
BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> . De Gruyter.
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i> . Published by Catholic Biblical Association of America since 1939.
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum</i> . Pars secunda: Inscriptiones aramaicas continens. Tomus I. Paris 1889.
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
CUSAS	<i>Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology</i>
FAT	<i>Forschungen zum Alten Testament</i>
HdO	Spuler, Berthold et.al., (eds.), <i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> . Leiden-New York-Köln, 1948 ff.
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> . Jerusalem.
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology)
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>

MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i> ; available online at http://www.old.dainst.org/en/publication/mdaik?ft=all .
NWS	Northwest Semitic
OLA	<i>Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale</i>
RES	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique</i> , publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum (Acad. des Inscript. et B.-L.) sous la direction de Jean-Baptiste Chabot et Charles Clermont-Ganneau, 4 Bde., Paris 1900/1905-
SAA	<i>State Archives of Assyria</i> . The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project and the Helsinki University Press.
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
TAD	Porten, Bezael and Ada Yardeni. <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> . Newly copied, edited and translated into Hebrew and English. Volumes I-IV. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Department of the History of the Jewish People, 1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999.
ThWAT	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart, 1970-
UBL	<i>Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur</i>
Ugar.	Ugaritic
VWGTh	<i>Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> . Published by Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and De Gruyter.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The land of Israel was often the battlefield between the Empires of the ancient Near East – Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and Greece. Among these, due to its geographical proximity to the land of Israel, Egypt has had a special and controversial contribution to the people of Judah and Israel as reflected in the Hebrew Bible. For the Judeans, Egypt has been both a house of slavery and a place of refuge in times of trouble.¹ Other superpowers, whose influence on the people of Syria-Palestine has been as detrimental as that of Egypt, have been those located in Mesopotamia. One example of their influence was the fate of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. As the result of the invasion and deportations of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in 722 BCE, the Northern Kingdom of Israel disappeared from the map. Later, the Kingdom of Judah was taken into Exile by the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 597 BCE and again in 586 BCE. The rise of the new Persian Empire brought change also to Judeans in 539 BCE when the King Cyrus of Persia victoriously entered Babylon without battle. This momentum signalled the beginning of the Persian period. Together with other deported nationalities, the Judeans of Babylon were now free to return back to their homeland. However, very few took advantage of this opportunity provided by their new Persian rulers. Those Judeans who survived lived throughout the vast Persian Empire mainly in three areas: in Jerusalem, Babylon and Egypt. All Judeans spoke the same language, Aramaic, one of the official languages of the great Persian Empire.

1.1. Aims of the research

The aim of this study is to find out what kind of picture the Aramaic documents found from Egypt present about the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period (539-332 BCE). Based on this general aim, the main research questions which present the focus of the study are the following: What picture do the Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt provide about the Judean settlement of Egypt, about its age, geographical origin, size, economic status, working positions and living conditions of its members, as well as about their relationship with other ethnic groups in the country during the same period in question? How do these documents present the religion of the Judeans of Egypt? Was it Yahwistic and what did it mean in the religious environment of the Persian period Egypt? What was

¹ Joseph Mélèze, Modrzejewski. *The Jews of Egypt: From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), XVII.

the relationship of the Judean community of Egypt to the temple of Jerusalem and its religious leadership? Did the Judeans of Egypt have any knowledge of the texts and traditions included in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the Torah? What kind of picture do these Aramaic documents provide about the administration, military and economic organization of the Persian Empire in Egypt? Do they present any specific challenges the Empire faced during its rule of Egypt?

The study of the Persian period in the international level has experienced a revival during the last thirty years.² These studies have shown that the Persian period was not a dark

² The expression “Persian period” refers commonly to the Achaemenid dynasty that arose when Cyrus II (559-530 BCE) defeated the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Its starting point in ancient Near East can be seen in the year 539 BCE when Cyrus entered Babylon as the victorious King and conquered it without a battle. The end of the two centuries long Persian period came when Alexander the Great of Macedonia (336-323 BCE) struck the Persian army in pieces in 333 BCE at Issus and entered Egypt without resistance in 332 BCE. Previously the Persian period was less studied than the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian or Hellenistic periods. It was rather seen as a dark age of the ancient history of the Near East. This was due to scanty archaeological discoveries from the time of the Achaemenid Empire. The change in this respect came with the work of Ephraim Stern, *Material culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.* (England: Warminster, 1982). Since Stern published his work, the research of the Persian period has been blossoming. In the discipline of Biblical Archaeology, two works should still be mentioned: Charles E. Carter’s monography, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1999), and Ephraim Stern’s *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods (732-332 B.C.E.)*. (New York: Doubleday, 2001). In the discipline of ancient history the Persian period is thoroughly studied in the works of M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*. (Leiden: Brill, 1989), and M. A. Dandamaev, and V. G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). Also Amelie Kuhrt covers the history of the Achaemenid Empire in her work *The Ancient Near East. c. 3000-330 BC. Volume II*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1995). Pierre Briant’s history of the Persian Empire is vast and detailed, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002, originally published in French in Paris 1996). Much shorter but up-to-date presentation of the history of the Persian period can be found in the works of Marc van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC*. Second Edition. (Blackwell Publishing, 2007), and *A History of Ancient Egypt*. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). The monography of Kaveh Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert: Ancient Persia at War*. (Oxford-New York: Osprey Publishing, 2009), provides the history of ancient Iran from an Iranian and military perspective. In Biblical studies the Persian period is dealt with in the works of Jon L Berquist, *Judaism in Persia’s Shadow. A Social and Historical Approach*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), and Jon L Berquist, ed., *Approaching Yehud. New Approaches to the Study of the Persian Period*. (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), as well as in the following books of Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in der Perserzeit. 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005); of Reinhard Gregor Kratz, ed., *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden*, VWGTh 22. (Gütersloh, 2002), and of Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, FAT 42. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004). Most of these different aspects of the Persian period have been discussed during the last ten years in three editions which were published after international conferences on the Achaemenid period. Oded Lipschits has been one of the editors of the volumes published after these conferences. Lipschits himself in his studies is aiming at reconstructing a historical overview of Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period on the basis of archaeological, Biblical and historical sources. The publications mentioned above in a chronological order are the following: Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2006); Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers and Rainer Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007); and Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers and Manfred Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period. Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011). A good overview of the recent research on the Babylonian and Persian Periods is given by Kirsi Valkama in her dissertation *Judah in the Mid-Sixth Century BCE. Archaeological Evidence for a Post-Collapse Society*. (Jyväskylä, 2012). A Festschrift that takes into account also Aramaic studies together with the different aspects of the Persian

era of the ancient history as previously thought, but a dynamic age that laid the foundations for the later development of the religion of the Judeans in the Hellenistic period. The Achaemenid Empire ruled for two centuries (539-332 BCE), and during the peak of its hegemony, its borders were Nubia in South of Egypt and the river Indus in Asia. This Empire left behind many pieces of evidence for its dynamic international power, among them hundreds of Aramaic documents which can be dated to the Persian period.³

This research focuses into three specific areas which are already mentioned in the title of the study. Initially, my study focuses on the Persian period, a period I refer to as the age of the great Persian Empire from 539 to 332 BCE. Next, I concentrate on all kinds of documents which are written in Aramaic, date to the Persian period, and were discovered from Egypt. Thirdly my research centers on the settlement of Judeans in Egypt during the Persian period. This emphasis means that the targets of my study follow these three circles: from the chronological point of view, the target is the Persian period; from the geographic point of view, the target is Egypt, and from the social history point of view, the target is the settlement of Judeans. The channel through which I approach these targets is formed from the Aramaic documents. These documents, like a boat, take me to the Judean settlers of Egypt in the Persian period. In other words, these documents are like a time machine that leads toward the final target.

Why have I chosen to focus my research on Judeans of Egypt? And why the Aramaic documents? Could I have chosen also Greek or Demotic texts which date from Persian-period Egypt? My focus on Egypt derives from three reasons: first, Egypt's geographical proximity to the original homeland of the Judeans. Although Egypt, geographically, was a far away periphery, politically it always formed difficult and important challenges for the rulers of the Persian Empire. Because of this, the Persian imperial administration in Egypt certainly reflected the official political line of the whole Achaemenid Empire. Secondly, the two biggest settlements of the Judean population outside the province of Yehud in the Persian Empire were located in Babylon and Egypt. Except during short rebellions, Babylon belonged to the Persian Empire. Egypt was more rebellious, but even it belonged to the Per-

period, was edited by Alejandro F. Botta, *In the Shadow of Bezalel. Aramaic, Biblical, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Bezalel Porten*. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013).

³ A good and most up-to-date collection of these Aramaic documents can be found in the work of Dirk Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. The Old and Imperial Aramaic Inscriptions. Band 2: Texte und Bibliographie*. (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004). However, also his collection is missing the last publication of the Aramaic documents from the Persian period Egypt, namely the study of Hélène Lozachmeur, *La Collection Clermont-Ganneau. Ostraca, Épigraphes Sur Jarre Étiquettes De Bois*. Vol. 1-2. (Paris: Diffusion De Boccard, 2006).

sian Empire for 123 years out of the total 207 years (Table 2, page 42). In this respect, together with Jerusalem and Babylon, Egypt, in the Persian period, was one of the three key locations of those people whose geographical and religious roots were in Judah. My third reason for paying attention to Egypt is that most of the Persian period Aramaic documents were found in Egypt. Today, the amount of the published Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt numbers over one thousand. In addition, since the end of the 19th century, several studies have been made about Judeans of Egypt in the light of these documents.⁴ What my present study endeavors to accomplish and contribute, compared to those previous studies, is to examine thoroughly all the documents discovered and published up till today (2014) as a whole in order to discover what they say about Judeans living in Egypt during the Persian period? Previous studies have contributed to this study only partially because their data has been limited to the date of their publication. It is true that my own study will later on be judged by the same criteria as only a partial study, but this is always the case with academic studies which must rely on data available at the particular time of the actual study.

What about the language of the documents? Why do I concentrate my study only on the Aramaic documents? I made this choice because Aramaic was the common language used by the Judeans not only in Judah but also in the settlements of Babylon and Egypt. One particular example displaying the impact of Aramaic on the region is apparent by the fact

⁴ The interest in the Judeans living in Egypt during the Persian period started as the result of the discovery of the Aramaic documents from the same period. These discoveries were made mainly from Elephantine and Aswan since the second half of the 19th century. The life of the Judeans of Egypt was first discussed primarily in the introductions of these publications, for example Ed. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-kolonie zu Elephantine*. (Leipzig, 1911); A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923); E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri. New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine*. (New Haven: Yale University Press and London: Oxford University Press, 1953); and G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Abridged and Revised Edition. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957). The first monograph dealing with the Judeans of Egypt in light of the Aramaic documents is that of Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine. The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). Since the publication of this study, Porten has published a lot of new material about the Aramaic documents which deal with the Judeans of Egypt within the four volume collection of Aramaic documents from ancient Egypt which he has published together with Ada Yardeni: Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. Newly copied, edited and translated into Hebrew and English. Volumes I-IV. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Department of the History of the Jewish People, 1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999). Also useful is Porten's publication *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*. (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill, 1996). A monograph discussing only the Judean settlement of Egypt is the already above mentioned work of Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt. From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian*, 1997. The most recent studies on the Judeans of Elephantine are the monographs written by Angela Rohrmoser, *Götter, Temple und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*. Archäologische und schriftliche Zeugnisse aus dem perserzeitlichen Ägypten. AOAT Band 396. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), and by Gard Granerød, *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period*. Studies in the Religion and Society of the Judaean Community at Elephantine. BZAW 488. (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016).

that the official name of Judah during the Persian period was *Yehud*, and not the traditional *Yehuda*, known from earlier and later periods. According to Naveh and Greenfield (1984), the term *Yehud* was probably created in the chancery of the Persian Empire on the basis of the gentile *Yēhūdāyye* > *Yēhūd*, which is a back-formation on the analogy of *Bablayye* > *Babel*, *Elamayye* > *Elam*. The term *Yehud* was used by the Judeans of Palestine, in addition to spoken language, also on coins, stamp-seals and official documents. Aramaic was the tool to express the ordinary, as well as the special phenomenon of life.⁵ Therefore, I would theorize that the Aramaic documents have the potential to provide us with valuable insight into the life of Judeans in Persian-period Egypt. These Aramaic texts might also provide us with more credible information concerning life in Persian-period Egypt than, for example, the classical Greek sources, which are generally seen as biased in order to show the supremacy of the Greek culture over the Persian Imperial rule.⁶ The same can be true with regard to the Demotic documents from Persian-period Egypt. They reflect more the Egyptian view than the Persian narrative. However, in the Aramaic documents, we may find more neutral evidence of the political reality and Persian administration in Egypt, as well as information on economic, religious and everyday life of Judeans in the country during the two hundred years of Persian rule. These ancient documents, which represent different sides of human life, tell us about the role and life of Judeans in the political, cultural and religious context of the Persian period Egypt.

⁵ J. Naveh and J. C. Greenfield, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian period," in W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Volume one: Introduction; The Persian Period. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 129. A short overview about the importance of the Imperial Aramaic provides D.M. Gropp, "Imperial Aramaic" in E.M. Meyers, (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Volume 3. (New York: Oxford, 1997), 144-146. More on the topic can be found in Joseph Naveh's article "The Development of the Aramaic Script," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*. Volume five 1971-1976. (Jerusalem, 1976), 1-69. Since Naveh's article this topic has been discussed in the following works: F. Rundgren, "Aramaica IV: The Renaissance of Imperial Aramaic," in *Orientalia Suecana*. Vol.30. (1981), 173-184; H. Tadmor, "The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact," in H.-J. Nissen und J. Renger, (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Teil 2. (Berlin 1982), 449-470; S.A. Kaufman, "Languages in Contact: The Ancient Near East," in S. Izre'el, *Israel Oriental Studies XX: Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*. (Tel Aviv, 2002), 297-306; L.H. Schiffman, (ed.), *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity*. Papers from a New York University conference marking the retirement of Baruch A. Levine. (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Lemaire André, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Millennium B.C.E. in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence (Socio-Historical Aspects) in Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting. Typological and Historical Perspectives*. (Jerusalem and Winona Lake, Indiana: The Hebrew University Magnes Press and Eisenbrauns, 2006), 177-196; Joseph Naveh, *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy*. Selected Papers. (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009).

⁶ According to Van de Mieroop, "Classical sources provide the greatest detail on Persian history, but as they are written from the perspective of a people threatened by the empire, they are exceedingly biased." Van de Mieroop 2007, 286-287.

According to these Aramaic documents, the Judeans living in Egypt were called *yehudim*. Where did they come from and when? This study also tries to shed some light on these questions. Before I start my journey of research, one definition is needed. In this study, the Aramaic term *yehudi* is translated into English by the word “a Judean.” With this term, I refer only to that specific group of people who are called by this name in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. Whether this name refers to geographic origin only or also to religious affiliation of these people, is a debated question today.⁷ Thus, I will also endeavour to address this issue of Judean identity within my study.

1.2. Previous research on the field of the study

In this subchapter I deal with the previous studies which have been done on three specific research areas of the ancient Near East. These three research areas are those connected to the emphasis of my study: the Persian period, Aramaic documents dating to the Persian period and discovered from Egypt, and the settlement of Judeans in Egypt during the Persian period.

The Persian period has been studied less than the periods of great Empires before or after that, due to the fact that up-until thirty-five years ago, the source materials available were fragmentary and scanty, especially in the case of archaeological findings from the Persian period. At that time the post-exilic period was seen as a dark age in Biblical history. As more and more archaeological discoveries from the Persian period have seen daylight, a great change has occurred. Documents written in Aramaic, Cuneiform, as well as in other ancient scripts used during the Persian Empire, have been found and published. Additionally, all this evidence has now been studied by many academic scholars. This renaissance in the study of the Persian period is today seen in archaeological, historical, and Biblical studies.

⁷ The identity of Egyptian Judeans is discussed recently in Granerød's work *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period*, 2016; in Rohrmoser's monograph *Götter, Temple und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*, 2014; and in the collection of essays edited by Botta, *In the Shadow of Bezalel. Aramaic, Biblical, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Bezalel Porten*, 2013. Discussion on the Judean identity of both the Babylonian and the Egyptian Judeans can be found in Laurie E. Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 28. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2014); Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming, *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*. Negotiating Identity in an International Context, 2011. Previous studies are Ron Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods*. According to the Babylonian Sources. (Haifa 1979) and Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*. The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony, 1968.

Ephraim Stern's archaeological study of the Persian period, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian period 538-332 B.C.* (first published in Hebrew in Jerusalem 1973 and then later in 1982), was a beginning for the study of the Persian period in terms of the archaeology of the land of Israel and the history of ancient Israel. In fact, Stern's study was the inspiration for the above mentioned renaissance. Since that time, Stern has not only published several articles on the Persian period but also an expanded and reviewed study on the issue (2001): *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods (732-332 B.C.E.)*.⁸ However, because the focus of Stern's books is on the land of Israel, they do not cover the Persian period in Egypt, and neither mention the settlement of Judeans in Egypt. Charles E. Carter, in his research (1999), uses the results of archaeology to build a social, demographic, and historical reconstruction of Judah in the Persian period.⁹ However, also Carter's reconstruction does not extend outside the borders of Palestine.

According to Egyptian archaeology, the Persian period has already been recognized, but its findings are not easily identified as dating to the period. In this respect, the discovery of the Aramaic papyri and ostraca from Elephantine at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century assisted in dating other findings from the same strata more exactly to the Achaemenid age. One useful help in studying the overall Egyptian Archaeology is Kathryn A. Bard's *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, which includes several summaries as well as specific articles dealing with topics, findings and locations related to the history of the Persian period in Egypt.

Moreover, there has been a rise of interest in the discipline of the history of the ancient Near East during Persian period. An overall view of the Persian Empire can be found in its short form in the general histories of the ancient Near East, as exemplified in the study of Amélie Kuhrt.¹⁰ Kuhrt's recently published resource work contains the most complete English collection of historical, mainly Greek, sources for studying the history of the Achaemenid Empire in ancient Near East.¹¹ Additionally, Van de Mieroop's work, *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323*, includes one subchapter about the Persian Empire.¹² A shortened form of the common history of Persia and Egypt is presented in Van de

⁸ The fact that Stern does not give exact footnotes, only a bibliography, is a primary weakness of his book.

⁹ Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period, A Social and Demographic Study*, 1999.

¹⁰ Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East.c. 3000-330 BC.*, 1995.

¹¹ Amélie Kuhrt. *The Persian Empire. A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹² Van de Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC.*, 2007.

Mieroop's history of Ancient Egypt¹³, which in spite of its brevity provides a good historical overview of Ancient Egypt. A more extensive historical overview of the Persian period can be found in Pierre Briant's study, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Here Briant refers to many of the writings of the Greek historians, however, his approach is at times critical and his conclusions are at many points, plausible. A more recent compact study of the Persian Empire is the monograph written by Matt Waters.¹⁴ Waters focuses on the underlying problematic nature of Egypt in the Persian Empire, caused by its continuous rebellions. Using the Aramaic documents, he only mentions the so-called š archive, but as is typical for historians of the Persian Empire, he spends much time explaining the biased nature of the Greek textual sources.¹⁵ An excellent aid to understanding the military side of the Persian Empire is documented in the work of Kaveh Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert. Ancient Persia at War*. In addition to outlining the military aspects, Farrokh also approaches the topic from a more Persian point of view.¹⁶ His book is especially helpful when seeking to understand the different units, ranks and overall formation of the Persian army. Lastly, the most recent monograph dealing with the history of ancient armies is found in the study of Boyd Seevers, *Warfare in the Old Testament: The Organization, Weapons, and Tactics of Ancient Near Eastern Armies* (2013). Seevers includes a subchapter about the Persian army, however, his main sources are Greek historians, making his presentation more superficial. Additionally, Seevers's basic assumptions are that the Persian military was a highly organized fighting force, similar to other ancient Near Eastern armies that, however, changed considerably over the course of time.¹⁷

Since J. Naveh's extended article about the development of the Aramaic script (1976), and M. L. Folmer's research on the linguistic variation and the Aramaic language in the Achaemenid Period (1995), not too many new studies about the place and impact of the

¹³ Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 2011. As Van de Mieroop presents it, the common history of Persia and Egypt covered the period between 525-332 BCE. Van de Mieroop 2011, 304.

¹⁴ Matt Waters. *Ancient Persia. A Concise History of the Achaemenid Empire, 550-330 BCE*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

¹⁵ Waters 2014, 10-18, 188-191.

¹⁶ Farrokh also discusses which name to use about the Great Achaemenid Empire: Persia or Iran? His conclusion is that both are correct when referring to the same entity. "The Greeks identified the first Iranian Achaemenid empire as "Persseya" or Persia, though the Iranians would have referred to their home as "Eire-An" or "Ir-An" (lit. land of the Aryans)." Farrokh 2007, 8.

¹⁷ Boyd Seevers, *Warfare in the Old Testament: The Organization, Weapons, and Tactics of Ancient Near Eastern Armies*. (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2013). Seevers describes the Persian army in subchapter nine, on pp. 279-306.

Aramaic language in the Persian Empire have been published.¹⁸ Barr (2000) is right in saying that the renaissance of the study of the Persian period has not yet reached the linguistic studies.¹⁹ The only area of study of the Persian period where the above mentioned renaissance comes close to linguistics is the study of the Aramaic documents. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the number of discovered and published Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt has grown significantly. At first, each find was reported separately. When the number of finds grew, there arose a need to publish them in comprehensive collections. A good starting point for the study of these Aramaic documents is provided by the old studies of Cowley (1923), Kraeling (1953) and Driver (1954).²⁰ Bezalel Porten's study on the Archives of Elephantine (1968) is already considered a classic.²¹ The bibliography, published by Fitzmyer & Kaufman & Kaufman²², is also helpful, and Grabbe as well as Sparks²³ provide additional guidance.

My study seeks to collect information from each of translated and published Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt. Nearly all of these texts can now be found in comprehensive collections of the Aramaic documents published by several different scholars. One such source among these publications is the edition of Segal (1983), *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*.²⁴ Although the dating of Segal's texts has been under debate and it is not certain that all these documents date from the Persian period, based on my

¹⁸ Naveh, "The Development of the Aramaic Script," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 1976, 1-69; M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation*. OLA 68. (Leuven, 1995). Some of the most recent studies after them are Kaufman, "Languages in Contact: The Ancient Near East," in Izre'el, S., *Israel Oriental Studies XX: Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*, 2002, 297-306; Frank M Cross, *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook*. Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003); Schiffman, *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity*. Papers from a New York University conference marking the retirement of Baruch A. Levine, 2003; Lemaire, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Millennium B.C.E. in the Light of Epigraphic Evidence", 2006, 177-196; and Naveh, *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy*, 2009.

¹⁹ Barr notes: "Hebrew studies have had their extension almost solely into the Semitic language family (hence Ugaritic, Aramaic, Phoenician, etc.), but Iranian languages, being from a quite different family, have been almost entirely untouched. For the present purpose this means that students who are learning that the essence of the Old Testament belongs to the Persian and Greek periods are at the same time being left very ill-equipped to judge for themselves what these periods were like." James Barr, *History and Ideology in the Old Testament*. Biblical Studies at the End of a Millennium. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 88.

²⁰ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923; Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 1953; Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1957.

²¹ Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 1968.

²² J.A. Fitzmyer, S.J. Kaufman and S.A. Kaufman. *An Aramaic Bibliography*. Part I. Old, Official, and Biblical Aramaic. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

²³ Lester L. Grabbe. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. Volume One. The Persian and Greek Periods. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992); Kenton L. Sparks. *Ancient Texts for the Study of the Hebrew Bible*. A Guide to the Background Literature. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005).

²⁴ J.B. Segal. *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*: With some fragments in Phoenician. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983).

source criteria, I have included all of them in my research. Bezalel Porten has spent a lifetime pioneering work in studying and publishing the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. Porten's four volume work, which he has published together with Ada Yardeni (1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999), is the largest source of my research.²⁵ In addition, Porten has published some of the Aramaic texts specifically for the English reader (1996).²⁶ Also an invaluable help for the study of these documents is *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* published by Porten and Lund (2002).²⁷ I have also used the most recent and comprehensive collection of the Persian period Aramaic texts, published after Porten-Yardeni, the work of Dirk Schwiderski (2004).²⁸ After his publication, only one more collection of Aramaic texts from Persian-period Egypt has seen daylight, namely that of Hélène Lozachmeur (2006).²⁹ Since the time of Lozachmeur's work, only one additional, previously non published Aramaic text from Persian-period Egypt has been published, that of Dušek and Mynářová in 2013.³⁰

The settlement of Judeans in Egypt has been less researched. Interest in this topic started as the result of the discovery of the Aramaic documents from the same period, discoveries that were made mainly from Elephantine and Aswan since the second half of the 19th century. The life of the Judeans of Egypt was then discussed primarily in the introduction of the publications of these Aramaic documents.³¹ The first monograph discussing the issue thoroughly was that of Porten (1968). In the four volume edition he has published together with Yardeni (*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*), he contributed new information on the Judeans who lived in Egypt under the rule of the Persian Empire. Another monograph on this issue is that of Modrzejewski (1997),³² whose book is based on classical literary texts and found documentary texts, mainly the Greek papyri discovered in Egypt. The bulk of his work centers on the Greek and Roman periods, but one chapter is solely dedicated to the Persian period and Aramaic documents. Earlier research on Judeans in Egypt examined issues related to their origin, practical life and religion. However, the

²⁵ Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volumes I-IV*, 1986, 1989, 1993, 1999.

²⁶ Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, 1996.

²⁷ Bezalel Porten and Jerome A. Lund, *Aramaic documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance*. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002).

²⁸ Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. The Old and Imperial Aramaic Inscriptions*, 2004.

²⁹ Lozachmeur, *La Collection Clermont-Ganneau*, 2006.

³⁰ Jan Dušek and Jana Mynářová, "Phoenician and Aramaic Inscriptions from Abusir" in Botta (ed.), *In the Shadow of Bezalel*, 2013, 53-69.

³¹ Look for example the above mentioned publications of Cowley (1923), Kraeling (1953), and Driver (1957). Note 21 above.

³² Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, 1997.

topic that is the most debated recently by scholars with regard to the Judeans of Egypt is that of Judean identity. Was it connected to geographic origin only or did it also have some social and religious affiliation? Examples of the recent discussion on the Judean identity of the Egyptian Judeans can be found in Lipschits-Knoppers-Oeming.³³

Still three more recent publications have contributed much information to the discussion of the Judean settlement in Persian-period Egypt and to the debate of the identity of these Judeans. A Festschrift in honor of Bezalel Porten, “Mr. Elephantine”, edited by Alejandro F. Botta and published in 2013, includes several articles related to Aramaic studies and Elephantine, Biblical Studies, and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. However, the greatest contributions to my research and to the discussion on the settlement of Judeans in Egypt are provided by the articles of Annalisa Azzoni, who wrote about Women of Elephantine, the writings of Eleonora Cussini about the Scribes of Elephantine, and the article written by Lester L. Grabbe about Elephantine and the Torah.³⁴ After the publication of the above Festschrift edited by Botta, still two important studies dealing with the Judean settlement of Elephantine have seen daylight. Both of them are contributing a lot to our knowledge about the settlement of Judeans in Persian-period Egypt and especially to the debate on the identity of the Judeans of Elephantine. The first of these most recent studies is the monograph of Angela Rohrmoser *Götter, Temple und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*, published in 2014.³⁵ The greatest contribution of Rohrmoser’s work is that based on the archaeological evidence; she argues convincingly for the rebuilding of the Judean temple of Elephantine after it was destroyed by the Egyptians in 410 BCE. One weakness is that Rohrmoser bases her argumentation mainly on Greek sources and secondary literature; she utilizes less than one hundred Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. She uses as her main source only Porten and Yardeni’s four volume edition of *Textbook of Aramaic Documents of Ancient Egypt* (TAD). She considers Lozachmeur’s work among the secondary literature and does not mention Segal’s publication at all.³⁶ Rohrmoser assumes that

³³ Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming, (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, 2011.

³⁴ Annalisa Azzoni, “Women of Elephantine and Women in the Land of Israel”, in Botta (ed.), *In the Shadow of Bezalel*, 3-12; Eleonora Cussini, “The Career of Some Elephantine and Murašû Scribes and Witnesses”, in Botta (ed.), *In the Shadow of Bezalel*, 39-52; Lester L. Grabbe, “Elephantine and the Torah”, in Botta (ed.), *In the Shadow of Bezalel*, 125-135.

³⁵ Angela Rohrmoser, *Götter, Temple und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*. Archäologische und schriftliche Zeugnisse aus dem perserzeitlichen Ägypten. AOAT Band 396. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2014).

³⁶ Rohrmoser seems to be unaware of the importance of Lozachmeur’s publication and of the actual number of published Aramaic documents from the Persian period Egypt up to 2014. “Ende des 20. Jh. ergab sich durch die hohe Anzahl von Übersetzungen und durch die jeweils unterschiedliche Nummerierung der Dokumente eine große Verwirrung. Diese konnte erst durch die Veröffentlichung von PORTEN und YARDENI, dem

Judeans of Elephantine were both socially and religiously influenced and intermixed with Arameans. This assumption consequently influences how she defines the identity of the Judeans of Elephantine. In fact, she does not even call them Judeans, but instead labels them as Judeo-Arameans, thus joining these two distinct ethnic groups together into a new fictional group. However, her limited use of the Aramaic documents does not provide sufficient grounds for this definition, although she argues for that; “Die Grundlage meiner Untersuchungen sind vor allem die Primärquellen; die schriftlichen Dokumente der Judäo-Aramäer aus dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. und die archäologischen Funde auf der Insel Elephantine.”³⁷

The second of the most recent studies on the Judeans of Elephantine is that of Granerød’s *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian period*, 2016. In his study, Granerød is applying the multidimensional model of religion coined by Ninian Smart as well as Jonathan Z. Smith’s tripartite, spatial model for religions in ancient Near East.³⁸ Using these two models, Granerød attempts to find out what the religion of the Judeans of Elephantine was like. His primary sources are the Aramaic documents found in Elephantine. Granerød argues that the center of the Judean religion in the Persian period was the god YHW/YHWH, however, Yahwism had many dimensions and poly-Yahwism continued to be a characteristic of the Judean religion even in the Persian period. Granerød’s main conclusion is that the Elephantine Yahwism was a living and valid example of the Yahwism of the Persian period and not a relic from the pre-exilic times. His most important argument for this conclusion is that the religion practiced in Elephantine was not a branch of the Jerusalem-centred Yahwism, like the one emerging from the canon of the Bible, but instead independent and self-contained Yahwism.³⁹ According to my view, however, Granerød does not pay enough attention to the fact that the Elephantine Judean community did not have their own High Priest, but instead expressed their respect and loyalty to the High Priest of Jerusalem. In addition, Granerød seems not to leave any place for the oral transmission of the religious tradition from Judah and Jerusalem to Elephantine.

Textbook of Aramaic Documents of Ancient Egypt (TAD) behoben werden, das beinahe alle in Ägypten gefundenen Schriftstücke einschließlich der Ostraka in einem einzigen Werk versammelt.” Rohrmoser 2014, 44.

³⁷ Rohrmoser 2014, 3. She suggests that because the Judeans and Arameans of Elephantine and Syene already served in the same army between 150-200 years, there was no difference between them and their identity.

Rohrmoser 2014, 6-8.

³⁸ Granerød refers to Smart’s two studies; Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience of Mankind*. (New York: Scribner, 1969) and Ninian Smart, *Dimensions of the Sacred: An Anatomy of the World’s Beliefs*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Smith’s study that he is referring to is Jonathan Z. Smith, “Here, There, and Anywhere”, in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. Scott Noegel et al., (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 21-36. Granerød 2016, 10-17.

³⁹ Granerød 2016, 339-340.

During the last decades, Biblical scholarship also has turned its interest to the Persian period. According to many Biblical scholars, this period has played an important role in the formation of the present shape of both the rabbinical Judaism and the Hebrew Bible. As a result of this change, the research of the post-exilic and Second Temple Judaism is now enjoying an international renaissance. Jon L. Berquist's study (1995) presents a social approach to the Persian period and argues its effects on the Old Testament canon. In his more recent edition (2007), Berquist presents more social aspects for the research of the Persian period.⁴⁰ However, for the focus of my research his studies do not contribute additional information. For a historical context of the Biblical literature of the post-exilic period, Erhard S. Gerstenberger (2005) argues that "the traditions of the Hebrew Bible got their decisive marks during the Persian period."⁴¹ In addition, Sara Japhet and Reinhard G. Kratz, among others, have recently written about the impact of the Persian period on the formation of both Judaism and the Hebrew canon.⁴²

A recent trend of those studying the Persian period has been to combine together all the above mentioned aspects of study, namely archaeology, history, sociology, and Biblical studies, in order to make a reconstruction of the Biblical world during that period. One of the most productive researchers of the Babylonian and Persian periods from this perspective has been Oded Lipschits. In his first study (2005), *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, he combines both archaeological and Biblical sources to examine the history of Jerusalem. Since then, as a co-editor of several publications dealing with the Persian period and its impact on the Judean population and the Biblical world⁴³, Lipschits himself aims at shaping a historical reconstruction of Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period on the basis of archaeological, Biblical and historical sources.

A particular topic that has recently drawn the interest of some scholars concerns the question of whether or not the Judeans of Egypt already knew the Torah of Moses in the Persian period. Both Kratz and Grabbe, who have recently written about this question, an-

⁴⁰ Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 1995, and Berquist (ed.), *Approaching Yehud*, 2007.

⁴¹ Gerstenberger 2005, 13.

⁴² Sara Japhet. "Can the Persian Period bear the Burden? Reflections on the Origins of Biblical History," in R. Margolin, (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Division A: The Bible and Its World*. (Jerusalem, 1999), 35-45; Sara Japhet. "Postexilic Historiography: How and Why?" in A.de Pury, T. Römer, and J-D. Macchi, (eds.), *Israel Constructs Its History*. Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research. (JSOT 306, Sheffield, 2000), 144-173. Reinhard Gregor Kratz. *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*. (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000. English translation John Bowden, London, 2005); See also Kratz, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des zweiten Tempels*, 2004.

⁴³ Lipschits-Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 2006; Lipschits-Knoppers-Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, 2007; and Lipschits-Knoppers-Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context*, 2011.

swer negatively. They base their arguments on the evidence found in the Aramaic documents from that period.⁴⁴ Also Rohrmoser comes to the conclusion that the Judeo-Arameans of Elephantine had neither the Torah nor Deuteronomium, because their religion reflected the reality of pre-exilic Judah.⁴⁵ Granerød agrees that the Judeans of Elephantine did not seem to have been aware of any kind of sacred texts corresponding to those transmitted in the Hebrew Bible. He rather comes to the conclusion that the Yahwism of Elephantine was still typical for the Persian period. According to Granerød, the Yahwism of Elephantine did not even need the Jerusalem-type Yahwism, because it was independently supported by the Judeans of Elephantine and oriented towards its own temple in Elephantine.⁴⁶

1.3. Structure of the study

This research report consists of five main chapters. Chapter One introduces the topic and the background of the research. It also presents the purpose of the study and the research questions. It includes a summary of the previous research on the Persian period, the Aramaic documents discovered from Egypt, and the settlement of Judeans in Egypt. Chapter Two explains the historical framework of the study. It describes the historical and political context of the study and gives insight to the Imperial Aramaic of the Persian Empire. Chapter Three presents the data and methods of the study. It introduces the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt, their discovery and publication. This chapter also explains the ontological and epistemological approach to the study. Source criticism and content analysis as the methods of analysis of the data are introduced, as well. Chapter Four presents the analysis of the data phase by phase. It describes the procedure of the analysis according to the categories found in the texts and also includes discussion with relevant other scholars on these topics. Chapter Five focuses on the conclusions of the study, especially on demo-

⁴⁴ Grabbe 2013, 125-135. Kratz suggests, "Nicht nur geographisch und zeitlich, sondern vor allem religionsgeschichtlich liegen Welten zwischen dem biblischen Judentum und dem Judentum von Elephantine. Letzteres kann man geradezu als nichtbiblisches Judentum bezeichnen... In Elephantine las und studierte man jedenfalls nicht Tag und Nacht die Tora." Reinhard Gregor Kratz, "Denn dein ist das Reich. Das Judentum in persischer und hellenistisch-römischer Zeit", in Kratz Reinhard Gregor und Herman Spieckermann (eds.), *Götterbilder, Gottesbilder, Weltbilder*. Polytheismus und Monotheismus in der Welt der Antike. Band I: Ägypten, Mesopotamien, Persien, Kleinasien, Syrien, Palästina. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 347-374. See also Reinhard G. Kratz, "Temple and Torah: Reflections on the Legal Status of the Pentateuch between Elephantine and Qumran." in Knoppers Gary N. and Bernard M. Levinson (eds.), *The Pentateuch as Torah*. New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 77-103.

⁴⁵ Rohrmoser 2014, 80. Rohrmoser supports the theory of Cowley who suggests that the Judeans brought the pre-exilic religion of Judah with them to Elephantine. Cowley 1923, XIXff.

⁴⁶ Granerød 2016, 332.

graphic features, Persian administration, religion of the Judeans of Egypt, and formation of the Torah. Finally, suggestions for further study are given. At the end, the bibliography, appendices, and index are presented.

2 HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Before I proceed to the analysis of the source material, it is necessary to look at the historical and political context of the study. It is important not only to know the historical background of the sources of the study, but also to understand the historical and social context that produced these sources. Different aspects of human life did not appear in a vacuum. Lester L. Grabbe in his monograph *Ancient Israel*⁴⁷ recalls some important principles relating to studying history. One of these principles is *longue durée*. “The context of the *longue durée* must always be recognized and given an essential part in the interpretation.”⁴⁸ This specific term *longue durée* comes from Fernand Braudel who presented his epistemological ideas in an article in 1958.⁴⁹ Wallerstein explains the exact meaning of Braudel’s French terminology for English readers.⁵⁰ According to Wallerstein, *durée* means different things in different contexts.⁵¹ For Braudel, there are three applications of the word *durée* – short, medium, and long. According to Braudel, the short *durée* is the time of the *event* and Wallerstein translates it “episodic history”. Braudel calls the medium time length a *conjoncture*. With this term Braudel refers to the phases in a cycle which rise and fall. Braudel further argues that in the analysis of something, it makes a difference whether it’s in a rising phase or in a falling phase. Wallerstein translates Braudel’s French expression *conjoncture* “a cyclical phase”.⁵² Braudel calls the long time length of *durée* a *structure*. Wallerstein explains this application of the word *durée* as follows “Braudel means structures that exist in the *longue durée* which, as he says at one point, are both pillars of and obstacles to reality”.⁵³ When I use the French expression *longue durée* in the presentation of the historical context of the Persian period I apply Braudel’s idea of cyclical phases of history (*histoire conjoncturelle*).

I begin the presentation of the historical context of this study from the fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In order to understand for example the policy, administration and military organization of the Persian Empire, we need this historical *longue durée* point of

⁴⁷ Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*. What do we know and how do we know it? (London-NewYork: T & T Clark, 2007).

⁴⁸ Grabbe 2007, 35.

⁴⁹ Fernand Braudel, “Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée”, *Annales E.S.C.*, 1958.

⁵⁰ Immanuel Wallerstein, “Braudel on the Longue Durée: Problems of Conceptual Translation”, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* Vol. 32, No. 2, COMMEMORATING THE LONGUE DURÉE (2009), 155-170.

⁵¹ Depending on the context, the French word *durée* can be translated into English as “duration”, “continuities”, or “temporalities”. Wallerstein 2009, 160.

⁵² Wallerstein 2009, 161-162.

⁵³ Wallerstein 2009, 162.

view. There were some patterns of policy, administration and military which Persians inherited from Assyrians and Babylonians. Some of these patterns they further developed, but some of them they completely altered. The same is true when we try to understand the importance of Aramaic language in the Persian Empire. The roots of its popularity were already laid during the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Therefore we are obligated to ask the following questions: What was the Persian Empire? How did it come into being? And how did it execute its administration in countries which were under its rule? Specifically, the Persian rule in Egypt is in the focus of my study. Additionally, in order to fully study the settlement of Judeans in Egypt, we must be familiar with the theories about its historical background. Also a study on the importance and use of the Aramaic language in the Persian Empire is needed. How did it reach its central position as *lingua franca*? How was it used in practice? These questions will be discussed and answered in the following subchapters.

2.1. Historical and political context of the study

According to Braudel's idea of *histoire conjoncturelle*, the following subchapters will discuss the rise, the glory, and the fall of the Persian Empire, but also the new international policy of the Persian rulers compared to the previous Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian kings. Additionally, I will present tables about the periods which Egypt was under the Persian control, as well as about the settlement of the Judeans in Egypt. All these details form the historical background for understanding the social, political and economic context where the Judeans of Egypt lived during the Persian period.

Before proceeding further, I had to determine which name should be used for the political entity discussed: Persia or Iran? Farrokh argues that both are correct when referring to the same entity: "Greeks identified the first Iranian Achaemenid empire as 'Persesya' or Persia, though the Iranians would have referred to their home as 'Eire-An' or 'Ir-An' (lit. Land of the Aryans)"⁵⁴. In this research, I have chosen to use generally the term Persian Empire to refer to the political entity in question. Another name which often appears in the academic literature when speaking about the same Empire is the name Achaemenid Empire. This term can historically be traced back to Hakhamanesh, or Achaemenes, who ruled the Indo-European tribes of Persis in the 7th century BCE.⁵⁵ For the purpose of this research,

⁵⁴ Farrokh 2007, 8.

⁵⁵ Farrokh 2007, 37; Van de Mieroop 2007, 287. The name "Iran" I leave for contemporary use to refer to the modern state of Iran.

when I in some occasions use the name Achaemenid Empire, I refer that to mean the same political entity that I generally call the Persian Empire.

2.1.1. The rise of the Persian Empire

The historical roots for the power were already laid long before the establishment of the Persian Empire. First, the invasion of new powerful people, the Medes, from north into the Iranian plateau changed the political balance in the region. Second the declining military strength of the Assyrians resulted in a vacuum of power. According to Farrokh, the Medes were the true founders of Persia, and without them the great Empire would never have existed.⁵⁶ Also Kuhrt notes, that “the Medes have traditionally been perceived as the imperial ancestors of the Persians.”⁵⁷ The Medes were the most powerful of those Indo-European tribes that arrived on the Iranian plateau from the north. Among them were also the Persians.⁵⁸ The Medes and the Persians were very close culturally and linguistically, and their population on the plateau had greatly increased by the end of the Neo-Assyrian period. The Persians migrated southwest of the geographical Iranian plateau and conquered the ancient and advanced Elamite civilization under their rule in the beginning of the reign of Cyrus in 559 BCE.⁵⁹ According to Kuhrt, the development of the Persian state in modern Fars of Iran (Old Persian *Parsa*; Greek *Persis*) in the late seventh century BCE was a gradual process facilitated by Elam’s political weakness in the region.⁶⁰ Another name for this early Persian state was ‘Anshan’, according to the important Elamite city that was earlier located in the area of *Parsa*.

Toward the end of the 7th century BCE, the Neo-Assyrian Empire had been in a phase of progressive disintegration. In his research Stefan Zawadzki shows how this disintegration of the Assyrian Empire was a prolonged process, a result of uncontrolled changes in the social and economic structure, as well as the disadvantageous geo-political position of Assyria in the 7th century BCE.⁶¹ According to Van de Mieroop, the causes of the rapid col-

⁵⁶ Farrokh 2007, 8.

⁵⁷ Kuhrt 2007, 19. At the same time, Kuhrt also admits that several fundamental questions about the Medes and their influence on the later Persian Empire remain unresolved. Kuhrt 1995, 656; 2007, 21.

⁵⁸ Farrokh 2007, 24.

⁵⁹ Farrokh 2007, 25. Also Kuhrt notes the fact that the Medes and the Persians were linked linguistically; “These people were identified via their language as Iranians and they were originally cattle-herders who moved from central Asia into Iran.” Kuhrt 1995, 652; 2007, 19.

⁶⁰ Kuhrt 1995, 653.

⁶¹ Stefan Zawadzki. *The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian relations in light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle*. (Poznan, 1988), 144.

lapse of the vast Assyrian Empire could be found mainly within the basic organization of the Assyrian Empire itself.⁶² Already for generations Babylon in southern Mesopotamia had been a trouble spot for Assyria. When Ashurbanipal died in 627 BCE, the Babylonians saw their possibility to reach independence and even to struggle for the Assyrian throne. Nabopolassar (626-605 BCE), the king of the Marshland, had himself proclaimed king of Babylon in 626 BCE and until the end of the same year, he gained control of the city of Babylon and of the whole southern region of Mesopotamia.⁶³ The involvement of other powers in the Assyro-Babylonian civil war complicated matters further. The province of Der on the Elamite border rebelled and Median attacks on Assyrian territory intensified. The existence of such groups as the Scythians and the Medes on the peripheries of the Assyrian Empire were probably a concrete encouragement for other vassal states to seek alliance either against or for the Assyrian Empire. It seems that the Scythians remained loyal to the Assyrians, but the Medes were its strongest opponents and their support to Nabopolassar was decisive. According to Waters, it is even surprising that such a prominent place in the so-called Babylonian Chronicles was given to the Medes in Assyria's downfall while the Persians make no appearance at all.⁶⁴ Also Kuhrt argues that while the Medes were the only people who aided the Babylonians, the Assyrians got considerable support from their many allies and subjects. She believes that this might be one reason for the enormous effort that was needed to defeat the Assyrians.⁶⁵ However, Van de Mieroop argues that the Scythians turned against the Assyrians and aided the Medes and the Babylonians.⁶⁶ One assumption is that the Medes were drawn into this Assyrian-Babylonian conflict as Assyria's declining power threatened the economic basis of their political status quo in the region.⁶⁷ After the Medes succeeded in taking Ashur, the Assyrian capital, in 614 BCE, Nabopolassar made an anti-Assyrian opposition treaty alliance with the Median king Cyaxares (624-585 BCE).⁶⁸ Soon in 612 BCE,

⁶² Van de Mieroop 2007, 266, 268.

⁶³ Walter Mayer. *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrier*. (Munster, 1995), 414; Van de Mieroop 2007, 267.

⁶⁴ Waters 2014, 37-38. Three groups of semi nomadic people contributed major factors in the life of the Fertile Crescent beginning in the late eight and early seventh centuries BCE: The Cimmerians, who were nomadic groups from the north, the Scythians, who were Indo-Europeans from the Crimean region, and the Medes, who were associated tribes from north-western Iran. During the reign of Esarhaddon, the Medes began to unite, eventually becoming an enemy of Assyria under King Phraortes II (646-624 BCE). The Medes under the rule of Phraortes' son Cyaxares (624-585 BCE) played a significant role in the downfall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Van de Mieroop 2007, 270-271; Zawadzki 1988, 145-148.

⁶⁵ Kuhrt 1995, 545-546.

⁶⁶ Van de Mieroop 2007, 267.

⁶⁷ H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg. "Was there ever a Median empire?" in Kuhrt A. and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, (eds.), *Achaemenid History 3: Method and Theory*. (Leiden, 1988), 197-212. See also Kuhrt 1995, 545.

⁶⁸ The war between Babylonia and Assyria from 616-609 BCE is described by the Nabopolassar Chronicle, and Stefan Zawadzki has in his research proved that the name of the only Babylonian Ally mentioned in the

Cyaxares and Nabopolassar destroyed also the previous Assyrian capitals at Calah and Nineveh. In the autumn of 610 BCE, the Babylonians took Harran, the important provincial capital of north-Syria. In the second battle for the same city, probably in 609 BCE, the Babylonians defeated both Assyria's last king Ashur-uballit II, as well as his ally, the Pharaoh Necho II (610-595 BCE), who had come with the Egyptian army to help the Assyrians. The great Neo-Assyrian Empire was lost forever in 609 BCE. As a result of this geo-political change in the region, the peoples of the Zagros Mountains, western Iranian plateau, and Anatolia got their independence.⁶⁹ This victory planted the seed for the forthcoming Persian Empire.

The result of the Babylonian victory was the changed landscape of Mesopotamia: the great and politically important Assyrian royal cities in the north were destroyed. The Babylonian conquerors were now rulers of whole Mesopotamia, as well as the Eastern Mediterranean coastland. The fall of the Assyrian Empire was a dramatic historical turning point that was felt around the Near East and even in the Aegean world. Together with its fall, its language and culture disappeared so quickly that "only a hundred years after the destruction of Nineveh, the memory of Assyria had dwindled into the oral lore of other peoples in the region," as Parpola notes.⁷⁰

The Neo-Assyrian Empire (934-609 BCE) was the military superpower of its day. According to Farrokh, one reason for the declining military power of the Assyrians was that the Assyrian armies were basically infantry armies in contrast to the Medes, who operated large and superior cavalry forces.⁷¹ Cavalry was more mobile and maneuverable than infantry. The Medes deployed horse archers, relying on rapid strike-retreat tactics. They mastered the martial art of firing from horseback during the ride so that the rider simultaneously controlled the horse and launched missiles. Farrokh concludes that the Assyrian army never developed its cavalry to the same high level which the Median cavalry had.⁷² Later on, the Persian Empire became the heir to the Mede military tradition, especially in terms of the cavalry and archery techniques. Certainly, also the best Neo-Assyrian military traditions were deployed by the later Persian imperial military machine. In addition to the military

Chronicle as ^{Kur}**Ma-da-a-a** and (^{Kur})**Umman-manda** refers to Cyaxares, the king of the Medes. Zawadzki 1988, 145-146.

⁶⁹ Van de Mieroop 2007, 267.

⁷⁰ Simo Parpola in Mattila Rajja (ed.), *Nineveh, 612 BC, The Glory and Fall of the Assyrian Empire*, (Helsinki, 1995), 15-16.

⁷¹ Farrokh 2007, 28.

⁷² Farrokh 2007, 27-29.

doctrine, the Persian Empire inherited both from the Assyrians and the Babylonians much in the areas of culture, administration and the ideology of power. One example of this is the Persian satrapal administration, as Kuhrt notes: “The later pattern of Achaemenid satrapal control, where local autonomous structures continued to function inside the Persian provinces, may be comparable, in some respects, to the Assyrian system.”⁷³

Farrokh notes that by 559 BCE, the ancient Near East was ruled by four major powers: the Median Empire, the Neo-Babylonian Empire, the Lydian kingdom in Anatolia, and Egypt.⁷⁴ The glory of Babylon, the Empire that destroyed the mighty Neo-Assyrian dynasty, can be found in the remains of the building-works in Babylonia.⁷⁵ According to Van de Mieroop, Nebuchadnezzar II wanted Babylon to express “the idea that it was the center of the universe.”⁷⁶ After its King, Nebuchadnezzar II (in Akkadian Nabû-kudurri-ušur, (604-562 BCE), died, the succession of the Babylonian throne became an internal battle.⁷⁷ The last king of Babylon was Nabonidus (555-539 BCE) whose major interest focused on the cult of Sin, the moon god, rather than in affairs of the state. Wherever possible, he strengthened the cult of Sin, favouring it in every way. The Babylonian texts reveal that Nabonidus gave very considerable attention to the moon god at two major cities: Ur and Harran which were Sin’s cult centers. Kuhrt suggests that Nabonidus’s promotion of the cult of Sin may have been exaggerated by modern scholars.⁷⁸ Van de Mieroop admits that the image of Nabonidus in the Babylonian texts is biased by the pro-Persian propaganda literature composed against him by the Marduk priesthood, but on the other hand, Nabonidus’s mother is well known from the Babylonian text from Harran as being a devotee of the moon god Sin.⁷⁹ For approximately ten years of his reign, Nabonidus even lived outside Babylon at the distant oasis of Teima in northern Arabia. During that time, Belshazzar his son, ruled in Babylon. According to a Babylonian text called “Verse Account of Nabonidus”, which is preserved on the damaged tablet British Museum 38,299, Nabonidus entrusted the kingship to Belshazzar:

⁷³ Kuhrt 1995, 531.

⁷⁴ Farrokh 2007, 37.

⁷⁵ Kuhrt 1995, 593.

⁷⁶ Van de Mieroop reminds also that “both the city-walls and the elusive hanging gardens were among the seven wonders of the ancient world.” Van de Mieroop 2007, 277.

⁷⁷ Van de Mieroop notes that “three kings ruled for a total of six years only, and two of them were assassinated.” Van de Mieroop 2007, 277. The opposite view represents Kuhrt who thinks that the effects of the problems in the royal succession after Nebuchadnezzar II should not be exaggerated. Kuhrt 1995, 597.

⁷⁸ Kuhrt 1995, 600-603.

⁷⁹ Van de Mieroop 2007, 278-279.

After he fulfilled his desire, a work of falsehood, had built an abomination, a work of sacrilege, at the beginning of the third year, he entrusted his military camp to his first born. The troops throughout the land he placed under his (command). He gave it (all) up, entrusted the kingship to him (sc. his son), and himself set out on a far journey; the forces of Akkad marching with him, to Teima in the midst of Amurru he set his face.⁸⁰

One of the main reasons for Nabonidus's unpopularity, according to Van de Mieroop, was that he wanted to change Babylonian culture.⁸¹ He wanted to promote the worship of moon god Sin at the cost of traditional Babylonian deities. In addition to these interior problems, the Empire of Babylon was soon confronted with the growing power of its former ally, the kingdom of Media, which was extending slowly but surely its rule westwards. In this threatening situation, Nabonidus made an alliance with the Achaemenids of Persia, and their young ruler Cyrus (*Kurush*) II (559-530 BCE), king of Anshan (western *Parsa*). Cyrus had subjected the ancient kingdom of Elam and absorbed it into Persia. When exactly it took place is not clear but probably before 539 BCE.⁸² Kuhrt underlines, that as a result, "Elamite culture exercised a profound influence on the Persians."⁸³ In addition, Cyrus also overthrew the last Median king Ishtumegu (584-550 BCE), the son of Cyaxares, in 550 BCE and then had himself crowned as the king of Media and Persia.⁸⁴ As a result, there arose in place of the kingdom of Media a much greater and more powerful new Empire. Its ruler Cyrus II, also called as Cyrus the Great, continued the expansion policy of the Medes, both westwards and eastwards. Nabonidus now allied himself with Lydia and Egypt, in order to stop the expansion of the Medes and Persians. However this was in vain. In 547 BCE Cyrus con-

⁸⁰ Kuhrt 2007, 75-80. Also in J.B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament (ANET)*. (New Jersey: Princeton, 1955), 313. Earlier in Smith Sidney, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*, (London, 1924).

⁸¹ For example, after returning from Teima, Nabonidus turned several temples into sanctuaries for the moon god Sin. Among them was also Marduk's temple at Babylon. Van de Mieroop 2007, 280.

⁸² Susa was Elam's capital, and in classical sources the name of the country is sometimes *Susiana*. In Akkadian the name of the country is *Elamtu*. The name Cyrus (*Kurush*; *Kurash*), the king of Anshan, is mentioned in a Persian inscription written on a clay barrel, originally published by H.C Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. (London, 1861-1884), V, 35. Transliteration and translation of it was made by F.H Weissbach. *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek III. (Leipzig, 1907-1916), 2ff. See also Pritchard, *ANET*, 1955, 315 and A.K Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, N.Y. : J. J. Augustin, 1975), 214. Kuhrt argues that the name of Cyrus is almost certainly Elamite meaning 'He who bestows care'/'He (or X) gives fortune'. Kuhrt 2007, 48. Kuhrt thinks also that it is not impossible that the fall of Susa predates Cyrus' war against the Medes in 550 BCE. Kuhrt 1995, 657.

⁸³ Kuhrt 2007, 47.

⁸⁴ Van de Mieroop notes that by defeating King Croesus of Lydia Cyrus reached the Aegean Sea and Greek cities on the Anatolian coast. Van de Mieroop 2007, 287.

quered Lydia in the western area of Asia Minor and after that the remaining territories of eastern Iran.⁸⁵ Farrokh notes, that “the capture of Lydia not only opened the territories of western Anatolia, but also provided Cyrus with a northern flank against the Babylonian Empire.”⁸⁶ In this strategic way of occupying territories situated in the west and also in the eastern mountains, the Persians dominated the plains of Mesopotamia.

As a result of the above mentioned strategic moves, in 539 BCE the army of Nabonidus was defeated by Cyrus in the battle of Opis on the Tigris. Soon after, Cyrus entered in triumph into the Babylonian capital.⁸⁷ He took the throne of Babylon and the entire Neo-Babylonian Empire was under his control.⁸⁸ This great historical event in the power politics of ancient Mesopotamia is reflected in the so-called Nabonidus-Chronicle as follows:

In the month Tashritu (27th September-26th October) when Cyrus did battle at Opis on the (bank of) the Tigris against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad retreated. He carried off the plunder (and) slaughtered the people. On the fourteenth day (10th October) Sippar was captured without battle. Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day (12th October) Ug/Gubaru, governor of Gutium, and the army of Cyrus without a battle entered Babylon. Afterwards, after Nabonidus retreated, he was captured in Babylon. Until the end of the month the shield of the Guti (i.e. troops) surrounded the gates of Esangil. Interruption (of rites/cult) in Esangil or the temples there was none, and no date was missed. On the third day of the month Arahsamnu (29th October), Cyrus entered Babylon. They filled the *haru*-vessels in his presence. Peace was imposed on the city, the proclamation of Cyrus was read to all of Babylon. He appointed Gubaru, his governor, over the local governors of Babylon.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Van de Mieroop 2007, 287.

⁸⁶ Farrokh 2007, 41.

⁸⁷ According to a late Babylonian writer, Berossus, who wrote a history of his country in the early third century BCE, Cyrus exiled Nabonidus from Babylonia, but gave him Carmania, where he spent the rest of his life and died there (Berossus, *Babyloniaca*). Kuhrt 2007, 49, 81-82.

⁸⁸ Van de Mieroop 2007, 287.

⁸⁹ Kuhrt 2007, 51. Earlier Grayson, 1975, 21-22, 109-110; Pritchard 1955, 306, and Smith 1924, Pls. XI-XIV, 110ff. Esangil was the temple of Marduk, chief god of the Babylonian pantheon and patron of Babylon. Kuhrt 2007, 53, note 9. Gubaru was a general who had served the late Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (605-562 BCE). Farrokh 2007, 42.

The so-called Cyrus Cylinder, an inscription on a clay cylinder, one of the found Persian historical texts, written in Akkadian, praises Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, and pictures the victorious king Cyrus as follows:

His massive troops, whose number was immeasurable like the water of a river, marched with their arms at their side. Without battle and fighting he let him enter his city Babylon. He saved Babylon from its oppression. Nabonidus, the king who did not honour him, he handed over to him. All the inhabitants of Babylon, the whole of the land of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors knelt before him kissed his feet, rejoiced at his kingship; their faces shone. 'The lord, who through his help has brought the dead to life, who in (a time of) disaster and oppression has benefited all' - thus they joyfully celebrated him, honoured his name. I, Cyrus, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters, son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, eternal seed of kingship, whose reign was loved by Bel and Nabu and whose kingship they wanted to please their hearts – when I had entered Babylon peacefully, I set up, with acclamation and rejoicing, the seat of lordship in the palace of the ruler. Marduk, the great lord, (...) me the great heart, (...) of Babylon, daily I cared for his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully through Babylon. I did not allow any troublemaker to arise in the whole land of Sumer and Akkad. The city of Babylon and all its cult-centres I maintained in well-being. The inhabitants of Babylon, (who) against the will (of the gods...) a yoke unsuitable for them, I allowed them to find rest from their exhaustion, their servitude I relieved. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at my (good) deeds.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Kuhrt 2007, 71. Originally published by Rawlinson 1861-1884, 35. Later transliteration and translation Weissbach, 1907-1916, 2ff. Also in Pritchard 1955, 315-316. Kuhrt notes that Cyrus lists his predecessors as Cambyses (I), Cyrus (I) and Teispes who all were great kings ruling in Anshan that was the ancient name for Parsa. However, Cyrus does not mention Achaemenes as his predecessor. Kuhrt reminds that Achaemenes appears as founder of the Persian dynasty only from the reign of Darius I, whose genealogy is problematic. Kuhrt 2007, 73, note 15.

Now, Cyrus had all western Asia in his control, and there was no one who could challenge his power. As long as he lived, not a single revolt disturbed the great peace of the Persian Empire that he had created. It was only later, when trying to expand his Empire to the east, Cyrus lost his life during a campaign against the Queen Tomyris of the Massagetae beyond the Jaxartes River in 530 BCE.⁹¹

2.1.2. The glory of the Persian Empire during Darius the Great

Cyrus' successor was his eldest son Cambyses (Kambujiya II, 530-522 BCE). He became the local ruler for Babylonia already in 538 BCE when Cyrus returned to the traditional Persian capital of Ecbatana. In August of 530 BCE, when Cyrus died, Cambyses inherited the Persian throne. He continued the expansion policy of his father, and his greatest achievement was to annex Egypt to the Persian Empire in 525 BCE. He is best known from the story written by Herodotus about Cambyses' campaign in Egypt. According to Herodotus, Cambyses was an insane, intolerant, and militarily incompetent ruler, who suffered from birth from a serious illness, which was called "the sacred sickness."⁹² Farrokh notes, that according to the modern historiography, Herodotus probably obtained his information from biased sources and that Cambyses was in fact a talented military leader.⁹³ Also Kuhrt and Van de Mieroop argue that Herodotus' account of the Persian conquest of Egypt is extremely biased and was aimed at creating an image of Cambyses as a crazy despot.⁹⁴ According to Kuhrt, this negative image ultimately stems from Darius I.⁹⁵ Although Cambyses may have been a strange personality, he was, without doubt, also a wise military commander. He led the Persian army by land to the Syrian coast, there built ships with the help of Greeks, crossed the Sinai desert with his army with the help of the local Arabs, and finally captured Egypt by a surprising attack in 525 BCE. By this simultaneous attack from both sea and land, Cambyses overthrew the Egyptian King, Psammetichus III, and his army. Kuhrt notes

⁹¹ Farrokh 2007, 49.

⁹² Herodotus expresses his own opinion about Cambyses very clearly: "In view of all this, I have no doubt whatever that Cambyses was completely out of his mind." Herodotus III. 30.33 and III.38. Briant 2002, 50.

⁹³ According to Farrokh, negative stories such as that of Cambyses slaying the Apis Bull and mocking the Egyptians, may have been derived from those Egyptian priests alienated by Cambyses's reforms of their oligarchy. Farrokh 2007, 49.

⁹⁴ Van de Mieroop takes as an example the story of King Cambyses and the Apis bull at Memphis which is much debated. Various Egyptian cities had bull cults and the bull of Memphis was called Apis and associated with the god Ptah. Van de Mieroop argues that Herodotus repeated a Greek lie: "Persians were portrayed as vandals because it strengthened the idea that the Greeks were the guardians of civilization." Van de Mieroop 2011, 311, 313.

⁹⁵ Kuhrt 2007, 104-106.

that “despite the essentially negative picture painted by Herodotus, his story seems to be a fairly reliable account of the progress of the Persian conquest of Egypt.”⁹⁶ Cambyses’ main achievements were his conquest of Egypt in 525 BCE and the increased Persian naval strength in the east Mediterranean, as Herodotus recalls:

For earlier, when some Persians, as well as Croesus, had been sitting with him, Cambyses asked them what they thought of him as a man in comparison to his father, Cyrus. They replied that he was better than his father, because he had all the latter’s possessions, and had added to them Egypt and the sea.⁹⁷

One Elephantine text, which was written by the Judeans of Egypt in 407 BCE, tells that when entering Egypt, Cambyses “overthrew all the temples of the gods of Egypt.”⁹⁸ However, both Farrokh and Kuhrt argue that it is unlikely that Cambyses reversed his father’s policy in religious matters. In fact, Egyptian evidence shows the opposite that Cambyses’ policy in Egypt followed his father’s Cyrus’ policy in Babylonia.⁹⁹ Either way, the Judeans in Egypt had no cause to complain of Cambyses, for he spared their temple in Elephantine. With this military victory over Egypt, the Persian Empire achieved the same extent as Assyria at the beginning of the seventh century BCE. Farrokh underlines the importance of this victory by noting that Egypt had been the last of the major powers of the ancient Near East which had remained outside of the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁰⁰

Cambyses stayed in Egypt for about three years in order to establish the Persian rule in the country. Meanwhile, a magus called Gaumata proclaimed himself king in Persia in the spring of 522 BCE and gained support from many. Cambyses left Egypt in order to challenge the rebellion but died in Syria on his journey back to Persia.¹⁰¹ Immediately Egypt revolted. Kuhrt notes that the situation in Egypt after Cambyses’ death is not clear, but it

⁹⁶ Kuhrt 2007, 104. Kuhrt refers to Herodotus’ accounts in Herodotus III, 4; 9; 10.1; 11.1; 11.3; 13; 19.3; 44. Kuhrt 2007, 110-113.

⁹⁷ Herodotus III, 34. Kuhrt 2007, 104-105, 132.

⁹⁸ TAD A 4.7:14.

⁹⁹ Farrokh 2007, 49. Kuhrt refers to the hieroglyphic inscription of Udjahorresnet, who was a high officer and naval commander of the Egyptian King. Kuhrt 1995, 662-663; 2007, 117-122.

¹⁰⁰ Farrokh 2007, 49. Van de Mieroop agrees that Cambyses’ greatest military accomplishment was the conquest of Egypt, but at the same time, he also adds that Cambyses “overextended himself, however, by attempting to expand along the North African coast and into the oases and Nubia, enterprises that were doomed to failure.” Van de Mieroop 2007, 287.

¹⁰¹ According to Van de Mieroop, Cambyses was probably assassinated either by Bardiya or by Darius. Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

seems that its satrap's loyalty was suspect and he had to be removed.¹⁰² Egypt became also later on a continuing problem for the Persian Empire because it revolted often and successfully.¹⁰³

After Cambyses' death, revolts took place in several parts of the Persian Empire in 522 BCE, not only in Egypt. According to the official Persian story and that of Herodotus, Gaumata, pretending to be Bardiya, Cambyses' younger brother, seized the throne in Persia.¹⁰⁴ Kuhrt notes that the rapid birth of the vast Persian Empire, which came into being in less than thirty years, probably created these internal problems of power in Persia.¹⁰⁵ Whoever Gaumata/Bardiya was, he was soon put to death by a small group of Persian nobles. One of these nobles, who previously was a high officer in Cambyses' army, Darius (Old Persian: Darayavahush, 522-486 BCE), son of the satrap Hystaspes, and a member of the royal family by a collateral line, claimed the throne.¹⁰⁶ Farrokh asserts that Darius held a position of high office, as he was a member of the Achaemenid royal family.¹⁰⁷ The Persian army accepted him as the king, and he marched eastward into Media, brought rebels down and executed them. Darius' victory, however, did not bring peace. On the contrary, it set off more revolts all over the Empire. Throughout his first years Darius fought without cessation on one front after another in order to put down the rebellions. Berquist and Kuhrt suggest that all these revolts, except for those of Egypt, were extinguished by Darius by the end of 521 BCE.¹⁰⁸ Van de Mieroop, however, argues that the rebellions lasted until 518 BCE and that "Darius was often forced to return to a region many times to deal with successive rebels."¹⁰⁹

Darius' victories are remembered in the trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian) inscription, which is carved on the rockface of Bisitun and represents the official Persian ideology. According to most scholars, like Kuhrt and Van de Mieroop, the Bisitun inscription is mainly biased Persian propaganda.¹¹⁰ That is, however, our primary source for what

¹⁰² Kuhrt 1995, 664, 668.

¹⁰³ Berquist notes that this model was later on repeated many times in the relations of Persia and Egypt. Persia did not control Egypt for very long periods, but it did usually conquer it again and again. Berquist 1995, 45-48. Van de Mieroop reminds that one of the rebellions was so successful that it provided Egypt with independence for 60 years (404-343 BCE). Van de Mieroop 2011, 305.

¹⁰⁴ The official Persian story is written in the Bisitun inscription and Herodotus' version in Herodotus III, 61-68. Kuhrt 2007, 141-157, 160-163.

¹⁰⁵ Kuhrt 2007, 135.

¹⁰⁶ Darius originally was an *arшти-бара* (lit. spear-bearer) in Cambyses's army in Egypt.

¹⁰⁷ Farrokh 2007, 52.

¹⁰⁸ Berquist 1995, 53. Kuhrt 1995, 665.

¹⁰⁹ Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

¹¹⁰ Kuhrt 2007, 136-138; Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

happened. Because only the Bisitun inscription and Herodotus describe a revolt by Bardiya against Cambyzes, Kuhrt argues that Bardiya, in fact, was the legitimate successor of Cambyzes, and Darius himself was the true rebel who killed Bardiya. The Bisitun inscription was then carved and circulated throughout the Empire in order to represent Darius as the legitimate Achaemenid ruler.¹¹¹ An Aramaic copy of the Bisitun inscription was found on the island of Elephantine in Egypt, as well.¹¹² Van de Mieroop suggests that possibly also Herodotus might have used one of these copies as the basis for his account of the events in his *Histories*.¹¹³

According to Kuhrt, the situation in Egypt during the crisis of 522-521 BCE is not clear.¹¹⁴ Darius succeeded in re-conquering Egypt only in 519 BCE or at the latest in 518 as Farrokh and Van de Mieroop suggest.¹¹⁵ From the beginning, Darius aimed at full integration of Egypt as a new satrapy in the Persian Empire. According to Berquist, Darius acted as Cyrus before him by using religion and local traditions to construct an image of himself as beneficent ruler.¹¹⁶ In this way Darius won the loyalty of Egyptians, and when he entered Egypt with the Persian army in 519 BCE, the Egyptian people welcomed him without battle and even crowned him their Pharaoh. In fact, Egypt stayed loyal to Darius until his death in 486 BCE.¹¹⁷

Before the sixth century ended, Darius had created an Empire that reached from the Indus valley to the Aegean Sea. Farrokh notes, that while Cyrus' advocacy of human rights was far ahead of his time, Darius' true genius was in administration and commerce.¹¹⁸ Darius organized the vast Empire, dividing it into twenty satrapies to facilitate administration and collection of taxes.¹¹⁹ Each satrapy had its satrap appointed by the king, usually one of the Persian or Median nobility. The satrapial system that Darius created was a system that sought to balance central authority with a degree of local autonomy. This system was executed all over the vast Empire and persisted as long as the Persian Empire endured. The

¹¹¹ Kuhrt 2007, 136-138; 1995, 666.

¹¹² TAD C 2.1.

¹¹³ Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

¹¹⁴ Kuhrt 1995, 668.

¹¹⁵ Farrokh argues that the rebellion in Egypt was most likely a local "Egyptian" revolt, which was suppressed by Darius by 518 BCE. Farrokh 2007, 54; Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

¹¹⁶ As an example Berquist takes the case when the holy Apis bull of Egypt died, Darius offered a Hundred gold talents to the finder of the next Apis bull. Berquist 1995, 56-57.

¹¹⁷ Berquist 1995, 56-57.

¹¹⁸ Farrokh 2007, 59.

¹¹⁹ According to Van de Mieroop, centralized administration and collection of taxes were closely bound together in the Persian Empire: "The centralized nature of the Persian empire is clear from its tribute collection." Van de Mieroop 2007, 297. However, Van de Mieroop suggests that Darius did not invent the idea of provinces himself, but he just accelerated the extension of their use. Van de Mieroop 2007, 291.

achievements of Darius were several. One of them was the Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, a distance of some 2500 kilometres. Another was the first-ever postal system that worked within the great Empire. Among his great royal building projects was the new dynastic capital of Persepolis. In Egypt, Darius completed the canal from the eastern Delta of the Nile to the Red Sea begun by pharaoh Nekau (Necho) II.¹²⁰ During the reign of Darius the Persian Empire reached her glory. According to Briant, Darius was energetic, decisive ruler who had organizational skills and who planned for the long term.¹²¹ His ascension to power marked the foundation of a new dynastic and imperial power that Kuhrt describes as: “Darius’ reign forms a crucial turning point in the empire’s existence. It is with him that the Persian Empire stabilizes and begins to acquire its mature form.”¹²² Only in one venture, and that was his most ambitious, could Darius be said to have failed. He failed in his attempt to conquer Greece, losing the major battle at Marathon in 490 BCE.¹²³ Kuhrt suggests that the Persians were not planning, at this point, to impose control over whole Greece, but that their landing on the plain of Marathon was only one effort to extend control in the Aegean.¹²⁴ After this failure, Darius raised taxes throughout the Empire in order to increase the necessary income for a new military campaign against the Greeks. In 486 BCE, Egypt rebelled, rather than pay the higher tax. In the same year Darius himself died. The following map of Persia (Figure1) shows how vast the area was that the Persian Empire controlled in ancient Near East.

¹²⁰ This canal connected Egypt to the Persian main land, as ships could directly sail from Memphis across the Red Sea to Persian coastal harbors. Van de Mieroop 2011, 307. Kuhrt thinks that Darius’ aim was to open a maritime trade route from the eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Kuhrt 1995, 668-669. Van de Mieroop suggests the same that Darius promoted the maritime trade. Van de Mieroop 2007, 299.

¹²¹ Briant 2002, 137-138.

¹²² Kuhrt 2007, 135.

¹²³ Van de Mieroop 2007, 289; John Curtis, *Ancient Persia*, (London, 1989²), 43-47.

¹²⁴ Kuhrt 2007, 185.

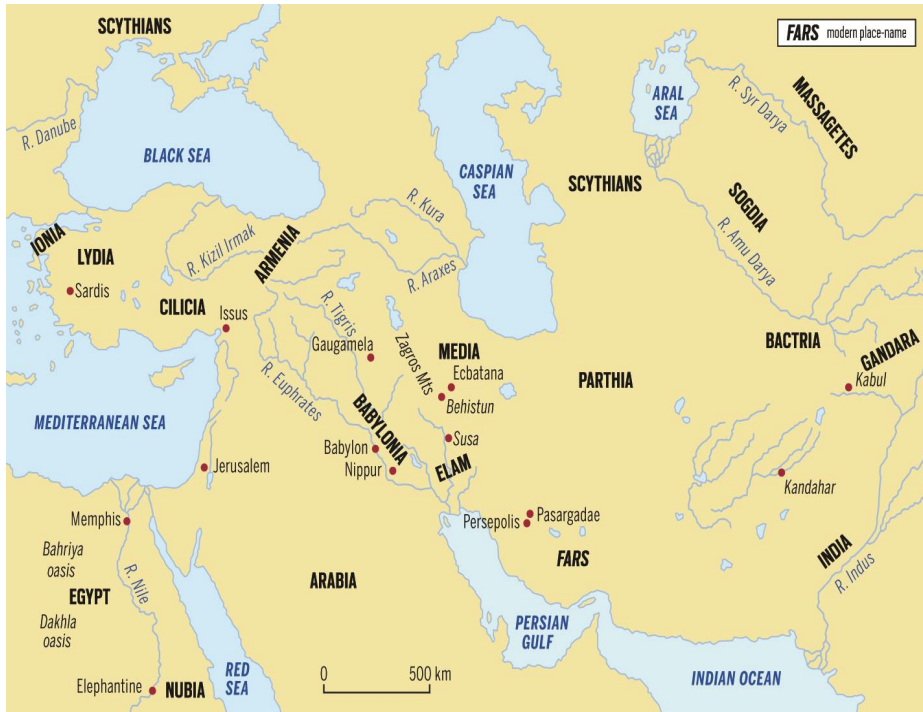


Figure 1 The Persian Empire (with permission of Josef Wiesehöfer and Wiley-Blackwell)

Herodotus tells how the first great rulers of the Persian Empire were seen by their subjective people:

In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is by reason of this fixing of tribute, and other like ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the huckster, Cambyses the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyses was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and ever wrought for their well-being. (Herodotus III.89)¹²⁵

Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes (486-465 BCE). Xerxes is traditionally seen by scholars as a man of less ability than his father. However, according to Briant, Xerxes's

¹²⁵ Kuhrt 2007, 673, 676, note 6; A. D. Godley, *Herodotus with an English translation*, Volume II, Book III.89, (London, 1921⁷), 117. Of course, Herodotus' history should be read critically as already noted above.

achievements should not be underestimated.¹²⁶ In the Persian royal inscriptions, Xerxes presented himself as the new king who completed the work of his father Darius. He devoted himself to pursuing his father's imperial policy with his main objective to conquer Greece.¹²⁷ Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 BCE and defeated the Greeks at Thermopylae on September 17, the same year.¹²⁸ However, Xerxes lost all other battles against the Greeks both on land and sea. In truth, his campaign finally was labeled a total fiasco.¹²⁹ Van de Mieroop suggests that Xerxes abandoned his attempt to conquer Greece in 478 BCE, which may indicate the end of the Persian expansion policy.¹³⁰ During the reign of Xerxes, Persia increased centralization of its Empire. Persians took positions of power in administration throughout the Empire.¹³¹ At the same time, the taxation of subjected people intensified. More income was needed for the continuing battles against the Greeks in the west. In 484 BCE, Xerxes re-conquered Egypt and imposed harsh occupational terms on the populace. According to Farrokh, these new severe imperial terms introduced by Xerxes, especially to the Babylonians and Egyptians, signaled a profound shift away from the philosophies of Cyrus and Darius.¹³² Yet Egypt remained under the Persian rule during the reign of Xerxes, who was assassinated by Persian conspirators in 465 BCE.¹³³

Xerxes was succeeded by a younger son of Darius, Artaxerxes I (465-424 BCE), who seized the throne by removing the rightful heir in obscure circumstances.¹³⁴ During his long reign Artaxerxes I continued his predecessor's policy of no-taxation for Persians, but at the same time increased taxes for other parts of the Empire. Egypt and Athens became allies in 460 BCE, and attacked and captured Memphis in 459 BCE. However, in 457 BCE, Persia defeated the rebels with the help of Sparta and with the leadership of Persian General Megabyzus. For the remainder of Artaxerxes I's rule, Egypt stayed under the Persian rule, but only loosely. During the reign of Artaxerxes I, the Greeks attained many military victories against the Persians and finally drove Artaxerxes to sign the 'Peace of Callias' treaty (449 BCE). Kuhrt notes that by this treaty "the *status quo* on Persia's north-western frontier

¹²⁶ Briant 2002, 515.

¹²⁷ Briant 2002, 524. Kuhrt underlines that this was the main object of Persia because King was personally involved in the campaign: "The importance of this Persian tactic is signaled by the fact that the Persian king himself led the expedition, by sea and land." Kuhrt 1995, 670-671.

¹²⁸ According to Van de Mieroop, the main strength of the Persian army was its great size. Van de Mieroop 2007, 289.

¹²⁹ Farrokh 2007, 81-82.

¹³⁰ Van de Mieroop 2007, 289.

¹³¹ Berquist 1995, 88-89. Also Briant 2002, 567-568.

¹³² Farrokh 2007, 74.

¹³³ Berquist 1995, 91.

¹³⁴ Kuhrt 1995, 671.

was formalized, while Athens abandoned attempts to intervene further east.”¹³⁵ In other words, this was a serious humiliation to the Persian Empire. From this point on, more and more weaknesses began to become evident in the Empire’s massive structure. During this time the Greek wars continued to occupy the imperial attention, and the local governors in other parts of the Persian Empire attained more power in the areal rule.¹³⁶ The missives of Ezra and Nehemiah are commonly noted by scholars as insights into the time of Artaxerxes I based on the biblical evidence or into the reign of Artaxerxes II.¹³⁷

2.1.3. The fall of the Persian Empire

When Artaxerxes I died in 424 BCE, his legitimate successor Xerxes II (424 BCE) was assassinated. Artaxerxes’ son Darius II (423-404 BCE) ascended the throne. During his reign, the Judean mercenary force, based at Elephantine and serving the Persian satrap, experienced some political and religious tensions with the Egyptians. According to the Aramaic texts discovered from Elephantine, this resulted in the destruction of the Temple of the Judeans at Elephantine by Egyptians in 410 BCE.¹³⁸ Van De Mieroop suggests that a property dispute caused this hostile reaction from the Egyptians.¹³⁹ However, Egypt remained loyal to the Persian Empire during the reign of Darius II, who died in 404 in Babylon and was

¹³⁵ However, Kuhrt notes that the very existence of this peace treaty is under debate by scholars because the contemporary Athenian historian Thucydides passes over it in silence. Kuhrt 1995, 672.

¹³⁶ Berquist 1995, 105-108.

¹³⁷ For example Berquist, Kuhrt and Williamson prefer the time of Artaxerxes I. Biblical evidence suggests Ezra’s primacy. Berquist’s arguments are Ezra’s primacy and the context of Artaxerxes I’s early problems. Berquist 1995, 110. Kuhrt’s argument is the historical context of Artaxerxes I’s rule when the Persians tried to beat back the Greek threat. Kuhrt 1995, 672. Williamson’s arguments are based on a broader approach to the biblical material itself. He brings forward six points in support of his opinion. 1. More weight than usual should be placed upon the testimony of the present biblical order of events. 2. The work of Nehemiah presupposes the work of Ezra. 3. The close relationship of Neh.10 and Neh.13 with a hermeneutic at Ezra 9 and Neh. 8 suggests the influence of Ezra’s earlier ministry. 4. The support that Ezra received in his handling of mixed marriages can also be explained in the context of Ezra’s primacy. 5. The position that Nehemiah received as governor implies that greater civil authority was needed during his time which in fact hints to his mission after Ezra’s time. 6. The reference to Ezra in the account of the dedication of the walls in Neh.12:36 as well as the letter mentioned in Ezra 4:12 support Ezra’s primacy. H.G.M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*. Word Biblical Commentary. Volume 16. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1985), XLII-XLIV; In her study, Eskenazi discusses the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah from the point of view of citizenship rights and seems to support the primacy of Ezra and the timing of his mission to the reign of Artaxerxes I. Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, “The Missions of Ezra and Nehemiah”, in Lipschits and Oeming 2006, 509-529. Gerstenberger, however, argues that the question of right chronology is secondary: “The question which one was first, Ezra or Nehemiah, is for the redactor not primary... The redactor wanted to give a theological and not historical description of the time.” Gerstenberger 2005, 21, 26.

¹³⁸ TAD A 4.7. and 4.8.

¹³⁹ Van de Mieroop 2011, 309. He does not accept the hypothesis of other historians who suggest that xenophobia was behind this violent move of the Egyptians. Simply, the temple of Khnum in Elephantine needed more space, and the temple of the Judeans had to be removed.

followed by Artaxerxes II.

Of all the Persian kings Artaxerxes II had the longest reign (404-359 BCE). During his rule, he endured many revolts within his Empire. Soon after Artaxerxes II's accession, Egypt rebelled and made herself free with the lead of Amyrtaios in 401 BCE. This independence lasted more than sixty years (404-343 BCE). However, Van de Mieroop reminds us that the Egyptian independence was not united, but instead a set of rival families that actually fought one another.¹⁴⁰ At the same time when Egypt was revolting, Artaxerxes II faced rebellion headed by his brother Cyrus, a rebellion he defeated.¹⁴¹ Van de Mieroop notes that competition for the throne would become a prevailing problem later on.¹⁴² Artaxerxes II was successful in a thirteen year long war against Sparta (400-387 BC). Artaxerxes II sided with the Athenians and thus slowly gained the upper hand. Farrokh notes that "Greece's exhausting wars worked to the Empire's advantage. Persian gold had again achieved what Achaemenid arms could not"¹⁴³ Athens and Sparta asked the Persian King to mediate an end to their wars. This resulted in the "King's Peace" accord in 387-386 BCE, which was later called Pax Persica. However, shortly after, the western part of Artaxerxes' Empire was shaken by the "revolt of the satraps." The western local kings, nominally ruled by the Persian Empire, were now encouraged by discontent over heavy taxation and by the example of Egypt. Almost the whole Empire west of the Euphrates was in revolt. Farrokh points out that this dangerous situation for the Persian Empire, however, turned to victory because disunity among the rebels facilitated the king's task of destroying them and putting the rebellion down.¹⁴⁴ In Egypt, Nephertites I had ascended to throne in 399 BCE. Persia attacked rebellious Egypt several times but could not re-conquer it. In 373 BCE, Artaxerxes II launched an expedition into Egypt, but King Nectanebo I prevented him from retaking Egypt. Farrokh notes that Egypt had now achieved full independence from Persia, and at the same time, this failure was a serious blow against Artaxerxes' prestige.¹⁴⁵ Artaxerxes II died in 359 BCE, leaving his Empire weak from both outside and inside.

¹⁴⁰ Van de Mieroop 2011, 309.

¹⁴¹ Farrokh recalls that Darius II had two sons with his wife Parysatis: Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE) and Cyrus II (423-401 BCE), also known as Cyrus the Younger. Parysatis favored Cyrus and hoped him to become king after his father. Artaxerxes and Cyrus met in battle at Cunaxa, Babylon, in 401 BCE. Cyrus was killed. Farrokh 2007, 88, 90.

¹⁴² Van de Mieroop reminds that "several kings executed potential rivals when they ascended the throne." Van de Mieroop 2007, 292.

¹⁴³ Farrokh 2007, 92.

¹⁴⁴ Farrokh also notes that: "The overwhelming presence of Greek mercenaries in the revolts was indicative of the alarmingly weak state of the Achaemenid military. The Empire was now unquestionably in decline and was becoming increasingly vulnerable to an external invasion." Farrokh 2007, 93.

¹⁴⁵ Farrokh 2007, 92; Van de Mieroop 2011, 290.

The following ruler, Artaxerxes III (359-338 BCE), seems to have been a cruel person. He secured his own ascension to throne by putting his brother and family members to death. During his reign Artaxerxes III, also had to wage war against various rebellions. In 356 BCE the Greek allies revolted. Artaxerxes III launched an expedition to Egypt in 351-350 BCE, but his forces were defeated by Pharaoh Nectanebo II. In 343 BCE, Artaxerxes III himself led the Persian army again into Egypt and managed somehow to reconquer it after its long independence. Nectanebo II fled to Nubia, and Persian Empire gained control over Egypt and Phoenicia. Farrokh remarks that this success of the Egyptian campaign may have drawn Artaxerxes III's attention away from the dangerous political developments taking place in the Hellenic world where Philip II of Macedon (382-336 BCE) had managed to unite the Greeks under one leadership.¹⁴⁶ At the peak of his royal power, Artaxerxes III was in 338 BCE poisoned to death by his chief eunuch Bagoas, who held the position of Grand Counselor. Bagoas then killed all of Artaxerxes' sons except for Artaxerxes IV (Greek: Arses), whom he placed in power, himself being the real authority behind the throne. This report is based on the story of the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, but Farrokh notes that these historical narratives are far from certain.¹⁴⁷

Artaxerxes III was followed by his son Arses, who ruled for only a couple of years (338-336 BCE). He was killed also by Bagoas who then gave the Persian throne to Darius III (336-331 BCE), called as Codomannus, the satrap of Armenia, who was the last king of Persia.¹⁴⁸ At the same time that Darius III's ascended to throne in 336 BCE, Alexander the Great (336-323 BCE) became the king of Greece after his father Philip II was murdered. Alexander set as his primary goal to liberate the Greeks from the yoke of Persia. When assassinations inside the royal family took place in Persia, Egypt revolted in 337 BCE. Darius III re-conquered Egypt in 336 BCE. From a military point of view, this can be seen as a mistake because Darius III moved the power of the Persian troops south into Egypt and gave an opening for Alexander the Great to destroy the Persian army and capture the whole Em-

¹⁴⁶ Farrokh 2007, 95.

¹⁴⁷ Farrokh 2007, 96; Berquist 1995, 124; the English translation of the text of Diodorus Siculus can be found in http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/16C*.html (accessed on 18.8.2015); originally published in C. Oldfather, C. Sherman, C. Bradford Welles, R. Geer and F. Walton, (eds.), "Diodorus Siculus" in *Library of History*. 12 Volumes, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1933-1967), VII, 16.50.

¹⁴⁸ Farrokh recalls the course of the events according to Diodorus Siculus, suggesting that Artaxerxes IV attempted to poison Bagoas two years after his enthronement but failed. Therefore, Bagoas retaliated by killing the King himself. The father of Darius III, Arsham, was the grandson of Ostan (Ostanes), one of the brothers of Artaxerxes II. After realizing that Darius III was an independent ruler, Bagoas plotted to poison also the new king. His plot was discovered, and Darius forced the eunuch to drink his own poison. Farrokh 2007, 96.

pire. The decisive battle took place at Issus in 333 BCE when the phalanxes of Alexander the Great struck the Persian army into pieces. Farrokh lists two main reasons which contributed to the defeat of Persia: first, the impoverished economy of the Empire. Greed and corruption of the nobles and government officials had grown, while the general population had impoverished due to high interest rates and high taxes. Second, according to Farrokh, was the military weakness of the Persian army compared to the highly developed military tactics of the Greek phalanxes.¹⁴⁹ Van de Mieroop also admits that the main reason for the collapse of the Persian army between 334 and 330 was Alexander's skillful use of the phalanx, and not the gradual decline in Persian military might.¹⁵⁰ Darius III himself abandoned the battlefield at Issus and fled. This victory was decisive as Farrokh notes: "Darius lost much more than just the battle at Issus. Issus broke the back of Achaemenid power over the lands outside of Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, and the Iranian plateau."¹⁵¹ Since the victory at Issus, Alexander aimed at conquering the total Persian Empire. He turned southwards along the Mediterranean coast capturing the Phoenician cities, Palestine and finally entering Egypt without resistance in the fall of 332 BCE.¹⁵² Van de Mieroop notes that although Alexander's victory is in classical sources portrayed as liberation, it should mainly be seen as Macedonian propaganda.¹⁵³ The Persian Empire lost its power in the region to the new Hellenistic Empire. Darius III met Alexander once more at the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BCE but was finally defeated and killed.¹⁵⁴

2.1.4. The new international policy of the Persian kings

Scholars commonly agree that the kings of Persia adopted a new policy toward their subject people, different from the policy of the previous Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. These kings made no such vast deportations to distant lands as their predecessors did.¹⁵⁵ Against this already traditional theory, Briant has argued that Persians did, in fact,

¹⁴⁹ Farrokh underlines that although Alexander's army totaled only 40 000 fighting troops, he understood the importance of diverse weapons systems, working as one unit on the battlefield, an innovation still seen in all successful modern armies today. Farrokh 2007, 97.

¹⁵⁰ Van de Mieroop 2007, 290.

¹⁵¹ Farrokh 2007, 102.

¹⁵² Van de Mieroop 2011, 316.

¹⁵³ Van de Mieroop 2007, 300.

¹⁵⁴ Van de Mieroop notes that according to the Persian royal traditions, Alexander buried Darius III's corpse to the royal tombs at Persepolis. "By doing this for Darius III, Alexander of Macedon declared himself inheritor of the throne and thus a legitimate Persian king." Van de Mieroop 2007, 298.

¹⁵⁵ According to the Assyrian inscriptions, over 4.5 million people were deported from their homelands within three centuries beginning from the King Assur-dān (934-912 BCE) until Ashurbanipal (669-627 BCE), these

execute deportations but instead used deportation only as a punishment to those people who took part in revolts or who were defeated in battles. The deported people were an important part of a system called *kurtaš* who formed the labor force of the Persian Empire. These groups of deportees included both men and women.¹⁵⁶ Although there were several deportations like this made by the Persians, they were most likely not as vast as those of the Assyrians and Babylonians. Van de Mieroop notes that the Persian Empire was at the same time highly centralized and respectful of the people it ruled. It did not attempt to change the culture, language, religion or political organization of its subject people.¹⁵⁷ This Persian policy was mainly practical and economical. It was simpler and cheaper for the Persians to obtain the spontaneous collaboration of their subjects at a local level than to have to impose their rule by force. It is also possible that Persians wanted to create this new international policy in order to gain the trust of those many nations whom the Babylonians had cruelly destroyed and exiled. Farrokh suggests that this new policy was created by Cyrus: “Cyrus’ genius at government was his appreciation of the linguistic, religious, and human rights of all his subjects. Herodotus described Cyrus as a father figure whose sole concern was the welfare of the people. It is true that Cyrus sought to unite peoples into one Empire while showing full respect to all languages, creeds, and religious practices. Even Alexander the Great greatly admired Cyrus.”¹⁵⁸ Van de Mieroop further details the uniting effect of the Persian king arguing that Persians wanted to insert the Persian king into existing local traditions of rule in order to bring unity to the vast Empire. “In Babylonia he was a Babylonian king; in Egypt he was a pharaoh.”¹⁵⁹ Persians accepted and promoted local traditions everywhere. The Cyrus Cylinder states this new policy of Cyrus as follows:

being uprooted and scattered throughout West Asia. Assyrians deported Israelites to Babylon and Media in the Zagros Mountains, some 1200 kilometres away, especially during the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib (2 Kings 17: 6; 18: 11). Martti Nissinen, “Outlook: Arameans outside of Syria. 1. Assyria”, in Herbert Niehr (ed.), *The Arameans in Ancient Syria*. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 273; Van de Mieroop 2007, 233; Farrokh 2007, 25. See especially the study of Bustenay Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. (Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1979), 20.

¹⁵⁶ Briant 2002, 433-435, 505. Briant explains that the Elamite word *kurtaš* refers generally to the laborers who worked in the fields, shops or on construction sites. *Kurtaš* represented a sampling of nearly all of the peoples of the Empire, including Persians. The term is also found in the Babylonian tablets, in the form *gardu*. Briant 2002, 429, 458.

¹⁵⁷ Van de Mieroop argues that “In contrast, the Assyrians had incorporated numerous peoples and cultures, but their ideology had erased the differences and made them all Assyrians once they were conquered.” Van de Mieroop 2007, 293. Against his view, see Angelika Berlejung, in Nissinen Martti (ed.) *Congress Volume. Helsinki 2010*. Supplements to the Vetus Testamentum (Book 148). (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

¹⁵⁸ Farrokh 2007, 44.

¹⁵⁹ Van de Mieroop 2011, 304, 310; 2007, 296.

16. His vast troops whose number, like the water in a river, could not be counted, were marching fully-armed at his side.
17. He had him enter without fighting or battle right into Shuanna; he saved his city Babylon from hardship. He handed over to him Nabonidus, the king who did not fear him.
18. All the people of Tintir, of all Sumer and Akkad, nobles and governors, bowed down before him and kissed his feet, rejoicing over his kingship and their faces shone.
19. The lord through whose help all were rescued from death and who saved them all from distress and hardship, they blessed him sweetly and praised his name.
20. I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world,
21. son of Cambyeses, the great king, king of the city of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, the great king, ki[ng of the ci]ty of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan,
22. the perpetual seed of kingship, whose reign Bel (Marduk) and Nabu love, and with whose kingship, to their joy, they concern themselves. When I went as harbinger of peace i[nt]o Babylon
23. I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing. Marduk, the great lord, bestowed on me as my destiny the great magnanimity of one who loves Babylon, and I every day sought him out in awe.
24. My vast troops were marching peaceably in Babylon, and the whole of [Sumer] and Akkad had nothing to fear.
25. I sought the safety of the city of Babylon and all its sanctuaries. As for the population of Babylon [...], w]ho as if without div[ine intention] had endured a yoke not decreed for them,
26. I soothed their weariness; I freed them from their bonds(?). Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at [my good] deeds,
27. and he pronounced a sweet blessing over me, Cyrus, the king who fears him, and over Cambyeses, the son [my] issue, [and over] my all my troops,

28. that we might live happily in his presence, in well-being. At his exalted command, all kings who sit on thrones,
 29. from every quarter, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, those who inhabit [remote district]s (and) the kings of the land of Amurru who live in tents, all of them,
 30. brought their weighty tribute into Shuanna, and kissed my feet. From [Shuanna] I sent back to their places to the city of Ashur and Susa,
 31. Akkad, the land of Eshnunna, the city of Zamban, the city of Meturnu, Der, as far as the border of the land of Gutu - the sanctuaries across the river Tigris - whose shrines had earlier become dilapidated,
 32. the gods who lived therein, and made permanent sanctuaries for them. I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements,
 33. and the gods of the land of Sumer and Akkad which Nabonidus – to the fury of the lord of the gods – had brought into Shuanna, at the command of Marduk, the great lord,
 34. I returned them unharmed to their cells, in the sanctuaries that make them happy. May all the gods that I returned to their sanctuaries,
 35. every day before Bel and Nabu, ask for a long life for me, and mention my good deeds, and say to Marduk, my lord, this: “Cyrus, the king who fears you, and Cambyses his son,
 36. may they be the provisioners of our shrines until distant (?) days, and the population of Babylon call blessings on my kingship. I have enabled all the lands to live in peace.”¹⁶⁰

According to Farrokh, the three important declarations in the decree of the Cyrus Cylinder are the political formalization of racial, linguistic, and religious equality; the idea that all deported peoples were to be allowed to return home; and the restoration of all destroyed temples.¹⁶¹

Van de Mieroop argues that an example of this, the new Persian policy to embrace local traditions, is the decision of Cambyses when conquering Egypt to adopt an Egyptian

¹⁶⁰ Lines 16-36 of the Cyrus Cylinder; translation of the text is made by Irving Finkel. http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/articles/c/cyrus_cylinder_-_translation.aspx (Accessed on 18.8.2015); older translations can be found in Pritchard 1955, 316 and Rawlinson 1861-1884, 35.

¹⁶¹ Farrokh 2007, 44.

throne name, Mesutira, “Offspring of Ra.”¹⁶² One sign of the new policy was evident in the royal inscriptions of the Persians which now appeared in multi-lingual form instead of the one language of the present ruler. Persian royal inscriptions appear in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian (cuneiform). Also in official correspondence and public acts, other languages were allowed according to the new, more liberal policy. Aramaic was used as the official language of administration everywhere in the Empire. It seems quite evident that Aramaic was used in this area already in the Neo-Assyrian period together with other languages. Persian kings made Aramaic the administrative language for the whole Empire, demonstrating well its new policy.¹⁶³ Utilizing the existing cultural and social patterns in the societies under their rule, they developed them even further for their own administrative benefit. Briant notes that in a multiethnic and multilingual Empire, this was a practical decision. In order to facilitate an effective government, a language had to be used that was understood by as many as possible.¹⁶⁴ Aramaic served this purpose well enough.

¹⁶² Van de Mieroop 2011, 310; 2007, 295.

¹⁶³ According to Van de Mieroop, the use of Aramaic as the language of administration shows that centralizing forces were at work, but not to the extent to erase local variation and traditions. Van de Mieroop 2007, 293; Tadmor recalls the history of Aramaic in ancient Near East as a western Semitic language that is attested in inscriptions from the ninth century BCE onwards. It was introduced into the region by Aramean migrations at the end of the second millennium BCE. Used by traders, it rapidly became an everyday spoken language in the region by the end of the seventh century BCE, shortly before the Babylonian Exile. Tadmor 1982, 449-470.

¹⁶⁴ Briant 2002, 510.

Table 1 List of kings who ruled over Judah, Babylonian and Persia during 715-331 BCE

THE LAST KINGS OF JUDAH	THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE	THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
Hezekiah (715-687 BCE)		
Manasseh (687-642 BCE)		
Amon (642-640 BCE)		
Josiah (640-609 BCE)	Nabopolassar (626-605 BCE)	
Jehoahaz II (609 BCE)		
Jehoiakim (609-598 BCE)	Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BCE)	
Jehoiachin (598-597 BCE) Zedekiah (597-587 BCE) ¹⁶⁵		
(Gedaliah: governor)		
	Evil-Merodach (561-560 BCE) Neriglissar (559-556 BCE) Labashi-Marduk (556 BCE)	
	Nabonidus(555-539 BCE) ¹⁶⁶	Cyrus II (559-530 BCE) Cambyses (529-522 BCE) Bardiya (522 BCE) Darius I (521-486 BCE) Xerxes I (485-465 BCE)
		Artaxerxes I (464-424/3 BCE) Xerxes II (424 BCE) Darius II (423-405 BCE) Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE) Artaxerxes III (358-338 BCE) Darius III (335-331 BCE) ¹⁶⁷

2.1.5. Egypt under the Persian control

Egypt's earliest foreign ruler was Nubia who from the mid-eight century BCE had controlled its political developments. King Shabaqo of Kush (715-702 BCE) conquered Egypt ca. 711 BCE and developed Memphis as one of his capitals. Van de Mieroop notes that Egypt's great wealth, for example its plentiful gold mines, made it an appealing target for other strong nations.¹⁶⁸ This was also the case for Assyria, but Egypt was too far away from its power-center in Mesopotamia. However, by the late eight century BCE, Assyrians had

¹⁶⁵ W.F. Albright, "List of last kings of Judah after the fall of Northern kingdom 722/721" in *BASOR* 100, 1945, 16-22. Also in Kuhrt 1995, 468.

¹⁶⁶ Van de Mieroop 2007, 313; Also Kuhrt 1995, 592.

¹⁶⁷ Van de Mieroop 2007, 314; Look also Farrokh's chronology, Farrokh 2007, 9-10; Curtis' chronology, Curtis 1989², 90.

¹⁶⁸ Van de Mieroop 2011, 289-290; 2007, 256.

gradually extended their power southward over Palestine to reach the Egyptian border. Van de Mieroop remarks that the subsequent Assyrian invasions into Egypt were a natural continuation of their expansion.¹⁶⁹ The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 BCE) organized three military campaigns to Egypt, captured the northern capital of Memphis in 671 BCE, and made vassals in the Nile Delta region. However, Assyria's control of Egypt did not remain strong enough and the Nubians invaded the country again. The next Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668-627 BCE) initiated two expeditions against Egypt, capturing the capital of Thebes in central Egypt; thus bringing Nubian control of the area to an end in 664-663 BCE.¹⁷⁰ Assyria's rule over Egypt lasted only a short time, and ended in 657-656 BCE when Psammetichus I (664-610 BCE), who was installed by Assurbanipal as Assyria's primary vassal in Egypt, proclaimed himself the independent king of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹⁷¹ After the Neo-Assyrian Empire had been destroyed by the Babylonians, the conquest of Egypt became the goal of the new Babylonian Empire. Van De Mieroop thinks that this might have been Nebuchadnezzar's intention because the king wanted to gain full dominion over Syria-Palestine.¹⁷² It does seem that Nebuchadnezzar tried to invade Egypt several times without success until finally he gave up his plan and agreed upon the border with Egypt in 567 BCE.¹⁷³

The first Persian ruler, Cyrus II, submitted only those areas in the west which previously belonged to the Babylonian Empire, including Syria and Palestine. His son Cambyses (529-522 BCE) was actually the first Persian king to conquer Egypt in 525 BCE. Farrokh notes that Cambyses is the one who completed his father's unfulfilled ambition: the conquest of Egypt.¹⁷⁴ According to Briant, the conflict between Persia and Egypt was not only inevitable, but it was also predetermined by the decision made by Cyrus II to annex Trans-Euphrates to the satrapy of Babylonia. "This would sooner or later require the subjugation of the countries located between the Euphrates and the Nile."¹⁷⁵

The following tables (Tables 2 and 3) demonstrate how Egypt was under the Persian rule for 123 years, a little bit less than two thirds of the whole Persian period (207 years). For eighty four years, Egypt was outside of its rule, and even their shared history is full of

¹⁶⁹ Van de Mieroop 2011, 288.

¹⁷⁰ Van de Mieroop 2011, 291-293; 2007, 247, 256-257.

¹⁷¹ Van de Mieroop 2011, 289, 293; 2007, 256.

¹⁷² Van de Mieroop 2007, 256, 276.

¹⁷³ Van de Mieroop 2011, 300; 2007, 276.

¹⁷⁴ Farrokh 2007, 49.

¹⁷⁵ Briant 2002, 51.

revolts by Egypt and re-conquests of it by Persia. During the entire fifth century BCE from Darius the Great through Darius II, Egypt remained loyal to the Persian throne; only five of those years were rebellious. In fact, Darius II (423-405 BCE) was the only ruler, except of Xerxes II (424 BCE), who could enjoy Egypt's loyalty throughout all of his reign. Unlike Darius II, during the reign of Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE) Egypt's loyalty began to decrease. Even though he was the Persian king who stayed the longest time in power, 45 years altogether, during his reign, Egypt was not under Persian domination (look at Table 3). By the fourth century BCE, the continuous battles with the Greeks and the inner competition for the Persian throne, as well as other political weaknesses of the Empire, had their impact on the loyalty of Egypt and other vassal states to the Persian King. According to Briant, "the Empire was not prepared for the military and strategic challenge posed by Alexander."¹⁷⁶ One weakness of the Persian Empire was not only in its military or economic power, but even more so in the personal loyalty of its subjects to the King.¹⁷⁷

Table 2 Egypt under the Persian rule

EGYPT UNDER THE PERSIAN RULE	EGYPT OUT OF THE PERSIAN RULE	THE PERSIAN KINGS 539-332 BCE
525–522 BCE	539–526 BCE	Cyrus 559–530 Cambyses 529–522 Bardiya 522
518–486 BCE	521–519 BCE	Darius I 521–486
483–459 BCE	485–484 BCE	Xerxes I 485–465
456–403 BCE	459–457 BCE	Artaxerxes I 464–424/3 Xerxes II 424
		Darius II 423–405
342–337 BCE	404–343 BCE	Artaxerxes II 404–359
	336–334 BCE	Artaxerxes III 358–338
333–332 BCE		Artaxerxes IV 337–336 Darius III 335–331
123 years	84 years	207 years

¹⁷⁶ Briant 2002, 867.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. 868.

Table 3 Loyalty of Egypt to the Persian kings according to their regnal years

THE PERSIAN EMPERORS	IN ROYAL POWER	EGYPT LOYAL	EGYPT REBELLIOUS
Cyrus (559)539–530	9	0	9
Cambyses 529–522	8	3	5
Bardiya 522	1	0	1
Darius I 521–486	36	33	3
Xerxes I 485–465	21	19	2
Artaxerxes I 464–424/3	41	39	2
Xerxes II 424	1	1	0
Darius II 423–405	19	19	0
Artaxerxes II 404–359	45	0	45
Artaxerxes III 358–338	21	6	15
Artaxerxes IV 337–336	2	1	1
Darius III 335–332(331)	3	2	1

During the Persian period, Palestine was included in the territory of the satrapy of Abar Nahara, the decision made by Cyrus II.¹⁷⁸ This area had been already established as an administrative entity by the Neo-Assyrian Empire; it was called *ebir-nari* (beyond the river, meaning west of the Euphrates). The entire area including Babylon itself and the region of Abar Nahara was captured from the Babylonians by Cyrus II and then united into a single satrapy ruled by the satrap Gobryas. Also Farrokh connects the beginning of the Persian system of satrapies to Cyrus stating: “Cyrus’ innovation was the use of the Median model of organizing provinces, satrapies, each administered by a designated satrap.”¹⁷⁹ According to Herodotus (III.88-94), the Persian administration of satrapies was reorganized completely at the beginning of the reign of Darius I, who divided the Empire into twenty satrapies. Babylon was separated from Abar Nahara and combined with Assyria into one satrapy (the ninth). Abar Nahara, the fifth satrapy, included Palestine, Phoenicia and Cyprus. Egypt, adjacent Libyans, Cyrene and Barca formed the sixth satrapy. Van de Mieroop suggests that even though Darius did not invent the idea of provinces himself, he extended their use.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Compare Ezra 4: 10,11,16,17,20; 8: 36; Neh. 2: 7,9. Van de Mieroop explains that the expression “satrapy” is the Greek rendering of the Old Persian term for “protecting the kingdom.” It can be translated as province. Van de Mieroop 2007, 291.

¹⁷⁹ Farrokh 2007, 44.

¹⁸⁰ Van de Mieroop 2007, 291; According to Briant, the list of Herodotus indisputably refers to an administrative organization of the Persian Empire. Briant 2002, 391. Efraim Stern suggests that this list of satrapies as recorded by Herodotus dates from a later period, probably from the reign of Xerxes I (485-465 BCE) and not from the time of Darius I. Stern’s argument is that in the days of Darius I the Abar Nahara satrapy was still included in the larger unit of “Babylon”, since Babylon was separated from Abar Nahara only in 482 BCE after the city’s revolt and destruction. E. Stern, “The Persian empire and the political and social history of Palestine in the Persian period” in Davies W.D. and L. Finkelstein, (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*. Volume 1. Introduction: The Persian Period. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1984), 78-79.

Each of the satrapies paid tribute to the Persian Empire as was decided by the king. Herodotus mentions that "In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts" (Herodotus III.89).¹⁸¹ Changing this system, Darius divided the Empire into twenty satrapies:

Having so done in Persia, he (Darius) divided his dominions into twenty governments, called by the Persians satrapies; and doing so and appointing governors, he ordained that each several nations should pay him tribute." (Herodotus III.89)¹⁸²

Only the Persian rulers themselves were free from this tribute. Even the Arabians, who did not pay tribute in talents, had to bring certain amount of frankincense to the Persian king every year. The amount of tribute each satrapy was required to pay was dependant on its size and capability. The highest tribute, 1000 talents and 500 young eunuchs, was paid by the ninth satrapy, the area that included Babylonia and the rest of Assyria. The sixth satrapy, where Egypt was included, was expected to pay the second highest tribute, 700 talents, income from the fish of Lake Moeris, plus 120 000 *medimnes* of wheat for the Persian garrison at Memphis. In comparison, the fifth satrapy paid only 350 talents.¹⁸³ Herodotus also mentions the overall amount which Darius got as tribute from his satrapies every year:

Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents... the Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary; for the Persians dwell free from all taxes. (Herodotus III.95 and 97)¹⁸⁴

The following table (Table 4) presents the rulers of Egypt during the Late Period (ca. 715-332 BCE) based on Van de Mieroop's list of the Egyptian Kings.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Godley1921⁷, Volume II, Book III.89, 117.

¹⁸² Godley1921⁷, Volume II, Book III.89, 117.

¹⁸³ Briant 2002, 391.

¹⁸⁴ Godley1921⁷, Volume II, Book III.95 and 97, 123 and 125.

¹⁸⁵ Van de Mieroop 2011, 362-367. Van de Mieroop follows the chronology of Shaw as presented in Ian Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 479-483. Note that these dates of the Persian kings might be different from their ruling dates in the above Tables 1-3 because Table 4 presents only those years of the Persian kings when they ruled over Egypt.

Table 4 Kings of Egypt during the Late Period

ca. 715-656 BCE	Later 25th dynasty
ca. 715-702 BCE	Shabako
ca. 702-690 BCE	Shabito
ca. 690-664 BCE	Taharqa
ca. 664-656 BCE	Tanutamani
664-525 BCE	26th dynasty
664-610 BCE	Psamtek I
610-595 BCE	Nekau (Necho) II
595-589 BCE	Psamtek II
589-570 BCE	Haaibra
570-526 BCE	Ahmose II
526-525 BCE	Psamtek III
525-404 BCE	27th dynasty
525-522 BCE	Cambyes
522-486 BCE	Darius I
486-465 BCE	Xerxes I
465-424 BCE	Artaxerxes I
424-405 BCE	Darius II
405-359 BCE	Artaxerxes II
404-399 BCE	28th dynasty
404-399 BCE	Amyrtaois
399-380 BCE	29th dynasty
399-393 BCE	Nepherites I
393-380 BCE	Hakor
380 BCE	Nepherites II
380-343 BCE	30th dynasty
380-362 BCE	Nectanebo I
362-360 BCE	Teos
360-343 BCE	Nectanebo II
343-332 BCE	31th dynasty
343-338 BCE	Artaxerxes III Ochus
338-336 BCE	Arses
336-332 BCE	Darius III Codoman

2.1.6. Settlement of Judeans in Egypt

Modrzejewski notes that during the entire history of Judeans, Egypt has exercised a contradictory power of attraction over them. On one hand, it has been “the house of slavery.” On the other hand, Judeans have been eager to return there whenever needed. Modrzejewski concludes “The fact remains that the return journey of the Jews to Egypt was much shorter than the flight from Pharaoh.”¹⁸⁶ The Biblical texts present the story of Joseph and his

¹⁸⁶ Modrzejewski 1997, XVII. Modrzejewski chooses the term “Jews” when speaking about the Judeans without considering the difference between the earlier and later history of the Jewish people.

brothers in Egypt and then proceeds to Moses and the Exodus of the Hebrews. This subchapter will not start from that far, but instead focuses on the following issues: Who were the Judeans who appear in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt? From where did they come to Egypt and why? When did their arrival take place?

Let us start with the question, who were they? Three things can be distinguished as characteristics of this group of people: their name, their language and their temple. In the Aramaic documents, a person of the gentile group in question is called as “a Judean” (יהודי).¹⁸⁷ Sometimes he or she is also called as “Aramean” (ארמי),¹⁸⁸ but that is an exception not the rule. The daily spoken language of both of these groups, Judeans and Arameans, was Aramaic. The temple of the Judeans, located in Elephantine, was called the temple of Yahu (יהו).

From where did they come to Egypt? It is commonly known that the land of Judah was called as Yehud during the Persian period. The gentile group of Judeans (יהודי) is interesting in this respect. If it refers only to the original geographic location of these people, it must refer to Yehud (יהוד), which was the name of Judah during the Persian period. However, it is not clear at all that the Judeans residing in Egypt during the Persian period originated only from the land of Judah. They could also have come from the Northern Kingdom of Israel that was destroyed by the Assyrians in 722 BCE. In that case, the term must refer to those people who originated from the area of Samaria and who shared a common culture, language and maybe also religion with the Judeans of Yehud. Because the origin of this gentile group in question is not clear, I prefer to use in this research the English translation “Judean” for the Aramaic expression יהודי, as already noted above in the introduction. The main reason for this is that these people not only identified themselves by this name, but they also seem, for some reason or another, to have been recognized as Judeans by other ethnic groups in Persian-period Egypt.

¹⁸⁷ For example in TAD B 2.4:1-2.

¹⁸⁸ For example in TAD B 2.7:1-2. Here the same person, Mahseyah son of Yedanyah, a Judean of Elephantine, has become an Aramean of Syene. Modrzejewski explains this by saying that Mahseyah had been transferred from the Judean regiment of Elephantine to an Aramean regiment stationed at Syene, causing the change of his identity. The mercenaries were normally distinguished by the languages they spoke, and not by their geographical origin. Modrzejewski 1997, 25 and 31. In this case, however, both of these regiments spoke Aramaic and therefore the differentiation had to be done on another basis, like on the basis of their geographical origin, as it was done when Mahseyah served at Elephantine. When he moved to Syene, he was mixed in with the Arameans who served there. Another explanation is that these mercenaries were distinguished by the regiment where they actually served. Thus, when Mahseyah son of Yedanyah, a Judean of the Judean garrison of Elephantine, was transferred to the Aramean regiment stationed at Syene, his identity was changed in public terminology to “an Aramean”.

How did the Judeans happen to come to Egypt and why? Perhaps the most complex and most disputed question concerns the dating of the arrival of the Judeans. When did their arrival take place? To answer this question their origin must be connected to the reason why they immigrated to Egypt. All these questions culminate in the search for the origin of the Judeans of Elephantine, which is a question disputed by many scholars. Angela Rohrmoser details a comprehensive summary of all the different theories suggested.¹⁸⁹ I will not repeat it here, but instead present a table (Table 5) where the positions of different scholars with their main arguments are visible. As the last of them, I present the hypothesis of Rohrmoser. As seen from the table below, altogether nine different theories have been proposed.

Table 5 Theories about the date of the first settlement of Judeans in Egypt

Theory	Supporting scholars	Main argument
1. From the time of Joseph	MacLaurin ¹⁹⁰	Hebrews who stayed in Egypt after the Exodus.
2. Since 721 BCE	Anneler ¹⁹¹	Fall of Samaria 722 BCE.
3. During Psamtek I (664-610 BCE)	Grelot, Porten ¹⁹²	The treaty of Assyria, king Manasseh (687-642 BCE) sent soldiers to Egypt.
4. King Josiah's time (640-609 BCE)	Meyer, Vincent, Grelot, Modrzejewski ¹⁹³	Some of the priests did not accept the cultreform of Josiah; soldiers sent as tribute to Pharaoh Necho (Necho) II (609-595 BCE).

¹⁸⁹ Rohrmoser 2014, 73-81. Similar, but earlier, summary is also presented by Modrzejewski. Modrzejewski 1997, 22-26.

¹⁹⁰ Evan B. C. MacLaurin, "The Date of the Foundation of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine", in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies (JNES)* 27, 1968, 89-96.

¹⁹¹ According to Anneler, this can be the earliest date when the Judeans might have come to Elephantine. However, he actually supports a much later date between 586-540 BCE. Hedwig Anneler, *Zur Geschichte der Juden von Elephantine*. (Bern 1912), 101-105.

¹⁹² Grelot sees the time of Psamtek I and Manasseh as one possible date for the immigration of Judeans (especially Arameans) to Egypt, but prefers himself the time of Josiah (640-609 BCE). Pierre Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, Introduction, traduction, présentation. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (LAPO), (Paris 1972), 36-38; Porten explains the background of Saitic Mercenaries in Porten 1968, 8-16, and argues for ca. 650 BCE as the probable date for the establishment of the Judean community in Elephantine as a reaction to king Manasseh's cultic transformation in Jerusalem; Porten 1968, 299-300.

¹⁹³ Eduard Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*. Dokumente einer jüdischen Gemeinde aus der Perserzeit und das älteste erhaltene Buch der Weltliteratur. (Leipzig 1912), 33; Albert Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine*. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1937), 562-569; Grelot refers to Jer.44:1 and explains that the expression "and in the land of Patros" refers to Elephantine and concludes that Judeans therefore must have been settled in Elephantine before 580-570 BCE. Grelot 1972, 38-39. Similarly, Modrzejewski argues that Judeans were already settled in Egypt when Jeremiah arrived there. He observes that some place-names in the book of Jeremiah support this conclusion as they refer to Judean settlement in Egypt, like Migdol, Daphne, Memphis, and Patros (Jer. 44:1; 46:14). Modrzejewski 1997, 25-26.

Theory	Supporting scholars	Main argument
5. During Pharaoh Haaibra (Apries) (589-570 BCE)	Vittmann ¹⁹⁴	Judeans sought help from the Pharaoh against Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 BCE); oldest Aramaic documents date from the end of the 6 th century BCE.
6. After the murder of Gedalyah in the 580's BCE	Albertz, Van de Mierop ¹⁹⁵	Judeans escaped voluntarily; see 2 Kings 25:26.
7. Between 586-540 BCE	Anneler ¹⁹⁶	Between the time of Pharaoh Haaibra (Apries) (589-570 BCE) to the prophecy of Isaiah 49:12 (in 540 BCE); Judean soldiers aided the Pharaoh to put down a revolt. ¹⁹⁷
8. Several immigrations	Grelot, Van der Toorn ¹⁹⁸	Arameans came earlier, Judeans later; TAD A 4.7:13; several deities were worshiped.
9. Several immigrations at the end of the 7 th or the beginning of the 6 th century BCE	Rohrmoser, Kratz ¹⁹⁹	Religious developments in Judah during the 6 th century BCE; economic, military and political reasons.

¹⁹⁴ Günter Vittman, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend* (Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 37), Mainz 2003, 88-89.

¹⁹⁵ Rainer Albertz, *Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit* (Grundrisse zum Alten Testament 8), 2 Bde., Göttingen 1992, 381-382. Van de Mierop reminds us that after the murder of Gedaliah, Nebuchadnezzar had to intervene again, deporting even more Judeans. Thus, the situation in Judah motivated more immigration to Egypt. Van de Mierop 2007, 276.

¹⁹⁶ Anneler 1912, 104-105.

¹⁹⁷ This revolt of foreign mercenaries is mentioned in the inscription on the statute of Ashor; see James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. (Chicago 1927), IV, § 989. Porten also mentions this statute; Porten 1968, 14-15. Also Rohrmoser 2014, 48, note 20.

¹⁹⁸ According to Grelot, the Arameans came to Elephantine earlier in different waves of immigration and the Judeans were the last to come at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BCE. Grelot 1972, 37. Van der Toorn argues that the settlers of Elephantine came to Egypt in different waves and especially from Samaria. According to him, the Judean character of the community was secondary. Karel van der Toorn, "Anat-Yahu, Some Other Deities and the Jews of Elephantine", *Numen*, Vol. 39, Fasc. 1 (Jun., 1992), 80-101. Brill. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3270076>. (Accessed: 27.05.2013) This theory was brought up earlier by Vincent and Albright, who argued that the Judeans of Elephantine used the divine names of Bethel and Eshem as epithets for YHWH, showing that they came to Egypt from the northern kingdom of Israel and from the environs of Bethel. Vincent 1937, 562-569. William Foxwell Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942), 171-175.

¹⁹⁹ Rohrmoser does not support the view that the Arameans came first to Egypt and the Judeans only after them. Instead, she suggests that all these groups came together in several waves of immigration. Rohrmoser 2014, 80-81. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, Kratz places the founding of the Judean temple of Elephantine in the seventh/sixth century BCE, Kratz 2006, 260.

The most recent study of the Elephantine Judeans by Granerød (2016) does not suggest any specific date for the first immigration of the Judeans to Elephantine. However, Granerød seems to support Rohrmoser's view of several migration waves, which took place before Cambyses's conquest of Egypt in 525 BCE. Granerød leaves the point of origin of the Judean community an open question because of the lack of data, but suggests that their self-designation "Judean" points in the direction of Judah.²⁰⁰

Rohrmoser notes that most scholars date the first settlement of the Judeans in Elephantine in the 7th century BCE. However, she admits that all the different theories must be considered only as speculation because hard evidence is missing. Rohrmoser's own theory is that the Judeans of Elephantine came from Judah (Yehud) probably at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century BCE. According to her, this was the first settlement of Judeans in Elephantine. Rohrmoser agrees with most scholars who suggest that the Judeans of Egypt migrated mainly from Judah.²⁰¹ The reason for their immigration was that after the death of Josiah in 609 BCE his follower Jehoiakim (609-598 BCE) had to pay tribute to Pharaoh Necho (Necho) II (609-595 BCE). One part of the tribute was to send Judean soldiers to serve in the army of the Pharaoh. Thus, the reasons for their immigration were economic, military and political. Rohrmoser also supports the theory of several waves of immigration and suggests that Judeans and Arameans came together to Egypt. According to Rohrmoser, one of the main arguments for dating the first settlement of the Judeans in Elephantine at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century BCE is the religious developments in Yehud during the 6th century BCE. She argues that this dating is important in terms of formation of the Torah, Deuteronomium and dating of the cultreform of Josiah. Rohrmoser agrees with Cowley who suggests that the Judean settlers brought the religion of the pre-exilic Judah with them to Egypt. Their religion included cult of Yahwe and of a goddess, who was honored by some cultobject in the temple. It was a religion without Torah, Deuteronomium and probably also without Aaronic or Levitic priests.²⁰² Granerød does not accept this view and instead argues that the Yahwism of Elephantine should not be

²⁰⁰ Granerød 2016, 26-27.

²⁰¹ Rohrmoser remarks "Um diese Unklarheiten in der Bezeichnung 'Jude' zu vermeiden, liegt es daher näher, im Rahmen dieser Arbeit den geographisch geprägten Begriff 'Judäer' zu wählen." Rohrmoser 2014, 6, 80. Other scholars who support this geographical origin of the Judeans of Egypt are e.g. Anneler 1912, 104-105; Meyer 1912, 33; Cowley 1923, XIX; Porten 1968, 148; Grelot 1972, 38-39; Albertz 1992, 381-382; Modrzejewski 1997, 25-26; Vittman 2003, 88-89 and Van de Mieroop 2007, 276.

²⁰² Rohrmoser 2014, 80. Cowley 1923, XIXff.

treated as a curiosity or as a living museum, but “as an equally typical type of Judaeon religion as the one emerging from the (late) texts of the Hebrew Bible”.²⁰³

My own understanding concerning the settlement of Judeans in Egypt comes close to Rohrmoser’s conclusions. My assumption is that the Judeans came to Egypt mainly from Judah, and that their arrival at Egypt took place in several waves. Some of them came to Egypt together with Arameans, others as a group of Judeans. Among them might also have been some Israelites from the Northern Kingdom destroyed by Assyrians in 722 BCE. Reasons for their immigration were mainly economic, military and political, rather than religious. The first settlement of Judeans took place in the 7th century BCE rather than in the 6th century BCE. Because of this early dating, the religion of the Judeans of Egypt resembled the pre-exilic religion of Judah. However, on two issues I do not agree with Rohrmoser. First, Arameans and Judeans were two different ethnic groups in Egypt and not one mixed community. Second, Judeans did not have any cultobject in their Temple in Elephantine.²⁰⁴

My arguments for the above assumptions are the following. The name of the ethnic group Judeans (יהודי) refers to their geographical origin because the land of Judah was called Yehud (יהוד) during the Persian period. They called themselves by this name and they were also mostly known by this same name. The instances when they are called Arameans in the Aramaic documents are more exceptions than a rule.²⁰⁵ Porten counts altogether fourteen cases where the Aramaic documents call Judeans of Elephantine as “Aramean of Elephantine” or “Aramean of Syene”.²⁰⁶ His explanations, however, are plausible. “The designation ‘Aramean’ was probably due to the fact that the Jews were considered members of the larger Aramaic-speaking group. The term ‘of Syene’ was employed either because they acquired property there or, more likely, simply because the term ‘Aramean of Syene’ had become standardized.” This especially when “addressing Arsames, satrap of Egypt.”²⁰⁷ An additional explanation for above cases where the ethnicities of Arameans and Judeans seem to be mixed might be the military organization of the Persian garrison. Several scholars differentiate between the Aramean force in Syene and the Judean force in Elephantine. The Persian unit in Syene was bigger and consisted mainly of ethnic Arameans whereas the

²⁰³ Granerød 2016, 326.

²⁰⁴ See the discussion on the assumption of a cultobject in the temple of Elephantine on the page 226 and in Rohrmoser 2014, 148-151.

²⁰⁵ For example, Matan, son of Jasobyah appears among the Judeans in TAD A 4.3:1, but he is also called “an Aramean of Syene” in TAD B 5.2:2. The Judean witnesses in TAD A 4.10: 6 are called “Mens of Syene who are property holders in the garrison of Elephantine”. Rohrmoser 2014, 7.

²⁰⁶ Porten 1968, 33.

²⁰⁷ Porten 1968, 33-34.

smaller unit in Elephantine consisted mainly of Judeans.²⁰⁸ Thus, when a Judean was moved to serve in the Syenian unit he could also be called as “an Aramean of Syene”. It is therefore quite clear that these two groups, Arameans and Judeans, had different ethnic identities. Judeans were called either Judeans or exceptionally Arameans, but never Judeo-Arameans. Their garrison in Elephantine was called “the Judean garrison” and not “the Aramean garrison”.

One strong argument for the differentiation of these two ethnic groups in Persian-period Egypt is found in a document called Papyrus Amherst 63. It was discovered at Thebes and includes Aramaic religious and narrative texts written in poetic form and in Demotic (Egyptian) script. The language of the text is complicated and the complete edition of the papyrus is still to come. According to Kottsieper, the author of the text probably put it down from a dictated form. He added into the text some demotic signs to mark vowels and thus help the correct reading of the text.²⁰⁹ Scholars have different theories about the date and author of this text. On the basis of the script majority of them date Papyrus Amherst 63 to the Persian period in the fourth century BCE.²¹⁰ However, some scholars like Nims and Steiner argue that it might also date from the late second century BCE together with other documents found at the same site.²¹¹ Based on the Papyrus Amherst 63, we know that a group of Aramaic speaking people migrated to Egypt together with soldiers from Judah. There they formed an Aramaic-speaking community in Upper-Egypt, perhaps in Syene.²¹² Scholars disagree on the origin of these Aramaic speaking migrants. Steiner argues that they

²⁰⁸ This theory is presented already by Anneler 1912, 53-56; Look also Albin van Hoonacker, *Une communauté judéo-araméenne à Éléphantine, en Egypte, aux VIIe et VIe siècles av. J.-C.* (London 1915, München 1980), 3f.; Porten 1968, 33; Grelot 1972, 40; Vittmann 2003, 85. Based on the information about the names of the military commanders, Anneler suggests that the Persian force in Syene included 19 detachments while the force in Elephantine only six. Anneler 1912, 57. Rohrmoser does not differentiate between Arameans and Judeans but instead sees them to have been one mixed group. Rohrmoser 2014, 8, 81. However, she accepts the division of the garrison into two, namely to “Judean garrison” in Elephantine and to “the garrison of Syene”, but she explains the reason for this division in a different way. “Die kleinere auf der Insel verrichtete militärische Dienste, während die andere, größere auf dem Festland in den Steinbrüchen arbeitete.” Rohrmoser 2014, 49.

²⁰⁹ Ingo Kottsieper, “Papyrus Amherst 63 – Einführung, Text und Übersetzung von 12,11-19”, in O. Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen. Die altorientalisch-kanaanäische Königsdtradition in jüdischer Sicht*. Teil 1: Ps 20, 21, 72, 101 und 144. Mit einem Beitrag von I. Kottsieper zu Papyrus Amherst. UBL 6. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988), 62-63.

²¹⁰ S.P. Vleeming and J.W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63*. Volume I. (Amsterdam: Juda Palache Instituut), 1985, 7; Kottsieper 1988, 60.

²¹¹ C.F. Nims and R.C. Steiner, “A Paganized Version of Ps. 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script”, *JAOS* Vol.103, No.1 (1983), 261. Some scholars, like Zevit, leave still the date of the papyrus open. Zevit, Ziony, “The Common Origin of the Aramaicized Prayer to Horus and of Psalm 20.” *JAOS* 110, No. 2 (1990), 214.

²¹² “There can hardly be any doubt that this group was basically identical with the Aramean community of Syene as encountered in the documents from the Jewish community of Elephantine and in the Hermopolis correspondence.” Vleeming and Wesselius 1985, 7.

were deported by the Assyrians from the place called Araš (‘*raš*) between Babylonia and Elam to Samaria and that they were also familiar with the worship of Samaritan deities in Jeroboam’s temple in Bethel.²¹³ Others like Vleeming, Wesselius and Kottsieper suggest that they were originally Arameans who lived in the area east or south-east of the city of Tyre in southern Phoenicia, which is present-day southern Lebanon or northern Israel.²¹⁴

What is important for this study is that the evidence from the Papyrus Amherst 63 forces us to accept the view that at least some of the Judeans residing in Egypt came there together with the Aramean soldiers of northern Israel. Their arrival took place after the destruction of Samaria in 722 BCE. What is remarkable, however, is that even the Papyrus Amherst 63 differentiates between the Aramean soldiers from Samaria and the Judean soldiers from Judah. The strongest tie between these immigrants seems to have been their common language, Aramaic. Because the Papyrus Amherst 63 also seems to contain some Hebrew words and divine names (Adonai, Yahu) one may ask; who wrote this text?²¹⁵ Was the author an Aramean or perhaps an Israelite from Samaria who immigrated to Egypt together with the Arameans? As noted above the text edition of this important papyrus has not yet been published and therefore all assumptions are purely speculative. However, according to scholars it seems that this text was dictated by a priest of an Aramaic-speaking community of foreign colonists who had previously immigrated to Egypt.²¹⁶ Scholars have noticed that one part of Papyrus Amherst 63 (Col. XI, lines 11-19) resembles the text of the Psalm 20 of the Hebrew Bible. In order to understand the complex history of the tradition that seems to underlie behind these two texts, scholars have suggested different hypotheses.²¹⁷ According to Nims and Steiner, the text of Papyrus Amherst reflects “a paganized version of Psalm 20: 2-6”.²¹⁸ On the contrary, some scholars have argued that an earlier Ar-

²¹³ R.C. Steiner, “The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script” in William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr, (eds.), *The Context of Scripture. Volume I.* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997), 309-327. See also Fitzmyer-Kaufman-Kaufman 1992, 143. So also Zevit 1990, 214 and 220.

²¹⁴ They identify the place name *raš* appearing in the text with Roš haNiqra at the modern day Israeli-Lebanese border. Vleeming and Wesselius 1985, 9; Kottsieper 1988, 67-68.

²¹⁵ Zevit, however, argues that the divine name in the Demotic script that is found in Papyrus Amherst 63 (Col. XI, lines 11-19) and usually is by many scholars understood to correspond Aramaic *yhh* or *yhw* (Yahu), instead, should be read as Horus. Zevit 1990, 217-218.

²¹⁶ Steiner 1997, 310. Kottsieper explains the way how the text was probably written down in Demotic: “der Schreiber eine Art Lautschrift anfertigte, die den Text so wiedergab, wie ein ägyptisch geschultes Ohr und nicht ein im aramäischen Sprachraum Aufgewachsener ihn hörte”. Kottsieper 1988, 62.

²¹⁷ Zevit recalls five different theories to explain the history of tradition of these two texts, the fifth is his own. Zevit 1990, 215.

²¹⁸ Nims and Steiner 1983, 261-274. Also Zevit argues that “the prayer was originally written in Hebrew and subsequently Aramaicized superficially”. Zevit 1990, 213, also 223.

amaic version could be behind the Hebrew text of the Psalm 20.²¹⁹ According to other scholars, both the Hebrew (Ps.20) and the Aramaic (Papyrus Amherst 63) version may reflect a Canaanite archetype,²²⁰ or Canaanite-Phoenician tradition²²¹. All these features of Papyrus Amherst seem to indicate that the Aramean community that produced this text migrated to Egypt probably from North Israel. It seems that this Aramaic community had already lived in close contact with Judeans for longer periods.

The probable date of the first settlement of Judeans in Egypt can be located between two extreme poles. The first of them is the destruction of Samaria by Assyrians in 722 BCE. According to the above-mentioned Papyrus Amherst 63, some Arameans of Samaria and some Judean soldiers from Judah immigrated together to Egypt. This document is dated to the fourth century BCE Egypt and it does not provide any exact date for this immigration. It must have taken place in any case after 722 BCE. The second timeframe for dating the first settlement of Judeans in Egypt is also evidenced by an ancient document. According to a text on papyrus written by the Judeans of Elephantine in 407 BCE, their Temple on the same island was built before the Persian period and already existed there when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BCE.²²² This means that the Judeans of Elephantine came to Egypt before 525 BCE. The problem is determining how many years earlier than that date did they come, as Modrzejewski notes.²²³ Based on the information that we have about the political developments in Judah and Egypt in the 7th century BCE it seems plausible that the situation encouraged immigration of Judeans to Egypt as shown by the theories number three and four presented in Table 5. Another argument for dating the first settlement of Judeans in Egypt to the 7th century BCE is that the religion of the Judeans of Elephantine resemble the pre-exilic religion of Judah. Their Temple was called the Temple of Yahu, but they also seem to have worshiped some additional deities. In this respect the religious situation among the Judeans was similar in pre-exilic Judah and in Persian-period Elephantine as also reflected in 2 Kings 21: 1-7 and Jer.44:1-10. However, this similarity does not force us to conclude that the Judeans of Elephantine possessed some image of god or goddess in their Temple, as Rohrmoser asserts.²²⁴ She suggests that the divine names *Ḥerem* and *Ḥerem-*

²¹⁹ K.A.D. Smelik, "The Origin of Psalm 20", *JSOT* 31 (1985), 77.

²²⁰ Vleeming and Wesselius 1985, 48-49. Zevit 1990, 215.

²²¹ Oswald Loretz, *Die Königspsalmen. Die altorientalisch-kanaanäische Königsdtradition in jüdischer Sicht*. Teil 1: Ps 20, 21, 72, 101 und 144. Mit einem Beitrag von I. Kottsieper zu Papyrus Amherst. UBL 6. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988), 48-51.

²²² TAD A 4.7:13-14.

²²³ Modrzejewski 1997, 22.

²²⁴ Rohrmoser 2014, 80, 237.

Bethel that appear in connection with the Judean community of Elephantine refer to some kind of holy property dedicated to YHW that was located in the temple of the Judeans. Furthermore, she connects the term “Bethel” to the term “Betyl”, meaning a holy stone representing god.²²⁵ Granerød is unclear in his opinion with regard to a sacred stone in the temple of YHW in Elephantine. On the one hand, he argues that the cult of YHW in Elephantine was aniconic because the description of its destruction does not mention any sacred statue or any other cult image inside the temple.²²⁶ On the other hand, Granerød suggests that the word *byt’l* (Bethel) “may in other contexts refer to a standing stone used in the cults (including the cult of YHW).”²²⁷ According to my understanding, the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt do not support this kind of assumption about a sacred stone in the temple of YHW in Elephantine. What seems to be clear is that the Judeans of Egypt still had a strong connection to the worship of Yahu and their religious homeland in Judah and Jerusalem. In this respect, Modrzejewski presents a striking statement: “From the time of the exile until the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem after the return of the Jews from Babylon, between 587 and 515 BCE, the sanctuary at Elephantine was the only place in the world where Jewish sacrificial worship was practiced.”²²⁸

2.2. Imperial Aramaic of the Persian Empire

An important part of the historical context and social life of the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period was the language they spoke – Aramaic. It was an essential part not only in the micro-society of the Judeans of Egypt but also in the multiethnic macro-society of the vast Persian Empire. In order to understand the importance of the use of the Aramaic language during the Persian Empire, we first need the historical *longue durée* point of view, according to which the popularity of Aramaic had begun already during the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The following two sub-chapters will concentrate on illuminating how Aramaic became such a central asset in the Persian period. The first sub-chapter will explore the historical roots of the expansion of the Aramaic language during the Neo-Assyrian period, as well as the development of its administrative use in the Neo-Babylonian Empire. This is necessary back-

²²⁵ Look TAD B 7.2:7-8 (Ḥerembet’el) and TAD B 7.3:1-3 (Ḥerem); Rohrmoser 2014, 148-151; further discussion on this issue on page 226ff.

²²⁶ Granerød 2016, 112.

²²⁷ Granerød 2016, 258.

²²⁸ Modrzejewski adds that “In a manner of speaking, Elephantine temporarily replaced Jerusalem”. Modrzejewski 1997, 36. However, hard evidence for this statement is missing.

ground information in order to understand the central place of the Aramaic language in the use of the Persian administration. The second sub-chapter will discuss the practical use and development of Imperial Aramaic during the Persian period. All this information serves as critical background for my study of the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt.

2.2.1. The origins of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its development during the Neo-Babylonian period

The Aramaic language, as is commonly known, belongs to the Northwest Semitic languages. Originally Aramaic was the language of the nomadic Aramean people who lived in large tribal families in north-Syria. Later on, they formed city-states and small kingdoms and expanded their living area into Mesopotamia. According to Nissinen, the term “Arameans” (*aḥlamû armāya*) was mentioned for the first time in the Assyrian records in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE), but their presence in Mesopotamia is considerably older.²²⁹ When the Neo-Assyrian Empire expanded its rule to the west and northwest of its Assyrian homeland, the areas populated by Arameans were annexed into its administrative organization. By the seventh century BCE, the Aramaic language had gradually developed into the *lingua franca* for the entire Assyrian Empire, noted especially in the province of Abar Nahara, but also in the Assyrian heartland and among the ruling classes.²³⁰ According to several scholars, the main reason for this development was the imperial policy of the Assyrian Empire, which included the practice of mass deportations and integrations of people of non-Assyrian origin.²³¹ As a result, the Neo-Assyrian Empire became a multi-lingual, multiethnic political and cultural entity, allowing non-Assyrians to maintain their original ethnic identity while at the same time identifying themselves fully as Assyrians. Nissinen suggests that among the non-Assyrian people, the Arameans formed the biggest and culturally most significant group, not only because of their large number but also because of their language and alphabetic script.²³² Because the alphabetic Aramaic script was less complicated than the Assyrian cuneiform writing system, Assyrians began employing Aramaic scribes as well as cuneiform scribes. In other words, Aramaic was being used

²²⁹ Nissinen, 2014, 273.

²³⁰ Nissinen 2014, 282.

²³¹ Nissinen 2014, 283, 295; Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*. Volume I: Texts. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 62; Van de Mieroop 2007, 233; Tadmor 1982, 449.

²³² Nissinen 2014, 295-296.

alongside of Akkadian for commercial, diplomatic and administrative purposes.²³³ For example, Naveh and Greenfield suggest that after the collapse of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 BCE, the Neo-Assyrian Empire actually replaced the exiled Israelites with speakers of other languages; as a result, Aramaic became the main language also in the area of Samaria.²³⁴

The Assyrian expansion to the west resulted in a strong Aramaic influence in the cultural development of the Neo-Assyrian society, beginning already from the tenth century BCE on, when hundreds of thousands of Aramaic speaking deportees from West of the Euphrates had been assimilated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. According to the estimation based on Assyrian sources, perhaps up to 4.5 million people were deported by the Assyrian Empire throughout the three centuries beginning from the King Assur-dān (934-912 BCE).²³⁵ According to Tadmor, four aspects especially illustrate the extent of the Aramaic influence on the Neo-Assyrian Empire: the use of Western people in the Assyrian office and army, the use of the Aramaic in the Assyrian Empire, bilingualism and lexical interference, and borrowed institutions.²³⁶ Most important of the above mentioned occurrences seems to have occurred within the Assyrian army and the administration of the Empire.²³⁷ A usual custom in the Neo-Assyrian military was for two scribes to work together, detailing the events that occurred on the battlefield. One, an Assyrian scribe, wrote in cuneiform while the second one, an Aramean scribe, *ṭupšarru armāyu*, kept the records in Aramaic.²³⁸ These Aramean scribes also served in the administration of the Assyrian royal court. One Assyrian document from the year 786 BCE lists three categories of scribes in the royal service: Assyrian, Egyptian and Aramean.²³⁹ The close co-operation of Aramaic and Akkadian speak-

²³³ Compare 2 Kings 18:17 ff., where Rab-Shaḡe surprised the officers of Hezekiah and the people standing on the walls of Jerusalem by speaking in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic, which was the expected means of communication during that time.

²³⁴ Naveh and Greenfield 1984, 115.

²³⁵ Nissinen 2014, 274, 283; Van de Mieroop 2007, 233; Farrokh 2007, 25; Oded 1979, 20.

²³⁶ Tadmor 1982, 449.

²³⁷ See Nissinen 2014, 288, 290.

²³⁸ The existence of two different Scribes on the Assyrian battlefield is demonstrated in the Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III. There two Scribes are portrayed in the act of writing while on a campaign. R.D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Aššur-Nasir-Apli II (883-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) from the Central and South-West Palaces at Nimrud*. (London, 1962), Plates. V-VI 52-53. However, Nissinen is cautious what the expression *ṭupšarru armāyu* originally means; "Whether the designation *ṭupšarru armāyu* should always be understood to indicate a scribe of Aramean origin rather than merely a scribe of any ethnic origin able to write Aramaic, cannot really be known." Nissinen 2014, 279, 294. I agree with Nissinen, because, for example, in Persian-period Egypt many Judean scribes seem to have been capable of writing Aramaic and thus acted as professional Aramaic scribes.

²³⁹ This data is found in the Nimrud Wine Lists, which mention all the different recipients of wine rations. Among them are also found the Aramaean scribes (LÜ.A.BA.MEŠ KUR Ára.ma-a-a). J.V. Kinnier Wilson,

ers in the Neo-Assyrian Empire resulted in the fact that these languages influenced each other, as is especially recognizable in the lexical borrowings. Thus, Assyrian and Aramaic documents were produced side by side.²⁴⁰ As a result, Akkadian loanwords mainly in the realm of political, legal, military, administrative and scribal terminology are found in Aramaic and vice versa.²⁴¹ One practical example of the Assyrian influence on Aramaic Nissinen mentions is the use of clay for writing Aramaic, originally an Assyrian innovation.²⁴²

Long after the Neo-Assyrian Empire collapsed, the Aramaic language continued to be used in the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Long before the Babylonian Empire came to power, there was an already large Aramean population in Babylonia. By the late seventh century BCE, Aramaic was already wide spread as the vernacular in Babylonia; Akkadian was mainly used by the learned and priestly classes. Tadmor suggests that especially during the reign of Nabonidus, who was himself of Aramean origin, the importance of Aramaic grew in the Babylonian Empire. Tadmor argues that the inscriptions of Nabonidus which are associated with Harran bear probably the most Aramaic coloring.²⁴³ In his recent article, however, Lemaire suggests that the linguistic situation of Teima during Nabonidus reign was rather complicated, because Babylonian cuneiform, Aramaic, and local North-Arabian scripts were used by the servants of the king at the same time.²⁴⁴ It seems that toward the end of the Babylonian period Akkadian was replaced by Aramaic as the main language spoken throughout the Empire, although Akkadian still remained in some use. However, Greenfield notes that it is difficult to determine the influence that Aramaic had on Babylonia and on Akkadian spoken there because too little complete literature from the Neo Babylonian period has been discovered.²⁴⁵ There is one text (the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great)

The Nimrud Wine Lists. A study of men and administration at the Assyrian capital in the Eighth Century, B.C. (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972), 137-138. It seems that at least some of these scribes were bilingual. Evidence for that has been found in the occurrence of Aramaic superscriptions on cuneiform tablets.

²⁴⁰ Nissinen 2014, 279; Frederick Mario Fales, "New Light on Assyro-Aramaic Interference: the Assur Ostrakon," in F. M. Fales, G. F. Grassi (eds.), *CAMSEMUD2007*. Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asian Linguistics. History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs 10. (Padova, 2010), 189-204.

²⁴¹ Look for example S.A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Assyriological Studies No.19. (Chicago, 1974), and W. Von Soden, "Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spät-babylonischen Texten: Ein Vorbericht III," *Orientalia*. Vol. 46, Nova Series. (Roma, 1977), 183-197.

²⁴² Nissinen 2014, 280.

²⁴³ H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabonid: Historical Arrangement," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday April 21, 1965*. Assyriological Studies (AS). No.16. (Chicago, 1965), 351-363.

²⁴⁴ Lemaire 2006, 182-183.

²⁴⁵ J.C. Greenfield, "Babylonian-Aramaic Relationship", in H-J. Nissen and J. Renger, (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Teil 2. (Berlin, 1982), 471.

where Akkadian and Aramaic versions can be compared, but it dates from the Persian and not from the Babylonian period. About five fragmentary columns of the Aramaic text were discovered at Elephantine, dating back to the late fifth century BCE. This text is a copy of an earlier Aramaic text. According to Greenfield and Porten, the Aramaic and the Akkadian versions of this Persian document are close to each other, and a clear Aramaic influence can be recognized from the Akkadian text.²⁴⁶

In his article about the Babylonian-Aramaic relationship, Greenfield presents some examples which can be found also in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. The first of them is the so-called *dialogue document* (*Zwiesgesprächsurkunde*). Petschow has shown that examples of the *dialogue document* can be found among the Middle Babylonian documents, as well as among the earliest known Neo-Babylonian documents from the seventh century BCE, especially from Nippur.²⁴⁷ Based on Petschow's findings, Greenfield suggests that in the Neo-Babylonian and later periods, the use of the *dialogue document* expanded for marriage and adoption documents and for slave sales. This increase in use was probably due to Aramaic transmission. The *dialogue document* was the normal form of document in the west at least from the sixth century BCE onward, as can be seen from the Elephantine papyri, the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri, the Bar Kosiba contracts and the later Jewish use of *šēṭārôt*. In the Eastern scribal tradition, the use of dialogue-form continued under the Persian Empire.²⁴⁸

The second example which Greenfield uses to argue the Aramaic influence on the Babylonian legal writings is the marking of slaves. In the Old and Middle Babylonian periods, marking of slaves was limited to those who had run away.²⁴⁹ In the Neo-Babylonian period and onward when the number of slaves increased, slave-holding became an important part of the economy, and marking them as belonging to private individuals or to the temple became a widespread practice. It was usually done by tattooing or branding a particular symbol or sign or the name of the owner on the right arm of a slave.²⁵⁰ Certain Akkadian terms were used in the Neo-Babylonian period for different types of marking slaves. The term *šamātu* (to brand) was used when marking with a symbol of ownership, and *šaṭāru* (a

²⁴⁶ J.C. Greenfield and B. Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version*. (London: Lund Humphries 1982), 1-4.

²⁴⁷ H.P.H. Petschow, *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena*. (Berlin, 1974), 38-39.

²⁴⁸ Greenfield 1982, 474.

²⁴⁹ I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East*. (New York, 1949), 42-50.

²⁵⁰ Porten 1968, 203-205.

document) when the name of the owner was indicated.²⁵¹ These terms appear also in the Elephantine papyri, but there the verb *ktb* as the equivalent of *šaṭāru* is used for writing the name of the owner on the arm of a slave. In the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri, the term used is *ršm*, which is the same Aramaic verb used in Talmudic literature.²⁵² According to Greenfield, the inscription on the arm of a slave is one indication of the cultural complexity of the Neo-Babylonian period and the periods that followed it because the name of the owner could have been written in both Akkadian and Aramaic.²⁵³

Especially in the legal texts, a clear relationship between the forms of the Akkadian legal documents in the Neo-Babylonian period and the Aramaic documents from various periods can be detected. There is, however, one feature that distinguishes Aramaic documents from the Akkadian documents of all periods. Aramaic documents have always the date at the beginning of the document. This special feature can be seen also in the Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt. The Akkadian influence on Aramaic contributed to the relationship between the Akkadian and the Aramaic legal documents. This can be seen in the shared words of both languages used for documents (Aramaic *'ig-garta*, Akkadian *egirtu*) or in those that have their clear origin in Akkadian (*šeṭārā* and *giṭṭā*). According to Kaufman, the origins of this terminology may have come from the Aramaic dockets that summed up the contents of the cuneiform text.²⁵⁴ This terminology shows that Akkadian had penetrated into Aramaic legal language at various periods. For example, Muffs has shown that Akkadian *rēmūtu* "gift" occurs as a calque *rhmt* in the Elephantine texts.²⁵⁵ Kaufman also argues that some native Aramaic terms were actually replaced with Akkadian words in the legal usage as happened to Aramaic/Hebrew word *hbr*/'*hbr* (friend, associate, partner). This Hebrew word was replaced in all the Aramaic dialects by an Akkadian loanword *šwtp*/'*šwtp* which comes from the Akkadian *šutappu*/*šutāpu* (partner).²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ About these Akkadian words see Kaufmann 1974, 101-102.

²⁵² "One may mark (*hrwšm*) his slave that he does not flee." Zuckerman, (ed.), *Tosefta*, Makkot 4:15 (Halberstadt, 1880), 443.

²⁵³ Greenfield 1982, 474. Greenfield recalls an inscription, dated to 539 BCE, the seventeenth year of Nabonidus' reign, which tells of a slave girl whose arm was marked with two inscriptions, and a *sepīru* (a scribe) had to be called upon to read them. This inscription was reported by D. Arnaud, "Un document juridique concernant les oblats", *Revue D'Assyriologie et D'Archéologie Orientale* (RA). Volume 67, No.2. 1973.

²⁵⁴ Kaufman 1974, 48, 52, 101.

²⁵⁵ Y. Muffs, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine*. (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 132-134, 202-203.

²⁵⁶ Kaufman 1974, 105.

2.2.2. Imperial Aramaic as a tool of administration in the Persian Empire

According to the new general Persian policy, a variety of different languages and scripts was equally accepted into the use of the Empire. Van de Mieroop notes that the Persians themselves did not have any written tradition of their own until they created the Empire, but instead they adopted the ancient traditions of the conquered countries.²⁵⁷ Sources of evidence of languages used in the Persian period are both epigraphic²⁵⁸ and literary. Maybe the most famous example of the epigraphic texts from the Persian period is the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great which is engraved on a rock face in the modern day Iran in three languages: Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite.²⁵⁹ Together with the above mentioned general Persian policy, the new Empire also employed Aramaic as the administrative language for the whole Empire. There were probably at least two reasons for this decision: First was the attempt to centralize the administration of the vast Empire, as Van de Mieroop suggests.²⁶⁰ And secondly Aramaic could be used as a tool of communication everywhere by the Persian administration. Lemaire (2006) notes that Aramaic manuscripts have been found even from the border between modern Uzbekistan and Afghanistan where Aramaic was not the spoken language during the Persian period.²⁶¹ Aramaic was still understood from Egypt to the Indus valley.

Most of the Aramaic documents from the Persian period were found from Egypt, among them both epigraphic and literary material. As my research will show, altogether 1,042 different Aramaic documents have been found from Persian-period Egypt. They form the data of this research which I will present in Chapter Three: Data and methods of the study. Because there is no need to repeat the same information here, I will instead present in this subchapter some discussion on the Imperial Aramaic of the Persian period, and practical aspects of its use.

The English term Imperial Aramaic (*Reichsaramäisch* in German) was first applied in 1927 to the administrative language of the Persian Empire and to the Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel. Gropp does not accept the use of the term Imperial Aramaic for

²⁵⁷ Van de Mieroop 2007, 293.

²⁵⁸ Naveh determines the aim of epigraphy as an auxiliary study to that of history. It deals with ancient inscriptions and manuscripts discovered by archaeology, and studies their texts, languages and scripts. Epigraphy provides additional data on the cultural background of the people who produced these written sources. Naveh 2009, IX.

²⁵⁹ Sparks 2005, 398-399.

²⁶⁰ Van de Mieroop 2007, 293.

²⁶¹ Lemaire 2006, 183.

Aramaic used in the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires because it, according to him, connotes more than mere chronology and is thus misleading.²⁶² He argues that it is best to define Imperial or Official Aramaic first in its narrow sense, as the ideal standard language in which scribes in the Persian period (probably from Darius I to Darius III 522-330 BCE) would draft official documents. Gropp further argues that official Aramaic in this more restricted sense is strikingly homogeneous in orthography and grammar. Kaufman, however, argues that Imperial Aramaic was never entirely uniform since it was influenced by the spoken language of the scribes.²⁶³ According to Gropp, Imperial Aramaic can be reconstructed fairly comprehensively on the basis of three corpora: the Elephantine legal papyri (fifth century BCE) from Egypt; the Arsames correspondence (fifth century BCE) from Egypt; and the Samaria papyri from Wadi ed-Daliyeh (fourth century BCE) from Palestine.²⁶⁴

Aramaic, as well as Hebrew, was recorded in linear alphabetic script. The script itself was originally developed in the Syro-Palestinian area, especially by the Phoenicians since the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE. The alphabetic script used only twenty-two letters, and was thus much simpler and easier to learn than the cuneiform system of writing. Van de Mieroop notes that “with the spread of the Aramaic language in the Assyrian empire in the first millennium and its adoption as an official language in the Persian empire in the fifth century, the alphabet became the dominant script of the Near East and far beyond”²⁶⁵. Naveh describes the development of the Aramaic script and underlines its uniformity throughout the Persian Empire.²⁶⁶ No regional scripts developed, although Aramaic script was used by peoples of various cultural backgrounds throughout the Empire. In fact, any differences that do exist are of a stylistic nature. Both a lapidary and a cursive style coexisted during the Persian period and were used in the various provinces. In the course of the Persian period, cursive writing prevailed, and by the second century BCE, lapidary Aramaic disappeared.²⁶⁷ Cursive Aramaic script can be subdivided into three substyles: a) Formal cursive, the handwriting of the professional scribes, represented by the official Arsham let-

²⁶² Gropp 1997, 144.

²⁶³ Kaufman 2002, 302.

²⁶⁴ Gropp 1997, 144-145.

²⁶⁵ Van de Mieroop 2007, 203.

²⁶⁶ Naveh 1976, 1-69.

²⁶⁷ Naveh has argued that the earliest Aramaic cursive inscription found is the wall inscription discovered from Deir ‘Allā which should be dated to the middle of the eighth century BCE, or even earlier. Archaic lapidary Aramaic script was used to engrave monumental inscriptions all over the Persian Empire. Naveh has identified several lapidary Aramaic inscriptions which can be dated to the first quarter of the second century BCE. Thus, he concludes that the Aramaic lapidary style did not cease to exist with the Persian Empire but survived into the early Hellenistic period. Naveh 2009, 47-49, 206-208.

ters and also by most of the Elephantine legal documents; b) Free cursive, that of the educated person is represented by private letters and c) Vulgar cursive, that of the person of limited writing ability, represented by various signatures of the witnesses to legal documents.²⁶⁸ The uniformity of the Aramaic script gradually disappeared in the Hellenistic period and Greek replaced Aramaic as the official language.

According to Naveh and Greenfield, the traditional view assumes that the adoption of the Aramaic script by the Judeans took place during the Persian period. This is based on Talmud where it is written:

Originally the Torah was given to Israel in Hebrew characters and in the sacred (Hebrew) language; later, in the times of Ezra, the Torah was given in Ashshurith script and the Aramaic language. (Finally), they selected for Israel the Ashshurith script and Hebrew language, leaving the Hebrew characters and Aramaic language for the hedyotth (the Samaritans).²⁶⁹

Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi initiated the opinion that the Torah was originally given in the Assyrian script. The term “Assyrian” in itself refers to the Aramaic script because it was during the Assyrian period that Aramaic script and language received its official status.²⁷⁰ Recently Lemaire has argued that the new finds of more than one hundred Aramaic tablets from the upper Euphrates confirm that the Neo-Assyrian Empire was an Assyrian-Aramaic Empire, since the beginning of the ninth century but especially during the seventh century BCE.²⁷¹

In addition, the epigraphic finds have made clear the dominant role of Aramaic in the commercial, legal and administrative spheres. These finds consist of bowls, burial markers, cave inscription, dedication stones, fragments of leather, graffiti, jars, mummy labels, papyri, offering tables, ostraca, sarcophagi, seals, bullae or stamps, stelae, stone plaques, and wooden plaques. In addition, coins bearing the legend *yhd* in Aramaic script have been

²⁶⁸ Naveh and Greenfield 1984, 126.

²⁶⁹ Epstein, I. (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud*. Seder Nezikin III: Sanhedrin 21 b-22a, (London 1935) 119. According to Talmud: “The first man spoke Aramaic, for it is written: ‘How weighty are Thy thoughts unto me, O God.’” This Psalm (139: 17) deals with the creation of man. יקר ‘weighty’, and רעיון ‘your thoughts’ are Aramaisms. Epstein further explains that this may have been said by the Judeans of Babylon because they wanted to abandon the Hebrew language in favour of Aramaic. The use of Aramaic was so strong among the Judeans in Babylon both during the exile and after that. Epstein 1935, Seder Nezikin III: Sanhedrin 38 b, 243.

²⁷⁰ Naveh notes that the Talmudic passages generally approach the ‘change of scripts’ in the spirit of apology. The Talmudic tradition also shows an awareness of the fact that the original Hebrew script was preserved by the Samaritans. Naveh 2009, 38; Naveh and Greenfield 1984, 126-127.

²⁷¹ Lemaire 2006, 180.

found in Judah.²⁷² These coins were probably used in the first half of the Persian period. Later the official name of the province Yehud was written on the coins in ancient Hebrew script.²⁷³ Meshorer has studied the Persian period coinage together with other coinage from the second Temple Period.²⁷⁴ Even the handles of jars were stamped with Yehud impressions during the Persian period. These stamps were impressed probably by government officials to certify the capacities of jugs, and to show the source of the product, which could be either grain, wine, or oil. Lipschits and Vanderhooft have recently made a comprehensive study and catalog of these stamp impressions. They argue that the Yehud Stamp impressions represent one of the most important sources of administrative data for Judah in the Persian and early Hellenistic periods.²⁷⁵

The use of Aramaic for legal and administrative affairs in the Persian Empire is also evident in the Aramaic papyri found from Wadi ed-Dalieh in Judah. Remains of many papyri were found by Bedouins in the caves of the area; all were highly fragmentary, only twenty pieces were considered worth numbering. Most of them are slave documents; others deal with loans, sales of property and marriage. All the papyri are dated to the end of the Persian Empire, circa from 375/365 to 335 BCE, and they were written in Samaria. These Samaritan papyri indicate a preference for the use of Aramaic in administrative and commercial contexts. Although their language is Imperial Aramaic, it is closer in vocabulary to later Palestinian material than the Elephantine texts. The Samaritan papyri were thoroughly studied by D.M. Gropp in his dissertation²⁷⁶ and recently by Jan Dušek²⁷⁷.

Hebrew and Aramaic were the two main languages among Judeans in the Persian period. Most of the Judeans who returned from Babylon after Cyrus' edict were Aramaic speakers. Yet, also Hebrew remained as both a literary and a spoken language in Judah dur-

²⁷² Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*. (Tel Aviv, 1967), 36.

²⁷³ L.Y. Rahmani, "Silver Coins of the Fourth Century B.C. from Tel Gamma," *Israel Exploration Journal (IEJ)*, 21 (Jerusalem, 1971), 158-160.

²⁷⁴ Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*. Volume I: Persian Period through Hasmonaeans. (New York, 1982).

²⁷⁵ Oded Lipschits and David S. Vanderhooft, *The Yehud Stamp Impressions*. A Corpus of Inscribed Impressions from the Persian and Hellenistic Periods in Judah. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011). Lipschits and Vanderhooft argue that the typological changes that occurred in the Yehud stamp impressions during the fourth-third century BCE point to a consolidation of the Persian administration in Yehud. Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2007, 75-94.

²⁷⁶ D.M. Gropp, *The Samaria Papyri from Wadi ed-Dalieh*. The Slaves Sales. A Thesis. (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1986). The English translation of the Samaria Papyri from Wadi Dalieh and Qumran Cave 4 have been published in the series of Qumran publications. D.M. Gropp, *Wadi Dalieh II. The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Dalieh and Qumran Cave 4*. Miscellanea. Part 2. Discoveries in the Judean Desert. XXVIII. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

²⁷⁷ Jan Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Dalieh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007).

ing the Persian period. Lemaire argues that although there is very little evidence of the use of Hebrew in Judah during this period, some seal-impressions and coins “may be evidence that writing and reading in palaeo-Hebrew went on and maybe were becoming more important after the Hebrew *torah* was proclaimed by Ezra (probably ca. 398)”²⁷⁸. Based on morphology, syntax and vocabulary, many scholars today consider Biblical Aramaic to be Imperial Aramaic of the Persian Empire.²⁷⁹ The Aramaic portions in Ezra use the typical phraseology and terminology of Imperial Aramaic documents. Also the author of Daniel wrote the Aramaic portions of his book in Imperial Aramaic. Gropp, however, argues that although Biblical Aramaic has strong affinities with the standard administrative language of the Persian period, the Aramaic of Ezra is not identical with that administrative language.²⁸⁰ According to Naveh and Greenfield, the use of Aramaic in the Persian chanceries was bound to a special scribal method.²⁸¹ The document was first dictated in Persian to a scribe who wrote it in Aramaic; then the document was sent to its destination where it was read aloud by another scribe in Persian or in some other language that was used in that part of the Empire. This method can, according to Naveh and Greenfield, be seen in Neh.8:8 and Ezra 4:18, and in the use of the term *mephorash*.

During the Persian period Aramaic also absorbed many influences. Kaufman notes that Aramaic adopted many Iranian loanwords and was strongly influenced by the Persian dialects of the Empire that it served.²⁸² He also argues that the later division of Aramaic into Eastern and Western dialects is already discernible in the Persian period. Official Aramaic, the so-called Imperial Aramaic, which was used in the Persian royal chanceries and courts, was an Eastern dialect.²⁸³ Already Driver observed that both Eastern and Western dialects of Aramaic appear in the corpus of ancient Aramaic documents found from Egypt. The letters of Aršama, who was the Persian Satrap of Egypt, are written in the Eastern dialect. They were written on leather in Babylon and Susa and sent to Egypt. Also his letters on papyrus written in Egypt follow the same Eastern dialect. Aršama’s letters are also rich in Iranian loanwords.²⁸⁴ The letters of the Judeans of Elephantine are also written in the Eastern dia-

²⁷⁸ Concerning the role of Hebrew in Samaria Lemaire suggests that it was a case of Hebrew-Aramaic bilingualism. Lemaire 2006, 189-190.

²⁷⁹ According to Rosenthal, Biblical Aramaic as written has preserved the Official Aramaic character. F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. (Wiesbaden 1995), 10.

²⁸⁰ Gropp 1997, 144.

²⁸¹ Naveh and Greenfield 1984, 116, 119.

²⁸² Kaufman 2002, 301.

²⁸³ Kaufman 2002, 302.

²⁸⁴ Driver 1957, 8-12, 19.

lect, but they use less Akkadian and Iranian loanwords than the Imperial Aramaic in average does. However, the legal texts of the Judeans of Elephantine have lots of elements from Akkadian, Persian and Hebrew traditions. It is commonly agreed by scholars that the Judeans of Elephantine used Aramaic as their everyday language.

The fragmentary Aramaic version of Darius' Bisitun inscription, which was found in Egypt, is in Eastern Aramaic. The Hermopolis letters are written in a Western Aramaic dialect, as Kutscher argues.²⁸⁵ To summarize, it appears that Imperial Aramaic was especially used in legal documents and administrative materials. Imperial Aramaic definitely had a great impact on the lives of Judeans living in Judah, Babylon and Egypt during the Persian period. It was the tool of communication that was understood and accepted everywhere in the great Persian Empire.

²⁸⁵ E.Y. Kutscher, "The Hermopolis Papyri", *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies*. (Jerusalem, 1977), 59.

3 DATA AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

In this chapter I will first describe the data of this study; then I will proceed to clarify the ontological and epistemological approach and the methods of the research.

3.1. Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt

The data of this research incorporates the 1,042 Aramaic documents which were discovered in Egypt and were written during the Persian period. My research is focused on the Judeans who lived in Egypt during the Persian period; therefore, the data includes only those documents which were found in Egypt. Documents written in Demotic, dating from the Persian period, have also been found in Egypt, but I leave them outside of my research.²⁸⁶ This decision is based on the assumption that the Judeans of Egypt were Aramaic speakers and that Demotic was not their everyday language. In addition, in his recent article Quack argues about the interaction of Egyptian and Aramaic literature, saying that the literature of the Judeans and other Aramaic-speaking groups of Egypt did not have any particular status in the eyes of the Egyptians, “in spite of the fact that their language and writing was the official medium of imperial administrative communication”²⁸⁷. Lemaire underlines the fact that all the epigraphic documents from Egypt we have about Judeans in the Persian period are written in Aramaic, and that “we have no Hebrew and no cuneiform inscriptions from Egypt during that period”.²⁸⁸

The 1,042 Aramaic documents, which form the data of my research, represent a great variety of texts from different sectors of human life from official letters, legal documents, literary texts, trade accounts, tax accounts and different kind of lists to private letters, funerary inscriptions, libation bowl-texts and graffiti. In the following two subchapters, I will point out where and how these Aramaic documents were discovered, what kind of texts they are, and how they were published. In all cases, the archaeological context of the documents is not clear because many of them were acquired from unknown dealers, especially in the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Additionally, in several cases, the origin of the papyrus fragments has also been difficult to determine.

²⁸⁶ Except, what I have already said above about the evidence found in the Demotic Papyrus Amherst 63 concerning the origin of the Judeans of Egypt.

²⁸⁷ J.F. Quack, “The Interaction of Egyptian and Aramaic Literature”, in O. Lipschits, G.N. Knoppers, and M. Oeming, (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, 2011, 393.

²⁸⁸ André Lemaire, *Levantine Epigraphy and History in the Achaemenid Period (539-332 BCE)*: The Schweich Lectures on Biblical Archaeology. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 45.

3.1.1. Discoveries of the Aramaic documents

This subchapter attempts to answer the following questions: Where were the Aramaic documents discovered? What is their nature? When were they discovered? Who found them? To begin, the Aramaic documents from the Persian period were found from twenty two different locations in Egypt. Appendix 1 lists the individual locations, as well as the type of the documents found in each location and the year of discovery of each of them being, if known. The number of twenty two locations is reached when overlapping locations are counted as one location. Thus Elephantine-Syene and Elephantine-Unknown are counted together with Elephantine proper; Memphis and Memphis-Saqqâra are counted as one location and Saqqâra, North-Saqqâra and South-Saqqâra are counted as one location. Furthermore, fifty documents come from unknown locations. The following map of Egypt (Figure 2) shows the locations of discovery of the Aramaic documents from the Persian period as far as they are known.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ I am in debt of gratitude to Joel Ahola who kindly prepared this map for me in a highly skillful and professional manner according to the information that I provided him.

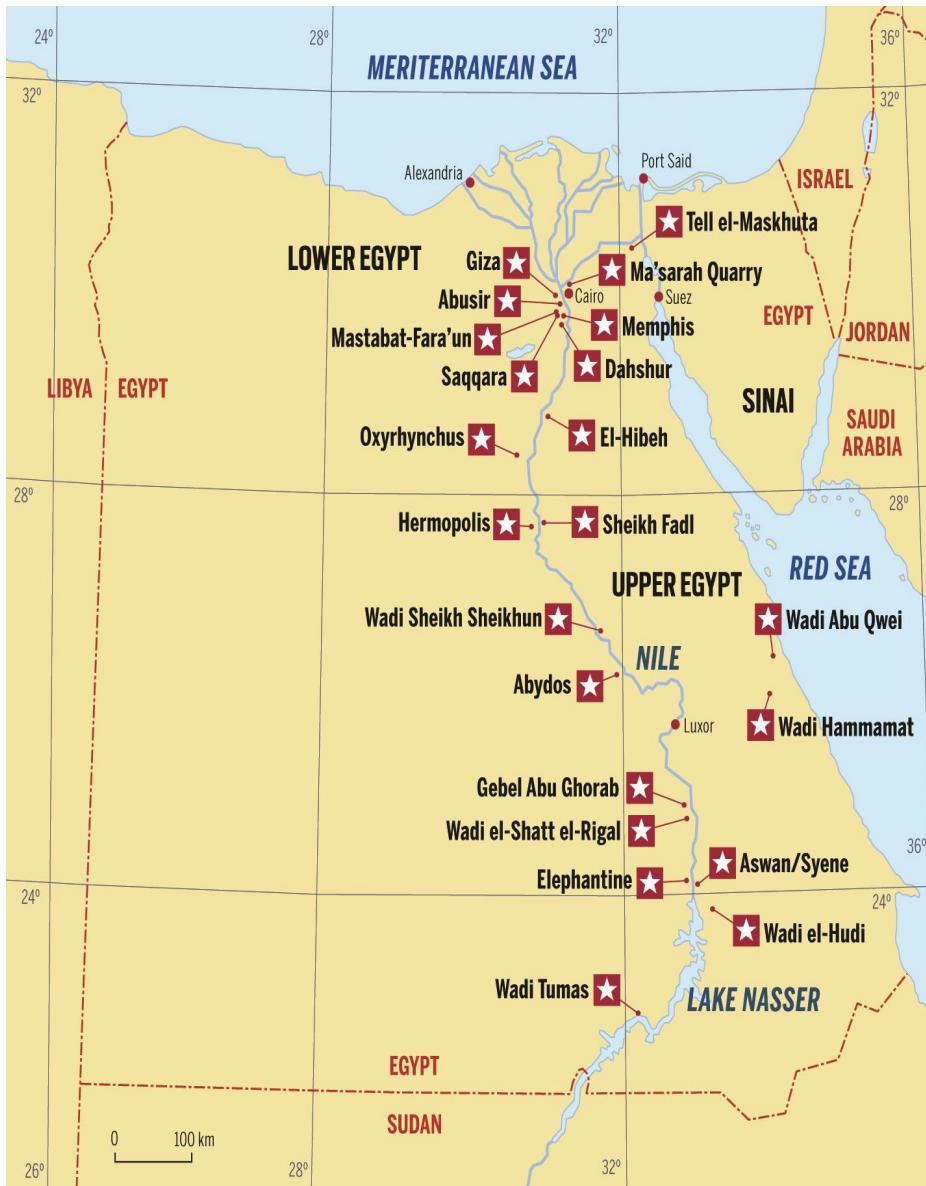


Figure 2 Places of discovery of the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt 539-332 BCE

Appendix 1 also depicts the locations where the Aramaic documents were discovered, showing that about 56% of all the documents (583 documents) come from Elephantine and about 28% of them (296 documents) from the Memphis-Saqqâra area. This means that out of the 1,042 Aramaic documents, 84% (878 pieces) originate either from Elephantine or

from the Memphis- Saqqâra area. These two locations seem to have been the main centers of spoken and written Aramaic in Egypt during the Persian period. To fully understand this, short archaeological overview of the twenty two locations of Egypt where the Aramaic documents were found is needed. The following information is mainly based on the *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, edited by K. A. Bard.²⁹⁰

Abusir (29°53' N, 31°13' E)

The village of Abusir is located less than 20 km south of the pyramids of Giza, west of the river Nile. The ancient Egyptian name of the village was Per-Wesir which means “House of Osiris.” The most important finds at Abusir are the three pyramids and several *mastaba* tombs discovered from its necropolis. They served as burials of the 5th Dynasty royal people and high officials. These pyramids were examined at first by J.S. Perring in 1838 and soon after him by R. Lepsius in 1843. J. de Morgan excavated in 1893 the *mastaba* of the vizier Ptahshepses, one of the best known monuments of Abusir. In the same year some illicit diggers found fragmentary papyri in one of the temples in the area. In 1902-1908 German expedition directed by L. Borchardt resurveyed the pyramids of Abusir. Since 1976, Prague University has made several excavations in the area, and found, among other items, more written documents which are known as the Abusir papyri. They contain hieroglyphic texts which tell about the duties of the priesthood of the pyramids in the Abusir necropolis.²⁹¹ Recently, Dušek and Mynářová have reported discovery of three Phoenician and two Aramaic inscriptions from the site.²⁹²

Altogether seven Aramaic documents from the Persian period have been found from Abusir. In 1888 an unknown person acquired two papyrus fragments which were discovered from Abusir. One of them contains an account and the second one an unclassified text. During his excavations at Abusir in 1907, L. Borchardt discovered three Aramaic documents. Two of them are ostraca from broken jars containing a notation and the third one is graffito, probably from the mortuary temple of Neferirkare, containing a name written in Aramaic. In addition to these five Aramaic documents, a burial marker containing an Aramaic funerary

²⁹⁰ K. A. Bard, (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

²⁹¹ I.E.S. Edwards, “Abusir” in Bard 1999, 90-91.

²⁹² Jan Dušek and Jana Mynářová, “Phoenician and Aramaic Inscriptions from Abusir” in Botta 2013, 53-69. They note that “The presence of foreign elements within the site of Abusir is uniquely documented by inscriptions written in Aramaic and Phoenician, as well as in the Carian language.” Botta 2013, 55. One of the two Aramaic documents which appear in their report, however, has already been published by Porten and Yardeni in TAD D 22.2.

inscription and discovered from Abusir was acquired by an unknown person before the year 1911.²⁹³ Recently, Dušek and Mynářová have published an Aramaic graffito from the tomb of Nakhtsare, located in the vicinity of the pyramid complex of King Raneferef.²⁹⁴

Abydos (26°11' N, 31°55' E)

The ancient settlement of Abydos is located on the west bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt. One of the most impressive discoveries of Abydos is the temple of Osiris, located beside the modern village of el-ʿAraba el-Madfuna. The temple was constructed by Seti I of the 19th Dynasty as his funerary shrine. The temple contains seven sanctuaries, all dedicated to different deities: Ptah, Re-Horakhty, Amen-Re, Osiris, Isis, Horus and Seti I. Even before Seti I, Abydos was a traditional cult center of the Egyptian god Osiris who was perceived as a funerary god of national significance. One of the unique parts of the Seti temple complex is a subterranean structure called as the “Osireion.” The Osireion is constructed in the shape of an 18th Dynasty tomb in the Valley of the Kings. Graffiti carved on the walls of Osireion indicate that the place was an important pilgrimage destination from the 21st dynasty until the Roman period. Visitors carved graffiti in the temple in different languages such as Aramaic, Phoenician, Carian, Greek and Cypriot. The temple of Seti was rediscovered in 1718 by the Jesuit Père Claude Sicard and archaeologically examined by Auguste Mariette in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹⁵

Among the above mentioned graffiti on the walls of the Seti temple are also the nineteen Aramaic graffiti from the Persian period. Thirteen of them contain a proskynema and six of them just a name of the visitor. The first four of these Aramaic graffiti were discovered by Th. Devéria before the year 1868. One was found by A. H. Sayce in 1883. Then five Aramaic graffiti were discovered by Sayce, Euting, Grébaut and Maspero before the year 1889. Eight more graffiti were recognized by Lidzbarski in 1910. Finally, the latest piece of Aramaic graffiti from Abydos was deciphered by Porten and Yardeni in 1993.²⁹⁶

Aswan/Syene (24°05' N, 32°54' E)

The ancient Syene was located about at the same spot where the modern day city of Aswan is situated on the east bank of the Nile at the First Cataract. Its Egyptian name was *Swnw*

²⁹³ TAD D, V-VIII.

²⁹⁴ Botta 2013, 65-67.

²⁹⁵ Steven Blake Shubert, “Abydos, Osiris temple of Seti I” in Bard 1999, 103-104.

²⁹⁶ TAD D, VIII.

and Greek name Syene. The southern border of Egypt was established at Aswan already in early dynastic times. Aswan was regarded as the starting point of Egypt at the frontier of Nubia. Its importance was derived both from military and business reasons. The most important spots of the ancient Aswan were its harbor and marketplace. Aswan was the center where the trade of African luxury items was controlled. It provided a convenient location for river transport for all kinds of products. One of them was the colorful hard rock of Aswan, which was quarried in large quantities and sold as material for monumental buildings and other purposes. Aswan also possessed a great religious importance because the worship of the Egyptian deities was linked to the river Nile especially here. Aswan was especially known for the temples of Isis, the goddess of the army. The town of Aswan was also of some importance as a garrison already in the Persian period, but its monumental buildings date from the later Ptolemaic and Roman periods.²⁹⁷

Reisner excavated the cemeteries of the main settlement area of Aswan on the east bank in the plain of Shellal in 1907-08. Among other things, the trenches of the Roman fort, Legio I Maximiana, could be identified.²⁹⁸ Excavations at the temple of Isis in Aswan have revealed some stone sarcophagi which bear Aramaic name-labels. However, no connection to the Judeans of Elephantine from the Persian period has been detected in these sarcophagi.

The Aswan area has the most important concentration of rock inscriptions and rock drawings known in Egypt. One reason for this is the geographical environment with abundance of suitable rock-faces. However, exact dating of the drawings remains a problem. Most of the inscriptions date from the Middle and New Kingdoms and are made by private persons. They depict the devotion of the person in question to the local deities and commemorate his visit to their sanctuaries. Some other inscriptions were made by people who were sent to this area to carry out quarrying, trading or other administrative tasks for the king. Many kings themselves also left altogether over a thousand of historical texts carved on the rocks. According to Seidlmayer, these texts provide invaluable historical information about the civil and religious administration of the region of Aswan, about the organization of the provincial life and about Egyptian-Nubian relations.²⁹⁹

Altogether thirty eight different Aramaic documents found from Aswan have been dated to the Persian period. In 1893 at Aswan, C. E. Wilbour acquired twelve legal contracts, two letters, a marriage document and an account, all of which are written on papyrus

²⁹⁷ Stephan Seidlmayer, "Aswan" in Bard 1999, 152-153.

²⁹⁸ Seidlmayer 1999, 155.

²⁹⁹ Seidlmayer 1999, 156-157.

as well as a Scribe's Palette written on a Wooden Plaque. During the years 1901-1904, the Bodleian Library, W. Cecil and R. Monday acquired at Aswan ten legal contracts written on papyrus and six letters written on ostraca. About at the same time, the Egyptian Museum of Cairo acquired a Dedication Stone from Aswan. A. H. Sayce spotted an unclassified piece of Aramaic graffiti at Aswan in 1906. El-Hetta discovered three Sarcophagi at Aswan in 1963 which include some text in Aramaic and are dated to the Persian period.

Dahshur (29°48' N, 31°14' E)

The ancient site of Dahshur is located about 40 km south of Cairo on the west bank of the Nile. It was one of the favored cemetery sites of the Old and Middle Kingdoms of Egypt. Ten pyramids have been found at Dahshur, the best known of them being the Bent pyramid and the Northern Stone pyramid of Seneferu who was the first king of the 4th Dynasty. In addition, there are also three pyramid complexes from the Middle Kingdom 12th dynasty Kings of Amenemhat II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III.³⁰⁰

R. Pococke had visited the ancient site of Dahshur already in 1743. After him, R. Wood, J. Dawkins and G. Borra surveyed the Old Kingdom Bent pyramid and the Northern Stone pyramid of Seneferu in 1750. J.S. Perring first cleared the entrances to the Bent pyramid and surveyed the whole Northern Stone pyramid in 1839. R. Lepsius catalogued these pyramids in 1843. After these early surveys, the Bent pyramid was later investigated again by G. Jéquier in 1924, A. S. Hussein in 1946-49, as well as A. Fakhry in 1951-52 and 1955. The Northern Stone pyramid has also been excavated again, namely since 1980 by the German Institute of Archaeology in Cairo under the leadership of R. Stadelmann.³⁰¹

The Middle Kingdom dynasty pyramids of Amenemhat II, Senusret III and Amenemhat III were excavated by J. de Morgan in 1894-95. He succeeded to enter the burial chambers of these pyramids and also found some extraordinary jewelry of the Middle Kingdom from the tombs of princesses. After Morgan, the following excavations at these pyramids were made by the German, D. Arnold between 1976-1983 (the pyramid of Amenemhat III) and by the Metropolitan Museum of Art since 1990 (the pyramid of Senusret III).³⁰²

When excavating at Dahshur in 1894, J. de Morgan also found three Aramaic graffiti which are dated to the Persian period.

³⁰⁰ Christian Hölzl, "Dahshur, Middle Kingdom pyramids" in Bard 1999, 212-215.

³⁰¹ I.E.S. Edwards, "Dahshur, the Bent Pyramid" and "Dahshur, the Northern Stone Pyramid" in Bard 1999, 211-212 and 215-216.

³⁰² Hölzl 1999, 213.

Elephantine (24°05' N, 32°53' E)

Elephantine is an island in the middle of the Nile at the first Cataract, at the present day city of Aswan. The town on the island of Elephantine was the oldest and most important town of Egypt throughout antiquity. Its history extends to more than 4000 years back. Elephantine served as an important border crossing point to Nubia because Egypt's southern border was located there. It also functioned as a center for trade with the southern regions together with the opposite Syene. The ancient Egyptian name of the town was Abu, which means "ivory" or "elephant." It supposedly refers to one of the most important trade items of the ancient Egyptians. Since the Old Kingdom, there was a fortress in Elephantine where the Egyptian state control and administration in the area was executed.³⁰³

During the Old Kingdom, a temple of the goddess of Elephantine, Satet, was located on the island. Since the 6th dynasty, also the ramheaded god Khnum of the cataract region had its own cult place inside Satet's sanctuary. According to ancient Egyptian tradition, the festival of the Nile flood began at Elephantine around 2000 BCE. During the Middle Kingdom, Senusret I (ca.1956-1911 BCE) build a separate temple for Khnum into the town center of Elephantine. During the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1700-1550 BCE) the cult of Khnum overtook the worship of Satet at Elephantine and during the New Kingdom (ca.1550-1069 BCE) Khnum's temple was even further enlarged.³⁰⁴

During the Persian period, the military garrison of Elephantine had an importance in protecting the country against outward threats. The Aramean and Judean colonies both had a part in this garrison. Judeans had a temple to YHWH on the island of Elephantine, even before the Persian occupation. During the 30th dynasty, Nectanebo I (380-362 BCE) enlarged the temple of Khnum and that probably resulted in the loss of the Judean temple at Elephantine. Kaiser states that "the ruins of a number of non-Egyptian-type houses survived from which important papyri relating to early Judaism could be salvaged"³⁰⁵. Because the enlarged temples of Khnum, Satet and Nile occupied over nearly half of the ancient site during the Graeco-Roman periods, the daily trade and administration shifted to Aswan/Syene on the east bank of the river.

Of importance to this study, Elephantine is the location in Egypt that has yielded the most of the Persian period Aramaic documents. As noted above, about 56% of all the docu-

³⁰³ Werner Kaiser, "Elephantine" in Bard 1999, 283-284; Also Seidlmayer 1999, 153.

³⁰⁴ Kaiser 1999, 285.

³⁰⁵ Kaiser 1999, 286.

ments (583 documents) come from Elephantine. Here it should be mentioned that the most important archaeological excavations at Elephantine have been executed by the German and the French archaeologists. Germans Otto Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker directed three campaigns on the island of Elephantine for the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in 1906-1908. Additionally, the French archaeologists conducted four campaigns on the island of Elephantine in the beginning of the 20th century. The first of these campaigns in 1907 was directed by Charles Clermont-Ganneau and Jean Clédat. The second in 1907-1908 was also led by Clermont-Ganneau. The third in 1908-1909 was led by Joseph-Étienne Gautier and the fourth in 1910-1911 by Jean Clédat. The German Institute of Archaeology started its latest excavations at Elephantine in co-operation with the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research in January 1969.

El-Hibeh (28°48' N, 30°55' E)

El-Hibeh is located in Middle Egypt at the traditional border of the Lower and Upper Egypt on the east bank of the Nile. The ancient name of the site was Teudjoi which means “their walls.” El-Hibeh is known especially for its heavy fortification walls from the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1069-715 BCE). These walls are 12.60-meter thick and up to 10 meters high. Scholars dispute their origin date, but Aston connects them to the Libyan period of the Third Intermediate Period and sees them reflecting a growing sense of insecurity during these times when Egypt was politically fragmented.³⁰⁶ During the 22th dynasty, El-Hibeh was under the control of Lower Egypt, and King Sheshonq I (ca. 945-924 BCE) built a temple to Amun there.³⁰⁷

Since 2001, the University of California, has conducted excavations at El-Hibeh under the leadership of Dr. Carol A. Redmount.³⁰⁸ However, these excavations have not yielded any Aramaic documents from the Persian period. Previously, only two Aramaic documents dating to the Persian period have been discovered from El-Hibeh. Both of them are written on papyrus. One is a land lease acquired by H. Bauer and B. Meissner in 1936, and the second one is a private letter that was acquired by the Archeological Museum of Florence in 1959.

³⁰⁶ D. A. Aston, “Third Intermediate Period, overview” in Bard 1999, 63. About the debate concerning the fortresses in Middle Egypt, see Van de Mieroop 2011, 281-282.

³⁰⁷ Van de Mieroop 2011, 282.

³⁰⁸ <http://nes.berkeley.edu/hibeh/index.htm>. (Accessed 02.12.2013)

Gebel Abu Ghorab

Gebel Abu Ghorab is located a mile north of Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal. Maspero and Grébaut discovered four Aramaic graffiti each containing a name from this site in 1886.³⁰⁹

Giza (29°59' N, 31°08' E)

Giza has yielded many important archaeological finds. In 1925, the tomb of Queen Hetepheres I, the wife of King Seneferu and mother of King Khufu, was discovered accidentally by Rowe. The importance of this find results, according to P. Der Manuelian, from the fact that it is “the only partially intact royal burial known from the Old Kingdom.”³¹⁰

The three great pyramids constructed by the ancient Egyptians are found at Giza. The most magnificent of them is Khufu’s pyramid, today called the “Great Pyramid” because it is the largest ever built. Khufu, the second king of the 4th dynasty, ruled ca. 2589-2566 BCE. According to Hawass, the design of the Khufu’s pyramid “established the standard architectural components of the royal pyramid complex for the rest of the Old Kingdom.”³¹¹ Hathor, Horus and Re were three Egyptian deities who were worshiped at Giza during the Old Kingdom.³¹²

The second great pyramid at Giza is that of Khafre’s (ca.2558-2532 BCE), located to the south of Khufu’s pyramid complex. Khafre’s mortuary temple is perhaps one of the best preserved from the Old Kingdom.³¹³ The Great Sphinx, which belongs to Khafre’s pyramid complex, is considered to be the first colossal royal statue in ancient Egypt. Remains of the worship of Osiris dating to the New Kingdom have been found at the Sphinx area. A modern restoration of the Sphinx started in 1989.³¹⁴

The smallest of the three 4th dynasty pyramids of Giza is Menkaure’s the son of Khafre (ca.2532-2503 BCE) pyramid.³¹⁵ According to the estimation based on the results of

³⁰⁹ TAD D, VIII.

³¹⁰ P. Der Manuelian, “Giza, Hetepheres tomb” in Bard 1999, 340-342. Manuelian notes that, for example, the queen’s furniture is significant as example of the earliest and most elaborate furniture ever discovered in the ancient world.

³¹¹ Zahi Hawass, “Giza, Khufu pyramid complex” in Bard 1999, 347-350.

³¹² Hawass, “Giza, Khufu pyramid complex”, 1999, 349. The five boat burials discovered from Khufu’s pyramid complex are supposed to have been connected to the worship of the king as an incarnation of these deities.

³¹³ Zahi Hawass, “Giza, Khafre pyramid complex” in Bard 1999, 342-345.

³¹⁴ Hawass, “Giza, Khafre pyramid complex”, 1999, 345.

³¹⁵ Peter Lacovara, “Giza, Menkaure pyramid complex” in Bard 1999, 351-353.

the recent excavations at Giza, the size of the Egyptian labor force employed to build the great 4th dynasty pyramids might have been about 30 000 workers and artisans.³¹⁶

Only one Aramaic document dated to the Persian period has been discovered from Giza, a graffito containing a list. This was found by É. Baraize at Giza Sphinx in 1928.

Hermopolis (27°46' N, 30°44' E)

The ancient site of Hermopolis is located on the west bank of the Nile in Middle Egypt. In fact, there are two different archaeological sites at Hermopolis: Hermopolis Magna and Hermopolis West. The ancient pharaonic city of Khmunw, which was in the Graeco-Roman time called as Hermopolis Magna, is located at the modern day village of el-Ashmunein.³¹⁷ Hermopolis West, located about seven kilometers west of Hermopolis Magna, is now the modern day village of Tuna el-Gebel. This served as regional cemetery for Hermopolis, beginning in the New Kingdom (ca.1550-1069 BCE) through Late Period (ca. 715-332 BCE) until the Graeco-Roman period (ca.332 BCE-395 AD). The southern part of Hermopolis West is the best-known part of Tuna el-Gebel. Since the time of Rameses II (ca.1279-1213 BCE), it has served as the burial site of ibises and baboons, all animals associated with the god Thoth, the patron deity of Hermopolis Magna. Underground galleries were even constructed for these mummified animals beginning in the 26th dynasty (664-525 BCE).³¹⁸

In 1920 the tomb of Petosiris, the High Priest of Thoth, at Tuna el-Gebel was excavated by G. Lefebvre. The later tombs as well as the sacred animal galleries were excavated by S. Gabra between the two World Wars.³¹⁹ In 1945 during these excavations, Gabra discovered eight private letters written in Aramaic, dating to the Persian period. These the so-called Hermopolis letters were deposited in a jar containing mummies of the sacred ibis bird. Porten suggests that these letters were originally sent from Memphis and may have been placed in the ibis jar only temporarily by their messenger who then failed to recover and deliver them to Luxor and Syene.³²⁰

³¹⁶ Zahi Hawass, "Giza, workmen's community" in Bard 1999, 353-356. Hawass argues that the information given by Herodotus can not be accurate. Herodotus has suggested that 100 000 men were employed to build the great pyramid of Khufu for a three- month period yearly over 20 years. Their main food was bread and beer. Hawass, "Giza, workmen's community", 1999, 354.

³¹⁷ A.J. Spencer, "el-Ashmunein" in Bard 1999, 147-150.

³¹⁸ Joyce A. Tyldesley, "Tuna el-Gebel" in Bard 1999, 847-849.

³¹⁹ Tyldesley 1999, 848.

³²⁰ Porten 1968, 264.

Ma'sarah Quarry (29°51' N, 31°22' E)

Ma'sarah Quarry is located on the east bank of the Nile less than 20 kilometers south of the modern day city of Cairo. Throughout antiquity, this area was important for two reasons. First, the limestone and calcite cliffs of this region were quarried for quality building stone for the Old Kingdom pyramids of the royal necropolis of Memphis. These ancient quarries extend for 2.5 kilometer along the eastern cliffs above Tura and Ma'sarah. The administration of these quarries was probably located at Saqqara or Memphis on the west bank of the Nile. Secondly, the region served as burial fields for the city of Memphis. In opposition to the west bank cemeteries, the larger tombs on the east side of the Nile were not rock-cut but consisted of burial chambers excavated in the flat low desert.³²¹ There A.H. Sayce found from Ma'sarah Quarry a graffito containing a name written in Aramaic in 1886.³²²

Mastabat-Fara'un (29°50' N, 31°13' E)

The word *mastaba* refers to tombs which had flat-topped rectangular limestone or a mud-brick superstructure resembling a box and underground tomb chambers. They have been in use since the Old Kingdom and served for both the high officials and male relatives of the king, as well as private people for their burials. Only the mother and wives of the pharaoh shared with him the pyramid-style tomb.³²³

Located in South Saqqara on the west bank of the Nile is the 4th dynasty tomb of King Shepseskaf (ca. 2503-2498 BCE), best known as the "Mastabat-Fara'un. First to visit this site was R. Lepsius in the early 1840s. Later in 1924-31, G. Jéquier excavated in this area and discovered one papyrus fragment containing an Aramaic account dating to the Persian period.³²⁴

Memphis (29°51' N, 31°15' E)

The site of the ancient city of Memphis is located 25 kilometers south of Cairo on the west bank of the Nile. One of the ancient names of the city and its temple was Hut-ka-Ptah/Hikuptah. Later it changed to the Greek name of the whole country, Aigyptos. Memphis, founded ca. 3100 BCE as the new capital of the unified Upper and Lower Egypt,

³²¹ David Jeffreys, "Tura, Dynastic burials and quarries" in Bard 1999, 849-851.

³²² TAD D, VIII.

³²³ Bard 1999, 493 and 745. Van de Mieroop explains the use of the expression *mastaba* as follows: "Because these superstructures resemble in shape the clay benches in front of modern Egyptian houses, we refer to them with the Arabic word *mastaba*, that is, bench." Van de Mieroop 2011, 37.

³²⁴ Christian Hölzl, "Saqqara, pyramids of the 13th Dynasty" in Bard 1999, 711-712.

served as the crosspoint of the Delta and the desert trade routes, and as an excellent location for an administrative center. After that, the Islamic city of el-Fustat (Old Cairo) replaced it in importance. Memphis, populated until the eighth or ninth century AD, stayed in ruins.³²⁵

The importance of the site of Memphis for the Egyptian archaeology stands in its extensive cemeteries. Dahshur, Saqqara, Abusir and Giza lie on the west bank of the Nile, and Helwan, Ma'sarah, Tura and Ma'adi lie on the east bank. According to Jeffreys, they provide "an unparalleled body of evidence for the history and material culture of Dynastic and Hellenistic Egypt."³²⁶

The ancient site of Memphis was lost until the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt located it at the end of the eighteenth century. Since the 1820s, the site of Memphis has been surveyed and excavated by several scholars. Among them were J. Hekekyan (1852-54), A. Mariette (1860s), F. Petrie (1907-13), C. Fischer (1914-21), R. Anthes (1955-56) and A. Badawi (1940s).³²⁷

One of the most important finds at Memphis was the embalming house of Apis bulls. Originally discovered by M. el-Amir and A. Badawy in 1941, it was J. Dimick and R. Anthes in 1955 who first suggested the house might have been used for embalming Apis bulls. Recent excavations carried out by New York University in 1982-86 have confirmed this identification to be true. According to the archaeological evidence, the site was rebuilt in the fourth century BCE during the time of Nectanebo II (358 BCE). According to the evidence, the cult of Apis continued at Memphis from the tenth century BCE until the Roman period.³²⁸

Altogether seventeen Aramaic documents dating from the Persian period have been discovered from Memphis. Twelve of them were acquired by different people since J.-P. Rigord of Marseilles, who made the first find before 1704. Four of them were discovered by F. A. Mariette in 1851 and 1862, and one by Petrie and Walker before the year 1909. Twelve of them are papyrus fragments; three texts come from stelae, one from a stone plaque and one from an offering table.³²⁹

³²⁵ David Jeffreys, "Memphis" in Bard 1999, 488-490.

³²⁶ Jeffreys, "Memphis", 1999, 489.

³²⁷ Jeffreys, "Memphis", 1999, 488.

³²⁸ Michael Jones, "Memphis, Apis bull embalming house" in Bard 1999, 491-493.

³²⁹ TAD D, V-VIII.

Oxyrhynchus (28°32' N, 30°40' E)

During the pharaonic time the ancient town of Oxyrhynchus, located in the Middle Egypt on the west bank of the Bahr Yusuf channel of the Nile, was called Per-medjed. Later during the Ptolemaic period, the Greeks called this town both by the name Pempte and Oxyrhynchus. The name Oxyrhynchus derives from the name of a fish that was worshiped there. The most important deity of Oxyrhynchus was Seth, but in addition, several other deities were worshiped: among them Asch, Thermutis, Osiris-Serapis, Isis, Harpokrates, Asklepios, as well as the hippopotamus goddess Taweret. One of the largest known finds of Greek papyri has been made in Oxyrhynchus. This discovery was made by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1982 the Egyptian Antiquities Organization discovered a large tomb at Oxyrhynchus dating to the Saite period (26th dynasty).³³⁰

Only one Aramaic document dating to the Persian period has been found at Oxyrhynchus. It is an ostrakon containing an Aramaic account which was acquired by an unknown person at Oxyrhynchus in 1897.

Saqqara (29°50-53' N, 31°13' E)

Saqqara is located on the west bank of the Nile less than 30 km south west of modern day Cairo. It was used as the necropolis of Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. The cemetery of Saqqara is unique because it was a consistently-running necropolis for about four millennia and, therefore, provides us valuable information about the life and religion of the ancient Egyptians.³³¹

The site of the ancient necropolis of Saqqara is large, stretching some kilometers from South Saqqara to North Saqqara. This area includes several pyramids, as well as different types of larger and smaller tombs and the sacred animal necropolis at North Saqqara. Most of the ancient people were in no position to afford the luxurious burials that the royal people and their high officials had, but were instead buried in reused tombs, poor individual burials and mass catacombs.³³²

Several pyramids are also located at Saqqara area. Maybe the most impressive of them is the Step Pyramid complex of Horus Neterikhet of the Old Kingdom. He is also known as King Zoser (or Djoser) of the 3rd Dynasty (ca. 2686-2648 BCE). Zoser's pyramid complex is the first one made of quarried stone. The first to explore the Step Pyramid were

³³⁰ Farouk Gomaà, "Oxyrhynchus (el-Bahnasa)" in Bard 1999, 594-595.

³³¹ Ana Tavares, "Saqqara, North, Early Dynastic tombs" in Bard 1999, 700.

³³² John D. Ray, "Saqqara, Late period and Graeco-Roman tombs" in Bard 1999, 693.

Baron von Minutoli and G. Segato in 1821, but the first systematic excavations were carried out by P. Lacau and C. M. Firth in 1924.³³³

In addition to Zoser's Step Pyramid, some pyramids of the 5th and 6th Dynasties are located at Saqqara. Closest to Zoser's pyramid is the pyramid of Weserkaf (or Userkaf, ca. 2494-2487 BCE), the first king of the 5th Dynasty. In addition, the pyramids of the two last kings of the 5th Dynasty, Djedkara (ca. 2414-2375 BCE) and Unas (ca. 2375-2345 BCE), are located at Saqqara, as well as the pyramids of Teti, Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II from the 6th Dynasty (ca. 2345-2181 BCE). They have, however, suffered intense damage since antiquity. One of the greatest finds from these pyramids was the so-called *Pyramid texts*, the funerary texts inscribed on the walls of the royal burial chambers of five of these pyramids (Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre and Pepi II). The French Egyptologist G. Maspero discovered them while exploring the ruins of these pyramids in 1882.³³⁴ G. Jéquier explored the mortuary temple of Pepi II in the 1930s. Recently, the French Archaeological Mission has started to study the mortuary temples of Unas and Teti.³³⁵

The Old Kingdom pyramids are not the only ones found at Saqqara. The two most important pyramid complexes of the 13th Dynasty (ca. 1773 - after 1650 BCE) of the Middle Kingdom are also located in South Saqqara. The smaller pyramid, located at the northern part of South Saqqara, belonged to Weserkare Khendjer, the 17th king of the 13th Dynasty. The site of this pyramid was first surveyed by R. Lepsius in 1840s, but the first excavations of it were only conducted by G. Jéquier in 1929-31. Another bigger pyramid is located at the southern side of South Saqqara. The owner of this unfinished pyramid complex is unknown but generally it is dated to the 13th Dynasty.³³⁶

The excavated tombs of Saqqara originate mainly from the following different periods: Early Dynastic (ca. 3000-2686 BCE), New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1069 BCE), Late period (ca. 715-332 BCE), Ptolemaic period (332-30 BCE) and Roman period (30 BCE-395 AD). The large First and Second Dynastic *mastaba* tombs are located on the North Saqqara plateau. Excavations of these tombs were carried out by J. E. Quibell (1912-14), C. M. Firth (in 1930-31) and W. B. Emery (1937-38 and later). According to the current research, North Saqqara served as a private cemetery during the early Dynastic period and not as a royal

³³³ Jean-Philippe Lauer, "Saqqara, pyramids of the 3rd Dynasty" in Bard 1999, 704-708.

³³⁴ Maspero published these texts for the first time himself in 1894. After him, K. Sethe published a translation and commentary of the *Pyramid Texts* in 1908, a publication still used today. Jean Leclant, "Saqqara, pyramids of the 5th and 6th Dynasties", in Bard 1999, 710.

³³⁵ Leclant 1999, 709-711.

³³⁶ Hözl, "Saqqara, pyramids of the 13th Dynasty", 1999, 711-712.

necropolis, as was suggested before. The North Saqqara necropolis provides important information about the life in the early Dynastic Memphis.³³⁷

During the New Kingdom, the Saqqara plateau was occupied with private tombs when Memphis served as the administrative capital from the reign of Tuthmose III to Ramesses II (ca. 1475-1250 BCE). C. R. Lepsius explored these tombs in 1843 and made a map of the largest sector of new Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. After him, A. Mariette excavated at the site and discovered among other things the “King List of Saqqara” from the tomb of Tjuneroy, who used to be the Overseer of Works of All the Monuments of the King. In the 1970s large excavations of these New Kingdom burials of Saqqara were started by G. T. Martin and H. D. Schneider. In 1977, S. Tawfik began a project of the University of Cairo at the site, and soon after him A-P. Zivie started a French project in 1980.³³⁸

The best-known Late period (ca. 715-332 BCE) burials at Saqqara are the so-called “Persian” tombs, which are located to the south of the pyramid of Unas. These tombs date, in fact, to the reign of Amasis (Ahmose II, 570-526 BCE) just before the Persian period in Egypt. The Aramaic letter of Adon, king of the Philistine city of Ekron, was discovered at one of these tombs. In these Late period tombs of Saqqara, some evidence for burials of other nationals than Egyptians has also been found; among them burials from Carian, Ionian, Phoenician and Aramean communities of Memphis.³³⁹

The sacred animal necropolis is located at North Saqqara. Its most important site is probably the Serapeum that served as burials of the Apis bulls. In addition, the animal necropolis of North Saqqara includes tombs of the Isis cows, catacombs of ibises and baboons of Thoth, falcons of Horus, cats of Bastet and dogs/jackals of Anubisa. These animals were symbols of the different deities to whom temple complexes at North Saqqara were dedicated. During the ancient times, a processional road led from Memphis to the Serapeum. A. Mariette discovered the Serapeum with the help of this processional road in 1851. Among the discoveries Mariette made at Serapeum, the most important ones are the stelae, providing information about the burials of the Apis bulls spanning from the time of Ramesses II to the end of the Ptolemaic period. W. B. Emery discovered the catacombs of the Isis cows, the ibises, falcons and baboons at North Saqqara in 1965. Evidence found at Serapeum attests that the Serapeum road came into use only about the 26th Dynasty (664-525 BCE) before the Persian period. During the rule of Nectanebo I (380-362 BCE) and Nectanebo II (360-343

³³⁷ Tavares 1999, 700-704.

³³⁸ Hans D. Schneider, “Saqqara, New Kingdom private tombs” in Bard 1999, 694-700.

³³⁹ Ray 1999, 692-693.

BCE), an impressive new temple was built at the entrance of the Serapeum. However, M. Jones suggests that, according to the evidence, the sacred animal cults at North Saqqara may have suffered from neglect during the second Persian period: “No burial of a mother of Apis is recorded between year 9 of Nectanebo II (351 BC) and year 3 of Alexander the Great (329 BC).”³⁴⁰ During the Ptolemaic period, the Apis cult as well the other animal cults resumed and continued until 40 BCE.

Altogether, 279 Aramaic documents dating to the Persian period were discovered from Saqqara. The majority of them, 248 pieces, are papyrus fragments, and most of them (202) were discovered at the sacred animal necropolis of North Saqqara by W.B. Emery and G.T. Martin between the years 1966-73.³⁴¹ The remainder of the Persian period documents found from Saqqara include sarcophagi (15 pieces), ostraca (6), mummy labels (6), stelae (two) and burial markers (two). The last ones are typical finds from a necropolis.

Sheikh Fadl (28° 29' N, 30° 51' E)

Sheikh Fadl is located in the Middle Egypt on the east bank of the Nile about opposite Her-mopolis. When excavating in the area in 1921-22 F. Petrie discovered an Aramaic inscription and graffito in a cave about 4-5 kilometers East-Northeast of Sheikh Fadl. This cave inscription contains the Tale of Hōra.³⁴²

Tell el-Maskhuta (30°33' N, 32°06' E)

The ancient townsite of Tell el-Maskhuta, located on the eastern Nile delta in the Wadi Tumilat region in the Lower Egypt, was once occupied during the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1700-1550 BCE) and again since Neko II (610-595 BCE) until the early Roman period (30 BCE- 395 AD). The Egyptian name of the town during the time of Neko II was Per-Atum Tjeku. A large temple to Atum was then built at the site. With the construction of the canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea via the Wadi Tumilat, the site's importance as a trade hub and frontier position increased.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Michael Jones, “Saqqara, Serapeum and animal necropolis” in Bard 1999, 715 (712-716).

³⁴¹ Segal 1983, VII. These Aramaic papyri fragments were found in a deposit of organic material in the courtyard west of the entrance to the catacombs of the mothers of Apis bulls and north of the main temple enclosure, as well as in the southern dependencies of the temple complex. These papyri contain texts in Aramaic, Demotic, Hieratic and Greek. Segal 1983, 1-2.

³⁴² The cave inscription and graffitos of Sheikh Fadl were restudied by Lemaire in 1984 and published by him in 1995. TAD D, VIII.

³⁴³ The name means “Estate of Atum in Tkḥ.” In biblical Hebrew, the name appears as Pitom or Pithom, Ex.1:11. John S. Holladay, Jr., “Tell el-Maskhuta” in Bard 1999, 786-789.

Tell el-Maskhuta was first identified and excavated by É. Naville in 1883. After him the site was excavated by J. Clédat, and more recently by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, under the direction of John S. Holladay, Jr (1978-85). Excavations have also been made in the Persian period necropolis located in the northern cemetery area.³⁴⁴

According to Holladay, two destruction phases (in 601 and 568 BCE) at Tell el-Maskhuta can be ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar II.³⁴⁵ Holladay connects two pieces of Judae-an domestic pottery, found at a house destroyed in 568 BCE, with the possible presence of Jeremican refugees of 582 BCE because similar Judae-an wares in larger quantities have been discovered also at Daphnae and Migdol. One destruction phase is ascribed to the Persian conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BCE. During the Persian period, the town itself seems to have been expanded. Darius I erected four large commemorative stelae along the route of the Red Sea canal; the first of them was discovered near Tell el-Maskhuta.³⁴⁶ A stone-built well which had been blocked up during the rebellion against the Persians in 487 BCE, was discovered just outside the town. It appears that the trade from Phoenicia and Greek to Egypt increased during the 30th dynasty (380-343 BCE). This can be seen in the increase of fragments of the Phoenician and Greek trade amphorae. Ink inscriptions on these jar fragments are mostly in Demotic Egyptian though some are in Phoenician script.³⁴⁷

Only four Aramaic documents have been discovered from Tell el-Maskhuta. They are the four silver libation bowls the Brooklyn Museum acquired from an unknown dealer between the years 1954-57. According to Holladay, these bowls are Persian in style and probably also in origin, but most likely came to Tell el-Maskhuta as a trade gift to the Atum temple through South Arabia. The inscription is dedicated “to the Lady” from Gashmu, which refers to a princely Arabian name, attested also in the Hebrew Bible (Neh. 2:19; 6:1-6).³⁴⁸ According to Paice, most of the silver objects discovered from Persian-period Egypt seem to have come from the end of the fifth century BCE.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁴ Holladay, “Tell el-Maskhuta”, 1999, 786-787. Look also John S. Holladay, Jr., “Wadi Tumilat” in Bard 1999, 878-881.

³⁴⁵ Holladay, “Tell el-Maskhuta”, 1999, 787.

³⁴⁶ Patricia Paice, “Persians” in Bard 1999, 613.

³⁴⁷ According to Holladay, these trade amphorae probably contained wine, olive oil, fish sauce and other preserved products. These were luxury products in ancient Egypt. Holladay, “Tell el-Maskhuta”, 1999, 788.

³⁴⁸ Holladay, “Tell el-Maskhuta”, 1999, 788.

³⁴⁹ Paice 1999, 614.

Wadi Abu Qwei (North of Wadi Hammamat)

Wadi Abu Qwei is located in the Wadi Hammamat close to the Red Sea. The Wadi Hammamat route is one of the shortest tracks from the Nile to the Red Sea and therefore is marked by hundreds of graffiti.³⁵⁰ Seven Aramaic graffiti from the Persian period were discovered at Wadi Abu Qwei. The first of them was found by A. Weigall in 1907 and the remainder by L.B. Fanfoni in 1989.³⁵¹

Wadi el-Hudi (23°50' N, 33°10' E)

Wadi el-Hudi is a quarrying area about 35 km southeast of Aswan in the desert. It has provided minerals and building stones since the early second millennium BCE. First discovered by L. Nassim in 1923, it was not examined until 1939 by G.W. Murray and I. Abdel 'Al Effendi. After them, A. Fakhry surveyed the site in 1944-1949, recording most of the inscriptions and graffiti which were then examined and published by A. Sadek in 1975. More recent archaeological surveys of Wadi el-Hudi were done by I. Shaw and R. Jameson in 1992.³⁵²

In 1939 I. Abdel 'Al Effendi discovered six Aramaic graffiti near the ancient mines in Wadi el-Hudi. They were incised on a 12th Dynasty stela of an official named Horus, but they are dated to ca. 476 BCE. These graffiti are proskynemata ("Blessed be PN of/before DN") written by an Egyptian Menkhpre and a Persian Artavazaya in the year 10 (= 476 BCE).³⁵³

Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal (24° 43' N, 32° 54' E)

Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal is located on the west bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt. Five graffiti containing Aramaic proskynemata were found at this site. Two of them were discovered by F. Petrie in 1887, and the other three were acquired and published by A. H. Sayce in 1895.

Wadi Hammamat (25°58'-26°35' N, 33°32'-33°35' E)

Wadi Hammamat is located in the Eastern desert of the Upper Egypt. It served as the shortest and most important route between the Nile and the Red Sea. Therefore, it has been used throughout ancient history for the transport of humans and goods from the Nile to the Red

³⁵⁰ Carol Meyer, "Wadi Hammamat" in Bard 1999, 868.

³⁵¹ TAD D, VIII.

³⁵² Ian Shaw, "Wadi el-Hudi" in Bard 1999, 871-872.

³⁵³ TAD D, VIII and 267.

sea and vice versa. Extensive mining and quarrying have been carried out in this Wadi as well. Because of the popular use of the Wadi, many ancient ruins, resting places, and rock inscriptions are still found there. One of the specialties of the Wadi is *bekhen*-stone, which occurs nowhere else in Egypt. A dark gray when cut from the rock, it weathers to a reddish color. It was highly valued by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore most of the hundreds of hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions found in this Wadi record the quarrying of the *bekhen*-stone for different purposes.³⁵⁴

Only one Aramaic document dated to the Persian period has been discovered from the Wadi Hammamat. In 1946, G. Goyon found a graffito containing a unique Aramaic Abecedary from this site.³⁵⁵

Wadi Sheikh Sheikhun (24°43' N, 32°54' E)

This site is located on the East bank of the Nile in the Upper Egypt. Here Maspero and Grébaut discovered a graffito containing an Aramaic proskynema in 1886.³⁵⁶

Wadi Tumas (22° 45' N, 32° 9' E)

Wadi Tumas is located at the Second Cataract on the West bank of the Nile in the area of the Lower Nubia. During the 12th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, Senusret I (ca. 1956-1911 BCE) advanced south from Elephantine and subjected the area of Lower Nubia to the Egyptian rule.³⁵⁷ Of the two graffiti A. Weigall discovered in Wadi Tumas in 1907, both contain Aramaic names usually included among the Persian period Aramaic documents, although according to Porten and Yardeni, their interpretation is most doubtful.³⁵⁸

The following table (Table 6) summarizes the findings of Aramaic documents from different locations in Egypt.

³⁵⁴ Meyer 1999, 868-869.

³⁵⁵ TAD D, VIII and 267.

³⁵⁶ TAD D, VIII and 267.

³⁵⁷ Kaiser 1999, 285.

³⁵⁸ TAD D, VIII, 267 and 285.

Table 6 The number of findings of Aramaic documents from different locations in Egypt

LOCATION	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT
Abusir	7	0.6%
Abydos	19	1.6%
Aswan/Syene	38	3.5%
Dahshur	3	0.3%
Elephantine	583	56%
El-Hibeh	2	0.2%
Gebel Abu Ghorab	4	0.4%
Giza	1	0.1%
Hermopolis	8	0.8%
Ma'sarah Quarry	1	0.1%
Mastabat-Fara'un	1	0.1%
Memphis	17	1.5%
Oxyrhynchus	1	0.1%
Saqqara	279	27%
Sheikh Fadl	2	0.2%
Tell el-Maskhuta	4	0.4%
Wadi Abu Qwei	7	0.6%
Wadi el-Hudi	6	0.6%
Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal	5	0.5%
Wadi Hammamat	1	0.1%
Wadi Sheikh Sheikhun	1	0.1%
Wadi Tumas	2	0.2%
Unknown location	50	5%
TOTAL	1,042	100%

The nature of the Aramaic documents

What is the nature of these 1,042 Aramaic documents which date to the Persian period Egypt? Two criteria can be used to describe them: the base of writing of the text and the content of the text. The following table (Table 7) describes these 1,042 documents in terms of the first criteria.

Table 7 Base of writing of the 1,042 Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt

THE BASE OF WRITING	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT
Ceramic	398	38.5%
Gem (Agate, Chalcedony)	4	0.5%
Leather	28	3%
Papyrus	526	50%
Rock	47	5%
Silver	4	0.5%
Stone	22	1.5%
Wood	13	1%
TOTAL	1,042	100%

As detailed in the above table, half of the documents (50%) are written on papyrus. This is not surprising because the use of papyrus as a writing base originated from Egypt already in the third Millenium BCE. It was produced from the pith of the papyrus plant (*Cyperus papyrus*) that was abundant in the Nile Delta of the ancient Egypt. The second popular writing base is ceramic (38.5%). A ceramic base was more cost effective than papyrus, especially when broken ceramic fragments were recycled objects for writing. Even rock was used as the base of writing for graffiti. Stone was more popular than wood because wood was sparse and, therefore, expensive in Egypt. Leather was also expensive; therefore, it was used only by the high officials of the Persian administration, like by the Satrap Aršama. The most valuable materials like silver and gems were used only for ritual bowls and different types of seals.

When the content of the text is used as the criteria to describe the nature of the document, the following picture emerges (Table 8).

Table 8 Content of the 1,042 Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt

CONTENT OF THE DOCUMENT	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT
Abecedary and Scribe's Palette	5	0.5%
Account	64	6%
Dedication	1	0%
Funerary Inscription	40	4%
Historical text	1	0%
Jar Inscription	33	3%
Legal document	106	10%
Letter	378	36%
Libation Bowl	4	0.5%
List	68	6.5%
Literature	3	0.5%
Name	25	2.5 %
Proskynema	31	3%
Seal or Stamp	6	0.5 %
Unclassified	277	27 %
TOTAL	1,042	100%

Evident from the above chart, the biggest group of the Aramaic documents is formed from different kinds of letters. Altogether there are 378 letters among these 1,042 Aramaic documents; they cover 36% of all the documents. Among these are private letters, semi-official letters, official letters send by the Persian authorities, as well as communal letters by the Judeans living in Egypt. Semi-official and official letters were written on papyrus or leather

while private letters were written either on papyrus or in many cases on small pot shards because they were the cheapest material to write on.

More than one fourth of all the documents (27%) belong to the group categorized as “unclassified”. This is derived from the fact that the data of this research is very fragmentary. Forty five percent of these 1,042 documents consist of small fragments including only a few words and in some cases not even that. Because of this, it is impossible to determine what kind of a document the text originally belonged to.

The third biggest group among the Aramaic documents is affiliated with legal matters. Legal documents, covering 10% (106) of all the Aramaic documents, include contracts, marriage documents, court records, reports of interrogation, and oath documents. Analyzing the different technical terms which are used in the various legal documents illustrated how developed the Aramaic scribal activity was in Persian period Egypt. Most of these legal documents were discovered at three locations: Elephantine (48), Saqqâra (32) and Aswan (23). On the basis of these finds, it can be argued that Syene (Aswan)-Elephantine and Memphis-Saqqâra were important Aramaic legal centers in Egypt during the Persian period.

The fourth biggest group includes all the Aramaic lists affiliated with names, salaries and taxation. Even one collection list was found at Elephantine. These lists cover 6.5% (68) of all the Aramaic documents.

The fifth biggest group consists of different accounts. Covering 6% (64) of all the Aramaic documents, these accounts relate to trade, delivery of food stuff, customs duties, taxation and land registration.

Among the smaller groups among these Aramaic documents are Funerary Inscriptions (4%), Proskynema's (3%), Jar Inscriptions (3%) and simply Names (2.5%).³⁵⁹ Other units include only a few pieces each: three Abecedaries, two Scribe's Palettes, five Seals, one Stamp, four Libation Bowls and one Dedication Stone. Additionally only three pieces among the 1,042 Aramaic documents can be defined as literature. They were found at Elephantine, Memphis-Saqqâra and Sheikh Fadl.³⁶⁰ Only one text among these documents can be labeled historical. That is the Aramaic copy of the Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great (TAD C 2.1) which was also discovered at Elephantine. Other texts which were found at North-Saqqâra and which Segal in his edition named as historical texts (Papyri 26-34) are actually something else, probably letters and other forms of reports.

³⁵⁹ “Names” as a separate group refers to those names which appear alone and not as a part of a list of names.

³⁶⁰ TAD C 1.1; 1.2 and D 23.1.

Because Elephantine and Memphis-Saqqâra have yielded more of these 1,042 Aramaic documents than other areas, it is useful to examine what kind of documents were found in these two locations.

Documents found from Elephantine

Regarding the base of writing of the documents, I noted that 40% of the documents which were written on papyrus originated from Elephantine.³⁶¹ The percentage of the documents written on ceramic is still higher; in fact 90% of all the Aramaic documents written on ceramics originated from Elephantine.³⁶² In addition, ten out of the total of thirteen documents (77%) written on wood came from Elephantine.

About one third (31%) of all the unclassified documents came from Elephantine,³⁶³ and 85% of all the Aramaic letters were found at Elephantine. These cover the widest variety from private letters and communal letters of Judeans to the official letters of the Satrap Aršama.³⁶⁴ Letters discovered from other locations of Egypt were mostly defined as either private letters or official ones.

Nearly one half (46%) of the legal documents were found at Elephantine. Also the biggest variety of different legal documents was found there.³⁶⁵ Sixteen Aramaic accounts were discovered at Elephantine; this accounts for 25% of all the Aramaic accounts found from Persian-period Egypt. Ninety percent of all the Aramaic lists from Persian-period Egypt were found at Elephantine.³⁶⁶ Also 79% of the Jar Inscriptions were discovered at Elephantine, among them two Royal Signs.³⁶⁷

Two pieces of Scribe's Palette and one Abecedary, as well as one piece of literature (the Words of Ahiqar, TAD C 1.1) and the only Persian period Aramaic historical text, the copy of the Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great (TAD C 2.1), were discovered at Elephantine.

³⁶¹ Altogether 210 pieces written on papyrus come from Elephantine.

³⁶² Altogether 360 pieces written on ceramics originate from Elephantine.

³⁶³ 87 unclassified documents come from Elephantine.

³⁶⁴ Altogether 320 Aramaic letters from the Persian period were discovered at Elephantine.

³⁶⁵ Altogether 49 Persian period Aramaic legal documents were discovered at Elephantine.

³⁶⁶ Altogether 62 pieces were found from Elephantine.

³⁶⁷ These Royal Standard Signs (*Of the King*) are found in the documents TAD D 11.17-18. Altogether 26 Persian period Jar Inscriptions were discovered from Elephantine.

Documents found from Memphis-Saqqâra area

About one half of those Aramaic documents (49%) which used papyrus for their base of writing originated from Memphis-Saqqâra.³⁶⁸ The exact opposite holds true with regard to ceramic as the base of writing: only 6% of these originated from Memphis-Saqqâra.³⁶⁹ Fifty six percent of all the documents that used stone for their base came from Memphis-Saqqâra.³⁷⁰ One reason that 74% of the Funerary Inscriptions came from Memphis-Saqqâra area might be that stone together with ceramic were the most used material for the base for writing of these inscriptions. And as I mentioned before, Saqqâra served as the Necropolis of the capital Memphis.

The majority of all the unclassified documents (66%) originated from Memphis-Saqqâra area,³⁷¹ mostly because the North-Saqqâra papyri are very fragmentary in nature. Only eight Aramaic letters (2% of all letters) dating from the Persian period were discovered at Memphis-Saqqâra area, and five of those can be defined as official letters while the rest are simply letters.³⁷² About one third (32%) of all the Aramaic legal documents were found at Memphis-Saqqâra.³⁷³ Fifty two percent of all the Aramaic accounts were discovered from the Memphis-Saqqâra area.³⁷⁴ Only four Aramaic lists, one piece of literature, the Tale of Ḥor son of Punesh (TAD C 1.2), and one Abecedary were discovered at Memphis-Saqqâra. Moreover, only 12% of all the Jar Inscriptions came from Memphis-Saqqâra.

Table 9 depicts the most typical features of the documents discovered at Elephantine and Memphis-Saqqâra.

Table 9 The most typical features of the documents found at Elephantine and Memphis-Saqqâra

ELEPHANTINE	MEMPHIS-SAQQÂRA
90% of all ceramic documents	49% of all papyrus documents
85% of all letters	66% of all unclassified documents
46% of all legal documents	32% of all legal documents
90% of all lists	52% of all accounts
79% of all jar inscriptions	74% of all funerary inscriptions

³⁶⁸ Altogether 260 Aramaic documents written on papyrus were discovered from Memphis-Saqqâra area.

³⁶⁹ Only 25 Aramaic ceramic documents dating to the Persian period were found from Memphis-Saqqâra.

³⁷⁰ Nine Aramaic documents which date from the Persian period and use stone as their base of writing were discovered from Memphis-Saqqâra.

³⁷¹ 182 unclassified documents come from Memphis-Saqqâra.

³⁷² TAD A 5.1, 4; TAD D 1:33-34 and Segal 26 (official letters) and TAD D 1.15-16, 32 (letters).

³⁷³ 33 of them were discovered from Saqqâra and only one from Memphis.

³⁷⁴ Altogether 33 Aramaic accounts were found from Memphis-Saqqâra.

From the basis of these features, I hypothesize that Elephantine was involved in scribal, legal and jar trade business. The Memphis-Saqqâra finds tend to refer to commercial, legal and funerary activities. What seems to have been common in both regions is the abundance of legal documents. Typical only to Elephantine is the abundance of all kinds of letters and lists. This abundance of letters refers to the intense scribal and administrative activity on the island of Elephantine. Lists can be related to the registration of the military forces, to the taxation systems of the Persian Empire or to the checking of the trade between Nubia and Egypt which flew through Elephantine. Typical of the finds for Memphis-Saqqâra is the abundance of the accounts and the funerary inscriptions, clearly because Saqqâra was the Necropolis of Memphis. This abundance of the accounts may also refer to a strong commercial activity in the Memphis area.

Who discovered the Aramaic documents and when?

All the above information leads to the questions: When were the Aramaic documents discovered? And who found them? In fact, it is not necessary and not even possible to tell the history of every document in detail, and tracking back the history of every papyrus fragment turned out to be impossible. However, it is useful to know some general historical facts concerning these documents. Basically, all of these 1,042 Aramaic documents were either bought by individuals and institutions or they were discovered through excavations. Appendices 2A and 2B attempt to add additional information to these facts, and include 902 documents whose histories could be clarified. However, the history of 140 fragments remains obscure. Appendices 2A and 2B also reveal that while 19% (170) of these 902 documents were acquired, 81% (731) were discovered during archaeological excavations. From this, it can be assumed that the remaining 140 fragments possess about the same division with regard to their history of discovery. This means that about one fifth of all the documents were acquired and four fifths were found as the result of organized excavations. Specifically, the very first acquisition took place by J.-P. Rigord of Marseilles at Memphis before the year 1704 and the latest acquisition was made by Porten and Yardeni at Abydos in 1993. The very first Aramaic document found through excavations was discovered by F.A. Mariette at Memphis in 1851 while the latest was by Krejčí, Callender, and Verner at Abusir in 2008.

In order to get an overall picture of the history of the discovery of these 1,042 Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt, I have divided their discovery roughly into the following three chronological phases: individual acquisitions in the 19th century, great ac-

quisitions at the change of the centuries, and organised excavations of the 20th century. While these three phases somewhat overlap each other, at the same time they also portray the trend of historical development.

The first phase is that of individual acquisitions. Although the first ever bought Aramaic document was the Funerary Stela which J.-P. Rigord of Marseilles acquired at Memphis already in the beginning of the 18th century³⁷⁵, the real interest for the acquisition of ancient documents started only in the beginning of the 19th century. The first Aramaic documents written on papyrus which were discovered in this way were letters, which G. B. Belzoni bought at Elephantine between the years 1815-19.³⁷⁶ Since then, individual people have bought ancient texts for collections, museums and libraries. Usually these documents originated from unknown finders.

The second phase in the history of discovery of the Aramaic documents from Egypt came at the change of the 19th and 20th centuries. This period marks the great acquisitions of Aramaic documents, especially those at Aswan by C. E. Wilbour in 1893 and by the Bodleian Library, W. Cecil and R. Monday between the years 1901-04. After them came many others. In about ten years' time, many new documents were acquired. Since then, the acquisition of Aramaic documents has been more sporadic, but it has continued right up until the end of the 20th century.

The third phase dates to the 20th century; then Aramaic texts were most likely discovered as a result of organized archaeological excavations. In Egypt the excavations had already started in the middle of the 19th century; however, their results became much more visible in the 20th century. The first excavation was led by F. A. Mariette who found an Offering Table with a funerary inscription at Memphis in 1851.³⁷⁷ By the beginning of the 20th century, the great excavations of the Germans Rubensohn and Zucker at Elephantine in 1906-08 were then followed by the French archaeologists in 1907-11. These excavations unearthed a great many new Aramaic documents and fragments. During this time, the number of discovered fragments expanded. Excavations also spread to other locations in Egypt, especially into Saqqâra area where great finds were made by W.B. Emery and G.T. Martin between the years 1966-73. As recently as 1969, the German Institute of Archaeology started excavations at Elephantine in co-operation with the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research, unearthing some new Aramaic documents.

³⁷⁵ TAD D 20.5.

³⁷⁶ TAD A 3.3-4.

³⁷⁷ TAD D 20.1.

As Porten and Yardeni note, most of these 1,042 Aramaic documents are now located in different libraries, museums or storerooms in twenty-six places throughout the world, in places such as Alexandria, Amsterdam, Aswan, Barcelona, Berlin, Brussels, Cairo, Carpentras, Edfu, Florence, Göttingen, Jerusalem, Leiden, London, Madrid, Moscow, Munich, New York, Oxford, Padua, Paris, Rome, Stockholm, Strasbourg, Turin and Vienna.³⁷⁸ Though I have been unable to travel around the world and check all these texts from their original documents, I have instead studied them as thoroughly as possible in the latest academic editions.

3.1.2. Publication of the Aramaic documents

Because of the abundance of the Aramaic documents which form the data of my research, it is not useful to list all their publications here in the text. In fact, except one, all of these 1,042 documents can be found in three major text editions, namely in Segal's edition (1983), in the four volume edition of Porten and Yardeni (1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999), and Lozachmeur's edition (2006). J.B. Segal's publication, from the year 1983, includes 207 documents valid for my research.³⁷⁹ Porten and Yardeni's editions add 549 more documents. Appendix 3 explains in further detail which documents from Segal's edition have been published anew by Porten and Yardeni.³⁸⁰ Most recent, Lozachmeur's edition provides 294 valid documents to this research. Appendix 4 lists those nine documents of Lozachmeur's edition which were earlier published by Porten and Yardeni.³⁸¹ All of the 756 valid documents from Segal's and Porten & Yardeni's editions are also found in the comprehensive collection of D. Schwiderski published in 2004 and 2008. Schwiderski misses only the 285 new valid documents of Lozachmeur's recent edition and the one published by Dušek and Mynářová in 2013. When all these documents are counted together, the total amount of valid texts rises to 1,042.

³⁷⁸ Porten-Yardeni 1986, V-VI; 1989, V; 1993, VI and 1999, IX.

³⁷⁹ The total number of individual texts of Segal's collection is 228. The reason to this is that one piece of papyrus is in two sections, and 25 of them are inscribed with a text on both sides. Segal 1983, 3. However, I have counted every piece of papyrus as only one single document and thus have reached the total number of 207 with the 202 pieces of papyrus and 5 pieces of ostraca.

³⁸⁰ It should be noted that the Porten and Yardeni editions include 31 documents from Segal's edition. Therefore, when counting the total number of the Aramaic documents from the Persian period Egypt, only 549 new documents are counted from the Porten and Yardeni's editions.

³⁸¹ The total number of valid documents from the Lozachmeur's edition is 294, but only 285 are counted as new documents.

The history of the publication of the 1,042 Aramaic documents which form the data of this research can be divided into three phases based on the style and form of the publication, as well as how quickly they were published after their discovery. The first phase can be named “delayed publications of the 19th century”. The second phase is called “developed publications of the 20th century”, and the third phase is that of “comprehensive collections”. From the chronological point of view these three phases overlap each other, as do the three phases of the history of the discovery of the Aramaic documents.

Delayed publications of the 19th century

Those Aramaic documents, for example the letters that were acquired by private collectors in the 19th century in Egypt, were usually not published immediately. Most of these documents were published only after tens of years, in some cases a century after their discovery. A good example of this delayed publication can be found in the case of the so called Padua papyri.³⁸² They were purchased by G.B. Belzoni at Elephantine between the years 1815-19; however they were not published by E. Bresciani until 1960.

Developed publications of the 20th century

The second phase in the history of the publication of the Aramaic documents came as a result of the development in publications during the 20th century. This occurred as organized archaeological excavations began. As these excavations developed and became more organized, publication of the Aramaic documents received more attention and became more systematic. For example, the finds of the excavations of Otto Rubensohn and Fr. Zucker at Elephantine in 1906-1908 were immediately published by E. Sachau in Berlin in 1911. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. One such exception is observed in the fate of the finds of the four French expeditions at Elephantine. Even though the excavations occurred in 1907-11, the finds of these excavations followed the old pattern of delayed publication, and the 322 ostraca discovered by the French archaeologists at Elephantine stayed unpublished until Lozachmeur’s text edition saw daylight in 2006.³⁸³ In addition another important publication was released in 1983 when J. B. Segal published the 202 pieces of Aramaic papyrus

³⁸² TAD A 3.3-4.

³⁸³ André Dupont-Sommer (1900-1983) published twenty two of them between the years 1941-1964 and Lozachmeur four of them between the years 1971-1998, but a comprehensive text edition of all these Aramaic ostraca was published only by Lozachmeur in 2006. Lozachmeur 2006, 96-97.

together with five Aramaic ostraca, all of which were found by the British archaeologists at North Saqqara during the excavations in 1966-73.

Comprehensive collections

The third phase in the publication history of the Aramaic documents emerged with the comprehensive collections. These were collections of text editions and collections of text translations. Because of the growing number of finds, scholars started sorting documents in separate volumes for the benefit of the academic research. When grouping the documents in their collections, the authors have used, in addition to the sigla given by their original publishers, the already above mentioned three criteria: the base material, the content and the geographical location where the document was discovered. The very first attempt to collect several Aramaic documents into one publication occurred when the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (CIS II/1) was published in 1889, including also some Aramaic documents from Egypt.³⁸⁴ Another service for researchers of the Aramaic documents was made in 1923 when A. E. Cowley published a volume containing all the Aramaic papyri known at that time; this work became an important reference for all the later research as Porten notes.³⁸⁵ Aimé-Giron also published a collection of Aramaic texts from Egypt for French researchers in 1931.³⁸⁶ The next similar French publication was released in 1972 when Pierre Grelot published his collection of Aramaic texts from Egypt.³⁸⁷ During this time in 1954, Godfrey Driver published an English collection of Aramaic documents from the fifth century BCE Egypt.³⁸⁸ Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig aided German researchers when they published a collection of Aramaic texts in 1966-1968. This collection also included seven documents from Persian-period Egypt, which Porten and Yardeni later added to their edition.³⁸⁹ After Driver's publication in 1954, the next English collection of the Ar-

³⁸⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum* (CIS). Pars secunda: Inscriptiones aramaicas continens. Tomus I. (Paris, 1889).

³⁸⁵ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923. Porten and Yardeni, 1986, V.

³⁸⁶ Noël Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens d'Égypte*, (Caire, 1931).

³⁸⁷ Pierre Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*. Introduction, traduction, présentation. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient. (Paris, 1972).

³⁸⁸ Godfrey R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* Transcribed and edited with translation and notes. (Oxford 1954).

³⁸⁹ Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Mit einem Beitrag von O. Rössler. Band I: Texte. Band II: Kommentar. 2. durchges. und erw. Aufl. (Wiesbaden 1966-1968). (Band 1, 5. überarb. Aufl. Wiesbaden 2002.)

aramaic documents was not released until Fitzmyer and Kaufman et al published their work in 1992.³⁹⁰

One of the newest publications concentrates only on the Aramaic documents found from Egypt. This is the four volume work of Porten and Yardeni (1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999).³⁹¹ In their edition Porten and Yardeni collected all the Aramaic documents originating from Egypt, even those which had been published previously. They also published several original texts. Porten and Yardeni examined and hand copied most of the texts from the source, visiting different libraries and museums around the world where these documents are being preserved. As this is not possible for every researcher, the editions of Porten and Yardeni have become invaluable help for every scholar studying these documents. In addition, Porten and Yardeni suggest many new readings, as well as conjectural reconstructions for corrupted and fragmented texts. In most cases their reconstructions are logical and acceptable. One of the texts that Porten and Yardeni published for the first time is the multi-column Customs Account (TAD C 3.7). Yardeni deciphered it from the erased text beneath the text of Aḥiqar. One weakness in the Porten and Yardeni editions is that from the 207 North-Saqqarâ documents they only included the 31 best-preserved texts in their publications (This can be seen in Appendix 3).³⁹² Because of this, the standard for research of the North-Saqqarâ documents is still the publication of Segal (1983) as it includes all the North-Saqqarâ texts.³⁹³ A second weakness of the Porten and Yardeni editions is that they have included only nine texts from the so-called Clermont-Ganneau collection of the Aramaic documents discovered in Elephantine in 1907-11 but published only one hundred years later by Lozachmeur in 2006.³⁹⁴

More recently, Hallo and Younger have published a comprehensive three volume translation anthology of all the ancient canonical, monumental and archival documents (CoS 1-3); however, their work does not include any new Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt.³⁹⁵

The most recent publication containing the collection of the Aramaic documents is the work of D. Schwiderski (2004). This volume includes all of the previously published

³⁹⁰ Fitzmyer et al., *An Aramaic Bibliography*, 1992.

³⁹¹ Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 1986-1999.

³⁹² As also Schwiderski notes. Schwiderski 2004, XVIII.

³⁹³ Segal, *Aramaic Texts From North Saqqâra*, 1983.

³⁹⁴ Look Appendix 4.

³⁹⁵ William W. Hallo, and Younger, K. Lawson, (eds.), *The Context of Scripture*. Vol.1: Canonical Compositions. Vol.2: Monumental Inscriptions; Vol.3: Archival Documents. (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1997, 2000, 2003).

³⁹⁶ Schwiderski, *Die alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften. The Old and Imperial Aramaic Inscriptions*, 2004.

³⁹⁸ Schwiderski 2004, 312-336.

⁴⁰⁰ Segal as well as Dušek and Mynářová provide an English translation, Porten and Yardeni an English and Modern Hebrew translation, whereas Lozachmeur French translation of the documents. As noted above, Schwiderski does not provide any translation of these texts.

Table 10 The Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt which form the data of this research

EDITION/PUBLICATION	NUMBER OF ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS
Segal	207
Porten-Yardeni	549 (new texts)
Lozachmeur Dušek and Mynářová	285 (new texts) 1 (new text)
TOTAL	1,042

Appendix 5 lists all those Aramaic documents which appear in the above text publications, however, are not valid for this research.

At the pre-examination phase of my thesis I learnt that 20 new, previously unpublished, Aramaic documents had seen daylight and were missing from my data. They were published in 2013 by Rölliġ as a part of the final report of the joined excavations of the German Institute of Archaeology and the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research in Elephantine during the years 1987-1992.⁴⁰¹ Because I could not include these texts in the systematic analysis of the data that was already done that time, I describe them here in a general manner.

These 20 Aramaic documents were discovered in the so-called Aramaic quarter of Elephantine in Stratum 4 that is dated to about 550-400 BCE. The collection published by Rölliġ consists altogether of 47 jar shards and ostraca. 24 of these inscriptions are written in the Phoenician script, 22 in Aramaic, and one is a writing exercise that is illegible.⁴⁰² Two of the above mentioned new Aramaic documents were published already before by Porten and Yardeni.⁴⁰³ This means that Rölliġ's collection adds 20 new Aramaic documents to the area of my study.

Rölliġ states that these finds do not add anything essentially new to the previously published texts. Reasons for this are that these new texts are fragmentary and many of them are difficult or even impossible to read. Additionally, none of them includes a specific date. From the point of content the texts are either messages or name lists. Rölliġ observes only two special details in them: first, not only ostraca served as writing base for name lists, but

⁴⁰¹ Rölliġ, W., "Neue phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften und Ostraka aus Elephantine", in D. Raue, S.J. Seidlmayer, P. Speiser (eds.), *The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region-Diverse Perspectives*. Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, 36, (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 185-203.

⁴⁰² Rölliġ 2013, 185, 201-202.

⁴⁰³ Numbers 34 and 35 in Rölliġ's collection were previously published in TAD D 9.14 and TAD D 9.11. Rölliġ 2013, 194.

also complete jars were used as such (number 32 in Röllig's collection); second, one text (number 19) that is a writing exercise written in the Phoenician script bears evidence that there was a scribal school in Elephantine where also Phoenician, not only Aramaic, was learnt.⁴⁰⁴

Names which appear in the name lists of these documents are mostly Aramaic, but also Egyptian, Persian, and Hebrew names appear. According to Röllig, these names provide some interesting variants of the previously known names, but nothing essentially new.⁴⁰⁵ However, I observed that these new documents include 13 Hebrew personal names with two previously unknown theophoric names which have the divine particle El. These names are 'Elmerēš (number 32, 8) and Nūrī'el (number 37, 5). Röllig suggests that the document 32, where the name 'Elmerēš appears, can be dated to about 520 BCE.⁴⁰⁶ This is important information because it confronts Porten's conclusion of the complete disappearance of El-compounded names in the Persian period onomastica of Elephantine and confirms the finding of my research that they do appear.⁴⁰⁷

3.2. Ontological and epistemological approach and methods of the study

My basic ontological hypothesis states that the Aramaic documents do have a real and viable historical connection to the Persian period Egypt in that they reflect the situation of the Judeans living there during that time. After all these documents were produced by the culture and society of the people who form both the context and the focus of this study. In fact, my basic assumption is that these texts reflect the social and cultural reality of these people's time as they perceived and experienced it. Without the connecting bridge of language and text, we are left with only archaeological remains from that period. Only together do the ancient texts and archaeological remains form the hard evidence that establishes the bridge which focuses on the ancient society and culture of these people. Because I am not an archaeologist myself, I prefer to utilize the ancient written documents only. However, Grabbe warns that the uncritical use of sources: "may be read uncritically, as if they provided immediate access to the ancient society".⁴⁰⁸ Therefore, he argues that it is necessary to interro-

⁴⁰⁴ Röllig 2013, 200.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Röllig 2013, 192-193, 195.

⁴⁰⁷ Porten 1968, 135. Against Porten, see pp. 152 and 276, note 1145.

⁴⁰⁸ Grabbe 2007, 5.

gate the textual or other data, so as not to overinterpret the text. In other words, the data speaks only when interrogated and given a context by the researcher.⁴⁰⁹

My epistemological hypothesis states that because Aramaic was the everyday language of the Judeans living in Egypt during the Persian period, these Aramaic documents best reflect their whereabouts. I agree with Naveh who notes that language and writing are the primary means of cultural expression.⁴¹⁰ The fact that Aramaic was the *lingua franca* of the Persian Empire reinforces and underlines the connection between the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period and these Aramaic documents. Of course, this common language could also be argued as an epistemological limitation, casting doubt on these documents of being influenced by the Persian Imperial propaganda. Grabbe also warns about applying the uncritical approach to texts when differentiating between archaeological and textual data. According to him, the archaeological data actually existed in real life whereas texts could be products of the imagination. “The content of a text always contains human invention, and it is always possible that a text is entirely fantasy.”⁴¹¹ However, I would argue that even mindful of this danger, the variety of the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt provides enough information needed to get a trustworthy picture of the Judeans living in the country during those times. For the most part I agree with Barr who does not see the idea of ideology to have been as popular in the ancient societies as we might want to believe today.⁴¹² Another evident epistemological question which rises from these Aramaic documents is the ability to recognize the Judeans from among the other people appearing in them. In addition to Judeans, Arameans in Persian-period Egypt also spoke Aramaic as their everyday language. In fact, Imperial Aramaic was one of the official languages of the Empire used by many of the officials of the King. Because of this, it is not always certain that Judeans alone wrote these 1,042 Aramaic documents, but that among their authors were also other personalities and nationalities. I address this problem in depth in critical subchapter 3.3.4. “How to recognize the Judeans”

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 5-6.

⁴¹⁰ Naveh 1976, 64.

⁴¹¹ Grabbe 2007, 10.

⁴¹² According to Barr, “the idea of ideology has its roots in the selfishness of postmodernism. No one thinks anything or does anything except for their own, or their own group’s, status and prosperity. This ideology of postmodernism reflects the modern, Western world, but not necessarily the ancient societies.” Barr 2000, 96. Grabbe relates recognition of ideology to the so-called ‘cognitive-processual archaeology’ and postmodernism. Cognitive-processual archaeology seems to be the dominant approach in archaeology today. “It recognizes that ideology is an active force within society and on individuals.” Grabbe 2007, 8. Postmodernism, in a similar way, argues that ‘there is no possibility of certain knowledge; there is no truth, only ideology’. Grabbe 2007, 26-27.

Abductive logic is the form of reasoning applied in this research. It was first suggested by Charles Sanders Peirce in his philosophy of science.⁴¹³ According to Peirce, abduction is an intuitive conclusion based on previous knowledge. This has to be further defined by drawing more specific deductive conclusions, which can finally be tested inductively.⁴¹⁴ Following Peirce's philosophy Anttila explains that abductive logic is based on the assumption that creating new ideas is possible only when some guiding principle is attached to the observations of the researcher. According to the abductive logic, the argumentation process can proceed in both directions, from general to specific or vice versa. Abductive reasoning begins with an empirical reality but it does not reject the existence of a theory behind it. By using the guiding principles of the previous literature and theories, a researcher can focus his observations on important things or situations, in order to produce results.⁴¹⁵ The use of abductive logic in my research means in practice the following: Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt include references to a group called "Judeans". Based on this observation, an intuitive conclusion can be made suggesting that this group immigrated to Egypt from Judah or from Israel through Judah (abduction). If the abductive conclusion is correct, a specific deductive conclusion can be made that these Judeans brought with them their own cultural heritage and religious tradition to Egypt. This will be inductively tested on the resource data and, for example, observe that many Hebrew personal names of the Judeans are theophoric including the Yahwistic particle. The inductive test will ensure or deny the legitimacy of the intuitive abductive conclusion.

I have chosen the guiding principle of my research based on the previous research literature on the Persian period and the Aramaic documents found from Egypt. This research literature suggested where and how connections between the Persian period Egypt and the Judeans living there during the same time period occurred.⁴¹⁶ By observations I realized that the presence and life of the Judeans in Egypt was directly related to the military presence of

⁴¹³ Arthur W. Burks (ed.), *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Volume VII. Science and Philosophy. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958). Recent discussion on Peirce's contribution is found in Torkild Thellefsen and Bent Sørensen (eds.), *Charles Sanders Peirce in His Own Words*. 100 Years of Semiotics, Communication and Cognition. (Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter-Mouton, 2014).

⁴¹⁴ Burks 1958, 136-142. Peirce calls Abduction usually as Retroduction. Burks 1958, 61. He asserts that "abduction is, after all, nothing but guessing". Burks 1958, 137.

⁴¹⁵ Pirkko Anttila, *Tutkiva toiminta ja ilmaisu, teos, tekeminen*. (Hamina: Akatiimi, 2006), 118–119. Anttila's book explains different methodologies for the academic research of performing and creative cultures and disciplines.

⁴¹⁶ An example of the impact of this previous literature is the following quotation: "The largest and most important group of Aramaic documents of the Persian period was discovered in Egypt – mainly on the island of Elephantine on the Nile and in Saqqâra. The island's Jewish inhabitants were part of the Persian garrison which included Aramaeans and people of other nationalities as well." Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script*. History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design. (Jerusalem: CARTA 1997), 28.

the Persian Empire in the country, and that this, in turn, was also related to the Aramaic language as the vernacular used in everyday communication. With the help of this guiding principle, I attempted to find key elements of the source material when analyzing it systematically.

Looking for a suitable tool for analyzing the source material of this research, I chose one of the qualitative research methods, namely content analysis. Qualitative methods fit especially well for the research of history, culture and social reality. According to Silverman, qualitative methods suit well also to the analysis of different kinds of texts and documents.⁴¹⁷ Because the source material of this research consists of ancient documents that are in themselves about 2500-2300 years old, their analysis comes very close to a historical analysis. Grabbe notes that one of the most far-reaching developments of historical theory and methodology in the past few centuries has been “the embracing of the social sciences and the recognition that history should include all facets of life – economics, the structure and complexity of society, the lives of ordinary people, the material culture, both high and low literature, ideology and beliefs.”⁴¹⁸ This is one guideline that I utilize in my research while categorizing the vast data consisting of 1,042 Aramaic documents. The six critical principles of historical method which Grabbe has presented form the basic methodological guidelines also for my research.⁴¹⁹ They are the following:

1. All potential sources should be considered.
2. Preference should be given to primary sources.
3. The context of the *longue durée* must always be recognized.
4. Each episode or event has to be judged on its own merits.
5. All reconstructions are provisional.
6. All reconstructions have to be argued for.

I implemented the historical analysis of the data of this research in three phases: First I used source criticism as means of verifying the reliability of the sources. Secondly, I implemented content analysis for the analyzing method of the data, and finally I applied interpretative dialogue as the means to understand the findings of the content analysis. This in-

⁴¹⁷ David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research. A Practical Handbook*. (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 128.

⁴¹⁸ Grabbe 2007, 29-30.

⁴¹⁹ Grabbe 2007, 35-36. However, Grabbe also reminds that all historians are human and therefore subjectivity is inevitable.

terpretative dialogue will be presented together with the report of the content analysis. I found that this technique fits well with the abductive logic chosen for reasoning of this research.

3.3. Source criticism

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1993) defines history as “the discipline that studies the chronological record of events (as affecting a nation or people), based on a critical examination of source materials and usually presenting an explanation of their causes.”⁴²⁰ Already by fifth century BCE, Thucydides, the Greek historian who lived during the Persian period, noted that the writer of history must seek not only historical truth and use only reliable testimonies, but also avoid supernatural explanations based on miracles and divine intervention; he must strive for objective description.⁴²¹ This is also the aim of source criticism, as it is an essential part of any historical critical analysis of ancient documents in general and of Biblical texts in particular. While historical criticism explores the origin of ancient texts, tracing their development and significance within their specific historical contexts, source criticism determines the researcher’s position in relationship to the sources, as well as verifies their authenticity, tendency, coherence and validity. Usually source criticism is implemented by the asking of specific questions to validate the document. One of the first questions asked when examining an ancient document is: “where did the writer obtain the information?” In general, these primary sources include such elements as eyewitness accounts of events, written testimonies found in public records, legal documents, minutes of meetings, corporate records, letters, diaries, journals, and drawings.

Seen as today’s basis for every historical investigation, including the authentication and critical evaluation of historical documents, source criticism also became the first logical step for my analysis of the data used in this research. I implemented this by applying the following fifteen questions to each of the 1,042 Aramaic documents. These questions are designed to reveal authenticity, tendency, coherence and validity of these texts.

⁴²⁰ “History” in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Volume 5. (Chicago, 1993), 949.

⁴²¹ Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.21-22, cited in C.F. Smith (trans.), Thucydides. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann 1956), 37-41. Also Grabbe refers to Thucydides. Grabbe 2007, 25. Before Thucydides, already Herodotus emphasized the importance of firsthand inquiry in writing historical narrative. “Before Herodotus, the historical tradition in Greece was based on myths and the epic tradition; and in Egypt and Babylon it consisted of genealogical records and commemorative archives.” “Historiography” in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Volume 5, 1993, 949.

1. What is the context of discovery of this document?
2. Who is the author of the text?
3. What kind is the language of the text?
4. What is the structure of the text?
5. What are the topic and the story of the text?
6. What are the personal names, place names and names of deity mentioned in the text?
7. What special formulas and expressions are used in the text?
8. What kind is the beginning and the end of the text?
9. Are there caps and inner contradictions in the text?
10. What is the genre of the text?
11. What is the Sitz im Leben of the text?
12. What is the function of the text?
13. What is the probable date of the text?
14. What is the coherence of the text in relation to other facts from the Persian period?
15. Is the text valid for this research?

In the following subchapters I report the results of the source critical analysis. Because the data of this research includes altogether 1,042 Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt, it would not be useful or even possible to explain the source critical results in detail but rather in a general overall manner. Therefore, I decided to discuss in this study report only the key points and most problematic areas of the source criticism of this data. These key points are: the fragmentary nature of the corpus of the texts, the dating of the documents, the palaeography of the Aramaic script, and how to recognize the Judeans.

3.3.1. Fragmentary nature of the corpus of the texts

The source material of this research indeed is very fragmentary. Table 11 demonstrates the very fragmentary nature of these 1,042 Aramaic documents.

Table 11 Fragmentary nature of the 1,042 Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt

BASE OF WRITING	NUMBER	% OF THE CORPUS
Ceramic	103	10%
Segal	4	0.5%
Porten – Yardeni	30	3%
Lozachmeur	69	6.5%
Leather		
Porten – Yardeni	12	1%
Papyrus	250	24%
Segal	97	9%
Porten – Yardeni	153	15%
TOTAL	365	35%

Thirty five percent of all the documents are fragments of some larger document and text. I included only the fragments of documents written on ceramic, leather or papyrus base, not those written on rock, stone or wood. I made this decision from the observation that the texts written on rock, stone or wood were normally very short. A graffito usually contains only a name or a short proskynema, and similarly a funerary inscription written on a sarcophagus usually contains only the name of the deceased. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether the text written on these documents are fragments or not. In any case, the total number of the short texts on these documents is very small, only 66 pieces.⁴²²

By the term “fragment”, I refer to such text that contains some words or letters on less than four lines. In fact, my criterion is stricter than the ones used by the editors of the three collections of the Aramaic documents. I chose to implement this stricter criterion in order to align all these three collections in terms of counting the number of the fragmentary documents. This resulted in a decrease in the number of the fragmentary documents that the editors themselves report. This especially became true with regard to the papyrus fragments. Segal himself accounts that 104 of the 202 North-Saqqarâ Papyri are very short and consist of only one, two or three words and that only thirty five of them have more than three lines.⁴²³ In my research, I counted that the North-Saqqarâ Papyri included 97 such texts that have words or letters on less than four lines. The remaining 105 texts have some words or letters on more than three lines. Porten and Yardeni report that their edition includes 216

⁴²² When using the same criteria as when counting the papyrus and ceramic fragments, the number of these fragments is the following: Fragments written on rock 45 pieces, on stone 13 pieces and on wood 8 pieces.

⁴²³ Segal 1983, 3.

papyrus fragments⁴²⁴; however, after I omitted the one that is not valid for my research (TAD D 1.17), I documented, using my stricter criterion, only 153 of these 215 documents as fragments; the other 62 are longer, having words or letters on more than three lines.⁴²⁵

Table 11 depicts that one fourth of all the documents and 69% of all the fragments are papyrus fragments. Using the same stricter criterion also with the leather and ceramic documents, I concluded that 10% of all these documents and 28% of all the fragments are ceramic fragments. Meanwhile, leather fragments cover only one percent of all the documents and three percents of all the fragments.

Table 11 also helps display the percentage of fragmentary documents inside each of the three main text editions. The most fragmentary collection is that of Segal's; 49% of its documents are fragments. Second is Porten and Yardeni's collection with its 36% portion of fragmentary documents. Lozachmeur's edition is the least fragmentary with only 24% portion of fragmentary documents.

Porten and Yardeni have attempted to address the problem of the fragmentary nature of the corpus by combining suitable fragments together and reconstructing bigger units. Appendix 6 shows which documents they have joined from several fragments. Altogether 40 documents in the editions of Porten and Yardeni are direct results of these combinations, and most of them have been created of papyrus fragments. In addition to the combination of papyrus fragments, Porten and Yardeni have combined leather fragments but none from the ostraca or any other ceramic fragments. They have also combined nine papyrus fragments of the Segal's North-Saqqarâ papyri in order to create four new and larger texts.⁴²⁶ Hélène Lozachmeur's collection, consisting mainly of ceramic documents, also joined some fragments in an attempt to create new larger documents. Her edition includes 12 joined documents she formed by combining the text of 26 Aramaic ostraca together.⁴²⁷ Appendix 6 also shows which documents Lozachmeur has joined together.

The very fragmentary nature of the documents brings some extra source critical problems. For one, I have not been able to clarify the original context of discovery of some

⁴²⁴ TAD D, V.

⁴²⁵ Some of the Porten and Yardeni's entries include several fragments within one document. In these cases I followed the editors' decision and counted them only as one fragment. These are for example TAD D 5.41 which includes 47 unclassified fragments, TAD D 5.52 which includes 10 unclassified fragments and TAD D 5.54 which includes 5 fragments of accounts.

⁴²⁶ These texts are: TAD B 8.2 (Segal 10 + 44), TAD B 8.4 (Segal 28 + 30 + 61), TAD B 8.10 (Segal 3 + 16), and TAD C 3.11 (Segal 20 + 19).

⁴²⁷ These joined texts are named J1-J12. Lozachmeur 2006, 441-450. When analyzing Lozachmeur's collection I analyzed the original documents because the joined documents do not provide any new information.

of the fragments. The editors only state in which museum these fragments have been stored but do not tell how they ended up there. Because of this, I am unable to decipher whether or not the document was acquired or discovered by excavations. Neither have I been able to conclude the discovery dates of certain fragments. This problem resulted in my dating classification called Unknown. A second problem comes with determining the original date of writing, the content and function of the text. Is it a fragment of a letter? An account? A list? Something else? This difficulty resulted in a rather large group of the documents categorized Unclassified. With regard to the dating of these fragments to the Persian period, I have been forced to trust the decisions made by the editors of these documents.

3.3.2. Dating of the documents

Odil H. Steck, when speaking about the texts of the Old Testament, notes that "understanding these texts is impossible without a historical view of the conditions and components which these texts include"⁴²⁸ In fact, this is true with all ancient texts. Therefore dating any given text is absolutely fundamental for clarifying its historical setting, as Steck observes. He then proceeds to list the observations which allow one to determine the text's time of origins? Useful for this research are Steck's following observations:

- The presupposition, or mention, of contemporary events or events from the past.
- Social, constitutional, or cultural realities which mark historical boundaries.
- Dating a specific text or the entire text complex to which it belongs.
- The presupposition or treatment of other, datable texts.⁴²⁹

Steck also expresses his understanding of determining the Author and the Addressee of a given text. According to him, it aims less at identifying that person by name but rather more toward situating the author and addressee in a specific religion, intellectual and social setting. Keeping these guidelines in mind, I proceed to the discussion of dating problems of the Aramaic documents from Persian period Egypt.

In his edition of Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra, J.B. Segal explains his observations about these texts. At the same time he also describes the different points a scholar

⁴²⁸ Odil Hannes Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis. A Guide to the Methodology*. Translated by James D. Nogalski. Second Edition. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 143.

⁴²⁹ Steck 1998, 144.

should take into account when he tries to date ancient documents.⁴³⁰ First, scholars must consider the physical appearance of the document. What is the base of writing? Is it papyrus, ceramic or something else? Is the text written on a fragment or on a whole object? Is the text complete or is it only a fragment of a longer text? Lozachmeur agrees, using the help of modern ceramology in her analysis of the ostraca found from Elephantine in order to date the documents correctly.⁴³¹ Porten and Yardeni also employed the help of palaeography. In this respect, Segal's collection is then most ambivalent in terms of dating documents. His collection is the most fragmented (49%), and he uses mainly only the internal evidence for dating the documents.

A second point of interest in dating the documents is the archaeological context where they have been discovered. This point can sometimes fail the scholar. In the example of North Saqqâra, according to Segal, archaeology is of little help in dating the North Saqqâra papyri. The archaeology only shows that these texts may have been deposited at the site at any time between the 3rd century BCE and the 4th century AD and could even have been written at an earlier date.⁴³² This observation is important to my research because 28% of all the Aramaic documents come from the Memphis-Saqqâra area. When scholars consider the original date of these documents, they must look for other clues to guide them to the right path. With regard to the documents discovered from Elephantine, the situation is the opposite. As already noted, about 56% of all the 1,042 Aramaic documents come from Elephantine and the other archaeological evidence unearthed at the site has confirmed the presence of the Persian period Aramaic settlement on the island. By dating these texts, archaeology has been more helpful. This also holds true, for example, in terms of the architectural finds from Elephantine.⁴³³ This important clue helped date the Aramaic documents discovered from the same locus.

The third point that can help the scholar to any document is palaeography. However, Segal doubts its ability to date especially the North-Saqqâra papyri because they are written in a variety of hands which can muddy the picture. Although the style of the North-Saqqâra

⁴³⁰ Segal 1983, 3-4.

⁴³¹ Lozachmeur 2006, 105-144.

⁴³² Segal 1983, 3.

⁴³³ Archaeologists have been able to locate the Nord-West houses of the Aramaic quarter in Elephantine that date from the 27th Dynasty (525-404 BCE). *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo (MDAIK) Band 46, 1990, 215 and MDAIK Band 49, 1993, 177-178.*; found at <http://www.old.dainst.org/en/publication/mdaik?ft=all>. Accessed 28.8.2015. Rohrmoser includes the most recent presentation of the archaeological finds related to the Aramaic quarter of Elephantine. Rohrmoser 2014, 85 ff.

papyri resembles the Aramaic writing in Egypt during the Persian period, Segal is still sceptical, arguing "One must be sceptical about the ability of palaeography to provide a sound base for the exact dating of these papyri; it may reflect rather the variations of social strata or geographical or individual idiosyncrasies"⁴³⁴. In contrast, Porten and Yardeni have given much more attention to palaeography in their editions. Ada Yardeni, a specialist of palaeography, has handcopied most of the Aramaic texts from their original documents.⁴³⁵ Additionally Lozachmeur, after explaining the results of the ceramological analysis, discusses the palaeography of the documents in length.⁴³⁶ I will discuss the issues related to palaeography separately in the following subchapter.

The fourth point that can help in dating ancient documents is the linguistic criteria. For example, in the North-Saqqâra papyri Segal finds a linguistic feature in the Aramaic words that might hint to the Persian period origin. This special feature is the interchange between 𐤓 and 𐤔, and 𐤕 and 𐤖. During the Persian period these two alternative forms of pronunciation appeared side by side in Egypt. However, even Segal suspects this feature to be just a peculiarity of some local dialect.⁴³⁷

The fifth criterion that may help us in dating ancient texts is the internal evidence given by the text itself. This includes all such words and expressions in the text which hint to a certain direction in dating. An abundance of Greek or Persian names and terms can hint to either Hellenistic or Persian period. These 1,042 Aramaic documents including the North-Saqqarâ papyri have very few Greek names and words. To the contrary, they include lots of Babylonian and Persian names and technical terms related to military, taxation, legal administration etc. Most helpful in dating of the ancient texts are the names of kings and dates which often accompany them. However, this information also can be very complicated. The names of the kings appear written in different ways. For example the name Darius appears in these documents in all the following forms: 𐤃𐤓𐤕, 𐤃𐤓𐤕, 𐤃𐤓𐤕, 𐤃𐤓𐤕.⁴³⁸ We also know that during the Persian period there were three kings by this name, Darius I (521-486 BCE), Darius II (423-405 BCE) and Darius III (335-331 BCE). Segal notes that usually the longer spelling of the name indicates a later, rather than an earlier date.⁴³⁹ In many cases a date does appear with the name of the king, and because of this, it is commonly assumed

⁴³⁴ Segal 1983, 3-4.

⁴³⁵ Look for example TAD D, IX.

⁴³⁶ Lozachmeur 2006, 145-168.

⁴³⁷ Segal 1983, 4.

⁴³⁸ Porten and Lund 2002, 338.

⁴³⁹ Segal 1983, 4.

that the year appearing with the given name of a king refers to the year of his rule. However, the year does not always appear. At other times there appears only the year without a name of the king, and in some cases both a year and a month appear. Those cases are most helpful as they provide all the possible data, a name of the king, year, month and even a day. Unfortunately, these finds are very rare.

Indeed, one important part of the internal information that the text itself can provide is the calenderic information. However, even that is not as simple as one would think. During the Persian period, both the Egyptian and the Babylonian calendars were in use and they are very different from each other. The Porten and Yardeni edition (1993) explains this problem quite clearly. Six of the Aramaic documents in their editions have only the Babylonian date.⁴⁴⁰ In 27 documents there appears only the Egyptian year.⁴⁴¹ In addition, 29 of these documents have double dates, a Babylonian month and day and an Egyptian month and day, along with the year of the Persian king.⁴⁴² Porten and Yardeni explain that the Egyptian year counted solar days running from sunrise to sunrise, but the Babylonian year followed lunar days running from sunset to sunset. The Egyptian year contained twelve months, each of them 30 days. Five extra days were added to the years' end thus providing each year with total of 365 days. The beginning of the Babylonian month was determined by appearance of the new moon; therefore, Babylonian months had either 29 or 30 days. Because the Babylonian year had only 354 days, seven months were intercalated in a nineteen year cycle in order to synchronize it with the solar year. This difference of calendars affected for example the determination of the New Year. The date formula of the Aramaic documents followed a common pattern and used double years in special cases in order to avoid misunderstandings. The Aramaic contracts and accounts especially followed this dating practice. Porten and Yardeni note that the first double date appears in 473 BCE in the Memphis Shipyard Journal (TAD C 3.8.) and that this practice disappears after 413 BCE.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴⁰ They are the following: TAD A 4.7; A 4.8; A 6.1; A 6.2; D 1.33 and D 12.2.

⁴⁴¹ Porten and Yardeni 1993, 292. These texts are: TAD B 3.12; B 3.13; B 4.5; B 4.6; B 5.5; B 7.1; B 7.2; C 3.7; C 3.12; C 3.13; C 3.15; C 3.19; C 3.26; D 1.12; D 1.34; D 2.2; D 2.10; D 2.12; D 3.1; D 3.19; D 5.9; D 5.16; D 7.38; D 8.11; D 8.13; D 20.3 and D 22.51.

⁴⁴² Aramaic documents containing double dates are: The following ten documents from the Mibtahiah archive: TAD B 2.1; B 2.2; B 2.3; B 2.4; B 2.6; B 2.7; B 2.8; B 2.9; B 2.10; B 2.11; Eleven documents from the Anani archive: TAD B 3.1-B 3.11. Three documents from the collection of accounts and lists: TAD C 3.8; C 3.12 and C 3.14. Of these three the last one, the Memphis Shipyard Journal (C 3.8) contains thirteen double dates alone. In addition, five documents from the fragmentary texts contain double dates and they are: TAD D 2.3; D 2.4; D 2.6; D 2.8 and D 17.1. Porten and Yardeni 1989, 186; 1993, 292 and 1999, 301-303.

⁴⁴³ Porten and Yardeni explain that the double year was put down especially when the document was written between the 1th of Thoth and the 1th of Nisan because at that time the possibility to misunderstand the calendar was at greatest. Porten and Yardeni 1993, 292.

For my research it is important to realize that many of the Elephantine papyri and ostraca contain exact dates, connecting them to the fifth century BCE.⁴⁴⁴

3.3.3. Palaeography of the Aramaic script

An important factor when trying to discover the probable date of a text which does not contain a specific date in itself is the Aramaic script used by the scribe. This can give some information about the period when the text was composed. Furthermore the style of script used can also provide information about the writer of the text, revealing if he was a professional scribe or solely a private literate citizen.

Palaeography has tried to find out the development of the Aramaic script. Aramaic script, together with Phoenician and Hebrew, stem from the proto-Canaanite script. Since the end of the eighth century BCE, both the Aramaic script and the language had become the main commercial and administrative means of communication alongside the cuneiform script and the Akkadian language in the Neo-Assyrian Empire.⁴⁴⁵ This practice continued during the Babylonian and Persian periods when Aramaic was used as *lingua franca*. In the Imperial usage, the formal Aramaic script of the Persian period was fairly uniform in style.⁴⁴⁶ During this time, it also became the daily used language of the ordinary people. After the fall of the Persian Empire in 332 BCE, Greek slowly started to replace Aramaic as the official language of the administration.

Aramaic script was first distinguished from Phoenician script at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁷ In the beginning of the twentieth century, many new Aramaic papyri were

⁴⁴⁴ Detailed information about these dates is given for example in Porten and Yardeni 1999, 301-303.

⁴⁴⁵ Nissinen 2014, 281; Naveh 1976, 64. Kutscher argues that Aramaic was not yet understood by the ordinary Judeans in the eighth century BCE. E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language*. (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1982), 71; Lemaire notes that the recent discovery of more than one hundred Aramaic tablets from the upper Euphrates “clearly confirms that the Neo-Assyrian Empire was an Assyrian-Aramaic Empire.” Lemaire 2006, 180.

⁴⁴⁶ Yardeni 1997, 28.

⁴⁴⁷ This happened, according to Naveh, by M. de Vogüé in CIS II, 1889 and M. Lidzbarski in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. Volumes I-III. (Gießen, 1902, 1908, 1915). Naveh 1976, 1-2. The first scholar to study the basic lines of development of the Aramaic cursive script was Albright who divided it into four different periods: 1. the Seventh century 2. the Late Sixth and Fifth centuries 3. the Fourth century and 4. the Third century BCE. William Foxwell Albright, “A biblical fragment from the Maccabean age: The Nash Papyrus.” in *Journal of Biblical Literature (JBS)*. 56. 1937, 145-176. Naveh notes that both Kraeling who edited and published the Elephantine papyri of the Brooklyn Museum (1953) and Driver who published the Aršama letters (1954) avoided all palaeographical discussion. Naveh 1976, 1-3. N. Avigad and F. Cross have determined the development of the Jewish script from Aramaic cursive on basis of the Elephantine papyri and the Aramaic documents of the fourth and third centuries BCE. Nahman Avigad, “The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents”, *Scripta Hierosolymitana IV*. (1957), 56-87; Frank M. Cross, “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. (Garden City, 1961), 133-202; Naveh 1976, 3-4.

discovered at Elephantine. These Elephantine papyri were generally considered representative of the Aramaic script of the fifth century BCE and thus served as a basis for dating other undated documents.

Scholars of palaeography have shown that the process of development of the Aramaic script was evolutionary. The older lapidary script appeared alongside the new cursive style; they in fact influenced each other. The main difference between the developments of these two scripts was that the cursive script developed faster. Naveh compares the development of the script of Aramaic, Hebrew and Phoenician as follows: “If we assume that the development of the Phoenician script was normal, then the development of the Aramaic script was extremely accelerated, whereas the Hebrew script developed at a snail’s pace.”⁴⁴⁸ The reason for this rapid development of Aramaic was that the formal cursive Aramaic became the script used by the scribes. The Persian Imperial Administration required quicker and more mobile methods of writing. Yardeni further describes how the reasons for this faster development were mainly practical. Professional scribes wrote with brush and ink or paint on soft materials as papyrus or leather. Writing in ink proceeds fast and creates rounder and more cursive shapes. The scribe then can avoid lifting his hand from the papyrus, and therefore increase the speed of writing. Thus, cursive script was faster and more practical to write on soft materials than the older monumental lapidary script.⁴⁴⁹

According to Naveh, the educated classes who knew how to write well but were free to use different styles were in fact leading the development of the Aramaic script. Naveh suggests three sub-styles of cursive Aramaic script and connects them with the main user of each style: 1. Extreme cursive – that of an educated person; 2. Formal cursive – that of a professional scribe and 3. Vulgar cursive – that of a person of limited education. Naveh cautiously argues that these script styles do not always appear clearly, but it is sometimes even difficult to characterize a particular inscription as lapidary or cursive.⁴⁵⁰ All the three above-mentioned sub-styles can be found in the Aramaic cursive script of the fifth century BCE Egypt. The extreme cursive is found in private letters; the formal cursive is represented by scribes who wrote on behalf of the Persian Imperial administration, like the scribes who

⁴⁴⁸ Naveh 1976, 66.

⁴⁴⁹ Yardeni 1997, 37.

⁴⁵⁰ Naveh 1976, 6, 18.

wrote Aršama letters. The vulgar cursive is found in the Hermopolis letters and in the various signatures on legal documents and on the ostraca found at Elephantine.⁴⁵¹

Different Aramaic letters had their own path of development. The cursive tendency influenced the development of the final forms of kaf, mēm, nūn, pē and šādē. This became visible in the curving of the down-strokes mainly to the left in the medial forms, in contrast to its upright stance in the final form. This special feature is common also in the lāmād, sāmāk and ʿājin. According to Yardeni, this differentiation of the final forms already began in the fifth century BCE, but it was not yet a fixed pattern in the Aramaic script during the Persian period.⁴⁵²

According to Naveh, the Elephantine legal documents enable the researcher to distinguish in a single document the handwriting of the scribe, as well as that of the witnesses. He argues that among the scribes of Elephantine were both professional scribes as well as so-called chance-scribes, educated persons who occasionally acted as scribes. Among the professional scribes were at least three Judeans whose occupation was the writing of these documents. They were Natan bar Anani, Maʿuziyah bar Natan and Haggai bar Šemaiyah. According to Naveh, the script of these three Elephantine scribes does not fit into the same category as that of the Aršama scribes which he names as formal. Naveh observes that Aršama scribes preserved older forms than the Elephantine scribes. So Elephantine Judean scribes were less conservative than the scribes of the Persian administration in general and because of this, Naveh names their script semi-formal.⁴⁵³

When speaking about inscriptions on stone, metal and clay during the Persian period, Naveh notes that Aramaic cursive was so common that it, to a certain extent, replaced lapidary script in inscriptions on stone and metal.⁴⁵⁴ Still in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, a clear Aramaic lapidary script is found, but even then it tends to imitate the cursive. Two inscriptions written in lapidary Aramaic were discovered at Mount Gerizim in Israel among other inscriptions which are dated to the fourth and third century BCE. Because of this, Naveh suggests that the Aramaic lapidary script did not go out of use at the end of the Persian period but survived into the early Hellenistic period, at least until the first quarter of the

⁴⁵¹ According to Naveh, the Hermopolis papyri, except No. VII, represent the vulgar cursive script. Naveh 1976, 37-40.

⁴⁵² Yardeni 1997, 38. However, according to Naveh this took place in the fourth and third centuries BCE. Naveh 1976, 4-5.

⁴⁵³ Naveh 1976, 24, 31.

⁴⁵⁴ Naveh 1976, 42.

second century BCE.⁴⁵⁵ Together with the Aramaic lapidary script, ink-written Aramaic documents also disappeared in the beginning of the third century BCE. The main reason for this was that Aramaic ceased being the administrative language in Egypt, replaced by Greek script in official documents during the Hellenistic period.⁴⁵⁶

These palaeographical guidelines which Naveh and Yardeni have proposed were helpful in analyzing the source material of this research. Identifying the lapidary and the cursive script was usually easier because their style is more different from each other. From the sub-styles of the cursive, the vulgar was the easiest one to identify. Differentiation between the extreme and the formal, as well as semi-formal, was, however, more difficult. In those cases the content of the document helped. Official and legal documents were usually written in formal cursive. Extreme cursive is demonstrated in private letters and some other documents.

The categorization of the cursive script which Naveh proposes can help in determining the approximate date of a document on about a fifty to a hundred-year scale, but not more. J. B. Segal in his publication of the Aramaic texts from North-Saqqâra notes: "One must be sceptical about the ability of palaeography to provide a sound base for the exact dating of these papyri; it may reflect rather the variations of social strata or geographical or individual idiosyncrasies."⁴⁵⁷ It is my belief that when the palaeographical information is connected to other available data about the document, it will confirm or disprove its possible dating. A closer and more intimate palaeographical examination of each letter and stroke of all of these 1,042 Aramaic documents could have provided this research with more exact source critical bases, but that would have demanded completely different approach and that was beyond the purpose of this research. With the present approach the basic guidelines presented are critical enough to evaluate the decisions the editors have made when publishing the Aramaic documents.

⁴⁵⁵ Naveh 2009, 47-49. See also David S. Vanderhooft, "Scribes and Scripts in Yehud and in Achaemenid Transeuphratene," in Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming, (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, 2011, 529-544. Mount Gerizim discoveries are reported in Y. Magen, H. Misgav, and L. Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, Vol. 1: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions. (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquity Authority, 2004).

⁴⁵⁶ Yardeni 1997, 39.

⁴⁵⁷ Segal 1983, 3-4.

3.3.4. How to recognize the Judeans?

One of the challenges to this study of the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt is the question of how to recognize the Judeans? As already stated, the Judeans were not only the people who used Aramaic. Aramaic was lingua franca in the whole vast Persian Empire, and it was the daily language of the Imperial officers, especially of its professional scribes. In addition to Judeans, also Arameans, who had immigrated to Egypt probably at about the same time as the Judeans or some time before, used Aramaic as their daily language.

When trying to identify the Judeans from among the other groups of people who appear in the Aramaic documents, one can not avoid entering into the discussion about ethnicity and ethnic groups. In the academic study ethnology today is defined by its connections to other similar disciplines; “the scholarly disciplines of ethnology, anthropology, social psychology, and cultural semiotics are closely related”.⁴⁵⁸ Ethnology itself is often defined either as a synonym for anthropology or as its sub-discipline “which focuses on the study of cultures in their traditional forms and of their adaptation to the changing conditions of the modern world”.⁴⁵⁹ First, it must be noted that even though the question of ethnicity and identity is a very complicated issue, ethnic identity is fluid by its very nature and is therefore formed by many different components.⁴⁶⁰ The very term “identity” can relate to both individual identity and group identity while the term “ethnicity” relates to many different aspects; for example, group identity, common origin, tradition, religion, naming culture and other additional cultural phenomena.

The classic social anthropological theory originally proposed by Fredrik Barth (1969) provides help in defining ethnicity and is still seen as groundbreaking theoretical framework for defining ethnic identities.⁴⁶¹ According to Barth, ethnicity is mainly the social organization of culture difference. In analyzing ethnicity, the attention should not be drawn to the content of cultures but to ethnic organization. Ethnic groups should be seen as a form of social organization. The critical feature then becomes how the group identifies itself and

⁴⁵⁸ Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, Eberhard Jüngel (eds.), *Religion Past&Present*. Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion. Volume IV. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 609.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 609-610.

⁴⁶⁰ Grabbe 2007, 18-19.

⁴⁶¹ Fredrik Barth, (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. The social Organization of Culture Difference. (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1969). Richard Jenkins describes Barth's contribution in his work *Rethinking Ethnicity*. Arguments and Explorations. (London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997), 12-13. Grabbe gives a summary of the developments of Barth's theory after its publication; Grabbe 2007, 19. Most recent contribution to this discussion is that of Eloise Hummel, “Standing the Test of Time-Barth and Ethnicity”, in *Coolabah*, No.13, 2014. Observatori: Centre d'Estudis Australians, Australian Studies Centre, Universitat de Barcelona. 46-60.

how it is identified by others. Barth concludes “A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background.”⁴⁶² Barth also notes that no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities should be assumed. The cultural content of ethnic groups seems to be of two orders: 1. overt signals or signs like language, house-form, or general style of life, and 2. basic value orientations like the standards of morality. The emphasis on ascription, as the critical feature of ethnic groups leads, according to Barth, to the following conclusions: The nature of continuity of ethnic units depends on the maintenance of a boundary, and socially relevant factors are diagnostic for membership of ethnic groups, not the overt differences. On the basis of these observations, Barth gives a clear guideline for the analysis of ethnic groups: “The critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses.”⁴⁶³

In her recent article *Barth and Ethnicity* Eloise Hummel summarizes Barth’s three fundamental assertions which challenged the established anthropological conceptions of ethnicity:⁴⁶⁴

1. Ethnicity is not defined by culture but by social organization.
2. Ethnic identifications are based on ascription and self-identification, and are therefore situationally dependent and changeable.
3. The roots of this social organization are not cultural content but *dichotomization*, so that the ethnic boundary is used as a social boundary formed through interaction with “Others”.

Hummel does argue that Barth’s theory has deficiencies that have later been critiqued; especially, the greatest weaknesses of Barth’s theory would be that he has not thoroughly considered multiple ethnic identities, power relations, or the importance of the content of cultural practices, symbols and traditions.⁴⁶⁵

Barth’s theoretical framework, along with Hummel’s critique, provides a basic platform for my attempts to recognize the Judeans appearing in the Aramaic documents. Espe-

⁴⁶² Barth 1969, 11-13.

⁴⁶³ Barth 1969, 14-15.

⁴⁶⁴ Hummel 2014, 49.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 53.

cially useful to me is Barth's notation that the ethnic boundary is a social boundary formed through interaction with "Others". This means that ethnic identities are relative and situational, and even more so than in ethnic groups, individuals possess multiple identities. This dichotomy of ethnic organization is not just in opposition, but in degrees. Hummel describes Barth's definition of ethnicity, "for Barth ethnicity was continually negotiated and renegotiated by both external ascription and internal identification. Ethnic identity is a matter of both self-ascription (I am 'A'), and ascription by others (recognized as 'A') via interaction".⁴⁶⁶ The "Us" and "Them" exist by degrees, not necessarily in conflict or total opposition. However, the ethnic group is maintained via this continuing dichotomization between its members and outsiders. The establishment of ethnic boundaries is related to the assignment of particular social meanings to a limited set of acts or symbols.⁴⁶⁷ To my understanding, this framework fits well in describing how the situation during the Persian period was different from the previous Assyrian and Babylonian periods. In his article Nissinen describes how the Assyrian Empire deported massive amounts of people from their original homelands to other parts of the vast Empire. Even further he outlines and defines the status of these deportees in the Assyrian Empire; "even though the natives of the annexed lands usually maintained their ethnic identities, they were regarded as Assyrians and were not treated as a separate class of people".⁴⁶⁸ The situation was completely different in the Persian Empire. Persians occupied all the ruling positions and were exempt from paying taxes; however, at the same time other ethnic people were not regarded as Persians. Therefore, other ethnic groups actually defined themselves in opposition to Persians. In Persian-period Egypt, Judeans' situation was even more complicated because in addition to the Persians serving in the country, the main ethnic group was that of native Egyptians. Thus, Judeans defined themselves through interaction with all of these "Others".

Using this guideline, I attempted to determine the ethnic boundary that identified the Judeans of Egypt during the Persian period. Certainly, it was not only the Aramaic language that was an overt cultural signal both of the Judeans and the Arameans of Egypt. The ethnic boundary that identified the Judeans had more to do with their religious traditions and values which they brought with them to Egypt. This assumption is also presented by Bob Beck-

⁴⁶⁶ Hummel 2014, 50.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁶⁸ Nissinen 2014, 276.

ing in his article about the identity of the Judeans in Elephantine; “It can also be assumed that cultic gatherings functioned also as a boundary marker for the group.”⁴⁶⁹

To help distinguish the Judeans from the Aramaic documents I utilized: the Aramaic expression *Yehudi*, the religion of the person in question, the onomastic information, and the inner context of the text. The first of these is the easiest. The Gentilic יהודי referring to a Judean appears in these documents 28 times.⁴⁷⁰ But certainly there were more than 28 Judeans in Egypt during the Persian period. The second criterion concerns the religion of the person in question. Judeans worshiped mainly the Deity known by the name יהו *Yahu*. Of course, it can be argued that other people from some other ethnic groups had perhaps joined the Judeans in the worship of *Yahu*, mainly through the joining of families in marriages. This is also attested to in these Aramaic documents. Porten even argues that the Judeans of Elephantine actually favored intermarriage as they felt themselves “capable of absorbing a small number of pagans into their community”.⁴⁷¹ Further he notes that fifteen persons among the Judeans of Elephantine and one in Syene bore non-Hebrew names but had children with Hebrew names, and additionally twelve persons with Hebrew names had children with non-Hebrew names.⁴⁷² However, this was rather an exception not the common rule. Therefore the religion of the person in question is indeed a helpful criterion when it appears in the text. The third criterion is the onomastic information. In ancient societies every person had name, and it was quite common that the name was inherited from father or grandfather (Patronym). The names of the Judeans mostly derived from the Hebrew origin, but because Aramaic and Hebrew stem from the same linguistic family, it can be difficult to differentiate between Aramaic and Hebrew names, as Nissinen also observes “it is often very difficult to determine the actual language of a West Semitic name and, consequently, the ethnic background of the person thus called”.⁴⁷³ Even when recognizing a Hebrew name in a document, one must be cautious. Not all Judeans in Persian-period Egypt had Hebrew names or, vice versa, Hebrew names might have been given to or adopted by people of non-Judean origin.⁴⁷⁴ One reason for this may have been the above mentioned ideas about intermarriage. Porten also suggests that a person marrying into the Judean community might

⁴⁶⁹ Bob Becking, “Yehudite Identity in Elephantine”, in Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming (eds.), 2011, 411.

⁴⁷⁰ This gentilic appears 24 times in the documents published by Porten and Yardeni. Porten and Lund 2002, 439. In the documents published by Lozachmeur it appears only four times. Lozachmeur 2006, 537. In the edition of Segal it does not appear at all.

⁴⁷¹ Porten 1968, 250.

⁴⁷² Porten 1968, 149.

⁴⁷³ Nissinen 2014, 282.

⁴⁷⁴ Compare what Nissinen observes about Aramaic names in Assyria; *Ibid*, 284.

possibly have adopted a Hebrew name as a matter of onomastic assimilation.⁴⁷⁵ The same could have been true in the opposite situation. However, Porten argues that Judeans who intermarried with non-Judeans generally did not change their names but instead had two names as Judeans had elsewhere in the diaspora.⁴⁷⁶ Two things help in this complicated task of drawing conclusions from personal names: first, the religion of the Judean people many times was identifiable in their names and secondly, the knowledge of those names used by them in Judah prior to the Persian period confirms the origin. During the Persian period, many people had theophoric names. Many of the personal names of the Judeans who worshiped Yahu begin or end with the extract –yah referring to Yahu. One example of this is the names of Yeho'eli and Yedanyah. Unfortunately not all of the names of the Judeans who lived in Egypt during the Persian period possess this extract. In addition, even with these theophoric names one must be cautious and not to make too hasty connection between the name and religion of the person in question. Therefore aiding in the identification of the names of the Judeans is knowledge of those names being used by the Judeans in Judah during the monarchic time prior to the Persian period. Here both epigraphic and Biblical evidence can provide the needed information. The fourth criterion which helps identify the Judeans in the given text is the inner context of the text itself. For example, if the context of the document speaks of Judeans writing a letter to the Judean religious leaders in Jerusalem and there appears a list of names of those who signed the document, it is quite certain that all those people mentioned in the list are Judeans.

Using these guidelines and criteria I have observed that altogether 291 Aramaic documents include a reference to Judeans, Hebrew names or Yahwistic religion. This data is presented in detail in Appendix 7. The portion of these 291 documents of the total research data is 28 %. About 85 % of these documents which somehow relate to Judeans were discovered in Elephantine.

3.4. Content analysis

3.4.1. Content analysis as the method of analyzing the texts

Choosing the method for analyzing the data marks the beginning of the second phase of historical analysis of this research. Textual analysis is a name for one group of qualitative

⁴⁷⁵ Porten 1968, 251-252.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid, 252. Porten refers to Ester 2:7 and Dan.1:7, and to Mibtahyah's third husband Eshor who is also known in the Aramaic documents by his Hebrew name Natan.

research methods. Though there are different ways of approaching the text in textual analysis, I chose the method of content analysis as a way to approach these 1,042 Aramaic texts from Persian-period Egypt.

When I tried to understand these 1,042 Aramaic documents, their socio-cultural context and the people who wrote or are mentioned in them, I had to overcome the historical distance of approximately two and a half millennia. Not only is the great gapping of time and distant culture an obstacle, but the many different languages add difficulty to the practical analysis process. As mentioned previously, one of the challenges these documents presented to me was their fragmentary nature. At first the amount of the documents seemed vast. At this point content analysis came to help. The aim of content analysis is to arrange the source material in a compact, clear form, without losing the information that it contains. This reducing of the data into more easily handled parcels takes place through categorization. I began to categorize the main ideas and thoughts of the text. The aim of the analysis was then to understand the categories which rose from the texts and to see how they were implemented in concrete activities of human life. In this way content analysis formed the basis for future conclusions. It aided me to handle and understand the vast data.⁴⁷⁷

I started the analysis by reading the documents thoroughly. I observed the texts in their present form. To every document, I asked source critical questions. Then I proceeded to the content of the text with its detailed expressions. I moved text by text. When reading the texts, I also detailed all the expressions within the text that seemed to be somehow relevant to my research. Like a coder, I wrote down each document's purpose and details. By collecting all the meaningful expressions of the text, I realized that I was becoming more aware of its world, life and culture than before. I began to distinguish and document certain main ideas and similar topics in the content of these documents. I noted details about the human world and society which they came from. I started to recognize their common features and their inner differences.

3.4.2. Categorization of the data

According to Silverman, in content analysis the researcher establishes a set of categories from the given texts. The one crucial requirement is that the categories are sufficiently precise enough to enable different coders (other researchers) to arrive at the same results when

⁴⁷⁷ Content analysis as a method for analyzing textual documents is explained in Jouni Tuomi and Anneli Sarajärvi, *Laadullinen tutkimus ja sisällönanalyysi*. (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi), 2002, 105-110.

the same body of material is examined. The aim of the analysis is to understand the categories which rise from the texts and to see how they were used in concrete activities of human life.⁴⁷⁸

Using the initial coding process as a starting point of content analysis practically meant my reading the texts several times through while at the same time collecting and detailing all those expressions of the texts which seemed to be relevant for the objectives of the research. The aim of the coding process was to get inside the world of the texts and to understand what they speak about. What were the main topics of these texts? Which issues were more marginal? After this initial coding process, I continued on, determining the possible categories that rose out the data. Five themes seemed to come up again and again in some form or another: geographical names, humans, sources of livelihood, administration and religion.

In the second phase of the content analysis, I once more poured through the source material again and arranged all the essential expressions found in the texts under the above mentioned five categories. In most cases it was clear to which of these categories each expression in the text belonged; humans, geographical names and religion were the easiest categories in this sense. The only problem was caused by the Aramaic forms of some of the ancient human and geographical proper names. These have also been problematic to the scholars who have translated and edited these documents for publications. In some cases, it is not possible to recognize the full form of the name, yet from the context of the text, it is still possible to conclude if the expression refers to humans or to a name of a location. Within the categories of administration and sources of livelihood, it was in some cases difficult to decide into which category they belonged. One very clear example of this can be seen in those expressions in the documents which refer to military. I was forced to decide whether or not they belonged under the category of administration or under the category of sources of livelihood. In this case, I decided to place them within the category of sources of livelihood because, according to the texts themselves, soldiers and officers earned their living from their military service. They were either mercenary in the strictest sense of the word or they were sent as officers by the Persian King who paid their salaries. One interesting group found in these documents was slaves. After careful thought, I put all the expressions referring to slavery under the category of sources of livelihood because slavery was their source

⁴⁷⁸ Silverman 2000, 128.

of living, indeed.⁴⁷⁹ One challenging question arose - what to do with the names of professions? Which category did they belong to? I decided to distribute them according to the work to which they were affiliated. For example, the profession of judge was put under the category of administration; boatman was put under the category of sources of livelihood; priest was put under religion, etc.

For the sake of clarity, each category had to be divided into subcategories. Within the category of humans, this was a necessity as the amount of material was so huge. The first subdivision was drawn between gentilics (ethnic groups) and personal names. A second subdivision was made under the subdivision of personal names, which I divided according to their original language. However, not all the gentilics appearing in the documents also have a personal name representing the language of their group among the personal names subcategory. Therefore, only those languages whose personal names are represented in the texts received a subcategory under the category of personal names. The eleven subcategories of personal names are Akkadian, Anatolian, Arabian, Aramean, Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, Northwest Semitic, Persian, Phoenician and unknown origin.

The third level of subcategories within the personal names is the distribution of theophoric and non-theophoric names. This distribution is important when trying to determine the religious background of these people and the impact that religion had in their community. I implemented this division among all of the personal names, although in some cases it was difficult to conclude which group the name belonged to. The sub-division of the Hebrew personal names was made on the ground of the existence or non-existence of the extract -yah. Among the Hebrew names, I also tried to recognize those personal names that were not used in Egypt during the Persian period, but which appeared only after that. This was possible by checking those post-Persian period texts which were not valid for this research. Porten-Yardeni editions include 37 post-Persian documents, Lozachmeur's edition 13 pieces but only one of them is in Aramaic. Segal's edition does not include any post-Persian document, or at least they cannot be recognized as such (Appendix 5).

The category of geographical names appeared to be the smallest of all the categories, so there was no need to divide it into subcategories. The category of administration was divided into eight subcategories: representatives of the administration, legal matters, com-

⁴⁷⁹ According to the recent studies of slavery in the ancient world, this decision seems to be well-grounded. For example, Culbertson notes that it seems today to be the consensus of scholars that "slaves are one social group that was always, and by definition, attached to a household or institution". Laura Culbertson (ed.), *Slaves and Households in the Near East*. Oriental Institute Seminars. Number 7. (Chicago, Illinois: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 13.

munication, taxes, calendar, weights and measures, currencies, and other administrative aspects. Most of the subcategories of administration were then divided into third-level subcategories. The main category of sources of livelihood was divided into the five subcategories of agriculture, trade, military, slavery and other. Again, all these subcategories were further divided into third-level subcategories for the sake of clarity.

There does not appear any subcategory of administration or religion under the main category of sources of livelihood, although many people in Persian-period Egypt surely earned their living in the service of administration or religion. Because of this, I decided to form separate categories, one for administration and one for religion. This decision was needed for two reasons. First, the material related to administration and religion in all of their forms is so abundant in the documents that a separate main category for them was relevant. Second, one of my initial aims of the research was to investigate the systems of administration and religion in Persian-period Egypt; therefore, the creation of a separate category for them seemed justifiable. Finally, the main category of religion was divided into six subcategories: divine names, names of temples, allusions to religious feasts, religious practices, professions and vocabulary. Of these, only the subcategories of allusions to religious feasts and religious practices were divided into third-level subcategories. Table 12 provides a full and complete picture of all the main categories and their subcategories.

Table 12 Categories and subcategories of the data of the Aramaic documents

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES	HUMANS	SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD	ADMINISTRATION	RELIGION
Anatolia Arabia Armenia Assyria Babylonia Central Asia Egypt Ionia Yehud/Samaria Persia&Media Syria&Coast Unknown	Gentilics Pers. names -Akkadian <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Anatolian <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Arabian <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Aramean <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Egyptian <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Greek <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Hebrew <i>theophoric/non-</i> -NWS <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Persian <i>theophoric/non-</i> -Phoenician <i>theophoric/non-</i> - Unknown <i>theophoric/non-</i>	Agriculture - Production - Animals - Buildings - Professions Military - Officers - Units - Soldiers - Salaries - Weapons - Other Slavery - Vocabulary - Slave mark - Trafficking - Freeing slaves - Judean slaves Trade - Professions - Traded items Other aspects - Transportation - Clothing - Utensils - Furniture	Representatives - Central - Areal - Local - Other areas - Institutions Legal matters - Contracts - Court - Professions Communication - Letter - Other means Taxes - Agricultural - Money - Storehouses - Vocabulary Calendar - Babylonian - Egyptian Weights Currencies Other aspects	Divine names Temples Feasts - Sabbath - Passover Practices - Greetings - Praying - Offerings - Oaths - Purity of food - Collection - Pilgrimage - Rites - Marzēah Professions Vocabulary

3.4.3. Interpretation of the categorized data

The last phase in my analysis was the interpretative dialogue within the categorized data. This was needed in order to understand the data now in its compacted form. It aimed at building a concrete picture of the phenomenon at hand with all of its complexities. According to Creswell, the essence of the interpretative dialogue is “What were the lessons

learned?”⁴⁸⁰ Interpretative thinking is based on the assumption that a phenomenon is abstract until it can be made concrete by understanding its meaning in its context. Anttila notes that every researcher has his own preconceptions of the subject, but as interpreter he has to try to settle down to the same world with the author of the text.⁴⁸¹ The difficulty then in the process of interpretation derives from the fact that different contexts, both the ancient context of the documents and the modern context of the researcher, are at the same time present. In addition, during the interpretative dialogue, the researcher must move between the textual microcontext and the socio-cultural macrocontext of the ancient world as presented in the documents. As a researcher I attempted to interpret the categories and then combine them into a new wholeness with a concrete meaning. In this sense interpretative dialogue comes close to hermeneutics.⁴⁸² According to the idea of interpretative dialogue, every detail of the data must be observed as a part of a whole, but at the same time, the researcher must see how the individual parts influence the whole. It is not enough to interpret the meaning of every category separately. It is also important to find out how the different categories and their parts relate to each other and influence each other. In other words, the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The whole in this research is the history of the Persian period in Egypt and the part is a single document or a detail of it from this same period and land. Interpretative dialogue with the data is an essential part of the content analysis in order to achieve a closer and deeper understanding of the source material and in order to find answers to the research questions.

Although I describe in this subchapter interpretative dialogue as the third phase of historical analysis, it is in fact not only one single act. This dialogue must be ongoing throughout the whole process of the research. The analysis of the source material contrib-

⁴⁸⁰ John Creswell, *Research Design. Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. International Student Edition. (Los Angeles: Sage, 2014), 200.

⁴⁸¹ Anttila 2006, 305.

⁴⁸² Since Schleiermacher (1768-1834) many philosophers have contributed new aspects to the interpretative tradition. One of them was Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002). Gadamer underlined the importance of common language as the way to give meanings to things. His main hermeneutic principle was: “*Sein, das verstanden werden kann, ist Sprache.*” (*Being, that can be understood, is language.*) According to Gadamer, preconceptions of the researcher which are based on his previous tradition guide the process of interpretation. However, hermeneutic dialogue with the subject of the research provides him closer and deeper understanding. Gadamer speaks about horizon of meaning which functions as channel of message from person to person. When a text represents different cultures or past times, it differs from the horizon of meaning of the researcher. However, during the hermeneutic process, the horizons of the text and of the researcher approach each other thus enabling the understanding of the source material. H.-G. Gadamer, *Hermeneutik I. Wahrheit und Methode. Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*. Gesammelte Werke, 1. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986) (Erste Aufgabe 1960), 478. See also Anttila 2006, 554-557.

utes to the understanding of its meaning for the research, but at the same time, the new emerging understanding influences on the interpretation of the same material. Therefore, I executed the interpretative dialogue in several phases. First, I examined and observed each category in itself. Next, I attempted to find out how the categories were connected to each other and how they influenced each other. Then, I contemplated those elements that were expected to be found in the analysed data, but which for some other reason were absent. After that, I attempted to find those elements which appeared to be the most represented in the data. Lastly, I conducted a dialogue between the research questions and the analysed data. How did the data answer to the major questions of my research?

4 ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCE MATERIAL

As a part of the analysis process, I will present the interpretative dialogue in detail under the headings of the main categories. When proceeding through the categories, I would argue that it is only natural to start with the geographical names. After finding the way on the map, I will introduce the humans of the texts. After getting to know the humans in the documents, I will address how these people made their living. I will answer this question in the category concerning the sources of livelihood. After this I will proceed to examine the arena that was very important in the Persian Empire, the category of the administration. Last but not least, I will unfold the category of religion. All this is done in order to reveal the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period.

4.1. Geographical names

This category is formed by all the geographical names which appear in these 1,042 Aramaic documents (A detailed list is found in Table 13). I arrived at a total of 68 different geographical names mentioned in the documents 371 times altogether. In order to gain a clearer picture of which regions these names represent, I divided the material into 12 subcategories (regions) according to the origin of the place names. Table 13 presents these origins together with the number of place names affiliated with these original areas, as well as the total appearance of these place names within the origin in question. In addition, the percentage of the appearances of each origin compared to the total figure is also given.

Table 13 Appearances of geographical names according to their original region

REGION	PLACE NAMES	APPEARANCES	% OF ALL THE APPEARANCES
Anatolia	1	1	0.5
Arabia	1	1	0.5
- Kedar		1	
Armenia	3	5	1.5
- Ararat/Urtu		3	
- Huyawa		1	
- Tigra		1	
Assyria	4	21	5.5
- Arbel		1	
- Assyria		18	
- Calah		1	
- Matalubaš		1	

REGION	PLACE NAMES	APPEARANCES	% OF ALL THE APPEARANCES
Babylonia	4	10	2.5
- Akad/Gakad:		1	
- Arzuchin		1	
- Babylonia		7	
- Lair		1	
Central Asia	3	4	1
- Arachosia		2	
- Aršada		1	
- Kundur		1	
Egypt	34	284	76.5
- Abydos		4	
- Bamrasri		1	
- Bima		1	
- Damanhur		1	
- Daphnae		1	
- Edfu		1	
- Egypt		75	
- Elephantine		73	
- Heliopolis		1	
- Khastemeh		1	
- Korobis		2	
- Lower Egypt		3	
- Luxor		3	
- Memphis		20	
- Meia		2	
- Migdol		1	
- Mitspeh		1	
- Naša		2	
- Nebaioth		2	
- Pamunpara		1	
- Pana		3	
- Papremi		1	
- Pasahnas		1	
- Pegergeptah		1	
- Persekhmet		1	
- Philae		1	
- Pihapimeya		1	
- Pišai		1	
- Sekhmere		1	
- Syene		65	
- Thebes		6	
- Ts.bag		1	
- Tšetres		3	
- Upper Egypt		2	
Ionia	1	6	1.5
Yehud/Samaria	3	4	1
- Jerusalem		1	
- Samaria		1	
- Yehud/Judah		2	
Persia and Media	8	18	5
- Aluk		1	
- Anshan		1	

REGION	PLACE NAMES	APPEARANCES	% OF ALL THE APPEARANCES
- Khanban		1	
- Media		5	
- Rakha		1	
- Parthia		3	
- Persia		5	
- Susa		1	
Syria and coast	3	5	1.5
- Damascus		1	
- Salam		1	
- Sidon		3	
Unknown	3	12	3
- Kefar Ben		1	
- Kefar Tsa		5	
- Šalmua		6	
TOTAL	68	371	100

It became evident that 76.5% of all the appearances of the place names originate from Egypt. This was expected because the texts were written and discovered in Egypt. Assyria and Persia/Media, as well as Babylonia, appear in these documents much less than Egypt. I had expected more representation of place names from the Persian mainland because the documents come from the Persian period. The area of Yehud/Samaria is represented about on the same small level as Syria and the coast (Phoenicia). They exist but are not central.

The most common, separate geographical names in these documents are Egypt (75 times), Elephantine (73) and Syene (65). Memphis appears twenty times and Thebes six times. Even the central proper names of the Persian Empire appear more seldom: Babylon (seven), Media (five), Persia (five), Susa (once). From the previous Empires, except for Egypt, Assyria appears most frequently (18 times). From other neighboring locations, Ionia appears six times and Sidon three times. This resulted from the frequent maritime trade from these areas to Egypt. Yehud appears twice, Jerusalem and Samaria only once. Together the four appearances of Yehud, Jerusalem and Samaria form only 1% of all the appearances of geographical names in these documents. Compared to the appearance of the neighboring Samaria (once) and Sidon (three times), Yehud (twice) and Jerusalem (once) are at about the same level. They are recognized but are not central to these Aramaic documents. It should be noted that the Aramaic form of the proper name of Judah in these documents is Yehud (יהוד).⁴⁸³ This was the official name of the province in the Persian period, and this name was also used by the Persian administration when referring to Judah. Egypt was called Mišrayin

⁴⁸³ It appears twice, in TAD A 4.7:1 and TAD A 4.8:18.

(מצריין) and Samaria was called Šamrayin (שמריין). It should also be noted that the island of Elephantine where the Judean military garrison was situated bears in these documents the Aramaic name Yeb (יב).⁴⁸⁴ Syene is called Swen (סון).⁴⁸⁵

A good overview detailing the definition of the name *Yehud* is found in the article of John W. Wright.⁴⁸⁶ According to Wright, the proper name *Yehud* is found in documents and artifacts from Palestine from the sixth century through the fourth century BCE. Wright mentions that three scholars especially have tried to draw the borders for *Yehud*, yet without common agreement: Charles Carter (1999), Ephraim Stern (2001), and Oded Lipschits (2005). Wright himself suggests a new and different reconstruction, based on the genealogies of Judah and Benjamin in 1 Chr. 2:3-4:23 and 8: 1-40. He argues that the Persian period *Yehud* was a polity based on kinship and patronage that also possessed frontiers and diaspora, but anchored within central territories. Borders had no place in this polity because it was more a kind of a social system.⁴⁸⁷ Wright's definition of *Yehud* is interesting for my research because the Judeans of Egypt were probably a part of the Judean diaspora. According to Wright's theory, also the diaspora defined its identity on the basis of the common kinship and social system that was anchored in Judah and Jerusalem.

When the appearance of geographical names in the three collections of the Aramaic documents is compared with each other, the following information appears: Segal's collection has eight different identified geographical names, and all of these locations are from Egypt. The three locations appearing most often are Memphis (eight times), Nebaioth (twice) and Deir el-Abyad.⁴⁸⁸ Porten and Yardeni's collection includes 65 different geographical names representing eleven known areas. The three locations appearing most often in Porten and Yardeni's collection are Egypt (74 times), Elephantine (65) and Syene (62).

⁴⁸⁴ Elephantine was a town located on an island in the Nile at the northern entrance to the First Cataract opposite modern Aswan. Egypt's southern border was located there during most of pharaonic times. Because of its location, Elephantine functioned as a center for trade with the south as well as a fortress against hostile invaders. According to Kaiser, the pharaonic name of the town means "ivory", as well as "elephant," and hints at the traded item. Kaiser 1999, 283. Also Modrzejewski suggests that the name Yeb derives from the Egyptian *'iebew*, "elephant place." During the Persian period Elephantine continued to serve as a military fortress and a customs post that functioned as an important gateway to Nubia. Modrzejewski 1997, 22.

⁴⁸⁵ Porten and Lund 2002, 432. Isa.49: 12 mentions that some Israelites will return "from the region of *Sinim*" (סנין Masoretic Text). Look also Ez.29:10 and 30: 6 which have in the Masoretic Text similar word סנין. Based on the reading of Dead sea Scrolls (1QIs^{a206}) many scholars translate Isa.49:12 "from the region of Aswan". Thus, for example NIV, 2011. Anneler 1912, 105; Porten 1968, 14; Rohrmoser 2014, 78.

⁴⁸⁶ John W. Wright, "Remapping Yehud: The Borders of Yehud and the Genealogies of Chronicles" in Lipschits and Oeming 2006, 67-89.

⁴⁸⁷ Wright 2006, 86-87.

⁴⁸⁸ Nebaioth (נביה), see Segal 1983, 48-49, note 11. Deir el-Abyad (נשאד) is only tentatively identified as the White Monastery; see Segal 1983, 80, note 2, and 113, note 3.

Lozachmeur's collection has only three different geographical names all of which come from Egypt.⁴⁸⁹ They are Elephantine (nine appearances), Syene (eight appearances) and Memphis (one appearance). From this comparison, as well as also from the source critical analysis of these documents, it becomes clear that Segal's collection is more affiliated with the Memphis area, while both Porten-Yardeni's and Lozachmeur's collections are affiliated with Elephantine-Syene region. Pondering the meaning of this observation with regard to the original writers of these Aramaic documents, I must conclude that these writers were mostly affiliated with the three locations in Persian-period Egypt: Elephantine, Syene and Memphis.

4.2. Humans

Humans play a significant role in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. This is understandable as the texts reflect a real ancient socio cultural context. Most of them were written for some practical use or purpose in everyday life and not for royal propaganda or educational purpose (as in the case with the Aramaic version of Darius' Bisitun Inscription TAD C 2.1, or with the ancient Aramaic wisdom text, the Words of Aḥiqar TAD C 1.1⁴⁹⁰ or with the Tale of Ḥor son of Punesh TAD C 1.2). Since humans wrote these texts to humans, documents were either written to convey a specific message to be delivered to other humans of those times or to be kept in the collective memory of the community in question, like accounts, legal documents and official memoranda.

4.2.1. Gentilics

The first subcategory of humans in my research consists of the gentilics which appear in these documents. Usually the term gentilics is used when referring to different ethnic groups.⁴⁹¹ The volume edited by Lipschits, Knoppers and Oeming (2011) discusses thoroughly the question of identity, and especially the identity of the Judeans in the Persian pe-

⁴⁸⁹ Lozachmeur 2006, 537.

⁴⁹⁰ The Words of Aḥiqar is the only ancient Aramaic wisdom text preserved. The fragmentary papyrus text of Aḥiqar found from Elephantine (TAD C 1.1.) is the earliest textual evidence of the book. Nissinen 2014, 293.

⁴⁹¹ Segal speaks about the ethnic identity when dealing with the different personal names which appear in the documents. Segal 1983, 8-9. Porten and Yardeni as well as Lozachmeur use the term gentilics, Porten and Yardeni, 1999, LXII. Lozachmeur 2006, 537. Arnold and Choi define the expression gentilic as follows: a gentilic noun is "a noun that refers to a single member of a collective group, typically an ethnic or national group". Bill T. Arnold, and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 199.

riod. L. E. Pearce further defines the term: gentilics identify the place of origin of an individual or group.⁴⁹² While good in its context, even this definition is not unproblematic. For example in the case of the group of people called Syenians, among the Aramaic documents the name Syenians refers to the inhabitants of the town Syene, a demographic group which consisted not only of one ethnic group but of representatives of many different ethnic groups whose original place of birth might not have been Syene.

Another problem with Pearce's definition is found in the case of the Judeans. According to Wright's theory, originating from *Yehud* meant that these people had a common kinship and social system and not only a common geographical place of origin. Of course, this could be the case also with other gentilics, not only with Judeans. According to Lemaire, it is clear that Judeans were officially recognized as a special ethnic group because their ethnicity appears so often in everyday administrative texts.⁴⁹³ Lemaire agrees with Wright adding that "in Elephantine, ethnicity was mainly apparent as marked by religion and ritual"⁴⁹⁴. He suggests that "religion was one of the main aspects of ethnicity for the Judeans of Elephantine, who apparently did not speak and practically did not write Judean Hebrew"⁴⁹⁵. Thus, it seems that the place of origin or the original language was not the decisive issue in defining the ethnic identity of the Judeans in Egypt but is instead their social system, a system related in some way to their religion. This suggestion is also supported by Barth's theory that the ethnic boundary defines the group.⁴⁹⁶ From these observations in mind, I believe the term gentilics well describes the subcategory in question in my research.

Altogether I have traced 26 different gentilics from the 1,042 Aramaic documents. They are presented in the following table (Table 14) according to their English alphabetic order with their respective Aramaic counterparts and numbers of appearances as well as their percentage of the total number of the appearances of all gentilics.

⁴⁹² Laurie E. Pearce, "'Judean': A Special Status in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia?" in Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming (eds.), 2011, 269.

⁴⁹³ André Lemaire, "Judean Identity in Elephantine: Everyday Life according to the Ostraca" in Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming (eds.) 2011, 368.

⁴⁹⁴ Lemaire 2011, 372.

⁴⁹⁵ Lemaire 2011, 368.

⁴⁹⁶ Barth 1969, 14-15.

Table 14 Gentilics represented in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt

ENGLISH NAME	ARAMAIC NAME	APPEARANCES	% OF ALL THE GENTILICS
Arabian	ערבי	2	1
Aramean	ארמי	31	18
Babylonian	בבלי	3	1.5
Bactrian	בחתרי	1	0.5
Carian	כרכי	5	3
Caspian	כספי	12	7
Cilician	חילכי	9	5
Cretan	כרתך	1	0.5
Egyptian	מצרי	17	10
Hyrcanian	ירכני	1	0.5
Ionian	יוני	28	16
Judean	יהודי	28	16
Khwarezmian	חרזמי	3	1.5
Kuši/Nubian	כשי	2	1
Magian	מגשי	3	1.5
Margian	מרגוי	3	1.5
Median	מדי	1	0.5
Persian	פרסי	10	6
Pisidian	פשדי	2	1
Saite	סיכך	2	1
Sardian/Lybian	ספרדי	1	0.5
Sidonian	צידני	6	3.5
Sukkian/Sakan	סכ/סכה	1	0.5
Syenian	סונכך	3	1.5
Tanite	צעני	1	0.5
Yemenite	תימן	1	0.5
TOTAL	26	177	100

The above chart depicts all of the 26 gentilics, which appear in the Aramaic texts altogether 177 times. Identifying these gentilics in the texts was not easy because some of them might also be understood as personal names. For example, Segal derives the gentilic Sardian/Lybian from the personal name of Spardiya.⁴⁹⁷ Segal argues that it means literally “the Sardian, Lybian” and I have accepted his suggestion.⁴⁹⁸ Similar is the case with the gentilic Kuši that appears only twice.⁴⁹⁹ Lozachmeur suggests that the word refers to a personal name; hence Kûšî fils de ‘A[zzûr].⁵⁰⁰ Although the gentilic Kuši is uncertain I have included

⁴⁹⁷ The personal name Spardiya appears only once in Segal 50:3.

⁴⁹⁸ Segal 1983, 69, note 1.

⁴⁹⁹ TAD D 23.1.Va:8 and HL 196, cv 1.

⁵⁰⁰ Lozachmeur 2006, 346. This is a similar ambivalent case as the name Spardiya that Segal understands to refer to a gentilic of Sardian (look above note 464).

it in my list of gentilics. I argue that the word refers to a gentile that appears for example in Amos 9:7 and can be translated as Nubian or Ethiopian.⁵⁰¹

In comparison to the Concordance of Porten and Lund, the number of the gentilics in my research includes one more. This results from the fact that the Concordance of Porten and Lund does not include all the texts of Segal and neither of the documents from Lozacheur's edition. One group was omitted, one that the Concordance of Porten and Lund does mention, namely Urartian, but two groups are added, the Sardian and Yemenite.⁵⁰² The concordance of Porten and Lund altogether counts 190 appearances of gentilics. To be precise, my total count of 177 is seven percent smaller than what Porten and Lund have. I base this smaller body of data on source critical considerations. I include only those texts which date from the Persian period and the Concordance of Porten and Lund counts also pre- and post-Persian documents. Also my decision takes into account only the specific text and ignores such source material that has been reconstructed by the editors. Therefore, this reduced my valid data. However, as noted above, the differences between the Concordance of Porten and Lund and my research are not great.

Some of the gentilics are more connected to a certain geographical place than others. Many ancient nations were at first governed as city states, and then later expanded to cover larger areas. This could be the reason why some gentilics are more attached to city names than others, such as is in the case of Syenians mentioned above. Syene itself was a multiethnic town, as was also Elephantine, opposite it on the Nile. Neither of them was a vast region nor an independent city state. However, the case of the inhabitants of a city state called Sidon on the Mediterranean coast is different. In the case of Sidonians their ethnic group was probably more homogenous than those of Syenians. In fact, the name Sidonian refers to Phoenicians, who were mostly known for their maritime excellence and trade. Moreover, the gentile of Babylonian is another case in itself. Here, the name does not refer only to the inhabitants of the city called Babylon but to all of those who belonged to its historical and immediate domain.⁵⁰³ Another example is the gentile of Ionian, which seems to refer to all

⁵⁰¹ Also Van de Mieroop connects the word Kuš to Nubia. Van de Mieroop 2007, 257. Porten and Lund translates the gentile as Nubian. Porten and Lund 2002, 440.

⁵⁰² Urartian appears in a reconstructed text in TAD C 2.1 and therefore I excluded it from the subcategory of gentilics. Yemenite appears once in TAD C 1.1:134. Sardian appears in Segal 50:3. The Concordance of Porten and Lund (2002) does not mention Yemenite or Sardian at all although the edition of Porten and Yardeni (1993) mentions the group of Yemenite in its glossary where also the translation "southern" is given as the second option. TAD C, 1993, LVII; Porten and Lund 2002, 439-441.

⁵⁰³ According to Van de Mieroop, the Neo-Babylonian society was very much concentrated in cities and its kings pursued a policy of maintaining ancient Babylonian culture. Van de Mieroop 2007, 284.

the Greek city states that were located not only in Ionia of Asia Minor but also on all the islands of the Aegean Sea and on Hellespont. Like Sidonians, Ionians were active in maritime trade with Egypt. This evidence from the Aramaic documents supports the common view of the historians who argue that international trade flourished in the Persian period, and that despite the wars with the Greeks, the eastern Mediterranean was mostly safe.⁵⁰⁴ The gentilic of Judaeans (יהודי) is interesting from the point of view of its original location. If it refers only to the narrow original location of these people, it has to refer to *Yehud* (יהודה), the name of Judah during the Persian period. However, it is not certain that the Judeans residing in Egypt during the Persian period originated only from Judah. They could also have come from the area of the northern state of Israel after it was destroyed by the Assyrians in 722 BCE. Two things might allude to this possibility. First, the evidence from the Papyrus Amherst 63 points out that at least some of the Judeans residing in Egypt travelled there together with the Aramean soldiers of Samaria.⁵⁰⁵ Therefore possibly some of those Judeans were also Israelites from Samaria and its surrounding area. Secondly, some scholars suggest that the Judeans who immigrated into Egypt brought with them the pre-exilic religion of Judah. According to them, the worship of other deities, such as Anat-Bethel, Anat-Jahu and Eshem-Bethel, in addition to Yahu in the temple of Elephantine proves this.⁵⁰⁶ Van der Toorn advances the argument further, suggesting that the worship of these other deities by the Judeans of Egypt is evidence for the assumption that these Judeans came originally to Egypt not primarily from Judah but from Samaria.⁵⁰⁷ If that is the case, the gentilic of Judaeans (יהודי) is referring to those people who originated from the area of Judah and Samaria. However, Grabbe notes that outside of the Biblical text, Judeans and Israelites are never identified as one ethnic group by outsiders.⁵⁰⁸ Thus, if the ethnic group of Judeans of Egypt appearing in the Aramaic documents included Israelites from the Northern Kingdom, this

⁵⁰⁴ Van de Mieroop 2011, 307. The Persian fleet controlled the eastern Mediterranean with its bases in Cilicia and Phoenicia both during the fifth and the fourth century BCE, thus also controlling the international maritime trade in the region. Lipschits, Knoppers, and Alpertz (eds.), 2007, 24. According to Diana Edelman, it is likely that most of the Assyrian long-distance trading networks continued during the Neo-Babylonian Empire and were adopted by the Persians as well. Diana Edelman, "Tyrian Trade under Artaxerxes I: Real or fictional? Independent or Crown Endorsed?" in Lipschits and Oeming (eds.), 2006, 226.

⁵⁰⁵ Steiner 1997, 309-327.

⁵⁰⁶ Rohrmoser 2014, 8, 80; Cowley 1923, XIXff.

⁵⁰⁷ Van der Toorn 1992, 96. This theory was brought up already earlier by Vincent and Albright who argue that the Judeans of Elephantine used the divine names of Bethel and Eshem as epithets for YHWH, showing that they came to Egypt from the northern kingdom of Israel and from the environs of Bethel. Albright 1942, 171-175. Vincent 1937, 562-569.

⁵⁰⁸ Grabbe 2007, 21.

would be their first extra-Biblical appearance as Judeans. The idea is possible but more hard evidence would definitely be needed to verify its plausibility.

Grabbe notes that “the fact that a name occurs in a text does not necessarily tell us whether it represents an ethnic group”.⁵⁰⁹ This is true also with the gentilics appearing in these texts. Five of the possible gentilics of these Aramaic documents are so unclear that it is difficult to decide whether they are gentilics at all or if they perhaps refer to something else. These gentilics include Arabian (ערבי), Kazdian (כזדי), Shalmite (שלמי), Sukkian (סכי) and Susian (שושני). The first unclear case is shown in the expression of Arabian, as it appears two times. In TAD C 1.1:207 the case is clear: “(s)how an Arabian (לערבי) the sea and a Sidonian.” In Segal 29.6, however, the context is unclear. Because of this lack of clarity, Porten and Yardeni (1989) give two possible explanations for ערביא : the Arab(s) or the guarantor(s).⁵¹⁰ In the concordance of Porten and Lund, this case is not even counted as evidence for the appearance of a gentilic, though it is given as an option.⁵¹¹ I personally interpret this expression as referring to an Arabian as a representative of a gentilic.

The expression Kazdian appears only in TAD C 3.7 which is the customs account. Here it appears twice as the type of a ship entering Egypt for the purpose of trade.⁵¹² However, it should be noted that what precisely the expression means is unclear. This uncertainty is also apparent in Porten and Yardeni (1993) where in one place the expression is understood as referring to Phoenician ships, whereas in another, the meaning is left open.⁵¹³ Because of this, I decided not to include the expression of Kazdian into the subcategory of the gentilics.

The expression Shalmite (שלמי) is also difficult to understand. Like the previous expression, this one can be found also only in the customs account TAD C 3.7, where it appears eight times always together with the word bronze (Shalmaite bronze). Thus, my conclusion like that of Porten and Yardeni (1993) and Porten and Lund⁵¹⁴ is that the word does not refer to humans but to something else.

The expression Sukkian (סכי) appears only once in Porten and Yardeni (TAD D 7.24:3) in its plural form סכיא. They offer two possible options, Sukkians or sharp imple-

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. 20.

⁵¹⁰ TAD B 8.1:15.

⁵¹¹ “Guarantor; alternatively entry 003 (B 8.1:15) could be a gentilic”, Porten and Lund 2002, 263.

⁵¹² TAD C, 1993, 3.7.Fr 1:6 and TAD C, 1993, 3.7.Fv 3:25.

⁵¹³ In the marginal notation of TAD C, 1993, 3.7.Fv 3:25 the expression is understood as referring to 6 Phoenician ships but in the glossary of TAD C, 1993, on page LVII the meaning is left open. The expression is not found among the gentilics in the concordance of Porten and Lund 2002, 439-441.

⁵¹⁴ TAD C, 1993, page LVII and Porten and Lund 2002, 439-441.

ments. Because Saka is known to be one of those Central Asian peoples that together with Bactrians and Sogdians were under the dominion of the Persian Empire and paid tribute to the King, I have decided to count the expression among the gentilics subcategory.⁵¹⁵

The word Susians appears three times in these Aramaic documents. In TAD A 3.11:3, 4 where it appears twice (שושנין\שושניא), its meaning is unclear. Porten and Yardeni (1986) hesitate between two translations, either Susians or Lilies. This is confusing because that specific expression has two meanings. Susa (שושן), one of the Persian capitals, was important because of its direct access to the western parts of the Empire and also from its glorious past as the capital of the ancient Elamite kingdom.⁵¹⁶ The same exact word is also used for the flower Lily (שושן). In TAD C 3.26:15 the word appears once (שושנא) in a context which deals with allotments of emmer to different people. Here clearly it cannot be translated as a Lily but as a Susian. Because of this, I have chosen to translate the expression as Susians. Finally the concordance of Porten and Lund as well as Porten and Yardeni (1993) interpret the expression as originally Akkadian, referring to a special Persian official, a Susan-official.⁵¹⁷ Because I agree with this proposal, I did not count this expression under the category of the gentilics, but instead in the category of the administration. Striking new evidence pointing in the same direction has been argued in Pearce's article concerning Judeans of Babylonia. Here she connects the Akkadian term *šušānū* to the existence of a *ḥaṭru* institution in the Achaemenid Empire. The term *šušānū* belongs to those expressions which designate officials and socioeconomic groups pointing to the presence of a *ḥaṭru*.⁵¹⁸ Thus, the term *šušānū* might be one piece of evidence for the existence of the well organized Persian administration in Egypt.

What is notable in the outcome of the analysis of the gentilics is the great number of appearances of Arameans, Ionians, and Judeans. The most appearing gentilics are Arameans (31), Ionians (28), Judeans (28), Egyptians (17) and Caspians (12). Persians come closely behind with only ten appearances. The number of Ionian references is not surprising because most of the data (23 out of 28 appearances) concerning them comes from one single

⁵¹⁵ Saka people together with Caspians belonged to the 15th tribute nome of the Persian Empire according to Herodotus' tribute list. Briant 2002, 391.

⁵¹⁶ About Susa as one of the Persian capitals see Van de Mieroop 2007, 294 and Farrokh 2009, 60.

⁵¹⁷ TAD C 3.26:15; Porten and Lund 2002, 291.

⁵¹⁸ According to Pearce: "The term *ḥaṭru* designates territory granted to a collective of royal feudatories, soldiers, or civil servants. It was an institutional means of producing and extracting taxes for the Achaemenid state and a source of labor for a standing military reserve, a local garrison force, and cadres of state-controlled workers." Pearce also recalls the discovery of four Babylonian texts which provide evidence for the existence of "the *šušānū* of the Judeans" in Babylonia. Pearce 2011, 271-272.

document, namely the TAD C 3.7; a long customs account from Elephantine dated 475 BCE, originally written in Memphis. The appearance of Ionians further demonstrates how intensive maritime trade between Egypt and Greece was already established during the Persian period. According to this customs account, 36 ships out of the total of 42 cargo ships arriving in Egypt during one year of time were Ionians. The remaining ships were Phoenicians sailing from Sidon.⁵¹⁹ What is striking in the appearance of the Arameans and the Judeans in these documents is that in direct opposition to the Ionians, the evidence of their appearance comes from more than one single document. In these documents Arameans form eighteen percent while Judeans sixteen percent of the total amount of the appearances of the gentiles. Together, they cover 34% of the total appearances of gentiles. This means that every third appearance of the gentiles in these Aramaic documents is either Aramean or Judean.

At least three possible explanations for the frequent appearance of Arameans and Judeans in these documents can be suggested. First, it could suggest that the actual number of Arameans and Judeans living in Persian-period Egypt was larger than commonly estimated. According to my understanding, however, this conclusion is not in accordance with the demographic reality of the Persian period Egypt. Judeans and Arameans residing in Egypt probably numbered in thousands, but not tens of thousands as the above evidence would theorize. As an example, Knauf has estimated the number of Judeans of Elephantine to have been between 2500-3000 people during the Persian period.⁵²⁰ For his calculations he has used the information included in the Aramaic list of names as well as the knowledge about the size of the military units in the Persian period. According to his estimations, the size of the Judean garrison of Elephantine was about 500-600 soldiers. When this is multiplied by five (a soldier with wife and three children) he gets the above mentioned total of 2500-3000 people. Secondly, the frequent appearance of Arameans and Judeans in these documents could possibly mean that Arameans and Judeans dwelling in Egypt were more active in social, political and economic life than other ethnic groups in their environment. This proposition is possible but once again unlikely and difficult to prove when based solely on this evidence. There is a third possibility. I would argue that the Arameans and the Judeans living in Persian-period Egypt possessed the best working knowledge of Aramaic in their environment. As already presented, the data of this research consists of the 1,042 Aramaic doc-

⁵¹⁹ TAD C, 1993, XX-XXI.

⁵²⁰ Ernst A. Knauf, "Elephantine und das vor-biblische Judentum" in Kratz (ed.), 2002, 181. Reported also by Rohrmoser 2014, 81-82.

uments found from Persian-period Egypt. Therefore, it is quite logical that those people in Persian-period Egypt, who used Aramaic in their everyday life, would also frequently appear in these documents. Their knowledge of Aramaic was utilized, not only by themselves, but also by the imperial Persian administration as well as by their close colleagues, friends and neighbors when writing letters, short messages, legal contracts and accounts for different purpose. It is completely probable that most of the professional Aramaic scribes in Persian-period Egypt were either Arameans or Judeans from their original background. Thus, the everyday use of Aramaic would explain the frequent appearance of these two groups in the 1,042 Aramaic documents.

When the results of the analysis of the gentilics are compared to the results of the other categories, I observe that Egyptians are under-represented among the subcategory of the gentilics, their proportion being only 10%. However, in the categories of personal names and religion, Egyptians reach the level of the representation of the Aramaeans and Judeans and go even further. Once again this is understandable because these Aramaic documents were written and discovered in Egypt, their original geographical context. Also the six percent representation of the Persians in this subcategory of the gentilics provides an incomplete picture. Compared to the results of the analysis of other categories, Persians are far more represented, for example in the categories of personal names and administration.

In terms of the objectives of this research, the results of the analysis of the gentilics show that the Judeans play a remarkable role in Persian-period Egypt together with the Arameans. Following them are representations of Egyptians, Caspians and Persians. The Caspians probably served as mercenaries in the Persian led contingents while Ionians (Greeks) had direct representation and influence only through maritime trade and, of course, later on also through the wars with the Persians.

4.2.2. Personal names

The second subcategory under the main category of humans is formed from all the personal names that appear in the 1,042 Aramaic documents. This subcategory is the biggest among all the subcategories because it consists of about a third of all the expressions that appear in these Aramaic documents. The large number of personal names shows how these texts are rooted in the social life of the Persian period Egypt. They reflect the real lives of the people

living in Persian-period Egypt. As Beaulieu puts it “An important and at times abundant source for studying ancient cultures is anthroponyms, that is, personal names”⁵²¹.

It should be clearly stated that in this research my object was to identify and collect personal names, not individuals who appear in the documents. The contemporary method of studying different ethnic groups of people who appear in ancient documents seems to be prosopography, a listing of individuals rather than names, because this method is more accurate.⁵²² However, for the purpose of this research identifying personal names was accurate enough to identify Judeans as well as trends in their naming culture. In fact, it can be argued that the listing of names is a more stringent method when counting only one person for one name while in reality one name can be used by several persons. Of course, as Porten and Lund note, the same person can also appear in the documents under different versions of his name, for example, Ananyah/Anani.⁵²³

When executing the analysis of the data, I first collected all the personal names from the Porten and Yardeni collection because it is the largest of the three collections. Then I analyzed the Segal collection, adding the personal names found in it to the existing list of names from Porten and Yardeni. While doing this, I also earmarked those names occurring in both collections, as well as those names occurring only in Segal’s collection. Then finally, I added also the personal names of the Lozachmeur’s collection to the existing list of names, using the same criteria and rules as before. As the result of this threefold analysis, I got a complete list of personal names, showing also the distribution of the personal names in different collections.

During my analysis, I divided the category of personal names into eleven subcategories: Akkadian, Anatolian, Arabian, Aramaic, Egyptian, Greek, Hebrew, Northwest Semitic (NWS), Persian, Phoenician and unknown origin. I reasoned that these languages are represented in the personal names of the Aramaic documents. However, identifying the original language of these names was not an easy task, as Nissinen also testifies “it is often very difficult to determine the actual language of a West Semitic name and, consequently, the ethnic

⁵²¹ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Yahwistic Names in Light of Late Babylonian Onomastics”, in Lipschits, Knoppers, and Oeming (eds.), 2011, 245.

⁵²² This method of identifying individuals has been used, for example, by Porten and Lund, *Aramaic documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance*, 2002; Nissinen, “Outlook: Arameans outside of Syria. 1. Assyria”, 2014; as well as by Pearce and Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*, 2014. However, Porten in his early research on the Judeans of Elephantine utilizes the method of collecting different personal names instead of individuals arguing that “statistical studies reveal patterns and trends”. Porten 1968, 134, (133-150).

⁵²³ Porten and Lund 2002, Xiii.

background of the person thus called”.⁵²⁴ The differentiation between some Aramaic and Hebrew names was especially difficult because these two languages stem from the same linguistic family and are close to each other. To help distinguish Aramaic names from Hebrew names I utilized the following criteria: the gentilic Yehudi and the inner context of the text that point to Judean persons; the Yahwistic religion of the person in question, and knowledge of those names being used by the Judeans in Judah during the monarchic time prior to the Persian period. The greatest difficulty arises with those non-Yahwistic Hebrew names whose verbal root elements are shared with other Northwest Semitic names as Porten observes.⁵²⁵ According to my estimation, about one quarter of the non-Yahwistic Hebrew names (Appendix 8) belongs to this “grey group” of names which may be both Hebrew and Aramaic.⁵²⁶ However, from all the Hebrew names in my list (154 names) their portion is less than 15 percent. The group of Northwest Semitic (NWS) names in the following table 15 includes those Semitic personal names, which could not be identified as belonging to any other above mentioned Semitic languages. In addition, the differentiation between some Persian and Caspian names was not possible. Briant observes this and notes that “the Iranian onomasticon is largely unmarked for ethnicity”.⁵²⁷ According to Briant, the reason for this might be that non-Persians sometimes took Persian names when they were incorporated into the imperial dominant socioethnic class. And this might well have been also the case with the Caspian names. The identification of the Caspian personal names was challenging; it also seemed to challenge the editors of the collections of these Aramaic documents. Because there did not appear many such names which could probably be Caspian by origin and because they look like Persian names, I included them into the Persian group.⁵²⁸ The group of unknown origin consists of those personal names that could not be recognized belonging to any of the other subcategories, either because the Aramaic text is so fragmentary that the name cannot be fully recognized or because the origin of the name in question is otherwise not known.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁴ Nissinen 2014, 282.

⁵²⁵ As an example of these root elements Porten lists the following: *rm*, *nwr(y)*, *zbd*, *ntn*, and *'qb*. Porten 1968, 149-150.

⁵²⁶ I recognize, at least, the following names to belong to this “grey group”: Abiṭab, Akbari, Aqabi, Gaddul, Galgul, Ḥaggai, Ḥanan, Hoṣea', Menaḥem, Mešullam, Naḥum, Natan, Nattun, Neri, Qon, Rami, Rapha', Šab-betai, Šadoq, Šillem, and Țobšalom.

⁵²⁷ Briant 2002, 352.

⁵²⁸ For example, the name Šatibarzana might originally be a Caspian name as also Atarli. Lozachmeur 2006, 289 and 510. Look also TAD B 2.7:18.

⁵²⁹ This group also includes some possible Caspian personal names which, however, could not fully be recognized as such; for example, Hamatasan, Hiru, Palin, and Vizbal.

As a result of the analysis, I could identify altogether 993 different personal names in these 1,042 Aramaic documents. For my purpose, I counted only those names which were completely spelled out or those which could easily be recognized as an identifiable personal name.⁵³⁰ In most cases this was not difficult, as Porten and Yardeni (1999) note: “personal names are among the most easily recognizable words.”⁵³¹ This was not, however, possible in every case as can be seen from the subcategory of unknown names which covers 10 % of the total number of all the names. The following table (Table 15) shows the distribution of the personal names into different subcategories according to their original language.⁵³²

Table 15 Distribution of personal names according to their original language

LANGUAGE	DIFFERENT NAMES	% OF TOTAL
Akkadian	37	4
Anatolian	19	2
Arabic	19	2
Aramaic	197	20
Egyptian	243	24
Greek	15	1.5
Hebrew	154	15.5
NWS	15	1.5
Persian	178	18
Phoenician	15	1.5
Unknown	101	10
TOTAL	993	100

Only about one fourth of the names are of Egyptian origin. This is surprising because the geographical context of the texts is Egypt. What draws ones attention, however, is the large amount of Aramaic and Hebrew names. Aramaic and Hebrew names together cover 35.5% of all the personal names appearing in these Aramaic texts. Their combined percentage is

⁵³⁰ The concordance of Porten and Lund list the total of 1230 names, although it does not include the Lozachmeur’s collection or the most part of Segal’s collection. The reason to the greater amount of personal names in the concordance of Porten and Lund derives from its different way of counting the names. It includes also the pre- and post-Persian texts as well as reconstructed texts. In addition, it lists to the category of personal names also such names that have only one or two consonants left in the corrupted text. There are altogether 94 cases like that. Of course, some names really have only two letters as the Egyptian name 𓆎𓅓 but these names are rather rare.

⁵³¹ TAD D, 1999, 111.

⁵³² The origin of the names is presented in the concordance of Porten and Lund; Porten and Lund, 2002, 316-424. In some cases it gives two optional origins like Aram/Akk. In these cases I chose, for the sake of clarity, only the first of them. However, the concordance of Porten and Lund does not include Lozachmeur’s collection published in 2006, and of the Segal’s Saqqara collection, it includes only a small portion. Thus, many names are not found in it at all and their origin had to be decided on the ground of other arguments, like the existence of a theoforic component, linguistic reasons, or the context of the text in question.

higher than the sum of the appearances of the Arameans and Judeans in the gentilics subcategory (34%). Compared to the gentilics, the subcategory Greek (Ionian) representation dropped from sixteen percent to one and half percent, while the Persian representation grew from six percent to eighteen percent. I would suggest that the subcategory of personal names provides a much more accurate picture of reality than does the subcategory of the gentilics. Further I would argue that the personal names subcategory, in fact, goes deeper into the source material in investigating the representation of persons and not only groups. Furthermore its data is much larger (993 compared to 177), which increases its accuracy. The results of the subcategory of personal names strengthen the picture of the strong role of Arameans and Judeans, working alongside Egyptians and Persians in Egypt during the Persian period. The great presence of the Persians in these documents is understandable as they are connected to the heavy royal administration, military organization, and the Persian taxation system.

The number of Hebrew names in these Aramaic documents, 154, covers 15.5% of all the different names (Appendix 8 presents all these Hebrew names). Porten in his early research on the Judeans of Elephantine counts “more than 160 different names borne by Elephantine Jews”⁵³³. If this is so, how then can my research show fewer Hebrew names than his, even though I included also the North Saqqara documents and Lozachmeur’s edition, both of which did not exist when Porten made his research? There are at least two possible reasons. One, Porten included, at first, in his list also four Aramean names that were borne by the Judeans of Elephantine.⁵³⁴ Later he identified them in the concordance as Aramaic names.⁵³⁵ Secondly, he included among the Hebrew names also pre- and post-Persian Hebrew names, whereas I include only the Persian period names. For this very same reason, the concordance of Porten and Lund lists altogether 202 Hebrew names, including the reconstructed names that might have only one or two consonants in the original text. Thus, among the 202 Hebrew names of the Concordance of Porten and Lund, there are 34 post-Persian names, seven names consisting of only one consonant and twelve names consisting of only two consonants. When all these are omitted from the list, there remain 149 Hebrew Persian period names in the Concordance of Porten and Lund. This number comes closer to the total number of Hebrew names in my research (154).

⁵³³ Porten 1968, 134.

⁵³⁴ These names are: Agur (Hagur), Jathma, Rochel and Shewa. Porten 1968, 134.

⁵³⁵ Porten and Lund 2002, 317, 364, 409 and 411.

I also examined the representation of female names throughout the corpus of the personal names. The following table (Table 16) presents the results of this study.

Table 16 Representation of female names in the Aramaic documents

LANGUAGE	ALL NAMES	FEMALES NAMES
Akkadian	37	1
Anatolian	19	0
Arabian	19	1
Aramean	197	12 (6%)
Egyptian	243	45 (18.5%)
Greek	15	0
Hebrew	154	31 (20%)
NWS	15	0
Persian	178	1
Phoenician	15	0
Unknown	101	8 (8%)
TOTAL	993	99

Table 16 shows that women names cover about 10% of all the names. Only two language groups have more of a significant representation of female names, Egyptian and Hebrew. About a fifth of their personal names are female names. Among the Aramean names, female names include only six percent of the names. Because of the geographical context of these documents, it is quite understandable that there are many Egyptian women's names within these documents. The more puzzling question is why there are so many Hebrew female names represented in the list but not as many female names within other groups, such as the Aramean or Persian language groups. Again we can note that Aramaic was the everyday spoken language of Arameans and Judeans in Persian-period Egypt and this fact may explain in some part these results. But is that a sufficient explanation? The abundant appearance of the Hebrew female names could also be a piece of evidence of the more equal relationship between men and women in the Judean community of Egypt. Modrzejewski points in this direction when he observes that the Judean women in Elephantine possessed "rare degree of autonomy". His observation is based on the evidence found in the Aramaic documents.⁵³⁶ According to Modrzejewski, this autonomy of women appeared especially in matters of marriage and property. Judean women were protected against polygamy by restric-

⁵³⁶ This evidence is found in the documents TAD B 2.3,4,6,7, 8 which tell about the Judean woman called Mibtāḥiyah and in TAD B 3.3, 6, 8, 10, 11 which picture the life of an Egyptian slavewoman Tamut who was married to Judean 'Ananyah. They had a son Pilti and a daughter Yehoyišma'.

tive clauses in marriage contracts, and Judean women even had the right to initiate divorce proceedings. Additionally, women also had patrimonial rights to the household property.⁵³⁷ Modrzejewski concludes by asking whether this autonomy of the Judean women in Elephantine was due to Egyptian or Babylonian influence, “or did it stem from ancient Hebrew legal practice, antedating Deuteronomy?”⁵³⁸

More recently, Azzoni has analyzed the Aramaic documents of Elephantine from a women’s point of view.⁵³⁹ First, she notes “that women are pre-eminent in the texts has long been recognized”.⁵⁴⁰ From there, she analyzes the documents of wifehood of three Elephantine women. The first of them, Mibtāḥiyah, a Judean woman, was probably married two times; first to a Judean and then to an Egyptian man.⁵⁴¹ The second, an Egyptian slavewoman, Tamut, who was married to a Judean man,⁵⁴² and the third, their daughter Yehoyišma’ who was married to a Judean man.⁵⁴³ Azzoni observes that “all three documents of wifehood allow for the women to initiate the divorce, but there are differences in the details, due to their specific legal situation”.⁵⁴⁴ All three women did also own landed property, but all seem to have acquired immovable property only as a gift on the occasion of or after their marriages. Thus, Azzoni argues that these three women in all the above cases were able to receive this property by a gift from a relative but not through an inheritance.⁵⁴⁵ Azzoni hesitates to use the example of these three women as a means to reflect the equality of all women in the Judean postexilic society. She argues that the situation of these women in the multicultural and urban community of Elephantine was a special one, further adding that “These private archives reveal a complex society, in which different traditions came in contact, thus influencing one another.”⁵⁴⁶ From these documents of both Modrzejewski and Azzoni, I noticed two distinct points. First, all of these cases are related to marriages inside the Judean community even when the second part is a non-Judean by origin. Secondly, there is not one

⁵³⁷ Modrzejewski 1997, 30, and 35.

⁵³⁸ Modrzejewski notes that similar practice was in use among the Alexandrian Judean community later during the Ptolemaic period. Modrzejewski 1997, 36.

⁵³⁹ Annalisa Azzoni, “Women of Elephantine and Women in the Land of Israel”, in Botta 2013, 3-12.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, 4.

⁵⁴¹ TAD B 2.3 Mibtāḥiyah was married to a Judean man called Yezanyah. TAD B 2.6 Mibtāḥiyah’s second husband was the Egyptian Eshor.

⁵⁴² TAD B 3.3 Tamut was married to the Judean ‘Anani (‘Ananyah), a servitor of the temple of Jahu in Elephantine.

⁵⁴³ TAD B 3.6 Yehoyišma’ was married to a Judean man called ‘Anani son of Haggai.

⁵⁴⁴ Azzoni 2013, 10.

⁵⁴⁵ With regard to the right of women of Elephantine to inherit Azzoni disagrees with Eskenazi who argues that “the documents also confirm the fact that daughters inherit even when there is a son.” Tamara C. Eskenazi, “Out from the Shadows: Biblical Women in the Postexilic Era”, *JSOT* 54 (1992), 31; Azzoni 2013, 10.

⁵⁴⁶ Azzoni 2013, 11.

piece of evidence in the Aramaic documents that this view of women was also practiced among the other ethnic communities of the Persian period Egypt.

Together with the above observations, I would suggest an additional reason for the abundant appearance of the Hebrew female names in these documents. Because Egyptians and Judeans were those people among all the represented language groups that had settled down unto Egyptian soil much deeper than other groups, they had lived there already a long time and had their families, women and children with them.⁵⁴⁷ Other language groups such as the Persians had probably come to Egypt for a shorter period. They came as mercenaries and officials of the royal Persian administration, many without their families, wives and children. Therefore, I would argue that the appearance of the Hebrew female names together with male names in these Aramaic documents are additional pieces of evidence for the long pre-Persian period Judean settlement in Egypt.

Furthermore I also analyzed all of the personal names as to whether or not they are theophoric. Ancient names were either secular or theophoric. The onomasticon of Semitic peoples is characterized by abundance of theophoric names (theophoric means literally "carrying god").⁵⁴⁸ The term refers to personal names which contain a divine element or are derived from a god's name. Porten notes that "theophoric names are an indication of the beliefs which a community or people held about its god or gods."⁵⁴⁹ According to Beaulieu, theophoric personal names may also reveal changes in preference for one deity or the other.⁵⁵⁰ However, one should be cautious when drawing any conclusions about the religion of these people based solely on their personal theophoric names. The complete picture is much more complex, and also Grabbe agrees stating "Particular traits might not prove an ethnic identity, but the clustering of certain traits might be diagnostic if combined with particular types of textual data".⁵⁵¹ Additionally Grabbe also argues that self-identity may be strongly based on religion, myth and law.⁵⁵² It is fair to assume that naming culture and religion of these ancient people of the Persian period Egypt is connected to their group identity; thereby they should also be included in the clustering of those traits which are diagnostic for their ethnic identity, as Grabbe asserts.

⁵⁴⁷ The fact that Judeans had their wives with them in Egypt is mentioned for example in TAD A 4.7:20 that is a copy of the letter of the Judeans of Elephantine to Bagavahya who was the Persian governor of Yehud.

⁵⁴⁸ Beaulieu 2011, 245.

⁵⁴⁹ Porten 1968, 133-134.

⁵⁵⁰ Beaulieu 2011, 245.

⁵⁵¹ Grabbe 2007, 21.

⁵⁵² Ibid, 20.

According to Porten, the Hebrew names are classified according to their grammatical structure and content.⁵⁵³ He mentions three different categories of Hebrew names: “Word names”, once which are constructed of one or two elements. According to Porten, all of the secular names discovered from Elephantine are word names. Secondly “nominal sentence names”, word that have two elements, either two nouns or one noun and an adjective. And third the “verbal sentence names”; names within this category consist of a noun and a verb. Theophoric names are either nominal sentence names or verbal sentence names where the nominal element in the sentence is a divine name.⁵⁵⁴ The omission of the divine component results in abbreviation of the name (hypocoristicon).⁵⁵⁵ In my research, I counted only the full forms of the names as theophoric names, not the abbreviated ones. In direct contrast, Porten has probably done the exact opposite in his early research (1968) on the Hebrew names of Elephantine. There he counted the hypocoristica as theophoric names. “Of the more than 160 different names borne by Elephantine Jews, including hypocoristica, only a handful was non-theophorous.”⁵⁵⁶ The difference in this criterion can be seen in the results of my analysis compared to those of Porten. I discerned only 154 different Hebrew names from all of the 1,042 Aramaic documents, whereas Porten found “more than 160 different names borne by Elephantine Jews”. In addition, Porten notes that “only a handful was non-theophorous”, whereas I would argue that only 67 different Hebrew theophoric names exist from all the documents. I believe that my more strict criteria for theophoric names, excluding hypocoristica, results in more accurate information about the past reality.

Within the names of two language groups, I did not trace any theophoric names. These non-theophoric groups are Anatolian and Greek. Within the remaining nine groups, I discovered theophoric names. Altogether I identified 261 theophoric personal names out of the total of 993 names, resulting in an average percentage of 26%. The following table (Table 17) shows the distribution of the theophoric names into different language groups, as well as the percentage of theophoric names within each group when using the above mentioned strict criteria.

⁵⁵³ Porten 1968, 135.

⁵⁵⁴ Porten explains that the nominal sentence names tell who the deity is while the verbal sentence names describe what he does. “Those in the perfect tense are names of thanksgiving; those in the imperfect are names of petition.” According to him, most of the Hebrew theophoric names represent verbal sentence names. Porten 1968, 136-138.

⁵⁵⁵ For example Uriyah becomes Uri.

⁵⁵⁶ Porten 1968, 134.

Table 17 Distribution of theophoric names and their percentage within each language group

LANGUAGE	ALL NAMES	THEOPHORIC	PERCENTAGE
Akkadian	37	23	62
Anatolian	19	0	0
Arabic	19	1	5
Aramaic	197	73	37
Egyptian	243	56	23
Greek	15	0	0
Hebrew	154	67	44
NWS	15	2	13
Persian	178	29	16
Phoenician	15	6	40
Unknown	101	4	4
TOTAL	993	261	Average 26%

The above chart depicts that the highest percentage of theophoric names is found among the Semitic names, namely Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phoenician personal names. Meanwhile, the percentage of the Egyptian theophoric names is well below the average level. The Hebrew group is at about the same level as the Aramaic and Phoenician groups. The percentage of the theophoric names in these three groups is clearly above the average level. The Akkadian group, although having the highest percentage of theophoric names is not altogether very big. This could result in biased information. The same is true with the Anatolian, Arabic, Greek, Northwest Semitic, and Phoenician names. However, these results do give some direction about how the reality was like in Persian-period Egypt.

One can ask whether or not there is also a danger of circulation in drawing conclusions from the usage of the divine element of YHW in the Hebrew names if these same names are at the same time the only theophoric Hebrew names appearing in Persian-period Egypt? Can the Yahwistic element at the same time form the basis of categorizing the data and also be the criterion to draw conclusions? My response to these questions is that the danger of circulation is not realized in my research. First, I used a strict criterion in recognizing the theophoric names, and the Yahwistic element in a name was not the only possible ground to recognize it as a Hebrew name. I also scrutinized whether or not the name in question appears also in the written documents of Judeans from the pre-exilic or exilic times. This means, in practice, that I did not include hypocoristica into the category of theophoric names, although the names in question appeared to be Hebrew names and originally even Yahwistic names. As a result of this decision in the category of Hebrew names, the subgroup of non-Yahwistic names became greater (87 names) than the subgroup of Yahwis-

tic names (67 names). Secondly, I argue that an exception to the rule confirms its trustworthiness. Two such exceptions appear to the rule that the Hebrew names of the Aramaic documents from the ancient Egypt are exclusively Yahwistic. The first exception includes those cases where Hebrew names appear together with non-Hebrew names in the same family. According to Porten, approximately fifteen persons in Elephantine and one in Syene were such people; each had a non-Hebrew name himself but his children had Hebrew names. Similarly, twelve men with Hebrew names had children with non-Hebrew names.⁵⁵⁷ As already noted above, these cases can be explained by intermarriage and papponymy. The second exception appears in those Hebrew names which originate from the post-Persian Ptolemaic period. They are presented in Appendix 9. As noted above, there begins to appear more also the divine element *El* (e.g. Šema‘el, m) besides YHW in the Hebrew names of that period. These names are also recognized as theophoric, but they date from a later period than the Hebrew names from the Persian period. This is true at least on the bases of the data used in my research.

Within this connection, it is also interesting to observe which deities are represented within the theophoric names of each language group. I identified altogether 36 different deities in these theophoric names. The following table (Table 18) illuminates this.

⁵⁵⁷ Porten provides details about all of these cases in footnotes; Porten 1968, 148-149, notes 132 and 133. Also note the case of Ananyah and his Egyptian wife Tamet (Tapemet); TAD B 3.12:2. and Porten 1968, 203.

Table 18 Deities represented in the theophoric names of the Aramaic documents

GROUP	DEITY	ARAMAIC NAME
Akkadian	Banīt	בנת
	Bel	בל
	Marduk	מרדך
	Nabu	נבו
	Nergal	נרגל
	Šahar	שהר
	Sin	סן
Arabian	Sin	סן
Aramean	Anat	ענת
	Atar	עתר
	Atha	עתה
	Banīt	בנת
	Bel	בל
	Bethel	ביתאל
	El	אל
	Ešem	אשם
	Hadad	הדד
	Ḥerem	חרם
	Nabu	נבו
	Nanay	נני
	Nergal	נרגל
	Nušku	נשכו
	Sin	סן
	Šamaš	שמש
Egyptian	Amon	אמון
	Atum	אתום
	Ḥapi/Apis	חפי
	Ḥorus	חור
	Isis	אסי
	Khnum	חנום
	Min	מן
	Neit	נית
	Osiris	אוסרי
	Ptah	פתח
Hebrew	Ya/Yeho/Yahu	יהו
NWS	Dagan	דגן
	Kemoš	כמוש
Persian	Atar	עתר
	Baga	בגא
	Mithra	מתרא
	Tir	תר
Phoenician	Astarte	עשתרת
	Ba'al	בעל
	Ḥapi	חפי

Arameans and Egyptians have the biggest variety of deities in their pantheon as represented in these personal names. The Arabians and Hebrews have only one deity. This is the biggest difference between those Arameans and Judeans living in Persian-period Egypt. While Ar-

ameans show sixteen deities represented throughout their personal names, the Judeans have only one. The only exception to this rule is found in those cases where a Judean has a non-Hebrew name. According to Porten, these cases can be explained by intermarriage and papponymy when these previously non-Judeans married Judean women and were then absorbed into the Judean community. Porten concludes that “evidence for any extensive adoption of non-Hebrew names by the Elephantine Jews is thus clearly absent.”⁵⁵⁸ My research confirms this conclusion. Those people who bore a theophoric name with some other divine element than YHW were very probably not Judeans.

Like the Judeans, the Arabians also worship only one god, but the percentage of the theophoric names among the Arabian names is only five percent. Within Hebrew names, the Yahwistic nature is significant because 44% of all the Hebrew names from Persian-period Egypt are theophoric. This means that these Hebrew names are not only theophoric, but are Yahwistic. By the term Yahwistic, I refer to an originally Hebrew personal name which has the divine element of YHW/Yahu as its theophoric component.⁵⁵⁹ Porten in his research on the Judeans of Elephantine notes that all these Hebrew names originate from pre-exilic times, but at the same time, they also show the post-exilic tendency to omit the letter *w* from YHW at the end of a name. These kind of shortened theophoric Hebrew names were used by the Judeans in the post-exilic period both in the fifth century BCE Judah, as well as in Elephantine.⁵⁶⁰ The information about these Hebrew personal names does not create a picture that the Judeans of Persian-period Egypt would have identified themselves with some other deity except YHW.⁵⁶¹

Other language groups have several deities represented in their names, but they also share some of the same deities. So, for example, Sin the moon god was worshiped by the Akkadians, Arabians, and Arameans. The gods Banit, Bel, Nabu, and Nergal were all worshiped by the Akkadians and Arameans. It appears that the Arameans were the most adaptive group in worshipping different deities because they even honored Atar who was originally a Persian deity.⁵⁶² Phoenicians seem to have adopted the Egyptian deity Ḥapi into their

⁵⁵⁸ Porten 1968, 149.

⁵⁵⁹ The full Tetragrammaton YHWH never appears in Hebrew personal names. Porten 1968, 105.

⁵⁶⁰ According to Porten, the divine element YHW/H is found almost exclusively in the Elephantine onomasticon of the Judeans. These theophoric Hebrew names also exhibit very little Aramaic influence. Porten 1968, 105, 135 and 147.

⁵⁶¹ Porten observes that the Tetragrammaton never appears at Elephantine, but the normal form of it in the papyri is YHW, while in the ostraca YHH. Porten 1968, 105.

⁵⁶² According to Porten, the deities worshipped by the Arameans had either West-Semitic or Babylonian origin. Porten 1968, 164-173.

pantheon. However, the Egyptians seem to have worshiped only their own deities. This conclusion comes from the observation that the Egyptian names do not include any divine elements other than those of the Egyptian origin. The same can also be said of the Hebrew names. During the Persian period, they do not include other divine elements than YHW.

During the analysis of the data, I also collected those Hebrew names which were used in Egypt after the Persian period in the Ptolemaic period. Appendix 9 presents these 36 names. Among these 36 post-Persian Hebrew names, only ten are theophoric, representing twenty eight percent of these names. This is sixteen percent less than during the Persian period. A new phenomenon appears in the Hebrew names during the Ptolemaic period. This new phenomenon is the divine particle *El*. Out of these ten post-Persian Hebrew theophoric names, only seven are Yahwistic and three include the divine particle *El*: Elío'enai, Eli'ezer and Šema''el.⁵⁶³ Thus, my research shows that the divine element *El* in the Hebrew names of the Judeans in Egypt re-appears more in the Ptolemaic period although it is not completely absent even in the Persian period, as my study suggests.⁵⁶⁴ Porten has also observed this feature, but his conclusion is too exclusive: “*El* is completely absent from the Elephantine onomasticon.”⁵⁶⁵ My research confirms Porten's observation that the Yahwistic element YHW/H is found exclusively in the Hebrew onomasticon of the Judeans in Persian-period Egypt. This rule is not restricted only to the Hebrew names found in Elephantine but extends to all Hebrew names found from Persian-period Egypt. Later, during the Ptolemaic period, the use of the Hebrew theophoric names among the Judeans of Egypt seems to have decreased in general. This is the case with the Yahwistic names in particular. Instead, there re-appears the pre-exilic divine element *El* at the side of YHW during the Ptolemaic period in Egypt.

Additionally, in general my research seems to confirm Porten's observation that such early Hebrew names as Amram, Eli'ezer, Yehudah, and Yoseph do not appear at Elephantine during the Persian period at all.⁵⁶⁶ All these names which Porten mentions are connected to the patriarchs of Israel in the Hebrew Bible. However, Porten's conclusion is again too exclusive because my study shows that the pre-exilic name of Šim'on does appear once also

⁵⁶³ They appear in the following post-Persian documents in the respective order: TAD D 21.4:3; TAD D 8.7:4 and TAD D 8.4:22.

⁵⁶⁴ See p. 276 and note 1145 below. See also p. 99 above and Rölli 2013, 192-193, 195.

⁵⁶⁵ Also absent are the other pre-exilic theophoric elements of 'adon (Lord), ba'al (master), 'ab (father) and 'ah (brother). Porten notes that the divine element *El* was still found in some Hebrew names both in Judah and in Babylonia during the Persian period. Porten 1968, 135.

⁵⁶⁶ “None of the early Israelite names which reappear in the fifth century Judah is to be found at Elephantine.” Porten 1968, 148, note 129.

in Persian-period Elephantine. When analyzing the post-Persian documents, I observed such Hebrew names as Yehudah, Yehudit and Šelamšion, names which are especially connected to the land of Judah and Jerusalem. Does the appearance of these names in the Aramaic documents after the Persian period hint that the connections of the Judeans of Egypt with the Judeans in Judah increased in the Ptolemaic and Hellenistic period? On the basis of the evidence of the post-Persian Hebrew names, the answer seems to be positive.

One of the text collections of my source material is Segal's collection. It was discovered from North-Saqqara, which served as the necropolis of the capital Memphis. In his edition, Segal underlines the cosmopolitan nature of Memphis, as well as the Phoenician influence in its Aramean community.⁵⁶⁷ According to my research, the Phoenician influence does not seem to be quite remarkable. Only four Phoenician names appear in this connection.⁵⁶⁸ It seems rather, that the Phoenician influence in Memphis was minimal, but instead the Egyptian influence together with the Aramean and the Persian involvement was great because their personal names abound in Segal's texts. The minimal appearance of Hebrew names in Segal's collection (only seven names) hints to the fact that Judean settlement and influence in Memphis region was also small.⁵⁶⁹

Appendix 8 offers a list of all the 154 Hebrew names and the total number of appearances of each name in the 1,042 Aramaic documents. On this list, the most popular Hebrew names among the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period were Ananyah, Yedanyah, Natan, Maḥseyah, Mešullam, Yehoyišma (fem. and masc.), Ḥaggai, Zaccur, Hošea and Menaḥem. The most popular female names were Yehoyišma, Mibtāḥyah, Yislah, Haššul, Mešullemet, Sallu'ah, Yehoḥen, Yehoṭal, Yeho'ur and Yehošam'a. Again, half of these twenty most popular names are Yahwistic.

Even further, I have considered the results of my research of the Hebrew personal names when compared to the Judean names discovered from Babylonia. According to Beaulieu (2011), along with the Aramaic documents from Elephantine, the cuneiform documentation from Babylonia is the most important source for studying Judean onomastics during the Persian period. Therefore he suggests: "Comparative study of the two onomastica seems

⁵⁶⁷ Segal 1983, 8-10.

⁵⁶⁸ These are 'Aršiba'al (Segal XXII,2); 'Ešmun (Segal 129,1 and XVIII, 2, 3,4); Ahmen ("The moon endures", Segal 105,5) and Mipa/Mina (Segal 198, 2).

⁵⁶⁹ The Hebrew names appearing in Segal's collection are Natan (Segal 3, 2 and 7); Yezan (text is unclear, Segal 41, 9); Yehoram (Segal 47, 8); Maḥseyah (Segal 50, 8); Haggai (Segal 54, 2); Yehomori (Segal 54, 4); and Šabta (Segal 72a, 1).

likely to yield interesting results.”⁵⁷⁰ Several studies have recently discussed this topic. The first of them is Zadok’s research (1979) which he made on the Murašû texts (approximately 700) which were discovered in Nippur Babylonia and date about to 450-400 BCE. According to Zadok’s study, 2.8% of the people in Nippur can be identified as Judeans on the basis of their Yahwistic names. Zadok also estimates that the proportion of Yahwistic names among the Judeans of Nippur was about half.⁵⁷¹

Since Zadok’s research, new evidence concerning the exiled Judeans in Babylonia has emerged. Joannès and Lemaire (1999) published three cuneiform documents which provide new information about the places where exiled Judeans lived in Babylonia. One previously unattested place name appears in one of these documents. Its Akkadian name *Āl-Yāhūdu* (Judahtown) refers to the geographic origin of its population.⁵⁷² After Joannès and Lemaire, Abraham has published one monograph and two articles that deal with aspects of business, politics, marriage and inheritance as presented in the cuneiform tablets discovered from *Āl-Yāhūdu* and its surroundings.⁵⁷³

The next set of studies related to the onomasticon of the Judeans in Babylonia was presented and then published in three articles by L. E. Pearce (2006, 2011 and 2015)⁵⁷⁴ and in the most recent text edition of Pearce and Wunsch (2014). In her first two articles, Pearce unfolds the preliminary results of her study of 103 new cuneiform texts, 34 of which were composed in *Āl-Yāhūdu*. These new texts provide information on the naming practices of

⁵⁷⁰ According to Beaulieu, the Neo- and Late Babylonian documentation is currently evaluated at more than 60 000 texts. Beaulieu 2011, 246.

⁵⁷¹ Zadok 1979, 78-80.

⁵⁷² F. Joannès and A. Lemaire, “Trois tablettes cuneiformes à l’onomastique oust-sémitique”, *Transeuphratène*. 17. 1999, 17-34; In their recent text edition Pearce and Wunsch provide some estimation for the location of *Āl-Yāhūdu* and its neighboring towns Bīt-Našar and Bīt-Abī-rām in Babylonia; “indications point to the region to the east and south-east of Babylon, beyond the city of Nippur, delimited to the east by the river Tigris and to the south by the marshlands. This is roughly identical to the area at the fringes of the Murašû’s sphere of influence”. Laurie E. Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 28. (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 2014), 7. See also Pearce 2011, 270.

⁵⁷³ K. Abraham, *Business and Politics under the Persian Empire: The Financial Dealings of Marduk-nāšir-apli of the House of Egibi (521-487 B.C.E.)*. (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 2004); - “West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE. New Evidence from a Marriage Contract from *Āl-Yāhūdu*”, *Archiv für Orientforschung (AfO)*. 51. 2005-2006, 198-219; - “An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period”, in M. Lubetski (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions. Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. (Sheffield, 2007), 206-221. Look also W.G. Lambert, “A Document from a Community of Exiles in Babylonia”, in Lubetski 2007, 201-205.

⁵⁷⁴ Laurie E. Pearce, “New Evidence for Judeans in Babylonia”, in Lipschits and Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, 2006, 399-411; - “‘Judean’: A Special Status in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia?” in Lipschits, Knoppers and Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, 2011, 267-277; - Pearce, Laurie E., “Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence”, in Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 478. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 7-32.

the Judeans in exilic and post-exilic rural Babylonia. Pearce observes that names within a family were given largely along the linguistic lines.⁵⁷⁵ According to my research, this tendency can also be seen in the onomastica of Judeans from Persian-period Egypt. The exceptions to this rule can be explained mostly by papponymy and intermarriage, as Porten suggests.⁵⁷⁶ Pearce's studies enable to compare the percentage of the Yahwistic theophoric names among the Judean population in Babylonia to that in Persian-period Egypt. Pearce counts that these cuneiform tablets include nearly 500 different names. Approximately one-half of them are Akkadian and one-quarter West Semitic. She does not directly sum up the total number of Hebrew names, but reveals that approximately 80 names contain some form of the Yahwistic theophoric element. Pearce's and Wunsch's latest text edition from 2014 presents more information on the Hebrew names appearing in these documents. However, its analysis of personal names is not easy to follow because it also includes texts from Martin Schoyen's collection, which are to be published in the companion volume BaAr6,⁵⁷⁷ and from Shlomo Moussaieff's collection, which were previously published by Joannès and Lemaire in 1999. According to Pearce and Wunsch, "our texts preserve more than seventy-five Yahwistic names that identify c. 120 individuals".⁵⁷⁸ The Judean individuals among the persons appearing in the texts were identified by the appearance of Yahwistic names attached to these persons and their family relationships with other Judean people – Pearce explains that Judeans are "identifiable on the basis of their characteristic Yahwistic names or patronymics".⁵⁷⁹ According to Pearce's and Wunsch's analysis of personal names in their text edition, 59 of the Yahwistic names are originally Hebrew and 13 West-Semitic. In addition, several such names that appear to be Hebrew names in my research of the Persian period Egypt, Pearce and Wunsch classify West Semitic, for example Haggai and Šab-batāya. However, based on the criterion of patronymics Pearce classifies also these names as the names of Judeans.⁵⁸⁰ Using Pearce's and Wunsch's own criteria to define Judean individuals, I have counted that their analysis of personal names includes 72 different Yahwistic

⁵⁷⁵ Pearce 2006, 405.

⁵⁷⁶ Papponymy refers to ancient practice of naming a child after his grandfather. It was popular at least among the Egyptians, Babylonians, Judeans, Persians, and Phoenicians. Porten 1968, 235-237.

⁵⁷⁷ Cornelia Wunsch, With Contributions by L.E. Pearce. *Judeans by the Waters of Babylon*. New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources from Rural Babylonia: Texts from the Schoyen Collection. Babylonische Archive (BaAr) 6. (Dresden: ISLET, forthcoming).

⁵⁷⁸ Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 15.

⁵⁷⁹ Pearce 2015, 11 and 19.

⁵⁸⁰ Pearce 2015, 21-22 and 31.

(Hebrew) names of Judeans and 19 non-Yahwistic (Hebrew) names.⁵⁸¹ Thus, using these numbers, the possible percentage of Yahwistic theophoric names among the Judean population in *Āl-Yāḥūdu*, Babylonia could be 79%. If true, this estimated percentage would be nearly twice as large as the 44% identified in my research.

If these figures reflect reality, as can be supposed, then the percentage of theophoric Yahwistic names among the Judean population in Persian-period Egypt was almost half smaller than that of Judeans in Babylonia at the same time. One possible explanation for this difference is the difficulty in identifying non-Yahwistic Hebrew names from the cuneiform texts. According to Pearce and Wunsch, “the use of logograms also carries the potential for ambiguity” and “the cuneiform system lacked strict conventions for the rendering of foreign terms”.⁵⁸² A second explanation could be the influence of the environment on the naming practices of the Judeans. As noted before, my research estimates the average percentage of theophoric names among the population in Persian-period Egypt to be 26%, and 23% among the Egyptian population. Using the same analysis, the percentage of the theophoric names among the Akkadian/Babylonian population in Egypt was 62%. This last number more closely relates to the 79% that Pearce’s and Wunsch’s study shows as the percentage of the Yahwistic theophoric names among the Judean population in Babylonia.

If the environment of the Judeans really influenced their naming practices, then in Egypt its effect was opposite from Babylonia - it decreased the use of the Yahwistic names among the Judeans of Egypt. My assumption is that the main reason for the difference in the percentage of the Yahwistic names among the Judeans in Egypt and in Babylonia, as reflected in my and Pearce’s and Wunsch’s studies, is caused by the cuneiform writing system used in Babylonia which fact results in difficulty to identify non-Yahwistic Hebrew names. Appendix 10 contains all those Hebrew names that I have found to appear both in the Aramaic documents from Egypt and in the Akkadian texts from Babylonia (572-477 BCE) as published by Pearce and Wunsch.

One interesting detail in Pearce’s study is that according to the numbers which she gives about the people bearing Yahwistic names in her corpus, the estimated percentage of Judeans in that area in Babylon was 15-20%.⁵⁸³ According to my study, the percentage of

⁵⁸¹ The analysis of personal names is presented in Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 33-93. Pearce estimates that the Judean population of *Āl-Yāḥūdu* was at a minimum of 140 persons. Pearce 2015, 20.

⁵⁸² Pearce and Wunsch 2014, 14 and 26.

⁵⁸³ Pearce mentions that about 15 % of the total of 500 different names contain Yahwistic element, and that approximately 120 out of 600 individuals (which makes 20 %) bear Yahwistic names. Pearce 2006, 404.

Hebrew names in the onomastica of the Persian period Egypt is 16%. If these numbers reflect reality, then the percentage of the Judean population in both areas was about the same.

A fourth view into this discussion about the Hebrew Yahwistic names can be found in the article by Beaulieu (2011).⁵⁸⁴ Beaulieu expresses his doubt concerning the idea that the Yahwistic name of an individual could tell something about his religious convictions. He does, however, recognize two cases where the symbolic meaning of personal name could be seen as an indicator of social, cultural, or religious identity. These two cases are seen in the change of a name in new circumstances and trend in the existing community. His ideas about a trend in the existing community are comparable to the results of my research. Beaulieu argues as follows: "Personal names become highly meaningful when studied collectively, especially if we can detect trends and fashions in onomastic preferences. That one individual bears a Yahwistic name is not necessarily a reflection of his religious beliefs, but if the vast majority of individuals in a community do so, then we must find some explanation."⁵⁸⁵ According to Beaulieu, these two clear trends in the appearance of Yahwistic names among the Judean population are demonstrated by their high preference during the period of the monarchy and their disappearance during the Hellenistic age.⁵⁸⁶ What happened in between during the exilic and post-exilic periods now becomes of interest. Because a significant number of Judeans adopted Babylonian and West Semitic names, none Hebrew, Beaulieu underlines the difficulty in recognizing the Judeans among the Babylonian population.⁵⁸⁷ Beaulieu suggests that one important reason to this trend of changing names in the exilic and post-exilic Babylonia was the expansion of the Aramaic language. As Aramaic began replacing Akkadian as the vernacular and written language of Babylonia, the Judeans living in Babylonia adopted Aramaic as their everyday language. Although the different ethnic groups in Babylonia used the same Aramaic language, still the Babylonian culture and religion remained influential which, according to Beaulieu, can be seen in the adoption of Babylonian deities in the Aramaic onomasticon.⁵⁸⁸ Beaulieu suggests that the situation among the Judeans in Babylonia was similar to the situation at Elephantine in Egypt. He interprets the high persistence of Yahwistic names among the Judeans in Babylonia as an attachment to a traditional Judean onomastic repertory. The reason for the greater onomastic diversity among the Judeans of Elephantine is, according to Beaulieu, probably found in the

⁵⁸⁴ Beaulieu 2011, 245-266.

⁵⁸⁵ Beaulieu 2011, 247.

⁵⁸⁶ Beaulieu 2011, 248.

⁵⁸⁷ Beaulieu 2011, 251.

⁵⁸⁸ Beaulieu mentions such deities as Nabû, Nanaya, Bēl, and Šamaš. Beaulieu 2011, 252.

community's origin because it originated in a period prior to the consolidation of Yahwistic monotheism. According to his view, the consolidation of Yahwistic monotheism took place in the theocratic state of Yehud during the Persian period.⁵⁸⁹

When trying to trace possible trends in the Judean onomasticon during the Persian period, I realized that one feature becomes clear both in the above mentioned four views and also in my own research. This is the high preservation of Yahwistic names among the Judean population during the Persian period, both in Egypt and in Babylonia. Thus, indeed, the disappearance of the Yahwistic names among the Judean population does not seem to have begun yet during the Persian period.

According to Beaulieu, the Judean identity mainly referred to the geographical origin, not to the religious identity: "One could be a Judean without bearing a Yahwistic name or a Hebrew name at all and probably even without being an exclusive worshiper of Yahweh. Judean and Yahwistic identities became more coextensive only after the creation of a theocratic state in Yehud."⁵⁹⁰ Beaulieu might be right in his observation that the connection between the naming culture of the Judeans and their religion and ethnic identity is not a simple but rather a complex one. However, the high percentage of the Yahwistic theophoric names among the Judean population in Persian-period Egypt together with the existence of their temple in Elephantine dedicated to YHW makes it probable that they had a common group identity that was related to their religion. If this is true, then this group identity most probably originated from the pre-Persian time simply because the temple of the Judeans of Elephantine already stood there when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BCE. Later in this study, under the category of religion, the religion of the Judeans of Egypt will be discussed in detail. Also considered will be the possible role of some other deities like Anatyahu, Ešembet'el and Anatbet'el in the religion of the Judeans of Elephantine.

4.3. Sources of livelihood

In the above categories, I have located and documented the content of the Aramaic documents on the map and have helped the reader to become acquainted with the humans who appear within those texts. Next I became familiar with the sources of livelihood of these humans. Here I divided the category of sources of livelihood into five subcategories: agriculture, military, slavery, trade and others. As I already stated before, the subcategory of

⁵⁸⁹ Beaulieu 2011, 253, 259.

⁵⁹⁰ Beaulieu 2011, 259.

military could have been also placed under the main category of administration, but I decided to place it here. Serving in the army was related not only to the administration of the Empire, but it was also very much a question of living for those involved on a daily basis. The category of administration could also have been identified as one of the subcategories of sources of livelihood. The reason for separating the topic of administration as an independent category in itself results from the large size of its material, as well as from the desire to acquire a thorough picture of the Persian administration system in Egypt.

Next I will go through all the subcategories of sources of livelihood and take some concrete examples from the texts. The aim of this subcategory is to find out how the Judeans living in Persian-period Egypt made their living, to which professions they were attached.

4.3.1. Agriculture

In this subcategory the source material reveals details of agricultural production, animal economy, buildings and areas, as well as related professions. According to this data the agriculture in Persian-period Egypt was simple, concentrating in the basic items needed for living. Nomadic pasturing of small flock like sheep and goat was practiced. Van de Mieroop notes that sheep and goats were the primary domesticated animals in ancient Egypt. In addition, the Nile provided fish and waterfowl.⁵⁹¹ Fishing was also practiced as concluded by the knowledge that fish dishes were part of the cuisine. Gardening was also practiced. Beer was made in Egypt; extra wine and oil was imported from Ionia and Sidon. Daily food may have consisted mainly of such products as bread, beer, vegetables, fruits, milk products, fish and meat. Meat used for dietary purposes was mainly fish, small birds like pigeons and geese as well as sheep and goats. Daily drinks consisted of water, milk, beer, and wine. Altogether I traced thirty four items of food-stuff and drink in these documents, when such general expressions as grain⁵⁹², oil and flour,⁵⁹³ are not taken into account. They are the following:

Barley (שערה)

Beer (שכר)

⁵⁹¹ Van de Mieroop 2011, 21.

⁵⁹² There appear two different Aramaic words for grain דגן and עבור.

⁵⁹³ Three kinds of flour (קמח) are mentioned: flour, white flour and inferior flour.

Bread (לחם)

Tik bread (לחם טיק)

Bread of dates (לחם תמרן)

Carrot (גזר)⁵⁹⁴

Castor oil (תקם)

Cheese (גבנה)⁵⁹⁵

Cress (שחל)⁵⁹⁶

Cucumber (קטו)

Cucumber seed (זרע קטין)

Dates (צליא)⁵⁹⁷

Emmer (כנת)

Fat (תרב)⁵⁹⁸

Fig cake (דבלה)⁵⁹⁹

Figs (תנתא)⁶⁰⁰

Fish (נון)⁶⁰¹

Grapes (ענביא)⁶⁰²

Gourd (דלעת)

Gourd seed (זרע דלען)

Herb called Šaḥar (שחר)⁶⁰³

⁵⁹⁴ Carrot appears only once in one document of Segal's collection, namely in 43b, 3. Segal notes that the Aramaic *gezer* derives from Arabic *gizar*, which itself is said to be of Iranian origin, *gazara*. He suggests that if the word in question is really Iranian rather than Semitic, this would be its earliest attestation ever. Segal 1983, 62, note b 15.

⁵⁹⁵ Cheese appears only in Lozachmeur's collection in the following documents: 22 cv 4; 114 cc 5; 115 cc 2; 167 cc 2 and in a joint document J2 cv 4. The last document seems to be written by Judeans of Elephantine because there appears the divine name Yahu Šebaot (cc 1) and it should be noted that cheese (cc 2) and fish (cv 4) as food stuff appear together in the same document.

⁵⁹⁶ This expression "cress" (שחל) appears only once in one of the Lozachmeur's document (280 cc 6). It may be that it refers to the same herb which Segal calls Šaḥar (שחר). Look the note 559 later.

⁵⁹⁷ This expression appears only in one document of the Lozachmeur's collection (215 cc 2). A. Dupont-Sommer has suggested that the word refers to dates, but H. Lozachmeur herself does not agree with him. However, Porten notes that two different kinds of palm trees were grown in Elephantine: the date-palm and the dom-palm. Both yielded edible dates which were used to make wine and sweeten beer, as well as for medical purposes. Porten 1968, 84.

⁵⁹⁸ The word "fat" (תרב) appears once in a document included in Lozachmeur's collection (108 cv 1).

⁵⁹⁹ The expression "fig-cake" appears only once in TAD D 1.11:2.

⁶⁰⁰ The word "figs" (תנתא) appears only once in a document of the Lozachmeur's collection (226 cv 4). Porten notes that fig trees were widely cultivated in ancient Egypt as well as in Elephantine. Porten 1968, 85.

⁶⁰¹ Porten argues that "Elephantine was known as the habitation of "fish-eaters." He also recalls Num. 11:5 where it is told that "Israelites longed for the fish, cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions and garlic which they had left behind in Egypt". Porten 1968, 86.

⁶⁰² This expression appears only once in a document included in the Lozachmeur's collection (42 cc 8).

Honey (דבש)

Legumes (בקל)

Lentils (טלפה)

Lettuce (חזר)⁶⁰⁴

Meat (בשר)⁶⁰⁵

Milk (חלב)⁶⁰⁶

Olive oil (משח זית)

Onion (צמח)⁶⁰⁷

Pomegranate (רמן)

Salt (מלח)

Sesame (שמשם)⁶⁰⁸

Wheat (חנטה/חטה)

Wine (יין/חמר)⁶⁰⁹

These items are quite basically the elements of everyday food, based on grain, fruit, meat and vegetables. According to Van de Mieroop, the first cereals cultivated in ancient Egypt were emmer, wheat and barley imported from the Near East probably in the 6th millennium BCE.⁶¹⁰ Millet is also mentioned in the Aramaic documents, but only in

⁶⁰³ This herb appears only in two documents of the Segal's collection: 42b, 5 and 43b, 3. Segal has no doubt this is the name of an herb. Segal 1983, 59 note b 7.

⁶⁰⁴ Lettuce appears only in the collection of Segal in the documents 43b, 2 and 4 as well as 86b, 1-2. It may probably also appear in Lozachmeur's document 200 cv 2.

⁶⁰⁵ The word "meat" (בשר) appears twice in Segal's collection (52a, 10-11) and three times in Lozachmeur's collection (2 cv 6, 233 cc 4 and 247 cc 2). In Segal's text the following line tells also the source of this meat (52a, 12) and that is "flock" (קן) referring either to sheep or goats. Lozachmeur's text 233 seems to be written by the Judeans of Elephantine which hints that they also were eaters of meat. The same text also reveals the origin of the meat these Judeans were eating; according to 233 cc 4, it came from a goose (ר). Probably also another of Lozachmeur's texts, namely 205 cc 1 and 4, tells about the meat that Judeans of Elephantine were eating. It mentions a pigeon (ינא) and the day of Šabbath.

⁶⁰⁶ Milk appears only in the collections of Segal and Lozachmeur, but not in the documents which form the source material of the Porten and Yardeni collection. Milk in Segal's collection is found in the following documents: 23a, 4; 52a, 8, and 52b, 9. In Lozachmeur's collection milk appears in documents number 72 cc 2 and 3, and 161 cc 1. Porten notes that goat's milk was popular in ancient Israel. Porten 1968, 87. Probably the milk used in Egypt was also from goats if not from cows.

⁶⁰⁷ The word "onion" appears twice in a document of Lozachmeur's collection (83 cc 2 and cv 1). of Lozachmeur's collection

⁶⁰⁸ Sesame appears only in Segal's collection; 42b, 1 and 43b, 3.

⁶⁰⁹ Wine (חמר) appears only in the documents of the Porten and Yardeni collection. In one of the documents of the Segal's collection (30a, 6) appears the expression vineyard (כרם) which refers to the production of wine. In a joint document of Lozachmeur's collection, (J2 cc 6) a different word for wine appears once, ין. Both of these words (חמר and יין) appear together in Psalm 75, 9 in connection with wine.

⁶¹⁰ Van de Mieroop 2011, 21-22.

a text which is post-Persian.⁶¹¹ Porten notes that the most common grain in Persian-period Egypt was barley, but wheat on the other hand was rare.⁶¹² This is also confirmed by my research because barley is mentioned in these Aramaic documents more often than wheat or emmer.⁶¹³ Porten reminds us that barley was also used to brew beer, as bread and beer formed the basis of the Egyptian meal.⁶¹⁴ The ancient Egyptian agriculture was dependent on the flooding cycle of the Nile because otherwise the country received too little rain to feed the crops. Because of the Nile, Egypt was rich in agricultural resources suitable for farming. According to Van de Mierop, this was true especially after 2200 BCE, when Egypt's climate for some reason became dryer and humidity decreased forcing people to move into the Nile Valley.⁶¹⁵

When we list all the animals which appear in these Aramaic documents, an overall picture of the possible agricultural production and everyday food in Persian-period Egypt is presented. I traced twenty different animals within these documents.⁶¹⁶ Some animals like sheep and goat appear with several different names, so I chose to use only one name for each group in my list.⁶¹⁷ The animal names are the following:

Donkey (חמר, אתון)

Bear (דב)

Bird (צנפר)

Camel (גמל)

Dog (כלב)

Fish (נון)⁶¹⁸

Gazelle (טבי)

Goat (עז)

⁶¹¹ TAD D 8.3:9, 10.

⁶¹² Porten 1968, 81.

⁶¹³ For example, in Lozachmeur's collection wheat is mentioned only five times, but barley twenty-four times. Lozachmeur 2006, 89.

⁶¹⁴ Porten 1968, 82.

⁶¹⁵ Van de Mierop 2011, 86. This climate change is, however, still debated by scholars. Look Van de Mierop 2011, 96.

⁶¹⁶ Segal's collection mentions only one name related to animals and that is "flock" (קן) which refers to sheep and goats. Porten and Yardeni collection mentions seventeen different names of animals while Lozachmeur's collection seven.

⁶¹⁷ Sheep and goat appear either as a flock (קן), as a goat (עז), as a kid (גדי) of a goat, as a lamb (אמר) of a sheep or as an ewe (תארה, נקיה).

⁶¹⁸ The word "fish" appears in Porten and Yardeni collection as well as in Lozachmeur's collection, but not in Segal's collection.

Goose (זו)⁶¹⁹

Horse (רכש, סוסה)

Lion (ארי)

Leopard (נמר)

Mouse (עכבר)

Mule (She-mule/ כודנה)

Ox (תור)

Pigeon (יונא)⁶²⁰

Scorpion (עקרב)

Sea-lion (לב)⁶²¹

Snake (חוי)

Sheep, Ewe (תאה, נקיה)

Discerning from the above list, I note twelve wild animals and eight domestic. The domestic animals were used in agriculture, transportation, trade and military service. I can imagine that the following animals belonged to those trades: camel, donkey, horse, mule and ox. Some of the animals, like geese and pigeons, fishes, goats and sheep were used for dietary purposes. Gazelle and ox could probably have belonged to this dietary group, but in Egypt these two animals also had religious connotations. The god Khnum was described as a ram with horns and the Apis bull was one of the animals worshiped as god. I am surprised that cow is missing from this list of animals, although milk appears in the list of drinks. Porten suggests that the milk consumed in ancient Egypt was goat's milk and not that of cows.⁶²² Camels, donkeys, horses and mules were precious for transportation and were therefore not used for meat products.

In light of my research, it seems that the agriculture in ancient Egypt that produced the food needed for population followed the same traditional ways for hundreds and even thousands of years. This comes out from the fact that the foodstuffs produced and consumed during the Persian period seem to have been the same used, for example,

⁶¹⁹ The word "goose" appears once in Lozachmeur's collection (233 cc 4).

⁶²⁰ The word "pigeon" appears once in a document included in the Lozachmeur's collection (205 cc 1).

⁶²¹ The expression "sea-lion" appears only once in TAD C 1.1: 165. Could it refer to Hippopotamus that is still common in African rivers and lakes? Van de Mieroop argues that African fauna was part of the Nubian trade with the ancient Near East: "In the mid-9th century the Assyrians recorded that they received a hippopotamus, a rhinoceros, elephants, and monkeys from Egypt, which must have been of Nubian origin." Van de Mieroop 2011, 278.

⁶²² Porten 1968, 87. Also the milk of camel is drinkable.

during the Old Kingdom (ca.2686-2160 BCE). Van de Mierop recalls papyrus archives of the 5th dynasty King Neferirkara (ca. 2475-2455 BCE) discovered from mortuary temples at Abusir. These papyri include records of foodstuffs produced by the royal estates and paid in kind to the temple priests and workers at Abusir. These estates provided food for the mortuary cults of kings and officials. The foodstuffs included similar products as is found in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt: emmer, wheat, barley, bread and beer, fruit, vegetables, milk, wine, fats, meat and fowl.⁶²³ It seems that agriculture in ancient Egypt remained constant until later when new masters, the Greeks and Romans, came and introduced changes in all aspects of life, including agriculture. According to Van de Mierop, some of the agricultural improvements might have been started already by the Persians.⁶²⁴ At least two reasons may have motivated Persians to develop the agricultural production in Egypt. First, the Persian Empire was in need of the economic flow of agricultural and monetary income from Egypt. Second, according to Hassani, “farming seems to have been considered a holy occupation among Persians. Such a perception appears to have been influenced by Zoroastrianism, an essentially agricultural religion popular in Ancient Persia”.⁶²⁵

Many of the expressions which I include in this subcategory of agriculture are related to buildings and areas. Expressions which are directly connected to agricultural production are estate (Persian loanword בג or simply בית), field (חֶקֶל), threshing floor (אֹדֶר), storage area (בֵּית פֶּרֶסֶא), and vineyard (כֶּרֶם). Evidence for continuous agricultural production in Egypt is also found in the written contracts which have been discovered. One of these is the earliest survived Aramaic contract written on papyrus from the year 515 BCE. It comes from Korobis, Egypt and deals with a field lease between a settler named Padi son of Daganmelech and an Egyptian farmer Aḥa son of Ḥapio.⁶²⁶

In addition, Aramaic contracts contain information about the economic situation of the Judeans in Egypt. Several contracts show that many of the Judeans residing in Elephantine owned a house, in some cases even two houses. The so-called Mibtāḥyah archive especially brings evidence about Judeans who owned houses in Elephantine.⁶²⁷

⁶²³ Van de Mierop 2011, 62-64.

⁶²⁴ Van de Mierop 2011, 316, 336.

⁶²⁵ Behzad Hassani, “Human Rights and Rise of the Achaemenid Empire: Forgotten Lessons from a Forgotten Era”, 2007, p.3. http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/History/hakhamaneshian/human_rights.htm Accessed 11.2.2016.

⁶²⁶ TAD B 1.1.

⁶²⁷ TAD B 2.1-11.

According to this, one archive of eleven documents, at least twelve Judeans possessed houses in Elephantine: Qoneyah son of Šadaq, Maḥseyah son of Yedanyah, Zekaryah son of Natan, Yezanyah son of Uriyah, Mibtāḥyah daughter of Maḥseyah, Mešullam son of Zaccur, Ya'uš son of Penuleyah, Gaddul son of Ošea', Hošea' son of Uriyah, Haššul son of Zekaryah, Yedanyah and Maḥseyah sons of Natan.⁶²⁸ Although the evidence of these documents only comes from one archive and from the span of three generations (471-410 BCE), it clearly shows that the living standards of the Judeans in Elephantine were not poor. Some other documents contribute more names of those Judeans who owned houses, but there is no need to recall the names of all of them here. It is enough to observe that this ownership was not sporadic but wide, continuous, and legally recognized.⁶²⁹ It also shows that the Judeans residing in Egypt during the Persian period had quite a good economic status and that they had settled there for a longer period, not only for a short visit.

The last aspect in the subcategory of agriculture is the professional one. I traced seventeen different professions among the jobs mentioned under this subcategory, listed below.

Artisan, craftsman (אמן)

Builder (ארדיכל, בנאי)⁶³⁰

Carpenter (גגר)

Donkey-driver (חמר)

Gardener (גנן)⁶³¹

Household personnel, domestic staff (נשי בית, Pers. גרד)

Hunter (ציד)⁶³²

Maker of oil (עבד משה)

Ploughmen (רד)⁶³³

Porter (סבר)

⁶²⁸ TAD B 2.1:2-5; B 2.3:1-3, 6-7; B 2.4:3; B 2.7:3, 13-14; B 2.10:5, 8-9.

⁶²⁹ Modrzejewski takes as an example of this the life of the Judean Mibtāḥyah and her several husbands. Modrzejewski 1997, 26-36. Porten also refers to the story of Mibtāḥyah. Porten 1968, 235-263. Porten, however, is unable to answer the question about the source of all the economic wealth of the Judeans of Elephantine. He suggests trade as one possible source. Porten 1968, 300-301.

⁶³⁰ For example, in Segal 44, 8.

⁶³¹ Segal 40, 1.

⁶³² The word "hunters" appears once in Segal 62, 2 but the reading is conjectural.

⁶³³ This word appears only once in plural in one document of Segal's collection (52b, 13).

Potter (פוחר)⁶³⁴

Presser (אבשור, Pers)

Shepherd (רעי)

Smith (נפחא)⁶³⁵

Tanner (עבדן)⁶³⁶

Whitener (ספיתכן)

Woodcutter (קצץ)⁶³⁷

The actual word of farmer (אכר) does not appear in the Persian period Aramaic texts but does appear once in a post-Persian document.⁶³⁸ Donkey-driver, gardener, maker of oil, ploughman, shepherd and woodcutter are directly related to agriculture, probably also the term presser if the context is about oil pressing. Artisan/craftsman, builder, carpenter and probably whitener are related directly to construction and building. Household personnel/domestic staff, hunter and porter are more related to everyday services. The expressions potter, smith and tanner refer to professional craftsmen. Pressers mentioned in these documents seem to have been Cilician slaves who worked in Egypt in the domains of the Persian prince Aršama.⁶³⁹ At least one of the makers of the oil is an Egyptian called Peṭosiri.⁶⁴⁰ The chiefs of carpenters were Egyptian.⁶⁴¹ At least one shepherd has an Egyptian name.⁶⁴² It seems that according to the Aramaic documents, Judeans were not practicing these professions during the Persian period, but rather they were held either by native Egyptians or foreign slaves.⁶⁴³

4.3.2. Military

The following subcategory under the main category of sources of livelihood deals with

⁶³⁴ The word “potter” is not certain because it appears only once in a joined text of Lozachmeur (J6 cc1).

⁶³⁵ The word “smith” appears once in Lozachmeur 73 cv 2.

⁶³⁶ The expression “tanner” appears once in Segal 26, 4 together with the word “bag” (קַר). These bags were made only of leather in ancient Near East. The profession of tanner was seen as one of the lowest jobs because of its uncleanness and bad smell in the workshop. This is still the case in some African traditional cultures.

⁶³⁷ The word “woodcutter” appears only once in Lozachmeur 212 cv 1 and in a post-Persian text of Porten and Yardeni’s collection (TAD D 21.14:1). Look also Porten and Lund 2002, 278.

⁶³⁸ TAD D 8.11:5. Look also Porten and Lund 2002, 12.

⁶³⁹ TAD A 6.7:1-5.

⁶⁴⁰ TAD C 3.11:11.

⁶⁴¹ TAD A 6.2:9, 22.

⁶⁴² TAD D 7.1:3.

⁶⁴³ For example, one of the Judean Mibṭaḥyah’s husbands was an Egyptian, “builder of the king”, Ešḥor son of Djeḥo. TAD B 2.6: 2 and B 2.9: 3. Look also Modrzejewski 1997, 33-35.

military. Here is information concerning the officers, soldiers, units, salaries and weapons of the military personnel. There appear eight different expressions used to designate officers serving at the Persian army, as follows

Captain (תלית)⁶⁴⁴

Captain, naval commander (נופת)

Centurion (רב מאה)

Commander (רב)

Detachment commander (רב דגל)

Foremost officer (Pers., פרתך)

Garrison/troop commander (רב חיל)

The Guardian of the Seventh (Pers., הפתחפתא)

Cohort commander (Akk. *rab kiṣri* > רב כצר) appears only once in a pre-Persian document, not valid for this research.⁶⁴⁵ It is not easy to understand how these ranks were mutually related and dependent of each other. It seems that The Guardian of the Seventh was a special honorary title and not an actual position in the operative military administration. This title is attached only at Persian Vidranga who at the same time held the position of garrison commander of Syene.⁶⁴⁶ The Persian title Foremost officer (פרתך) seems to refer to the regular high officers of the staff of the garrison commander of Syene, who in this case was Nafaina.⁶⁴⁷ In all probability, it was a general Persian designation for high rank officers of the royal army. The title captain (תלית) appears only once in Segal's Saqqara papyri, and Segal argues that it means literally "third, third in rank", comparable to Hebrew שלישי.⁶⁴⁸ In Segal's text the title appears in plural "for the garrison captains" revealing that one garrison had several positions for captains.⁶⁴⁹ It occurs to me that this rank refers either to a specific position in the operative headquarters of the garrison commander or to a commander of a special combat unit as

⁶⁴⁴ This specific word referring to the rank of captain appears only once in Segal 76, 2. There it appears together with the word "garrison".

⁶⁴⁵ D 11.1:2. This document was discovered from Saqqara and dates to the 7th century BCE. It reads "(Belonging) to Psamshek 1 q(arter) the cohort commander". Porten and Yardeni 1999, 214-215.

⁶⁴⁶ TAD B 3.9: 2-3.

⁶⁴⁷ The title "foremost officer" appears only in TAD A 5.2:7.

⁶⁴⁸ This rank appeared also in the Assyrian military where it was called *tašlīšu* meaning "third man". Nissinen 2014, 289.

⁶⁴⁹ Segal 1983, 97 and note 76, 3.

cavalry or chariots. Shahbâzi notes that the professional Persian army (*spâda*) consisted of infantry (*pasti*), cavalry (*asabâri* meaning “horse-borne”, occasionally *usabâri* “camel-borne”), and charioteers, and a large number of other camp followers.⁶⁵⁰ According to Farrokh, Persian military tactics involved the coordination of a combined arms concept, massed archery and rapid strikes of the cavalry. In addition, the Persian Empire was the last major world power to deploy chariots in its military force.⁶⁵¹

Also the second title of captain (נִפְתָּ) in the list seems to refer to a specific combat unit, naval force. This title appears three times in Segal’s collection and three times in Porten and Yardeni’s collection.⁶⁵² I argue that both Segal and Porten and Lund have obviously translated this Aramaic expression incorrectly. Segal translates “boatman” while the concordance of Porten and Lund translates “shipmaster”.⁶⁵³ However, Dandamaev and Lukonin as well as Farrokh have confirmed that this military rank refers originally to the Persian *navpati* or *naupati* (lit. naval commander).⁶⁵⁴ Farrokh notes that Persians were the first to deploy regular imperial navy as an integral part of their army, although combat vessels were also previously used in ancient Near Eastern armies. Persians used the help of Phoenicians mariners and engineers in building their ships. The first combat ships of the Persians measured approximately 40m in length and 6m in width and were able to transport a maximum of 300 troops, later even 500. According to Farrokh, smaller vessels with a maximum of 100-200 troops patrolled the Shatt-al-Arab waterway, the Persian Gulf, the Nile in Egypt, the Sind waterway in India, as well as the Euphrates.⁶⁵⁵ When I accept the arguments of Dandamaev, Lukonin and Farrokh, it also seems to be very probable that the big ship (סַפִּינָה) that appears three times in one document of Porten and Yardeni’s collection and whose repair needed an authorization by the satrap Aršama himself refers to a combat vessel of the Per-

⁶⁵⁰ A.Sh. Shahbâzi, “The Achaemenid Imperial Army” in *The Ancient Iranian Military History*, p.2. http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/History/hakhamaneshian/achaemenid_army.htm. Accessed 11.2.2016.

⁶⁵¹ Farrokh 2007, 40 and 81.

⁶⁵² Segal 15, 4; 64b, 11; 97b, 2 and TAD A 6.2: 2, 7, 8. When considering a translation of the defected text in 15, 4, Segal seems to have been aware of the correct Persian origin of this title but still concludes that the meaning of the corrupted expression נִפְתָּ here is uncertain. Segal 1983, 32 note 4. Similarly, in 97b, 2 he does not comprehend the real meaning of the defected expression נִפְרָ/נִפְרָ that certainly refers to a naval commander because also the word “boat” (אֶלֶף) appears in the same document. Segal translates this word “boat” as referring to a numeral of “thousand” but elsewhere the same numeral is written in the short form לָ. Here also the inner context of the text supports the translation “boat” instead of “thousand”. Thus, I argue that this expression (אֶלֶף) refers here to a boat.

⁶⁵³ Segal 1983, 86 and 211. Porten and Lund 2002, 231.

⁶⁵⁴ Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989, 236; Farrokh 2007, 77.

⁶⁵⁵ Farrokh 2007, 68 and 77.

sian imperial army.⁶⁵⁶

When we take the four titles, explained above out of the list of officers, we still have four titles left, titles which are attached to officers of different units. However, the picture emerging from these documents is not fully clear in terms of the responsibilities these officers had on different units of the Persian army. This picture might become clearer when we look at the different military units appearing in the Aramaic documents. They are as follows

Camp (בית משרי)

Century (מאה)

Detachment (דגל)

Garrison/troop (חיל)

Guardpost (מנטרה)

The expression “camp” appears only once, and it is not clear that the context of this camp is military.⁶⁵⁷ Therefore, I connect it with the smallest unit of the other expressions in the list, a guardpost. After doing this, we are left with four different regular units of the Persian army. It would be tempting to combine the remaining four ranks of the officers directly into the four units, but in light of these documents it is not so easy. However, three of the positions seem to be clear, those of the positions of centurion, detachment commander and garrison commander. A centurion was responsible for a unit of a hundred men. A detachment commander was responsible for a detachment, but it is unclear how big his unit was. A garrison commander was the overall head of the whole troop positioned at a certain garrison. Here again it is also not clear how many men belonged to one garrison. According to the evidence of these Aramaic documents, it seems that both Syene and Elephantine were part of the same garrison of Syene and there was only one garrison commander at a time serving as the commander-in-chief. The garrison commander himself was under the authority of a Persian official called governor or chief *frataraka* (פרתרך). This official as well seems to have had some military powers because after serving as the garrison commander of Syene, Vidranga held the position of governor of Syene while his son Nafaina served as the garrison com-

⁶⁵⁶ TAD A 6.2:2,7,8.

⁶⁵⁷ The expression “camp” appears in Segal 43a, 4.

mander.⁶⁵⁸ I did not count the position of governor among the military positions because it seems in light of the Aramaic documents that a governor was more a kind of royal official who was responsible for wider variety of administrative and legal tasks. The fourth rank mentioned in the texts is of simple commander. However, it is not clear what this rank refers to. Was it a position of a sub-officer who was responsible, for example, of a guard post or a squad of 10 men? It might also have been a general title of all the officers.

Another question arises: which one was bigger, a century or a detachment? And which one was higher officer, a centurion or a detachment commander? Anyhow it seems that they were not the same because both titles are used. Some hints about the hierarchy of these ranks and about the size of these units can be found in the Aramaic texts. In one of the Aramaic documents these two units are mentioned together, "...they came to Pnh to (...) their detachment and the chiefs of their centuries (centurions)"⁶⁵⁹. The expression *מאותהם ורבי מגלהם* combines both units, one detachment and several centuries, in such a way that a detachment seems to be the bigger unit which includes many centuries.⁶⁶⁰ Another hint to the same direction can be found from the list of those persons who fill the positions of officers in the Aramaic documents. Into this list I picked all those cases in the texts which reveal the name and/or the ethnic origin of the person holding the position. The title commander appears eight times, but only two names and two additional ethnic origins can be traced. The rank of centurion appears ten times with four personal names attached to it. The title detachment commander as such appears only once, but the name of the unit detachment (*דגל*) appears 64 times with altogether fourteen personal names of those occupying the position of detachment commander. The expression garrison (*חיל*) appears 51 times and the title garrison commander eleven times with four personal names. The title naval commander appears six times with two personal names and one gentilic. The complete list based on this evidence appears in the following table (Table 19).

⁶⁵⁸ The title *frataraka* (פרתרך) appears five times; in Segal 27, 5; TAD A 4.5:4; A 4.7:5; A 4.8:5 and TAD B 2.9:4. Before Vidranga the position of *frataraka* was held by Ramnadaina in Syene, see TAD B 2.9:4. In Segal's document the *frataraka* seems to have been a Persian called Guršapati; see Segal 1983, 44 note 9. The position of *frataraka* should not be mixed with the title of "foremost officer" (פרתך) that appears only once in TAD A 5.2:7 and was probably a designation of a regular high officer.

⁶⁵⁹ TAD A 5.5:6-7.

⁶⁶⁰ Porten supports this view. Porten 1968, 29-30.

Table 19 The military unit commanders, their names and ethnic origins

POSITION	NAME OF THE PERSON	ETHNIC ORIGIN
Commander	-	Arachosian or Persian ⁶⁶¹
	-	Median ⁶⁶²
	Nabusumiskun	Assyrian ⁶⁶³
	Tarkumuna	Pisidian ⁶⁶⁴
Centurion	Bet'eltaqum	Aramean ⁶⁶⁵
	Nabušaliv	Aramean ⁶⁶⁶
	Nabuakab	Aramean ⁶⁶⁷
	Siniddin	Babylonian ⁶⁶⁸
Detachment commander	Artabanu	Persian ⁶⁶⁹
	Artafarna	Persian ⁶⁷⁰
	Atrofarnah	Persian ⁶⁷¹
	Bagapaka	Persian
	Bagapata	Persian ⁶⁷²
	Bet'elsagab	Aramean ⁶⁷³
	Haumadata	Persian ⁶⁷⁴
	Iddinnabu	Babylonian ⁶⁷⁵
	Marya	Persian ⁶⁷⁶
	Nabukudurri	Babylonian ⁶⁷⁷
	Naqman	Aramean ⁶⁷⁸
	Namasava	Persian ⁶⁷⁹
	Vidarna	Persian ⁶⁸⁰
	Varyazata	Persian ⁶⁸¹
Garrison commander	Armapiya	Anatolian ⁶⁸²
	Nafaina	Persian ⁶⁸³
	Rauk	Persian ⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁶¹ TAD C 2.1.8:59.⁶⁶² TAD C 2.1.4:4.⁶⁶³ TAD C 1.1:33.⁶⁶⁴ TAD D 22.25:1; D 22.27:1.⁶⁶⁵ TAD B 4.4:6,10.⁶⁶⁶ TAD B 4.4:8,10.⁶⁶⁷ TAD C 3.13:54; C 3.15:20.⁶⁶⁸ TAD C 3.15:19.⁶⁶⁹ TAD B 2.2:3; D 2.3:3.⁶⁷⁰ Segal 63, 3 has two names of detachment commanders, Bagapaka and a second name that probably should be read as Artafarna. Altogether, this text includes a list of six names which all seem to be Persian. Segal 1983, 85.⁶⁷¹ TAD B 2.2:9.⁶⁷² TAD C 3.8.IIIA:7, 9.⁶⁷³ TAD B 8.6:8.⁶⁷⁴ TAD B 2.3:2; B 2.4:2.⁶⁷⁵ TAD B 2.9:2; B 3.6:2; B 3.8:2; B 6.1:2.⁶⁷⁶ TAD B 7.2:3; D 2.12:3; D 3.39 frag.b:4.⁶⁷⁷ TAD B 3.12:3; B 3.13:2; B 4.5:2; B 4.6:2; B 7.2:3.⁶⁷⁸ TAD D 22.7:1; D 23.1.XVIB:1.⁶⁷⁹ TAD B 3.4:2.⁶⁸⁰ TAD C 3.8.IIIB:36.⁶⁸¹ TAD B 2.1:2,3; B 2.2:4, 10; B 2.6:2; B 2.7:2; B 2.8:3; B 2.11:2; B 3.3:3.⁶⁸² TAD A 6.8:1-2.⁶⁸³ TAD A 4.7:7; A 5.2:7.⁶⁸⁴ TAD B 5.1:3.

POSITION	NAME OF THE PERSON	ETHNIC ORIGIN
	Vidranga	Persian ⁶⁸⁵
Naval commander	Mithradata	Persian ⁶⁸⁶
	Paḥoru	Egyptian ⁶⁸⁷
	-	Two Carians ⁶⁸⁸

From this table, 75% of the garrison commanders were of Persian origin and 71% of the detachment commanders were also Persian. As we know from other ancient sources that ethnic Persians normally occupied the highest positions within the royal administration system, we can conclude with quite high certainty that a detachment was a bigger unit than a century and that a detachment commander was a higher rank than that of a centurion. As I already mentioned before, a garrison was the biggest unit of all these and a garrison commander was the highest of these ranks. Table 19 shows that the lower ranks of officers were generally held by non Persians.

What was the actual size of a detachment and a garrison is not revealed in these Aramaic texts. Dandamaev and Lukonin as well as Farrokh argue that Persians utilized the decimal system for organizing their field armies, which means that the Persian army was divided into units, all numbering multiples of ten.⁶⁸⁹ Shahbâzi has the same view and he also describes the organization of the Persian army (*spāda*) naming the responsible officers of each unit. “Ten men composed a company under a *daθapati*; ten companies made up a battalion under a *θatapati*; ten battalions formed a division under a *hazārapati*; and ten divisions comprised a corps under a *baivarapati*. The whole *spāda* was led by a supreme commander (probably *spādapati*).”⁶⁹⁰ Modrzejewski calls detachments as “companies” and notes that they bore the name of their commanders. He also argues that the commanders of companies are all of Persian or Mesopotamian origin. However, the above list of commanders shows that at least two of them bore an Aramean name (Bet’elsagab and Naqman). In addition, Modrzejewski suggests that “as the same names were carried over two or three generations, the office would seem to be

⁶⁸⁵ TAD A 4.3:3; B 2.9:4-5; B 2.10:2,4; B 3.9: 2-3.

⁶⁸⁶ TAD A 6.2: 2, 7.

⁶⁸⁷ Segal translates incorrectly as “boatmen”. Egyptian Paḥoru is the only name appearing with this title in the same sentence. Segal 64b, 11. Segal 1983, 87 note b 16.

⁶⁸⁸ TAD A 6.2: 3 and 8. It is mentioned in this document that three naval commanders were responsible for this one combat ship: one Persian called Mithradata and two Carians whose names have not survived.

⁶⁸⁹ Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989, 229; Farrokh 2007, 75.

⁶⁹⁰ A. Sh. Shahbâzi, “The Achaemenid Imperial Army” in *The Ancient Iranian Military History*, p.3. http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/History/hakhamaneshian/achaemenid_army.htm. Accessed 11.2.2016. Shahbâzi adds that the highest leader of the Persian army (*kārana*) was the Great King himself or his close relative or friend. Commanders and nobles participated in the fight and therefore many of them lost their lives in the field action.

hereditary, unless one subscribes to the thesis of nominal permanence, regardless of the change of the titular occupant”⁶⁹¹. Porten goes further and argues that all the soldiers at Elephantine had hereditary office, and he calls this type of organization as “socio-military organization” because it included both soldiers and their families.⁶⁹² However, my research does not confirm this view because only Arameans, Egyptians and Judeans seem to have had their families with them in Egypt, but not all the other different ethnic groups. This does not exclude the fact that the core of the ancient armies was made up of professional soldiers and foreign mercenary. According to Lloyd, the garrisons of foreign mercenary were introduced to Egypt and successfully deployed already before the Persian period, at latest by the Saite Dynasty (664-525 BCE). Among these mercenaries were Greek, Carian, Judean, Phoenician, and possibly also Shasu Bedouin troops, which had two functions: to guarantee Egypt’s security from external attack and to provide a counterweight to the power of the Egyptian warrior class for the benefit of the royal house.⁶⁹³ After the swiftness of power to the Persians, the mercenaries served the Achaemenid Empire for the same purposes. Van de Mieroop argues that this was the case possibly already earlier in the New Kingdom Egypt (ca. 1550-1069 BCE) and during the Late Period (ca. 715-332 BCE) the importance of mercenary seems to have even increased.⁶⁹⁴ Powell suggests that during the New Kingdom, the smallest unit of the Egyptian army was fifty men which operated with a squad leader. Comparatively, the Hebrew army was divided into units of 50, 100 and 1000 men, all commanded by a leader.⁶⁹⁵ When I factor in all the above information, I can offer an estimate of the size of the Persian military units in Egypt as follows:

Guardpost/squad: 10-50 men commanded by a commander

Century: 100 men commanded by a centurion

Detachment: 101-1000 men commanded by a detachment commander

Garrison/troop: 1001-10 000 men commanded by a garrison/troop commander

⁶⁹¹ Modrzejewski 1997, 26.

⁶⁹² Porten 1968, 29.

⁶⁹³ Alan B. Lloyd, “The Late Period (664-332 BC)”, in Ian Shaw, (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 366.

⁶⁹⁴ Van de Mieroop 2011, 159 and 298.

⁶⁹⁵ John Powell, (ed.), *Weapons & Warfare*. Volume 1: Ancient and Medieval Weapons and Warfare (to 1500). (Pasadena, California – Hackensack, New Jersey: Salem Press, 2002), 158 and 162. See also Isaiah 3:3 where a rank of “commander of fifty” (שר־חמשים) appears.

Persians also had an elite force, composed of ten thousand men, known as the Immortals but it does not appear in the Aramaic documents.⁶⁹⁶ With regard to the actual size of the Persian garrison at Elephantine, Porten finds some evidence that it included four detachments, but he concludes that the Aramaic documents are too fragmentary to be sure about it. He does, however, note that the Roman garrison stationed at Syene at a later date included three cohorts, each from 600 to 1000 men.⁶⁹⁷ My own estimation is that the Persian garrison at Syene included a maximum of four detachments. One of them was the Judean detachment at Elephantine, consisting of 600-1000 men. My own estimates concur with those of Knauf, who argues that the Judean garrison of Elephantine consisted of at least 500-600 soldiers.⁶⁹⁸ He suggests that the whole garrison included four, later three, detachments, consisting of at least two centuries. However, Knauf's estimations about the actual size of regular centuries (less than 50 men) and detachments (between 120-200 men) are, according to my estimations a little bit too low. In addition to the detachments of infantry came the special combat units of cavalry and naval force, both consisting probably of 100-200 troops commanded by cavalry and naval commanders respectively.⁶⁹⁹ These special units could conceivably have been smaller than the regular units, probably about the size that Knauf suggests. However, the Aramaic documents do not provide evidence for the existence of a cavalry commander in Persian-period Egypt, although the use of cavalry was one of the central elements in the Persian military tactics.⁷⁰⁰ Therefore, I suggest that the cavalry commander for example in Syene might have been one among the above mentioned detachment commanders.

When we study the above table of the names of those persons who occupied the

⁶⁹⁶ Powell 2002, 166. Cyrus the Great ordered this elite unit to be established. It was kept constant by replacing the fallen by new reserve warriors. Farrokh 2007, 75.

⁶⁹⁷ Porten 1968, 30-31.

⁶⁹⁸ Knauf 2002, 181. Rohmoser 2014, 81-82. Using the above estimations Knauf suggests that the whole Judean population of Elephantine was between 2500-3000 persons.

⁶⁹⁹ Probably the number of soldiers in a combat ship in Persian-period Egypt was rather 100 and not 200. A piece of evidence for this can be found in a document of Segal's collection (97b, 2) that I argue refers to a naval commander and his ship. Together with the expressions "naval commander" and "boat" appears the number 100. If the number refers to people and not to boats, it probably refers to the number of soldiers in this combat ship.

⁷⁰⁰ Persian military tactics involved coordination of a combined arms concept, based on massed archery and rapid strikes of the cavalry then followed by the invasion of regular infantry eliminating any remaining opposition. Farrokh 2007, 40. According to Schmitt, the main units were horsemen (OPers *asabāra*), spear-bearers (*arštika*), and bowmen (*θanuvaniya*), the last two being subdivided into cavalry and infantry detachments. R. Schmitt, "Achaemenid Dynasty," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/4, pp. 414-426; an updated version is available online <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/achaemenid-dynasty>. Accessed on 27.5. 2014.

positions of officers in the Persian army in Egypt (Table 19), we do not find any Hebrew name among them. While Aramean names do appear, it seems that in this respect Judeans were in different position than their neighbors. According to the data, it seems that Judeans served only as simple soldiers or probably subofficers (commanders) whose names have not been preserved. Another question arises: how many Judeans were included, for example, in the Judean garrison of Elephantine? The Aramaic documents do not provide a clear answer to this question. When we look at the word garrison (חיל) and how it appears in the documents, we notice that it is used in various ways in order to designate either the location of the garrison or its ethnic composition. In addition, two of the documents of Segal's collection tell us about "the tribute of the garrison" or about "the fields of the garrison".⁷⁰¹ The following list offers some insight into the topic of garrison.

The troop of Assyria⁷⁰²

The Judean garrison⁷⁰³

The Median troop⁷⁰⁴

The troop in Persia⁷⁰⁵

Syenian garrison⁷⁰⁶

Garrison of Tshetres⁷⁰⁷

The expression, the Judean garrison, appears in this list. Taken literally, it should refer to a unit of 1001-10 000 men. However, this does not seem to reflect the actual reality. This expression, the Judean garrison, is used twice in the texts by the Judeans themselves, first by Hananyah and the second time probably by Yedanyah son of Gemaryah in the collection list for YHW the God. In other Aramaic documents the Judean soldiers of Elephantine are always attached to the Aramean garrison of Syene. Some times they are even called Arameans of Syene, although it is clear that the expression refers to Judean soldiers. The following quotation sheds some light on this problem:

⁷⁰¹ Segal 24, 11 mentions "the tribute of the garrison" and Segal 31, 1 "the fields of the garrison".

⁷⁰² TAD C 1.1:55,61.

⁷⁰³ TAD A 4.1:1,10; C 3.15:1.

⁷⁰⁴ TAD C 2.1.7:39.

⁷⁰⁵ TAD C 2.1.7:38.

⁷⁰⁶ TAD C 3.14:32.

⁷⁰⁷ TAD C 3.14:41-42.

Mipta(hiah daughter of Gemariah, a Jewess) of Elephantine the fortress (and) an Aramean according to her detachment, said to Isweri daughter of Gemar(i)ah, a Jewess of the same (detachment)⁷⁰⁸

The reconstruction of the text in brackets is made by Porten (1989). Even without this reconstruction, it is clear that these two sisters were Judeans although they were called Arameans according to their detachment (לדגלה ארמיה). So, it seems to be clear that Judean soldiers were part of the Syenian garrison. Some of them were even included in the Aramean detachment of Syene and not in their own separate Judean detachment at Elephantine. This becomes clear also in the Aramaic document where the Judeans describe their faithfulness toward the Persian authorities during a rebellion:

Detachments of the Egyptians rebelled. We did not leave our posts and anything of damage was not found in us.⁷⁰⁹

In this text the Judeans use the word guardpost (מנטרה) when referring to their own duty although at the same time they use the word detachment to refer to the Egyptian forces. With these examples in mind, I believe that although the Judeans used the expression garrison (חיל) when speaking about their military community at the Persian period Elephantine, the actual size of their unit and their number of men was smaller than a garrison. It seems reasonable to think that the number of men of their detachment at Elephantine was something between 600 and 1000, the size of a Roman cohort later on.

Of all the tasks of the regular soldiers, only the expressions horseman (סוסי) or charioteer (רכבי)⁷¹¹ appear in the texts. Five different weapons are mentioned in the documents, as follows⁷¹²

Bow and arrow (קשת/חט)

⁷⁰⁸ The translation is made by Porten, however, he misses to translate the Aramaic word “sister” (אחותה). TAD B 5.5:1-2.

⁷⁰⁹ TAD A 4.5:1-2.

⁷¹⁰ The expression סוסי appears only in Segal 62, 2 and there in the plural form.

⁷¹¹ The expression רכבי appears only in Segal 62, 2 in the same document as the expression “horseman” and both of them in the plural form.

⁷¹² The collection of Porten and Yardeni include all of these five weapons, Lozachmeur’s collection has four of them (except sword) while Segal’s collection does not mention any weapon.

Double-edged knife (סכין פמין)

Sword (חרב)

Weapon (תלי)

Weapon (צנה)

It is unclear what the last two weapons refer to. The first one (תלי) might refer to a quiver hanging from the shoulder with its arrows or to a lance. The last one (צנה) could have been a large shield or a hook. This picture of warfare and weaponry of the Persian period Egypt fits well with what we know from other sources about the ancient warfare. A Persian army consisted of cavalry, including chariots, horses, camels, and sometimes even elephants, as well as an infantry consisting of archers and lance-bearers. Persian tactics involved the coordination of these forces and was based on massed archery and rapid strikes of cavalry. Horsemen were important to the Persian army because cavalry acted as kinds of shock troops against the enemy. The Persian cavalry carried javelins, infantry short swords (*akenakes*) and lances, quivers full of arrows, bows and shields of different shapes. The infantry's role was to eliminate any remaining opposition in a close-quarter combat. Commanders participated in the battle by situating in the center of their respective units.⁷¹³

The salaries of the soldiers and officers as well as of other people who worked for the royal house seem to have been paid in three ways: as a salary (אגר or פרס) in silver, as a ration (פתה) in agricultural products, usually in grain, or as a free membership of the table (בעל פתורא) of some high official, like a satrap. The expression salary, allotment (פרס), is used both for payment of salary in silver and in kind. Sometimes when the term salary (אגר) appears, it seems to refer only to payment in silver. The Persian loanword ration (פתה) is used in the documents only for payment in kind, not in silver. The expression member of the table (בעל פתורא) is rare and appears in these texts only once.⁷¹⁴ The most common ways to get paid were salary in silver and ration in kind which were paid probably at the same time and not alternatively. One document reveals what the ration in kind included. Although it is from a letter of authorization for travelling rations, it can be assumed that the same items were probably distributed also for local officials. The fact that items and their amounts were larger for high officials

⁷¹³ Farrokh 2007, 40; Powell 2002, 166.

⁷¹⁴ The expression "member of the table" (בעל פתורא) appears in TAD C 3.27:22 in a text which deals with an account of distributed grain.

as compared to others can be discerned from the following quotation:

And n(o)w, (behol)d (one) named Nakḥthor, m(y) official, (is) g(oing) to Egypt. You, give (him ra)tions from my estate which is in your province(s), day by day:

„white“ flour – t(w)o handfuls,

„inferior“ flour – three handfuls,

wine or beer – two handfuls,

(..)-d/r – one

And to his servants, ten per(s)ons, to each per day:

flour – one handful,

fodder – according to (the number of) his horses.⁷¹⁵

One specific document provides an account of the distribution of barley rations to members of the Syenian garrison for one year from May 401 BCE to May 400 BCE. According to this document, 54 persons received 100 ardabs of barley for one month. Based on the information that Porten and Yardeni provide, one ardab was equivalent to 30 handfuls, and therefore I conclude that one person received approximately 1.85 handfuls per day.⁷¹⁶ In addition to this ration, the Aramaic documents give the impression that soldiers and officials also got paid in silver from the treasury of the king. Two contracts of loan appear among the Aramaic documents, further illuminating this issue. One recalls a loan of grain and the second a loan of silver. In both cases, the taker of the loan promises to pay back from what he will get as his salary from the treasury of the king. In the case of repayment of the loan of grain, he uses the word ration (פִּתְרָה) as follows:

Then, I, Anani son of Haggai, shall pay and give you that emmer, e(mmer), 2 p(eras), 3 seahs from the ration (פִּתְרָה) which will be given me from the treasury of the king.⁷¹⁷

In the case of the repayment of the loan of silver, the taker of the loan aims at paying

⁷¹⁵ TAD A 6.9: 2-4.

⁷¹⁶ TAD C 3.14: 26-31, see also p.XVIII and the table of equivalences and values p. 295.

⁷¹⁷ TAD B 3.13: 3-4.

the loan from the allotment (פרס) which he will receive from the treasury of the king:

And I shall pay it to you month by month from my allotment (פרס) which they will give me from the treasury and you shall write me a receipt for all the silver and interest which I shall be paying you.⁷¹⁸

Precisely, how much the allotment in silver was remains open. Probably it was not much because, for example, the amount of silver loaned in the last case was only three and a half shekels. In addition to the information about the conditions of employment of the workers, one of the Aramaic documents also provides a good advice for an employer:

And a master of wages (בעל אגר = employer) shall not have (= hire) a good person with a (ba)d pe(rson).⁷¹⁹

Although the salaries of soldiers and officials may not have been very high, their living conditions seem to have been reasonably well organized. According to one document, garrisons also had their own fields which were probably used for growing vegetables and grain for the soldiers and their families.⁷²⁰ According to another document, the garrison of Elephantine even had an association called *marzēah*. The expression *marzēah* appears in a document from the first quarter of the 5th century BCE.

To Ḥaggai. I said (= spoke) Ašian about the silver of the *marzēah*. Thus he said to me, saying: “There isn’t (any). Now, I shall give it to Ḥaggai or Igdal.” Get to him that he may give it to you.⁷²¹

The institution of *marzēah* is known from literary and epigraphic sources over a span of three millennia. However, in the biblical literature the word is only mentioned twice. In addition to these two occurrences, at least four definite allusions to the *marzēah* appear in the prophetic literature.⁷²² McLaughlin has studied all the extra-biblical references to

⁷¹⁸ TAD B 4.2: 5-7.

⁷¹⁹ TAD C 1.1: 100.

⁷²⁰ Fields of the garrison (חקלת חילא) appear in Segal 31, 1.

⁷²¹ TAD D 7.29: 1-10.

⁷²² The word *marzēah* appears in Amos 6:7 and Jer.16:5. John L. McLaughlin, *The Marzēah in the Prophetic Literature. References and Allusions in Light of the Extra-Biblical Evidence*. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 214.

marzēah and argues that three features are consistently present in all attestations of this institution: “(1) extensive alcohol consumption (2) by members of the upper class (3) in a religious context.”⁷²³ Against some other scholars, McLaughlin rejects a funerary connection as an essential aspect of the *marzēah*.⁷²⁴ According to him, “some late, individual *marzēahs* may have developed funerary aspects, but the extra-biblical *marzēah* as a whole was not, by nature, a funerary association or mourning banquet.”⁷²⁵ In the above document two of the personal names are originally Hebrew and one is Aramean (Ašian). Thus, this *marzēah* was probably for Judean and Aramean soldiers. This is understandable because they served side by side in the same military units and shared a common language, Aramaic. In addition, according to the extra-biblical evidence, the *marzēah* institution was especially a West-Semitic cultural feature. In terms of the Judeans of Elephantine, two questions arise: why did these Judeans belong to the upper class and what was the religious connection of the *marzēah* of Elephantine? It has been shown above that the Judeans of Egypt only served in the position of regular soldiers, not as officers, in the Persian army. Thus, their position in the garrison could not be the reason for their inclusion in the upper class. More probably, it had something to do with their financial status in the Aramaic speaking West-Semitic community of Syene-Elephantine, as also McLaughlin notes: “money played a role in the administration of the Elephantine *marzēah*.”⁷²⁶ McLaughlin further argues that the religious context of the *marzēah* was not cultic: “The *marzēah* and its gathering was religious, in the sense that it was connected with a patron deity or deities, but it was not cultic.”⁷²⁷ Probably the patron deity of the *marzēah* of Elephantine was a West-Semitic deity although his name has not survived.⁷²⁸

⁷²³ McLaughlin 2001, 66, 79 and 214.

⁷²⁴ A funerary aspect of the *marzēah* has been suggested among others by Bezalel Porten 1968, 179-186 and again in Hallo and Younger, *The Context of Scripture*. Volume Three, 2003, 211; also by Marvin H. Pope, “The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit”, in G.D. Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 176-178.

⁷²⁵ McLaughlin 2001, 79. The biblical references and allusions (Isa 28: 7-8, 22 and Jer 16: 5) to *marzēah* show, according to McLaughlin, that a funerary association for the *marzēah* may have begun in the late 8th century BCE. However, that is only one possible context for the *marzēah*. McLaughlin 2001, 215.

⁷²⁶ McLaughlin 2001, 37.

⁷²⁷ McLaughlin 2001, 69.

⁷²⁸ It is interesting to note that one of the Aramaic texts of Papyrus Amherst 63 (13: 1-10) that was found in Egypt and probably date from the fourth century BCE could fit well in the context of a *marzēah* although its translators have not suggested such a connection. This text refers to drinking of wine by the nobles of the people who at the same time also pay respect to Yaho their god. Vleeming and Wesselijs 1985, 63.

4.3.3. Slavery

Slavery is one of the subcategories of sources of livelihood. It appears constantly and in various forms in the Aramaic documents. Slavery was an important source of living for many people in ancient Egypt and in the ancient world. Culbertson notes that slavery in ancient Near East was long regarded as an economic and legal issue only, but it can as much be seen also as a social, cultural, and political phenomena. However, she argues that “slavery in the Near East was never a substantial factor in production spheres of the economy, nor the primary means of labor organization.”⁷²⁹ Six different expressions are used in the Aramaic documents to designate slaves, and they are the following:

Eunuch (סריס)

Household slaves, domestic staff (גרד)

Maid-servant (אמה)

Slave/Servant (עבד)

Slave lad, servant (עלים)

Yor or Yod (יור or יוד)

The most common of these expressions is slave/servant (עבד) which appears eighty times. It is not always clear if this expression refers to a person who is a slave or a servant because not all the servants were slaves in the ancient world. According to Culbertson, the consensus among scholars today is that slaves made up the one social group in ancient Near East that was always attached to a household or institution.⁷³⁰ If so, this knowledge could help differentiate between a regular servant and a slave in the ancient documents while the same term עבד (slave/servant) is used for both of them. The second common expression for a slave in these texts is slave lad, servant (עלים) which appears twenty-seven times. It is used especially to designate a young slave. The feminine form of the word, slave lass (עלימה), is not frequent at all; it appears only five times. Instead, the expression used in the Aramaic documents for female slaves and servants is maid-

⁷²⁹ Culbertson (ed.), *Slaves and Households in the Near East*, 2011, 3, 7 and 14.

⁷³⁰ Culbertson 2011, 13. Dandamaev remarks that in ancient Near East, all the subjects of the king, including the highest officials, were considered slaves of the king. “Therefore the Greek authors wrote that, with the exception of the king, the entire Persian people were a crowd of slaves.” Muhammad A. Dandamayev, “BARDA and BARDA-DĀRI In the Achaemenid Period,” in *the Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Originally Published 1988, p.1. <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/barda-i>. Accessed 11.2.2016.

servant (אמה), appearing twenty times. In addition to the above three expressions, three more special expressions for slaves can be found, eunuch (סרים), household slaves (גרד) and Yor or Yod (יור or יוד) slaves. The word eunuch appears five times in the texts; it seems they were serving in special tasks at the royal palace or in the royal army. The term eunuch is used on two occasions together with the term servant (עלים) as an extra designation of the person in question.⁷³¹ The plural expression household slaves (גרד) is translated by the concordance of Porten and Lund as “domestic staff”.⁷³² However, Dandamayev argues that the word is one of the Old Iranian terms to designate slaves and that its original meaning was “household slave(s)”.⁷³³ Dandamayev observes that this term is attested in the Aramaic letters of Aršama, the satrap of Egypt. In fact, all the ten appearances of this term are found in the official letters of Aršama.⁷³⁴ Therefore, I agree with Dandamayev that this originally Persian term refers to household slaves who were workers of the households of the Persian royal house and nobility in the heartland of Persia, as well as in Babylonia and Egypt.⁷³⁵ The term Yor or Yod slaves appear four times; they were some kind of special slaves whose status is not known. According to one document, these Yor or Yod slaves were the property of their owner and were legally handled also in the cases of inheritance as shown in the following example:

Mahseiah son of Nathan, 1, Jedaniah son of Nathan, 1, all (told) 2, Ara- means of Syene of the detachment of Var(yaza)ta, said, saying: We were equal as one (= owned jointly) and divided (between) us the slaves of Mibtahiah our mother. And behold, this is the portion which came to you as a portion, you, Jedaniah: Peṭosiri by name, whose mother is Taba, a slave, ywd/r, 1, branded on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic thus: “(Belonging) to Mibtahiah.” And behold, this is the portion which came to me as a portion, I, Mahseiah: Bela by name, whose mother is Taba, a slave, ywd/r, 1, branded on his right hand (with) a brand reading (in) Aramaic thus: “(Belonging) to Mibtahiah.” You, Jedaniah,

⁷³¹ TAD C 1.1:63; D 23.1.5A:5-6.

⁷³² Porten and Lund 2002, 73.

⁷³³ Dandamayev 1988, 1. Also Porten and Lund note that the term is originally Persian.

⁷³⁴ Look the appearances from Porten and Lund 2002, 73.

⁷³⁵ Dandamayev adds that in the Babylonian texts of the Persian period these household slaves are called *gar-da/u* while in the Elamite documents from Persepolis as *kurtaš*. Most of them were foreigners seized as prisoners of war or as tribute from subjugated countries. “Babylonia alone was obliged to supply the Persian king for these purposes an annual tribute of 500 boys.” Dandamayev 1988, 1-2.

have right to Peṭosiri, that slave who came to you as a portion, from this day and forever and (so do) your children after you and you may give (him) to whomever you desire.⁷³⁶

As can be seen in the example above, there were male slaves, female slaves and children slaves. These Aramaic documents show the status of slaves in ancient Near East. Slaves belonged to one of the lowest social classes and were considered property of their owners.⁷³⁷ However, Culbertson underlines the guaranteed status of slaves in ancient Near East; “slaves were one group that was guaranteed a social status that was not completely or necessarily at the bottom of society”.⁷³⁸ Slaves could be bought and sold for money, inherited from parents to their children, as well as given and taken in pledge for a debt. As slaves were property of their masters, so also slavery was inherited from parents to children.⁷³⁹ Other sources of slavery except inherited slavery and household slavery of the Persian nobility do not appear in these Aramaic documents.⁷⁴⁰ The price of a slave is not mentioned in the Aramaic documents, but a marriage contract refers to a fine of fifty shekels that the master of the slaves had to pay in case a slave lad was taken away from his slave mother who was married to a Judean Ananyah.⁷⁴¹ The price of a slave in ancient Near East depended from his or her sex, health and age, training and family status. Porten notes that in Babylonia, the price of a slave was forty shekels during the the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and one hundred shekels during the time of Darius I. According to Dandamayev, the price of a slave in Babylonia was around 60-90 shekels of silver, while for one shekel it was possible to purchase 180 liters of barley or dates.⁷⁴² Thus, slaves were valuable property for their masters in ancient Near East.

⁷³⁶ TAD B 2.11:2-7. *Ywr* appears also in another text, in TAD C 3.9.2:12-13 where Porten translates it as “male”. However, the same name Peṭosiri appears and therefore the expression might refer to slavery here, too.

⁷³⁷ According to the stele of Hammurabi (1792-1750 BCE), the ancient Babylonian society during the First Dynasty was a social hierarchy with tripartite structure: free man (Akkadian *awilum*), dependent (*mushkenum*), and slave (*wardum*); Van de Mieroop 2007, 114. In the Middle Assyrian society (the middle to late second millennium BCE), married women had to cover their heads while going outside the house on their own, but unmarried women, slaves, and prostitutes were forbidden to cover their head; Van de Mieroop 2007, 183.

⁷³⁸ Culbertson 2011, 13.

⁷³⁹ Porten 1968, 203; Mendelsohn 1949, 34.

⁷⁴⁰ As noted above, most of the household slaves of the Persian nobility were foreigners seized as prisoners of war or as tribute from subjugated countries. Some slaves were also purchased by Persians on the slave market of Babylonia. Dandamayev 1988, 2; Van de Mieroop notes that in the Babylonian society, many people had to pay tithes to temples, and if they failed to do, so they had to take out loans or give their children to the temple as slaves. Another extra source of slavery in the Babylonian society was prisoners of war given by the king to the temples; Van de Mieroop 2007, 282.

⁷⁴¹ TAD B 3.6:7. See also Porten 1968, 208.

⁷⁴² Dandamayev 1988, 3.

Based on the above information, Porten estimates the price of an adult slave in Persian-period Egypt may have been between 24-48 silver shekels.⁷⁴³ When a person became a slave, he or she got a slave mark on his or her right arm. According to the documents, this mark was written in Aramaic and it revealed the name of the owner, for example *Belonging to Mibtahyah*, in Aramaic למבטהיה. Also female slaves were branded with this slave mark, as probably were the children of the slaves as well.⁷⁴⁴ If a slave was sold and his or her owner was changed, a new slave mark was added above the previous one.⁷⁴⁵ In these Aramaic documents two different words are used to designate the slave mark. The first one is probably an Akkadian loanword שניתה “mark” which appears in these texts altogether twenty times.⁷⁴⁶ The second expression is the verb סטר “to inscribe” which appears eight times. Often these two expressions appear together.⁷⁴⁷ A slave was normally bound into slavery until his or her death. If a slave escaped and was caught, he was punished severely as was noted in one of the documents sent by the Satrap Aršama.⁷⁴⁸ However, in these documents there appears the possibility of being freed. Two expressions are used in this context. The verb שבק means to leave, allow and emancipate, and it is used six times in these documents to designate freeing of slaves.⁷⁴⁹ The Persian loanword אזת, which means free, appears once together with the above verb.⁷⁵⁰ When a slave was set free, a legally bonding document had to be written as an evidence of the freeing. Three examples of this act appear among the Aramaic documents. They are very different cases in nature. The first one is an official letter of the prince (satrap) Aršama to his Persian official Artahant in Egypt where Aršama or-

⁷⁴³ According to his estimation, this sum compared 2-4 months' salary in Persian-period Egypt. Porten 1968, 75-76. See also Mendelsohn 1949, 117.

⁷⁴⁴ As an example of branded female slaves: Tapamet and her daughter Yehoyišma', in TAD B 3.6:2-7 and Tetosiri in TAD D 7.9:3-5 whom all were slaves of Judean persons.

⁷⁴⁵ For example, in TAD D 7.9:3-5.

⁷⁴⁶ Twelve times as a noun and eight times as a verb.

⁷⁴⁷ For example, in TAD B 8.3:8. the combination בסטיר בשניתה appears. TAD B 5.6:3 is an exception and reads סטירה על שמי.

⁷⁴⁸ TAD A 6.3.

⁷⁴⁹ The verb שבק appears in the Aramaic documents altogether 46 times, but only in six cases it refers to freeing of slaves. Five times the verb appears referring to freeing of slaves in the collection of Porten and Yardeni: once in an official letter written by the satrap Aršama (TAD A 6.7) and four times in a legal document written by the Judean Mešullam son of Zaccur (TAD B 3.6). In addition, the same expression appears once in Lozachmeur's collection and also there the topic of the message is freeing of a slave (Espemet son of Taba in HL 255 cv 3). The verb in question appears in Segal's collection six times but none of the cases refers to freeing of slaves. However, in Segal 4, 5 there appear another verbal form *mhšdn* that Segal interpretes to be haph'el of *šdn* which is frequently used verb in Punic and is connected to freeing of slaves. Segal 1983, 18, note 13; obs Segal 4 = TAD B 8.7. In Segal 52a, 6 and 52b, 7 appears the verbal form *ptyrn* but from the context of the text it is clear that it probably should be translated as Segal suggests 'are discharged', meaning 'exempted from the payment'. Segal 1983, 74, note 7.

⁷⁵⁰ The word אזת appears in TAD B 3.6:4.

ders the release of his thirteen Cilician slaves. They worked previously as pressers in his domains in Egypt, but during the rebellion of Egypt, they were seized by some, probably an Egyptian, person who from then on kept them as his own slaves. Now Aršama writes to Artahant as follows:

Now, if it so please you let an order be issued by you that one not does anything bad to that Pariyama and his colleagues. Let them be released (ישתבקו). Let them do my work as formerly.⁷⁵¹

In this case, of course, these slaves were freed from slavery to another. The second case concerns the freeing of slaves completely. One of the documents is a document of withdrawal that Meshullam, son of Zaccur, wrote on the 12th of June in 427 BCE for Tapamet and Yehoyišma', his handmaiden and her daughter:

Mešullam son of Zaccur, a Jew of Elephantine the fortress of the detachment of Iddinnabu, said to lady Tapamet by name his handmaiden, who is branded on her right hand thus: "(Belonging) to Mešullam," saying: I thought of you in my lifetime. I released you as a free (person) at my death and I released Yeh(o)yišma' by name your daughter, whom you bore me. Son or daughter of mine or brother of mine or sister, near or far, partner-in-chattel or partner-in-land does not have right to you or to Yeh(o)yišma' your daughter, whom you bore me; does not have right to you, to brand you or traffic with you (for) payment of silver...and you are released from the shade to the sun and (so is) Yeh(o)yišma' your daughter and another person does not have right to you and to Yeh(o)yišma' your daughter but you are released to God.⁷⁵²

Tapamet was the Egyptian slave of Mešullam son of Zaccur but he gave her into wifehood to Ananyah son of Azaryah who was the servitor of YHW the God in Elephantine. Although their daughter Yehoyišma' was born from this marriage with a Judean man, she was still together with her mother under the bondage of slavery and property of Mešullam son of Zaccur. By this document Mešullam set them free at his death but

⁷⁵¹ TAD A 6.7:8-9.

⁷⁵² TAD B 3.6:2-7, 9-10.

not before. Children who were born to slaves became automatically the property of their master. Two special and beautiful expressions are used in this document of freeing slaves: *you are released from the shade to the sun* and *you are released to God* (לאלהא). The third example of freeing a slave is presented in a document from 416 BCE, which combines the acts of adoption and of freeing a slave. Judean Uriyah son of Maḥseyah had previously received from Zaccur son of Mešullam a slave lad whose name was Yedanyah son of Taḥwa, probably an Egyptian slave. Now Uriyah wanted to adopt this boy to be his son and free him from the slavery completely:

Uriyah son of Maḥseyah, an Aramean of Syene, said before Vidranga, the Guardian of the Seventh, the garrison commander of Syene, to Zaccur son of Mešullam, an Aramean of Syene, (said) before Vidranga the Guardian of the Seventh, the garrison commander of Syene, saying: Yedanyah by name son of Taḥwa, (you)r la(d) whom you gave me and about whom you wrote a document for me – I shall not be able, I, Uriyah, or son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or man of mine to press him (into) slave(ry). He shall be my son. I, or son or daughter of mine, or man of mine, or another individual do not have right to brand him. I shall not be able – I, or son or daughter of mine, brother or sister of mine, or man of mine – we (shall not be able) to stand up to make him a s(lave) or brand him...and that Yedanyah shall moreover be my son. And an individual does not have right to brand him or make him a slave, but he shall be my son.⁷⁵³

A legal document for freeing a slave was always required because slaves were understood as legal and valuable property of their masters. Evidence from several Aramaic documents suggests that Judeans also had slaves, mostly Egyptian slaves, as already seen before. But what if Judeans were slaves themselves? This is a difficult question because the word עבד means both slave and servant. It is impossible to conclude without any doubt that for example Hošea' was the slave of Šalwah, Šewa' son of Zekaryah the slave of Yislah as well as Ma'uziyah the slave of Yedanyah, Uriyah and the

⁷⁵³ TAD B 3.9:2-9. In addition to the above text, adoption also appears in Segal 11, 2. Segal argues that the adoption formula *bry yhw* 'my son he will be' appears in this fragmented document. Segal 1983, 29, note 2.

priests.⁷⁵⁴ Maybe they were simply servants of these people as Porten and Yardeni translate the expression in these texts? Or perhaps this was only a polite means to express this idea in the ancient culture? Only three cases appear in these Aramaic documents which could be used as evidence for Judeans living in slavery. However, even two of these texts seem to provide an opposite conclusion while giving witness to freeing of Judean slaves by their Judean masters. The first of these is the above mentioned case of Yehoyišma' who was born to the Egyptian handmaiden Tapamet from the Judean father Ananyah son of Azaryah. Yehoyišma' was half Judean and half Egyptian. Her father Ananyah acted as the servitor of YHW the God in Elephantine. So very probably also Yehoyišma' and Tapamet were Judean by their religion. The second case is that of Yedanyah, son of Taḥwa. His mother had an Egyptian name Taḥwa /Taḥo, but he himself had a Hebrew name. Probably both of them were Judeans by their religion. These two cases of freeing of the slaves Yehoyišma' and Tapamet, as well as freeing and adoption of Yedanyah son of Taḥwa, give the impression that it was not the custom of Judeans in Egypt to have Judean slaves, or that Judeans in general did not want to keep their Judean brothers and sisters as their slaves. Even the third case that gives witness to Judean slave is not clear enough. In one of the documents in Segal's collection, there appears the corrupted text that reads "his slave-girl (אמתה) YHWMWRY/YHWMWDY."⁷⁵⁵ Based on this text, Segal concludes "Slaves have Egyptian or Semitic names; one of the latter may be Jewish"⁷⁵⁶. If this slave-girl really was Judean as her Hebrew name would suggest, she was rather an exception than a rule in Persian-period Egypt. Whether or not Judeans were kept as slaves by other ethnic groups in Egypt during the Persian period is a question which on the ground of these Aramaic documents can not be fully answered. The answer depends on how we understand the meaning of the term עבד. Judeans may have been servants of other ethnic groups like of the Persians, but it does not mean that they also were their slaves in the literary sense of the word. According to my understanding, Judeans served as soldiers and administrative officials, mainly scribes, in Persian-period Egypt, but they were normally not kept as slaves by other ethnic groups or by their Judean brothers.

⁷⁵⁴ TAD A 3.7:1,5; A 3.9:1,9; A 4.3:2,12.

⁷⁵⁵ According to Segal, this Hebrew name (יהומרי/יהומדי) means either "Yeho is my teacher/guide" or "Yeho is my confessor". Segal 54, 4.

⁷⁵⁶ Segal 1983, 11.

4.3.4. Trade

The following subcategory of sources of livelihood is trade. There appears only one name of a profession that is related to trade in these documents. It is the word merchant, peddler (רכל), which appears only once, and refers to the merchants of Abydos.⁷⁵⁷ However, the Aramaic documents confirm that in addition to the local merchants, like those of Abydos, an organized international trade flourished in Persian-period Egypt. Van de Mieroop notes that the continuous wars between Persians and Greeks did not affect on trade lines and the eastern Mediterranean was mostly safe. Thus, cargo ships from Anatolia and Syria were able to travel back and forth to Egypt.⁷⁵⁸ The Persian Empire collected taxes on this international trade. Thanks to a large customs account from ca. 475 BCE that was discovered in Elephantine and that was erased under another text (Aḥiqar), we have detailed information about the international trade and the taxes paid on it during the Persian period in Egypt.⁷⁵⁹ According to this customs account, 42 different cargo ships arrived at Egypt during one year. Thirty six of them were Ionian and six were probably Phoenician, based on their cargoes of Sidonian wine and cedar wood. These ships brought traded items to Egypt, but they also took other items with them when they left Egypt about a week or two later.⁷⁶⁰ Van de Mieroop observes that the taxes which these ships had to pay to the Empire depended on the origin and size of the ship. It seems that Greek ships had to pay more than those coming from Phoenicia.⁷⁶¹ I suggest that the different rates of taxes might have derived also from different materials imported. Phoenician ships usually transported wine, cedar wood and probably oil to Egypt. Taxes in silver were paid to the royal treasury also on the seamen of the boats as well as on the goods exported. The following list presents all the traded items that appear in the Aramaic documents, either as imported or exported items:

⁷⁵⁷ TAD A 4.3:4.

⁷⁵⁸ Van de Mieroop 2011, 307.

⁷⁵⁹ Porten and Yardeni argue that this document TAD C 3.7 is dating from the time of Xerxes about 475 BCE, but Van de Mieroop suggests that it can also be dating from the rule of Artaxerxes I about 454 BCE. Van de Mieroop 2011, 308.

⁷⁶⁰ TAD C XX-XXI.

⁷⁶¹ Van de Mieroop notes that Greek ships paid amounts of silver and gold as well as a share of the cargo while Phoenician ships paid one-tenth of everything transported. Van de Mieroop 2011, 308.

Imported items

Cedarwood (עק ארז); beam, board, plank, p'my

Clay of šmwš (טין שמוש)

Empty jars (ספן ריקנן); for oil, coated and not coated

Gold (זהב)

Iron (פכרן and סני and פרזל)

Oars (לקן), new and old

Oil (משח); regular and ḥmwš

Shalmaite bronze (נחש שלמוא)

Silver (כסף)

Tin (אפיץ)

Wine (חמר), Ionian and Sidonian

Wood (עק); by number and 'krpk

Wooden support (עק סמכת), probably for transporting and storing of oil jars

Wool (קמר); Kefar, Kefar Š'

Exported items

Natron (נתר)

At least these fourteen items in different versions were imported and only one item was exported from Egypt. Among the imported items were five known metals. Wood and cedarwood were needed for building and handicraft because Egypt did not have forests of its own. Oil and wine were the only foodstuffs imported. It seems that Egypt did not have enough oil, wine and wool from its own resources but had to import these products. Clay of šmwš was probably required for building houses or making pottery. Among the traded items were also empty jars of oil and probably of wine, coated and not coated. They were valuable for daily use and therefore recycled. It seems that also their wooden supports were recycled at the same way. Oars were needed and valuable in Egypt because of the boat transport on the Nile. Most of the importing trade ships (36) came from Ionia and the rest (6) from Sidon of Phoenicia, as already noted above. The only item that these ships exported from Egypt was natron, a kind of cleansing material used in ancient Egypt for many purposes like in purification rituals, in mummification, in cooking and in medical treatment and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediter-

ranean in textile production.⁷⁶² Both Ionia and Sidon served as trading cross points of international trade to Egypt. They also had the needed naval resources and knowledge for transporting all these items on a regular basis.

4.3.5. Other aspects of living

The last subcategory of sources of livelihood is formed of all other aspects of living. These other aspects are transportation, clothing, utensils and furniture. Only the first one requires some comments, as the others are not so central for this research. The verb “to transport/to bring” (יבל) appears frequently in these Aramaic documents.⁷⁶³ An ass-driver was not the only profession involved in transportation. Also other animals, like mules, camels and horses, were used for transporting different kinds of loads. In addition to this animal based transportation, different water vessels were used in transporting items on the Nile and Mediterranean, as well as for fishing. This fact becomes evident, not only in the above mentioned customs account but also in other documents. Seven different size water vessels and three professions related to navigation appear in these documents.⁷⁶⁴

Water vessels

Boat (אלף)

Fishing boat (דוגית)

Kzd/ry-ship (ספינת כזדי/כזרי), large (דוגי קנרתעא)

Kzd/ry-ship (ספינת כזדי/כזרי), small (דוגי קנרתשירי)

Large ship (ספינה רבה); regular

Large ship (ספינה רבה); special type (אסות כחמוש)

Sailboat (צלצל)

⁷⁶² Van de Mierop 2011, 308. According to Segal, “natron” (נתר) is originally an Egyptian technical term for this cleansing material. The term was later adopted into wider use in ancient Near East. The main source of natron in ancient Egypt was the Wādi Natrūn in the Western Desert. Segal notes that natron and alabaster (שש) were also paid as tribute to the Persian King and they are mentioned together in one Aramaic document. Segal 24, 7 and 9 in Segal 1983, 5-7 and 40 note 6. The term “natron” appears once in the Hebrew Bible in Jer. 2: 22.

⁷⁶³ It appears three times in the collection of Segal, seven times in the collection of Lozachmeur and twenty times in the collection of Porten and Yardeni. Porten and Lund 2002, 143-144.

⁷⁶⁴ Also a fourth profession related to navigation, “navigator” (שיט/שוט), is suggested by Lozachmeur, but the word appears only once in a joined and reconstructed document of J6. Therefore I have omitted it from my list of professions.

Professions related to ships

Boatman, seaman (מלח)

Master of the boat (מרי אלפא)

Naval commander (נופת)

The smallest water vessels appear to have been a boat and a fishing boat.⁷⁶⁵ The word boat (אלף) appears in these documents forty one times and the word fishing boat (דוגית) twelve times.⁷⁶⁶ Boats were mostly used in transport on the Nile; in fact that more than a half of the appearances of the word “boat” (אלף) come from the documents found in Elephantine where the transport on the Nile was an everyday business. One document, for example, refers to boats transporting grain to the island of Elephantine.⁷⁶⁷ This vessel was probably the size of a sailboat (צלצל). It appears only three times and once together with a fishing boat (דוגית), so they might have been about the same size.⁷⁶⁸ Of the bigger ships there were two main types, Kzd/ry-ships (ספינת כוזדי/כורי) and large ships (ספינה רבה), which then had small and large versions each. Scholars do not know exactly what all of these titles of the ships actually mean. It seems that all the six Phoenician trade ships, which appear in the documents, were Kzd/ry-ships.⁷⁶⁹ They had two types: a large (דוגי קנרתעא) version and a small (דוגי קנרתשירי) version. The word for the large version appears five times and the name of the smaller version six times. Porten and Yardeni suggest that these special titles are Egyptian loanwords.⁷⁷⁰ The word דוגי probably means a boat. Most of the trade ships which appear in these documents were large ships (ספינה רבה). The name appears fifteen times and the special version (אסות כחמוש) twelve times in all these Aramaic documents. This number is similar to the evidence of the customs account which reveals that nineteen of the trade ships visiting Egypt were large ships (ספינה רבה) and seventeen were its special type (אסות כחמוש).

The most common of the three professions related to navigation in these docu-

⁷⁶⁵ Porten and Yardeni translate דוגית as a fishing boat, TAD C, 1993, XXX. So also Porten and Lund 2002, 76. In Post Biblical Hebrew the word has the same meaning, E. Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. (Jerusalem: Carta Jerusalem and the University of Haifa, 1987), 116. Look also Amos 4:2.

⁷⁶⁶ I understand the expression “Alef” (אלף) in Segal 97b, 2 as referring to a boat. Segal translates this word ‘alef’ as referring to a numeral of “thousand” but elsewhere the same numeral is written in the short form לף, and here the inner context of the text supports the translation “boat” instead of “thousand”.

⁷⁶⁷ TAD D 7.2:4.

⁷⁶⁸ TAD C 3.8IIIB:24.

⁷⁶⁹ TAD C 3.7.Fv3:25.

⁷⁷⁰ TAD C, XX.

ments is boatman or seaman (מלה), which originally was Akkadian word that appears eight times. As I have already argued above in the subchapter of military, the Persian loanword נוּפַת should be translated “naval commander” or “captain” as it refers to a person responsible for a bigger ship (ספינה).⁷⁷¹ The rank of “naval commander” or “captain” appears altogether six times in the Aramaic documents.⁷⁷² The expression, masters of the boat (מרי אלפא), appears only once and refers probably to several owners of a smaller boat but not to a military rank.⁷⁷³ Not one single Judean person is said to have been occupied in the above professions related to navigation. The only document that comes close to this is the above one which refers to the masters of the boat (מרי אלפא). It is not said directly that these masters of the boat were Judeans, but all of the three personal names which this defected document contains are Hebrew, namely Ahio, Yedanyah and Malkiyah.⁷⁷⁴

4.4. Administration

The next main category is administration. I divided it into eight subcategories which are: representatives of the administration, legal matters, communication, taxes, calendar, weights and measures, currencies and other administrative aspects.

4.4.1. Representatives of the administration

This subcategory is further divided into six subcategories: central, areal, local, other, areas and institutions. These subcategories help clarify the vast information that these Aramaic documents contain about the Persian administration system in general and in Egypt in particular.

Central

The central administration seems to have had at least three leading positions, arising from the documents: King (מלך), prince (בר בי, house-born) and wise and skilful scribe (ספר חכים ומהיר). The word king appears in these documents 209 times and his personality is above all. Even the date is defined according to his reign. The list of all the Per-

⁷⁷¹ The expression “ship” (ספינה) appears altogether 74 times in these Aramaic documents.

⁷⁷² These documents are the following; Segal 15, 4; 64b, 11; 97b, 2 and TAD A 6.2: 2, 7, 8.

⁷⁷³ TAD D 7.15:3.

⁷⁷⁴ TAD D 7.15:8, 10.

sian kings has already been presented above in Table 1 (page 40). In Egypt the title Pharaoh (פרעה) was also used to designate the Persian king, but it appears in these texts only eight times.

Van de Mieroop argues that “when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525, he maintained the existing governmental structure but integrated Persians into it”⁷⁷⁵. The presence of Persian officials can also be seen in the Aramaic documents. Since Darius the Great, Egypt belonged to the sixth satrapy of the Persian Empire.⁷⁷⁶ The highest official of each satrapy, a satrap, according to Briant, was appointed by the king, and one of his primary tasks was to maintain order and to extend Persian power in the area.⁷⁷⁷ The title “satrap” does not appear as such in the Aramaic documents;⁷⁷⁸ instead, he is called “prince” (בר בי, house-born). In the Aramaic documents, this Persian official was called Aršama at least for a time. The satrap of Egypt seems to have held office in two places, in Memphis and in Babylon.⁷⁷⁹ According to Van de Mieroop, all Egyptian satraps were Persian nobles who had close ties to the king.⁷⁸⁰ However, the Aramaic documents bear witness that when the satrap was not present in Egypt himself, deputies, not necessarily Persians, carried out his duties. Three of these deputies are mentioned by name: the Persian Artavant and the Egyptians Psamšek and Nakhthor.⁷⁸¹

The word “prince, house born” (בר בי) appears in the Aramaic documents eight times. According to Schmitt, satraps were usually chosen from among the Persian (and Median) noblemen, with the most important satrapies being assigned to the royal princes.⁷⁸² Three different personal names appear in these Aramaic documents together with

⁷⁷⁵ Van de Mieroop 2011, 305.

⁷⁷⁶ Briant 2002, 390-391.

⁷⁷⁷ Briant 2002, 65.

⁷⁷⁸ The title “Satrap” derives from Old Persian *xšaça-pāvan*, OIr. **xšaθrapāna*, in Akkadian *aḫšadrapanu*, Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew *’aḥašdarpan*, Imperial Aram. *ḫšatrapan*, Egyptian *ḫštrpn* that means “protector of the province/kingdom”. In Greek, the word is rendered *σατράπης*. From the Greeks, the Romans borrowed the term as *satrapes*. R. Schmitt, “Achaemenid Dynasty,” *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/4, pp. 414-426; <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/achaemenid-dynasty>. Accessed 27.5. 2014. Look also at Van de Mieroop 2007, 290-291. According to Briant, the Greek and Babylonian texts do not use the Old Persian word for satrap, but prefer to associate it with the term ‘governor’ (*hyparkhos/piḫatu*). He recalls Herodotus’ story of Cambyses (Herodotus IV.166) who after conquering Egypt provided the country with a ‘governor/satrap’ (*hyparkhos*), the Persian Aryandes. Briant 2002, 64-65.

⁷⁷⁹ Van de Mieroop mentions only Memphis as the official residence of the Satrap Aršama. Van de Mieroop 2011, 305.

⁷⁸⁰ Van de Mieroop 2011, 305.

⁷⁸¹ TAD A 6.3:1; A 6.4:1-4; A 6.5:1; A 6.7:1; A 6.8:1; A 6.10:1; A 6.11:1; A 6.12:1; A 6.13:1; A 6.14:1; A 6.15:1, 13.

⁷⁸² Schmitt, “Achaemenid Dynasty,” <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/achaemenid-dynasty>. Accessed on 27.5. 2014.

the expression house-born, prince: Aršama four times,⁷⁸³ Naḥum three times⁷⁸⁴ and Varuvahya once⁷⁸⁵. In addition, the expression “King Darius and his princes” appears once.⁷⁸⁶ Two of these names, Aršama and Varuvahya, are Persian, while the third one Naḥum is Hebrew. According to these documents, Aršama and Varuvahya were Persian princes who each held a high position in the royal administration. Aršama was titled the Satrap of Egypt. But who was this Hebrew Naḥum? In three legal contracts, two of which were written in Elephantine and one in Syene in the same year 402 BCE, Naḥum appears as a witness.⁷⁸⁷ One document is a donation of a house, the second is a sale of a house and the third deals with loan of grain, all of them were written at the initiative of Judeans. All these facts speak against the possibility that Naḥum was a high-ranked Persian royal prince like Aršama and Varuvahya were. Because of this, Porten and Yardeni translate the expression *בר בי* as “house-born” - not as “prince” in all these texts which refer to Naḥum. Normally Judeans, as well as Arameans and Egyptians, added the patronyme together with their personal name. An exception to this rule, Porten notes, that slaves were usually known by their matronymic.⁷⁸⁸ The expression “house-born” could refer to a son who was born to a slave mother and her free master, in this case to a Judean man. However, Naḥum could not have been a slave because slaves were not accepted as witnesses at court or at signing contracts. Therefore, Kraeling argues that Naḥum might have been a house-born slave who was adopted by his Judean master. On the other hand, Porten suggests that Naḥum was perhaps “some official whose function eludes us”.⁷⁸⁹ In any case, it does seem clear that Naḥum was a house-born and a Judean, but what this expression in this context means exactly remains open.⁷⁹⁰

The third important personality in the central administration was the wise and skilfull scribe. Although the title scribe (*ספר*) appears in these Aramaic documents only twenty seven times, it seems that the influence of scribes in the Persian administration

⁷⁸³ TAD A 6.3:9; A 6.4:5; A 6.7:10; D 14.6:2.

⁷⁸⁴ TAD B 3.11:19; B 3.12:34; B 3.13:14.

⁷⁸⁵ TAD A 6.13:1.

⁷⁸⁶ TAD A 4.7: 3.

⁷⁸⁷ These three documents are TAD B 3.11:19; TAD B 3.12:34, and TAD B 3.13:14.

⁷⁸⁸ Porten 1968, 205.

⁷⁸⁹ E. G. H. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel or the Arameans in Syria and Mesopotamia*. (New York, 1918), 255.

See also Porten 1968, 230 note 89.

⁷⁹⁰ In Post Biblical Hebrew the term means *son of Rabbi* and is originated from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic *ברבי*, which is a construction of *בר רבי* (= son of rabbi), and of *בי רבי* (= from the house of the rabbi). Klein 1987, 82.

was high and wide. In addition, there appears once an Akkadian loanword for a scribe *tupšarru* > טפסר.⁷⁹¹ Scribes appear in every level of the royal administration. One proof that the scribal influence in the administration of the King was influential comes from a document that tells about the Assyrian royal house⁷⁹². From this we can easily understand how this system worked also during the Persian period. The wise and skilfull scribe worked as advisor and scribe of the king. In his position he was the bearer of the royal seal.⁷⁹³ He participated in all the inner circle gatherings meeting with the chiefs (גדר) of the Empire at court. Because he did not belong to the royal family, his position was very fragile. Yet he acted with the Kings' authority and in his service.

The situation for satrapies was similar. Briant notes that although the internal organization of the Persian satrapies is very poorly known, it appears that satraps exchanged extensive correspondence, both with the central authority and with all of their underlings, as well as with officials of other provinces. For this purpose, a satrap had under his command in the satrapal capital a chancellery made up of a large number of secretaries and scribes, as well as an organized archive.⁷⁹⁴ The chancellor was the head officer of the satrapial chancellery. The Aramaic documents from Egypt, mention a chancellor (בעל טעם), a professional scribe working in the high position in the royal administration of the satrapy of Egypt providing striking evidence for this picture. The Akkadian loanword *bēl ṭēmi* > בעל טעם ("official in charge") appears in these texts only once, but according to the document where it appears, the holder of this position in Egypt during the time of the satrap Aršama was a Judean scribe called Anani.⁷⁹⁵ Anani, a Judean, held one of the highest positions in the Persian administration, and his office seems to have been in the capital of the satrapy, Memphis.

Areal

The second level in the royal administration was the areal one. Areal means the provincial administration. On the provincial level the Aramaic documents present ten officials at work as listed below:

⁷⁹¹ The Akkadian title for a scribe טפסר appears in Segal's collection in the document number 37, 6.

⁷⁹² TAD C 1.1:1.

⁷⁹³ TAD C 1.1:3, 12, 19.

⁷⁹⁴ Briant 2002, 66.

⁷⁹⁵ It is clearly expressed in this document that *Anani the Scribe is Chancellor* (ענני ספרא בעל טעם). TAD A 6.2:23. About Akkadian loan words in Aramaic see Rosenthal 1995, 62.

Accountant (המרכר)

Governor (פחה)

Hearer (גושך)

Herald (אזכר)

Inspector, supervisor (תיפתי)

Investigator (פתיפרס)

Judges of the province (דיני מדנתא)

Official of the province (פקיד למדינא)

Plenipotentiary/Special envoy (ורשבר)

Scribes of the province (ספרי מדינתא)

It can be derived from perusing these documents that the satrapies of the Persian Empire were further divided into provinces (מדינה). This was also the case in Egypt. According to the Aramaic documents, the southern province was called Tšetreš; its capital seems to have been Elephantine. Another province named in the Aramaic documents was called Thebes.⁷⁹⁶ Van de Mieroop notes that the provincial governors and administrators could have been Persians.⁷⁹⁷ Briant suggests that although the high-ranking administrators of the Egyptian satrapy were Persian, they also employed Egyptians in their service.⁷⁹⁸ The fact that Persians headed the administrative staff is revealed by the abundance of different Persian official titles, with the highest official in each of these provinces being the governor (פחה). Briant also notes the appearance of two similar titles for governor in the Babylonian texts; *piḫatu* and *peḫā*; however, the relationship between these two titles is not completely clear. It does seem that *piḫatu* refers to a satrap because the Greek texts translate the term as “satrap,” and the term *peḫā* designates governor of a smaller province.⁷⁹⁹ The Akkadian loanword פחה appears four times in the Aramaic documents from Egypt. In these documents only three names are attached to this title; the Persian Bagavahya, the governor of Yehud; the Babylonian Sanballat,

⁷⁹⁶ Briant 2002, 472. The name of Tšetreš appears in the Aramaic documents three times: in TAD A 4.5:9; TAD C 3.14:38 and 42. The name of Thebes (*Ni*’ or *No* in Aramaic) appears six times: in TAD A 4.2:6; TAD A 4.4:6; TAD A 5.5:2; TAD C 3.14:35 and TAD C 3.14: frag.col.1:2; TAD D 3.19:7.

⁷⁹⁷ Van de Mieroop 2011, 305.

⁷⁹⁸ Briant 2002, 481.

⁷⁹⁹ Briant 2002, 484 and 487.

the governor of Samaria; and the Persian Dadarši, the governor of Bactria.⁸⁰⁰ Certainly, there were also governors in Egypt, although their names have not survived.

One question arises. How is the title of פחה related to the originally Persian title (פרתרך)? Is it translated as governor or chief as well? From the arguments presented earlier in the chapter about military positions (4.3.2. Military), it appears that the above mentioned official *frataraka* (פרתרך) was a military person who had also administrative and legal responsibilities. In this capacity his position seems closer to the position of a prefect as appears in these documents under an originally Akkadian title סגן. In his history of the Persian Empire, Briant refers to the Greek historian Xenophon, who in his work *Oeconomicus*, makes the distinction between the Persian military position of *phourarch* (garrison commander) and the political position of *frataraka* (governor) of civil authority who supervised agricultural work, but who also supervised the work of the garrison commander. However, the position of satrap was the highest authority over both domains and officials.⁸⁰¹ The Persian title of governor, chief (פרתרך) is attached in the Aramaic documents to three Persians, Ramnadaina and Vidranga, who were located at Syene, and Guršapati who is said to have been positioned at THMWŠN that location has not yet been identified.⁸⁰² If it is true that Elephantine was the capital of the southern province called Tšetreš, it is also possible that the position of Ramnadaina and Vidranga as governor was that of the ruler of the entire province (פחה). Support for this assumption comes out in the fact that the name of the governor (*frataraka*) Vidranga appears once in the same document along with the provincial governors (*pehā*) Bagavahya and Sanballat. However, Vidranga appears in this document in negative light.⁸⁰³

In addition to governor, the Persian provincial administration had several lower administrative positions as can be seen from the list above. The Persian loanword accountant (המרכר) refers to the accountants/financiers of the satrapy who took care of the royal treasury in Egypt. The word accountant appears seven times; in three of those references, the text adds the explanation *who are in Egypt*.⁸⁰⁴ This is an interesting observation - that this title always appears in the plural form “the accountants”. And three

⁸⁰⁰ TAD A 4.7:1; A 4.7:29; C 2.1.7:31.

⁸⁰¹ Briant 2002, 341-342. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, IV.10-11. *The Works of Xenophon* by H. G. Dakyns. Macmillan and Co., 1897; <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/x/xenophon/x5oe/> Accessed 23.5.2016.

⁸⁰² Guršapati as the *frataraka* appears in Segal 27, 5. Segal 1983, 44 note 9.

⁸⁰³ TAD A 4.7:1, 5, 29.

⁸⁰⁴ TAD A 6.11:7; A 6.12:4; A 6.13:6. In addition to the expression accountant (המרכר), the rootverb of this noun also appears in the Aramaic documents; for example Segal 26,13 note 24 “accounting” (Iran. *ham-māra*) and Segal 49,4 note 4 “accountancy” (Iran. *hammāarakarani*).

times the name of their chief is mentioned to be an Anatolian Kenzasirma.⁸⁰⁵ It appears that the accountants worked in teams on all the levels of the satrapy. Probably their office was located at the local treasuries of the provinces, one of them being the royal treasury at Elephantine. An interesting official in the provincial administration was the hearer, an informant (גושך, *gaušaka*) who worked as the ears of the King, probably collecting information for the royal legal administration. In one document, hearers, police officials and judges appear together,⁸⁰⁶ implying that the hearers worked on the same provincial level as judges and police officers.⁸⁰⁷ Thus, Briant suggests that “the *gaušaka* was actually a satrapal inspector who, upon the summons of a community, came to make an inquiry on the spot accompanied by judges and policemen”.⁸⁰⁸

Other provincial officials include heralds, investigators⁸⁰⁹, judges, special envoys and scribes. Judges and scribes also appear on the local level. Altogether in these documents judges appear twenty two times and scribes twenty seven times. While the judges seem to have been of Persian origin, most of the scribes were Aramean or Judean, with a few Persians and Babylonians among them. How do we know that all these officials also worked on the provincial level? In addition to governors, one clear piece of evidence for this is noted in the Aramaic documents only for judges and scribes. One document mentions “the judges of the province” (דיני מדינתא)⁸¹⁰ and one document states “the judges of the king” (דיני מלכא).⁸¹¹ Similar expression “the scribes of the province” (ספרי מדינתא) appears three times in one Aramaic document.⁸¹² In addition, the expression “the scribes of the treasury” (ספרי אוצרא), which also can refer to the scribes of the provincial treasury, not only of the local treasury appears twice. In two other documents a general reference to other officials of the province as “the official of the province” (פקיד למדינתא) is used.⁸¹³

⁸⁰⁵ He worked under Nakhṭhor who was a high official of the satrap Aršama. TAD A 6.11:7; A 6.12:4; A 6.13:6. Look also TAD A 6.11:1; A 6.12:1 and A 6.13:1 about the chain of relationship of Kenzasirma with Nakhṭhor and Aršama.

⁸⁰⁶ TAD A 4.5:9.

⁸⁰⁷ Briant 2002, 472.

⁸⁰⁸ Briant 2002, 344.

⁸⁰⁹ Investigators appear three times in TAD A 4.2:3, 12.

⁸¹⁰ TAD A 5.2.:7.

⁸¹¹ TAD B 5.1:3.

⁸¹² TAD A 6.1:1,6.

⁸¹³ TAD A 4.2:6 and A 6.9:5.

Local

On the local level the eight officials are listed below:

Foremen (פרמנכר)

Judge (דין)

Judicial official (דתבר)

Oath administrator (מקם)

Official (פקיד)

Prefect, Chief (סגן)

Scribes of the treasury (ספרי אוצרא)

Scribe (ספר)

The highest position on the local level was probably that of the prefect. If my suggestion presented above is correct, then the Persian title of governor, chief (פרתרך, *frataraka*) is comparable to the original Akkadian title of prefect, chief (סגן).⁸¹⁴ This identification of *frataraka* as *seگان* was in fact made already by Grelot in 1972 when he suggested that *seگان* in Egypt was the Semitic equivalent of *frataraka*.⁸¹⁵ Furthermore, Briant's observation concerning the *frataraka* 'governor' of Elephantine fits in well with the above identification of *frataraka* as *seگان*. He notes that this official was at the top of the hierarchy on the local level, but at the same time dependent on the satrap and different from the garrison commander who lived in Syene.⁸¹⁶ It is also possible that the prefect *frataraka* might have had a central administrative authority in the organization of the agriculture production and the collection of the royal tribute. According to Briant, a clear distinction existed between the garrison commander (Greek, *phourarch*) and the governor of civil authority who supervised agricultural work.⁸¹⁷ The title pre-

⁸¹⁴ As an example Porten and Lund 2002, 239 where *seگان* is translated as "prefect" and is listed as appearing eleven times. In addition, the expression appears twice in Segal 102a, 3; there it is translated as "deputy" and "governor".

⁸¹⁵ Grelot 1972, 83. However, Porten connects the title of *seگان* to the garrison commander, who also on some occasions seems to have exercised judicial authority at Elephantine-Syene. Porten 1968, 48. See also Segal 102a, 3 note 4.

⁸¹⁶ Briant 2002, 472. Briant notes that this administrative system of the Persian Empire was set up already by Cyrus in 535 BCE. It attests that the Babylonian cities were administered by local governors (*šakin tēmi*). Later on, these local governors were replaced by the Persian officials, limiting the autonomy of the cities. Briant 2002, 484-485, 497.

⁸¹⁷ Briant 2002, 341, 448-449 and 458-459. According to Briant, on the bases of the evidence provided by the Persepolis tablets, agriculture production was organized in the Persian Empire into five departments: livestock, grain, wine (and beer), fruit, and fowl. Briant 2002, 425.

fect סגן is an Akkadian loan word (*šaknu* > סגן)⁸¹⁸ and appears in these documents thirteen times, five times together with term judges and five other times along with the word lord, master מר. Twice it appears as a designation for the chief of carpenters, along with the word נגר. However, mostly the title prefect סגן appears in legal contexts, with technical terminology of the contracts. It can be concluded that the prefect had both administrative and legal responsibilities.

The most common expression is the title of official (פקיד) which appears altogether thirty three times. This title was probably a general designation for all the different officials of the royal administration but the title might also have included certain minor tasks on different levels. One example is the Egyptian Psamshek, son of Aḥḥapi; this official of the domains of Aršama in Egypt⁸¹⁹ is simply called *an official* (פקיד). The judicial officials, as well as oath administrators and probably also investigators worked closely with the judges inside the court. It could be argued that the prefect acted as the chairman of the court, as foremen (פרמנכר) seem to have had responsibilities for local practical matters, for example works related to boats.⁸²⁰

The scribes also worked at the local level, doing both legal and administrative tasks. A special group (called scribes of the treasury ספרי אוצרא) was composed from these local scribes. They were responsible for the correspondence and archiving of the local royal treasury, as well as records for the king's local storehouse.⁸²¹ Briant emphasizes the need at that time for interpreters and scribes in the Persian administration, arguing that the Persian language was not widely spoken and that knowledge of other local languages was not a common accomplishment among the Persians.⁸²² Therefore, because of these local languages and scripts, the use of interpreters became quite common. For example, the Egyptian code of jurisprudence was published in both Aramaic and Demotic. Both the use of Aramaic and the service of the professional scribes allowed Persians to easily pass over obstacles in administrative affairs. Briant observes that even when Persians made a commercial deal with Egyptians, the contract was written in Aramaic.⁸²³

Except these mentioned above, the officials of the Persian administration, those

⁸¹⁸ Rosenthal 1995, 62.

⁸¹⁹ TAD A 6.4:2-3.

⁸²⁰ TAD A 6.2: 4, 8 and C 3.8IIB:1. Both of these documents are related to boats.

⁸²¹ For an example of the scribes of the treasury of Syene, see TAD B 4.3:9 and B 4.4:12, 14.

⁸²² Briant 2002, 508-509.

⁸²³ Briant 2002, 507 and 510.

working on different levels, as well as some special officials whose activity could not be located in only one level, are listed below:

Artisan (בדיכר)

Builder of the king (ארדכל זי מלכא)

Colleague (כנת)

Nobles (חר)

Sculptor (פתכרכר)

Šušān-official (שושן)

The title colleague (כנה/כנת), originally an Akkadian loanword *kinātu* or *kinattu*, is very common in these documents, appearing altogether fifty one times.⁸²⁴ This term does not refer to a certain position or task in the Persian administration but rather to a person or persons with a similar profession and social status. Thus, it is translated as “business or professional colleague, a co-worker, associate”, and as “staff” when used collectively.⁸²⁵ Porten has noted that the titles of Persian officials always appear in groups.⁸²⁶ This observation is also confirmed by my research. The Persian administrative system seems to be based on team work and every official worked with his colleagues. This appears to be true on both lower and higher levels of administration, as well as on the provincial and on local levels. According to Porten, this system probably guarded against the unlawful exercise of authority and against the usurpation by any individual official.⁸²⁷ This is especially true regarding accountants, heralds, judges and scribes. These groups are mentioned together, using the expression ‘and their colleagues’.⁸²⁸ This same expression also appears in the official letters of the satrap Aršama addressed to “Nakhṭor, Kenzasirma and their colleagues”.⁸²⁹ The Judeans of Elephantine also used the same expression about their own priests in Elephantine and also about the Ju-

⁸²⁴ According to Rosenthal, “the bulk of Akkadian loan words concerns terms of the political and financial administration”. Rosenthal 1995, 62.

⁸²⁵ Jeremy Black, Andrew George and Nicholas Postgate (eds.), *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2nd (corrected) printing. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 158; Also Rosenthal 1995, 62; Klein 1987, 281.

⁸²⁶ Porten 1968, 46.

⁸²⁷ Porten 1968, 47.

⁸²⁸ The expression is used with accountants for example in TAD A 6.11:7; A 6.12:4 and A 6.13:6; with heralds in TAD A 6.1:7; with judges in TAD A 6.1:5 and B 2.2:6; with scribes in TAD A 6.1:1,6.

⁸²⁹ For example in TAD A 6.11:1; A 6.12:1; A 6.13:1 and A 6.14:1.

dean priests of Jerusalem.⁸³⁰

Even the terms sculptor and artisan appear together, and they are probably the only artists found in these documents, if we do not count the use of the words artisan and craftsman (אמן) as mentioned before (4.3.1. Agriculture, page 159).⁸³¹ The term noble appears only five times; the noblemen do not seem to have played a significant role in the Persian administration in Egypt. The Šušān-official was already discussed before.

Throughout all of Egypt, the Persian Empire was well represented, not only in its officials but also in its institutions and administration of the land. The following list presents the different areal designations and names of the Persian institutions:

Areal designations

Fortress (בירה)

Domain, estate (בג, Pers, also בית)

Market (רסתך, Pers.)

Province (מדינה)

Region (נגי, Akk.)

Street (שוק)

Upasta-land (אופסתא)

Village, town (קריה)

Royal institutions

Document-house, archive (בית ספריא)

Palace (היכל, Akk.)

Storehouse of the king (בית מלכא)

Treasury (גנו, Pers., also אוצר)

Throne, chair (כרסא)

Both the Syene and Elephantine areas are designated as fortresses. In conquered lands like Egypt, the Persian high officials occupied estates they received as a grant from the King as part of their salary. According to these Aramaic documents, at least Aršama,

⁸³⁰ In TAD A 4.7:1 and 18.

⁸³¹ TAD A 6.12:1-2.

Varuvahya and probably also Virafša had domiciles in Egypt.⁸³² The Aramaic documents mention only three names of provinces (מדינה): Ni' (Thebes), Tšetres and Pamunpara'.⁸³³ In addition, using the Akkadian loanword for region (נגי), there is Taḥpnes (Daphnae).⁸³⁴ Persians seemingly also kept registers of their lands. The term Upasta-land was used to denote some special form of land in the Persian land registry.⁸³⁵

The throne and palace were the highest institutions in the Persian Empire. However, on the local level maybe the most visible royal Persian institutions, in addition to the military garrison, were the storehouse of the king and the treasury. The treasury refers to both the treasury of the king (אוצר מלכא), and the internal treasury (גנזא גויא), whatever that might have been. According to the documents, there was both a treasury and a storehouse of the king in the fortresses of Syene and Elephantine.⁸³⁶ It is also quite possible that one building served both purposes, as a treasury and as a storehouse. This is confirmed in other ancient sources from the Persian period.⁸³⁷ The Persian administration was well organized; in some documents even the expression בית ספריא 'document-house, archive' is used. From other ancient sources we know that archives existed in the Persian administration on all of its levels.⁸³⁸

4.4.2. Legal matters

By analyzing other Aramaic documents, it can be hypothesized that in legal matters the Persian Empire was well organized. Because many of the Aramaic documents are legal contracts, they provide a good picture of this area. Other documents are court records providing insight into that side of legal matters. To demonstrate the great variety of legal contracts reflected in these documents, I will list them next.

⁸³² TAD A 6.4: 1-4; A 6.5:2; A 6.6:2-3; A 6.7: 5-6; A 6.8: 2; A 6.9:1-2; A 6.10: 1-2, A 6.13:1-3; A 6.14: 1-3; A 6.15: 1, 9.

⁸³³ Ni' (Thebes) in TAD A 4.2:6; C 3.14:35; C 3.14:fragecol 1:2 and D 3.19:7; Tšetres in TAD A 4.5:9 and Pamunpara' in TAD A 6.1:6.

⁸³⁴ TAD B 4.4:3.

⁸³⁵ TAD C 3.18:13; C 3.21:4,9. See also TAD C XVIII, land.

⁸³⁶ TAD A 4.5:5; B 4.3: 9-16; B 4.4: 9-12. Porten and Yardeni have made an extensive study on the building plan of the Judean quarter at Elephantine, TAD B, 178-182.

⁸³⁷ According to Briant, "the local treasuries were thus primarily centres of collection, warehousing, and processing of agricultural and animal products". Briant 2002, 429.

⁸³⁸ Briant 2002, 66, 422-425.

Legal contracts

Document of division of slaves (ספר פלגן עבד)

Document of grain (ספר עבור)

Document of a house (ספר בי)

Document of oath (ספר מומה)

Document of loan (ספר חוב)

Document of obligation (ספר אסרן)

Document of silver (ספר כסף)

Document of a wall (ספר אגרא)

Document of wifhood (ספר אנתו)

Document of withdrawal (ספר מרחק) (also when releasing slaves)

The above ten different contract models are derived from the 45 legal documents found among the Aramaic documents. The most popular are documents of loan/obligation (8), withdrawal (8), house (8) and wifhood (7). In eleven contracts the location is said to be Elephantine and in seven contracts Syene. In the remainder of the contracts, location is not mentioned at all. Porten and Yardeni, as well as Folmer, suggest that the Judean scribes composed their documents usually at Elephantine while the Aramean, Babylonian and Persian scribes wrote their documents at Syene.⁸³⁹

According to the composer's personal name, the scribe of the contract in twenty cases is Judean, in eight cases, Aramean and in one case, a Babylonian.⁸⁴⁰ Porten and Yardeni surveyed the activity of the professional scribes who appear in the Aramaic documents. They designate a professional scribe as one who has been active in the composition of several legal documents. According to their survey, of the eight professional scribes six were Judean and two were Aramean.⁸⁴¹ Folmer also conducted a study about the names of the scribes who appear in the Aramaic documents found from Egypt. She used linguistic criteria proposed by Silverman to classify the names of the scribes to different language groups.⁸⁴² Classifying these names according to their pat-

⁸³⁹ Porten and Yardeni find only two exceptions to this rule, TAD B 2.11 and TAD B 7.1. TAD B, XIV. Folmer, however, suggests that Nabutukulti bar Nabuzeribni (TAD B 2.11:14) is the only scribe with an Akkadian name who wrote his document in Elephantine. Folmer 1995, 34.

⁸⁴⁰ See TAD B, 191.

⁸⁴¹ They suggest that also Nabutukulti son of Nabuzeribni was an Aramean and not a Babylonian. TAD B, 189.

⁸⁴² Folmer 1995, 32; Michael H. Silverman, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament (AOAT)* 217. Neukirchen-Vllyn 1985, 49ff.

ronymic, she admits that it is not always possible to distinguish between Hebrew and Aramaic names. However, she concludes there are altogether eighteen different scribe names. Fourteen of these names appear in legal documents, three in the official letters of the satrap Aršama, and one on a fragment of papyri found at Saqqara. From those legal documents, thirteen were discovered at Elephantine and one in Korobis. If we look only at those legal documents found at Elephantine, we see, according to Folmer, seven of the names of the scribes are Hebrew-Aramaic, four of them Akkadian, and two of them Aramaic.⁸⁴³ However, the criterion Folmer uses is not convincing; from her list I recognize six Hebrew names, three Aramaic names and four Akkadian names.⁸⁴⁴ I disagree with Folmer and Silverman concerning the classification of the scribe's name *Itu bar Abah*. Following Grelot, Folmer defines the first name as Phoenician or Aramaic, and together with Silverman, the patronymic as Hebrew-Aramaic.⁸⁴⁵ Following Porten and Lund, I classify the name *Itu bar Abah* as Aramaic.⁸⁴⁶ My study of the Aramaic documents supports the suggestions proposed both by Folmer and by Porten–Yardeni that the Judean scribes seem to have been very active in the Aramaic legal and scribal processes during the Persian period Egypt, particularly at Elephantine.

In creating legal documents, scribes used the technical terminology of that time, writing in Aramaic. Some terms were loanwords either from Akkadian or from Persian languages. From extensive reading, I traced twenty different technical terms in these legal contracts. Here I present only seven of them as an example.

Technical legal terms

At the instruction of (על פם or כפם)

Guarantor (ערב or Pers. אדרנג)

Mohar (bride-price) (מחר)

Pledge, security (of a loan) (ערבן)

Silver of hatred (in case of divorce) (כסף שנאה)

Suit or process (דין ודבב, Akk.)

⁸⁴³ Folmer 1995, 32-33.

⁸⁴⁴ Folmer is using Silverman's criteria which employs a chronological differentiation and argues for a growing Aramaizing process within the Judeans of Elephantine. Michael H. Silverman, "Hebrew Name-Types in the Elephantine Documents" in *Orientalia* 39. 1970, 465-491.

⁸⁴⁵ Folmer 1995, 32, note 188; Grelot 1972, 475; Silverman 1985, 72.

⁸⁴⁶ Porten and Lund classify the first name *Itu* as Aramaic or Arabian (Porten and Lund 2002, 322) and the patronymic *Aba* as Aramaic (Porten and Lund 2002, 316).

Witness (שהד)

At the initial creation of the contract, a scribe wrote the document *at the instruction of* (על פם or כפם) someone else. Many times the Akkadian term *dīnu dabābu* > דין ודבב meaning *suit or process* appears in the contracts as a technical term for the legal process. According to Holtz, in the Neo-Babylonian court procedure “a simple translation of the verbal construction *dīna itti PN₂ dabābu* is ‘to argue a case against PN₂’”.⁸⁴⁷ Contracts related to property or money use technical terms typical for these types of contracts, such as *guarantor* (ערב or Pers. אדרנג) and *pledge, security* (of a loan) (ערבן). In other documents like those of wifehood, scribes used those terms suitable to the contract like *mohar* (bride-price) (מהר) and *silver of hatred* (כסף שנאה), to designate the process of divorce and its consequences. Every legal contract had *witnesses* (שהד); their number varied between three to twelve people. An occasion of twelve witnesses appears twice in contracts for a house purchase. Three witnesses was a minimum number for a document of wifehood.⁸⁴⁸ It appears that these marriage contracts did not include any religious aspects or references; they were mainly public and social processes that included also some legal and economic aspects. This was the case among the Judeans of Egypt, as well. Lemaire reminds us that among the 130 witnesses appearing in the Aramaic contracts, “only five did not write their own signatures, which is a clear indication of significant Aramaic literacy among the Judeans in Elephantine”.⁸⁴⁹

Court system

Legal matters were not restricted only to contracts. According to the evidence of the Aramaic documents, a well organized court system also existed in Persian period Egypt. One part of the documents consists of court records.⁸⁵⁰ The legal processes of court were executed according to prescript procedures, with special personnel taking care of the process. The personnel consisted of judges, interrogators, judicial officials, oath administrators, scribes and probably of a Prefect who acted as the chairman of the court. Among the records of crimes committed or suspected, there are assault and battery, bribery, burglary, fugitive slaves, fraud, injustice, theft, and unpaid rent. If after

⁸⁴⁷ Shalom E. Holtz, *Neo-Babylonian Court Procedure*. (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 119.

⁸⁴⁸ Twelve witnesses appear in TAD B 2.3. and B 2.4. Three witnesses appear in TAD B 3.3.

⁸⁴⁹ Lemaire 2015, 61.

⁸⁵⁰ TAD B 8:1-12.

interrogation the case was not clear or if the evidence was contradictory, the accused person was requested to take an oath (מומא) or to give a declaration in the name of a deity. When doing so, the accused presented the required evidence for his innocence. In the Aramaic documents Judeans also appear among the accused that were required to take an oath in order to convince their innocence. Four of these oath documents were found in Elephantine, and in two of them, the accused can be identified from his Hebrew name to be a Judean.⁸⁵¹ These persons were accused of burglary and fraud. In a third case the name of the accused does not appear, but it is very probable that he was also a Judean. In this case the accused was charged with theft of fish.⁸⁵² In all of these cases the three were required to take an oath in the name of a deity. In addition to these four oath documents, two documents of withdrawal contain references to a judicial oath where one of the contract parties had to take an oath in order to satisfy the second party. In both cases, the person who took the oath was Judean.⁸⁵³ Although these persons were Judeans, the name of a deity by whom the oath was taken varied. Later, this religious aspect of judicial oaths will be discussed in detail under the subcategory of religious customs and activities.

4.4.3. Communication

Communication is another important part of the Aramaic documents. Reliable communication was an essential part of the Persian administration, and it was executed through many different written documents. The vast amount of different names for these documents demonstrates what an important factor communication was in the large Persian Empire. The following list offers just a small insight into this variety of communication.

Ways of communication

Complaint (קבילה)

Order, decree (טעם)

Order, inspection (הנדרז, Pers.)

⁸⁵¹ Oath documents are published in TAD B 7:1-4. In TAD B 7.2 the accused person is Malkiyah, son of Yašobyah, and in TAD B 7.3. the accused person is Menahem, son of Shallum.

⁸⁵² TAD B 7.1:1-9.

⁸⁵³ In TAD B 2.2 the oath is taken by Maḥseyah, son of Yedanyah and in TAD B 2.8. by his daughter Mibṭahyah.

Letter, document (ספר)

Letter (אגרת, Akk.)

Memorandum (דכרן/זכרן)

Message (פתגם, Pers.)

Command of the King (צות מלכא)

Rescript (נשתון, Pers.)

Route (אדון, Pers.)

Severe reprimand (גסת פתגם, Pers.)

Statement, report (אודיס, Pers.)

Trustworthy man (אש מהימן)

Of course, the most common of the means of communication was a letter. Letters were written on papyrus scrolls (מגלה), on leather scrolls, or even on shards of broken clay vessels. As the letters of the Satrap Aršama were written on leather scrolls, it can be concluded that leather was probably more expensive and used only by the highest officials. In perspective shard of clay vessel was then the cheapest base for writing a message to someone else. The word ספר for letter/document is more commonly used (128 appearances) than the originally Akkadian expression אגרת (30). It should be noted, however, that the expression אגרת always refers to a letter in these Aramaic documents while the more common word ספר can refer either to a letter or to a document. In addition, in 27 cases the noun ספר refers to a scribe or scribes.

In the documents the expression “trustworthy man” (אש מהימן) also appears. From other ancient sources we know that the royal mail was delivered by express couriers who rode on horses using the royal roads. These couriers were given food and new horses from the storehouses of the King along the way.⁸⁵⁴ Probably this system was adopted into Egypt from the system used elsewhere in the Persian Empire. The imperial administration system provided food and support also for other royal officials who travelled on the business of the Persian administration. The use of the royal roads and the resources of the king required prior official authorization. The expression route

⁸⁵⁴ This royal mail system operated between the king and his subordinates in the provinces. Briant 2002, 369-371.

(𐎧𐎠𐎫, Pers.) belongs in this context.⁸⁵⁵ One example of an official who enjoyed this privilege is the Egyptian, Nakhthor, whom the Satrap Aršama sent to Egypt:

And n(o)w, (behol)d (one) named Nakhthor, m(y) official, (is) g(oing) to Egypt. You, give (him ra)tions from my estate which is in your province(s), day by day...Give them this ration, each official in turn, according to the route which is from province to province until he reaches Egypt.⁸⁵⁶

This letter of authorization for Nakhthor clearly shows that the Persian administration of royal roads, communication and official travelling system was executed in Egypt, too. Briant notes that “each district had a bureaucracy like the one in the central offices”.⁸⁵⁷ It is also noteworthy that in the above list about one half of the technical terms used in communication were of Persian origin, showing how heavily the Persians impacted the administrative systems in Egypt during the Persian period even though it was located on the periphery of the vast Empire. Using the variety of means and technical terms of the communicative documents, we can also decipher how important and demanding the work of a professional scribe might have been. He was expected to know and use all the respective terms and forms of documentation used in the official Persian administration. Without a doubt, this had to be the result of previous systematic education in some scribal school or by the father of the young scribe because this was one of those professions which were passed forward from father to son.⁸⁵⁸

4.4.4. Taxation

One aspect of the Persian administration appearing in the documents is taxation. Through different expressions these terms reveal how the administration received economic resources from subjugated nations, landowners, trade and private people. In order to better understand the Persian system of taxation and how the different expres-

⁸⁵⁵ Leader of a caravan had to possess a sealed document, *halmi* in Elamite, which included the number of travelers, the amount of their rations, and the path to be followed. Briant 2002, 364-365.

⁸⁵⁶ TAD A 6.9: 2-3, 5.

⁸⁵⁷ Briant 2002, 426.

⁸⁵⁸ Porten notes that “to a certain extent the scribal craft seems to have been hereditary with the Jews and Arameans as well as with the Egyptians”. Porten 1968, 192.

sions related to taxation belong to this overall system, the central role of the treasury of the King has to be taken into account. The following figure (Figure 3) delineates this complex but effective system.

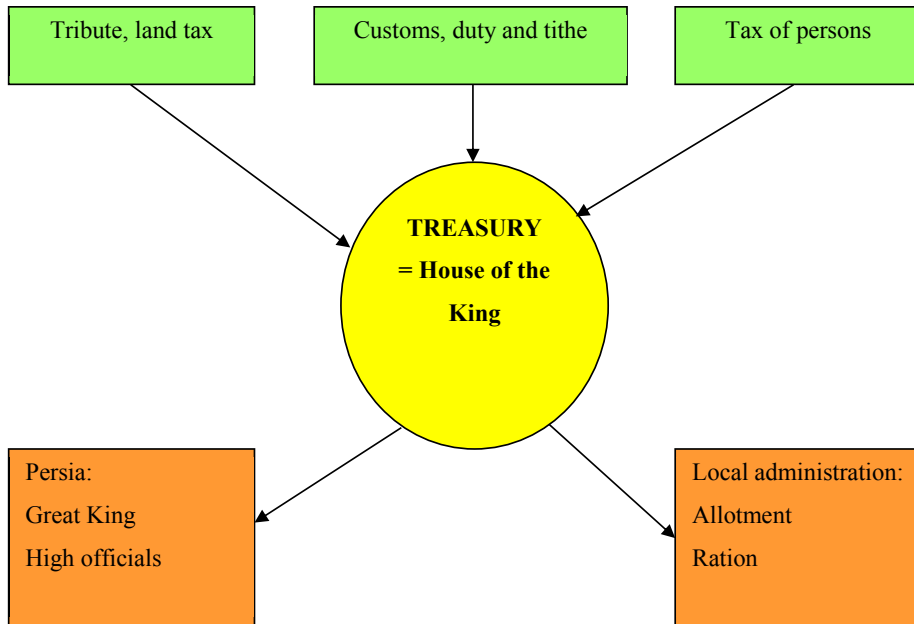


Figure 3 The Persian taxation system and the treasury of the King as its center

This picture drawn from the Aramaic documents provides the necessary construct for the Persian financial and taxation system. The treasury of the King was the center of the system. Three expressions are used to designate the treasury of the King; one the originally Persian term גזו meaning “treasury” (this appears eight times in the Aramaic documents), second the expression אוצר מלכא translated “the treasury” or “the storehouse of the King” (appearing eight times) and third, the more common expression בית מלכא referring to “the house of the King” (appears 36 times).⁸⁵⁹ In the Aramaic documents the third term is commonly used in connection with withdrawing payments or depositing

⁸⁵⁹ Probably also in Segal 83, 6, which would be its 37th appearance in these Aramaic documents.

payments into the treasury of the King.⁸⁶⁰ The House of the King acted as an effective power station; it received financial resources and fed them back into the system on the local level, but at the same time it also fed the central administration in Persia itself. The treasury of the King also included storehouses for the collection of the agricultural products.⁸⁶¹ This royal institution was visible throughout the local level everywhere in the Persian Empire. Although the main treasury of the King was in Persia, local storehouses stood in every conquered country and in every larger city. Egypt itself had more than one treasury with all its different storehouses. As already stated before, it appears that both Elephantine and Syene had their own treasuries and storehouses. Because Elephantine was an important trade post between Nubia and Egypt, it had its own garrison with the Judean soldiers. Although Elephantine was only a small island, the economic flow of taxes into the treasury and out of it must have been reasonably strong. Thus, the treasury of the King was a visible token of the royal Persian economic and administrative power. But at the same time, it was much more than just a symbol. According to Briant, the treasury of the King was a well organized and managed system that accumulated the royal Persian wealth. He asserts that this system was initiated previously by Cyrus and Cambyses, and not only by Darius the Great, arguing that all Persian Kings needed considerable financial resources for their armies and military expeditions. Each local treasury was managed by a royal treasurer (*ganzabara*, Old Persian) whose responsibilities included the economic flow of funds through the local treasury under his authority.⁸⁶² Briant emphasizes that in Egypt, building up this kind of a royal economic system of collection was not a problem “because the practice of conferring royal gifts was well known among the pharaohs.”⁸⁶³ For comparison, the following figure (Figure 4) depicts the Early Dynastic system of governing in Egypt as described by Toby Wilkinson.⁸⁶⁴ It shows how taxation and collection was connected to the royal treasury also in the Early Dynastic Egypt. However, in the financial and taxation system of the Per-

⁸⁶⁰ Therefore, Segal also gives another possible translation for this expression, namely “Treasury.” Segal 1983, 51, document 31, 3 note 4. According to Porten, the term for “treasury” in the Aramaic documents is either “storehouse,” “storehouse of the King,” or “house of the King.” The expression “the house of the King” may have been an abbreviation of the complete term “house of the treasures of the King.” Its staff included a Treasurer, a Vice-Treasurer, as well as accountants and scribes of the storehouse. Porten 1968, 60.

⁸⁶¹ The treasury of the king in Elephantine included also a barley house, TAD A 4.5:5.

⁸⁶² Briant 2002, 67. Hassani suggests that in the Persian Empire “children also worked, mostly in the treasuries, copying the administrative tablets”. Hassani 2007, 4.

⁸⁶³ Briant 2002, 485.

⁸⁶⁴ Toby A.H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, (London: Routledge 2000). Also recalled in Douglas J. Brewer, *Ancient Egypt: foundations of a Civilization*, (Harlow: Pearson Longman 2005), 26.

sian Empire the house of the King was the center of the whole organization. In contrast, although in the Egyptian system the Pharaoh was the highest authority, he was symbolically less present in the daily collection activities. For example, in the Persian Empire even the local treasuries were called “House of the King”. In this respect, the Persian taxation system seems to have been more visible and effective on the local level.

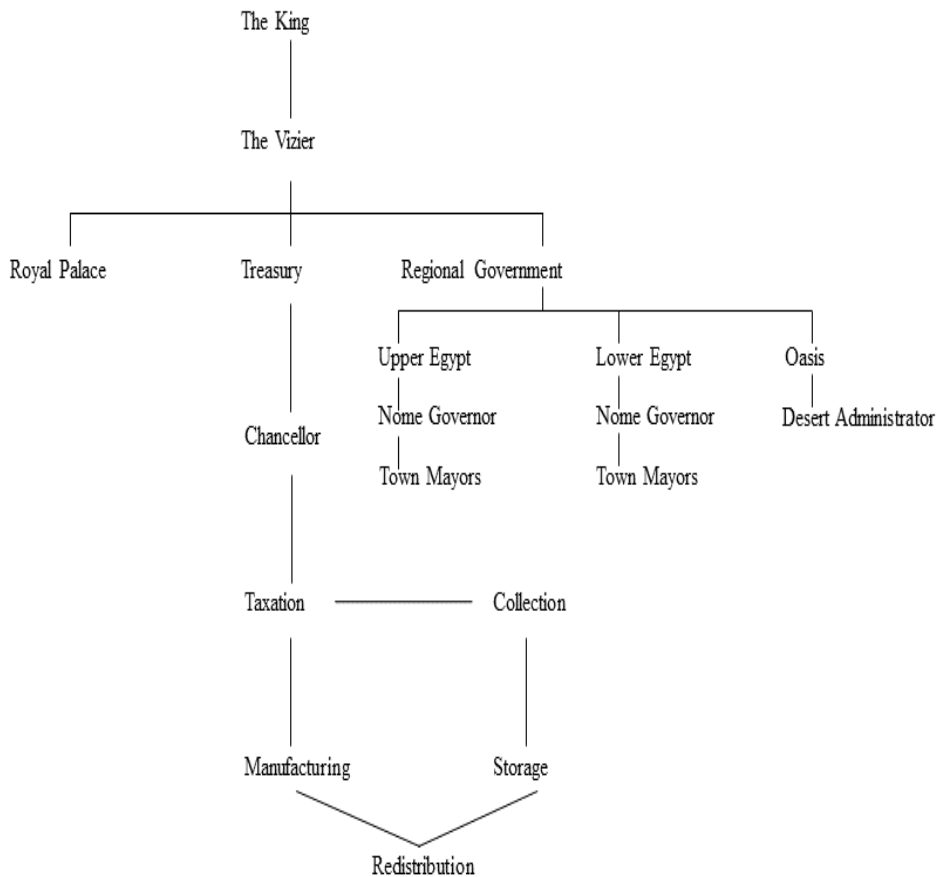


Figure 4 Governing hierarchy of Early Dynastic Egypt (by Wilkinson)

In order to understand the need for an economic flow into the treasury of the Persian King, we have to see what resources went out from it. The outgoing flow of economic resources from the treasury of the King had two main streams: the first led to Persia and the second back to the local administrative system. The Aramaic documents bear evidence that at least some part of the tax income was delivered to the central administra-

tion in Persia through Babylon. One example showed how the Satrap Aršama gave order to deliver income of the domains of the prince Varuvahya in Egypt and bring it together with the treasure to Babylon:

Now, Aršama says thus: “You, issue instruction to Aḥatubaste, official of Varuvahya, to the effect that he release the rent (מנדה) of the domains of Varuvahya in full and the accrued increment and bring (it) and come with the treasure (גנוזא) which by me (order) was issued to bring to Babylon.⁸⁶⁵

In this quotation, Aršama uses two words relating to the tax system: The first is the Akkadian מנדה, which means payment and duty. The second is the Persian expression גנוזא, which means treasure and treasury. In another document, Aršama sent to his officials in Egypt, he donates a royal estate as a grant to his servant Peṭosiri. Although it is given as a gift, Peṭosiri is ordered to pay the land tax according to the seed capacity of the fields.

Now, Arša(ma) says thus: If it is so according to these words which Peṭosiri sent (to me) that (one) named Pamun, his father, when there was the unrest in Egypt, perished with (his household) personnel (and) the domain of that Pamun his father, of 30 a(rdab) seed capacity – that was abandon(ed and) not made (over) (to my estate) and not given by me to another servant, then I do give the domain of that Pamun to Peṭosiri. You, notify him. Let him hold-(it)-as-heir and pay to my estate the land tax (והלכא) just as formerly his father Pamun had been paying.⁸⁶⁶

In this document Aršama uses the Aramaic expression הלך, to denote the land tax and tribute. This term is an Akkadian loan word deriving from the Akkadian *ulku/alku/ al-luka* (feudal duty, obligation).⁸⁶⁷ From these examples we understand that a certain part of the royal tax income was transferred to the central administration in Persia, either through those higher officials or directly. However, the documents do not reveal the monetary amount transferred to Persia. According to Porten and Yardeni, trade ships

⁸⁶⁵ TAD A 6.13:4-5.

⁸⁶⁶ TAD A 6.11: 3-6.

⁸⁶⁷ Klein 1987, 152; Porten and Lund 2002, 85.

that arrived in Egypt paid “a fixed amount of duty, apparently in the range of twenty percent”⁸⁶⁸. However, the percentage of the duty that was transferred to Persia is not revealed. Probably it was not more than a half because a significant part of the taxes were also used for the expenses of the local administration in Egypt. According to the Aramaic documents, the income of the treasury was transferred to Persia through Babylon. Because of the long geographical distance between Egypt and Persia, it is very probable that the taxes paid for agricultural products were mostly transferred in silver. Of course grain for example could be transferred by caravans of camels, if needed.

The second stream of the outgoing flow of economic resources from the treasury of the King consisted of allotments (פרס) and rations (פתר) distributed as salaries on a monthly basis to the soldiers of the garrisons and to the officials of the local Persian administration. This included both payments of silver and different agricultural products. These rations included flour, mainly barley or emmer, beer and wine.⁸⁶⁹ According to one document, payment could include oil as well.⁸⁷⁰ According to Briant, the rations provided by the Persian administration in Persepolis consisted of flour, beer, wine, grain, dates, and figs.⁸⁷¹ Because we know that the Persian administration consisted of many different officials on different levels, we also comprehend that the outgoing flow of payments, salaries, and rations from the treasury of the King was continuous and large.

From this, we can understand the large amount of needed income to the treasury of the king. This power station, so to speak, had to be fed, to receive funds; otherwise it did not work. The Aramaic documents reveal three sources that contributed to the treasury of the king through different kind of taxes. The first of them was the above mentioned הלך, land tax or tribute. This payment was required of all landowners or from those who kept estates and fields as a gift from the royal house. The tax itself was paid either in silver or in agricultural products or both. According to other ancient sources, this tribute could also be paid in the form of livestock such as horses, sheep, camels etc.⁸⁷² Additionally, altogether Egypt, together with Libyans, Cyrene and Barca,

⁸⁶⁸ TAD C, p. XX.

⁸⁶⁹ Rations for travelers are presented in TAD A 6.9:2-4. The disbursement of wine can be found in TAD C 3.12. The disbursement of barley to Syenian garrison is mentioned in TAD C 3.14 and the disbursement of emmer in TAD C 3.26.

⁸⁷⁰ TAD C 3.18: 15.

⁸⁷¹ Briant 2002, 96.

⁸⁷² Briant 2002, 390-394.

paid a total of 700 talents of silver and income from the fish in Lake Moeris, as well as 120 000 medimnes of wheat for the Persian garrison at Memphis.⁸⁷³ The amount of tribute was determined in relation to the agricultural resources of the land in question. The basic idea of the Persian tribute principle was simple: every community in the Empire was required to pay part of its income and produce to the King in Persia. Therefore, the Persians saw also Egypt as an important source of imperial income.⁸⁷⁴

According to the documents, the second type of tax was the customs duty. The primary source of evidence for this comes from the customs account already listed above.⁸⁷⁵ Van de Mieroop notes that because international trade flourished in the Persian period,⁸⁷⁶ the income to the house of the King from this source might not have been small. The customs duty, which trade ships paid for their incoming cargo, can be divided into three categories. The first, already mentioned above, is the Akkadian term מנדה that means “payment” or “duty”. The captains paid this duty in silver and gold, according to the size of their ship. The second category goes under the expression מעשר, which means “tithe”. It can also be labeled מנה, “part, share or portion”. These incoming trade ships paid this tax by contributing a certain fixed percentage of their traded items to the storehouse of the king. In practice this tax brought into the storehouse of the king all the needed products which were traded to Egypt. According to the customs account, they were the following: cedar wood, clay of šmwš, empty jars for oil, iron, new and old oars, oil, Shalmaite bronze, tin, Ionian and Sidonian wine, wood, wooden supports for transporting and storing oil jars and wool.⁸⁷⁷ These totals were not small. According to the calculations of Porten and Yardeni, the royal storehouse received in a one month customs tithe the following amounts of products: wine 919 and a half jars, oil 195 jars, Shalmaite bronze 2100 karsh (one karsh = 10 shekels), iron 5100 karsh, 53 oars and 570 empty jars.⁸⁷⁸ The Aramaic customs account provides clear evidence of this twofold import customs duty:

⁸⁷³ Briant discusses the historical reliability of the list of tribute that Herodotus provides and concludes that “it is apparent that the numerical information he gives must be considered reliable”. Briant 2002, 391-392.

⁸⁷⁴ Van de Mieroop 2011, 307-310.

⁸⁷⁵ TAD C 3.7.

⁸⁷⁶ Van de Mieroop 2011, 307-308.

⁸⁷⁷ TAD C, XX.

⁸⁷⁸ TAD C, 291.

A(II) the duty (כל מנדחא) and the tithe (ומעשרא) which was collected from them and made (over) to the (store-)house of (the) king.⁸⁷⁹

The third category of customs duty was an export tax charged to ships for exporting items from Egypt. When these same ships left Egypt, many exported natron. For this exported natron they paid an export customs duty called חשי, once again paid in silver.⁸⁸⁰

In addition to tributes and customs taxes, the royal treasury received continuous income from a third source. In the customs account this source is referred to as silver of the men (כסף גבריא).⁸⁸¹ These funds were a fixed amount that each sailor paid in silver. According to the customs account, the silver of the men was in some cases probably paid also in agricultural products, such as wine.⁸⁸² However, it seems in the light of the Aramaic documents that this tax was not demanded only from the sailors but from all the people. In that sense, it was some kind of a per capita tax, the tax of persons. In another document, which is a fragmentary account of silver, this tax is called מכס גבריא, tax of the persons. מכס is an Akkadian loanword used in taxation vocabulary.

The silver which was added to the tax of Petese, son of ...

Tax of persons who will be added in year 7 (+1) (08).⁸⁸³

In addition, there might also have been other resources, which provided continuous income to the treasury of the King, but they are not mentioned in these Aramaic documents.

4.4.5. Other aspects of the administration

This subcategory of administration includes also four subcategories. Because they are not central to my research, I will mention them only briefly. The first is the calendar used in the Aramaic documents. Many of the documents, especially the legal contracts, included the date when the document was written. These dates reveal that the scribes

⁸⁷⁹ TAD C 3.7. FR2: 12-13.

⁸⁸⁰ TAD C 3.7.KV2: 6, 8, 10.

⁸⁸¹ TAD C 3.7.FR2: 3, 6-7.

⁸⁸² TAD C, 291.

⁸⁸³ TAD C 3.11: 8, 10.

who wrote the documents used both the Babylonian and Egyptian calendar. Twenty-two of the legal contracts and three of the accounts bear double dates. Others either have a Babylonian or Egyptian date or no date at all. Porten and Yardeni who did extensive research on these double dates of the Aramaic contracts, argue that dates are important especially for proper dating of the documents.⁸⁸⁴

The second subcategory consists of all the weights and measures which appear in the documents. Sufficient information on them as they appear in the Aramaic documents is presented in Porten and Yardeni⁸⁸⁵ and Porten and Lund⁸⁸⁶. The third subcategory includes all the referencies to currencies that appear in these documents. Here it is enough to note that the main cash currencies which appear in these documents are shekels and Ionian staters. Silver was mainly weighted in shekels and gold in staters. One Ionian stater roughly equals two shekels. Staters and shekels appear together in the customs account, which is dated to ca. 475 BCE. The fourth subcategory consists of all the other aspects, which appear in the texts, but which are not included in the previous subcategories. Here I only mention the aspect of private life. It appears that the life of a woman in Persian-period Egypt was much more socially regulated than that of a man. This becomes apparent in the expressions and terminology used to designate men and women. They appear in the following table (Table 20):

Table 20 Status of man and woman in the private life

MAN	WOMAN
Child (ינק or once ולד)	Child (ינק)
Son (בר)	Daughter (ברה)
Man (גבר)	Virgin (בתולה)
Husband (בעל)	Woman, lady (נשן)
Father (אב)	Great lady (נשן רבה)
	Wife (אנתה)
	Mother (אם)
	Widow (ארמלה)

Women were given three more designations than men did, namely that of virgin, great lady and widow. What the expression great lady exactly means is not known; it probably referred to a woman that possessed economic or other wealth in the society. How-

⁸⁸⁴ TAD B, 185-187.

⁸⁸⁵ Porten and Yardeni 1993, 295.

⁸⁸⁶ Porten and Lund 2002, 484.

ever, the term “widow” is used only in connection with women and mourning in the Aramaic documents. This becomes clear in the following text:

Moreover, from the month of Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius and until this day we are wearing sackcloth and fasting; our wives are made as widow(s); (we) do not anoint (ourselves) with oil and do not drink wine.⁸⁸⁷

When we observe the Persian administration system as a whole as it appears in the Aramaic documents, we cannot avoid noting the central role of the professional scribes. They are needed for all levels of the administration, in legal matters, at court, in trade, as well as in the taxation system and the treasury of the King. Without professional scribes, all the accounting, registration, reporting and documentation needed for this vast administration would not have been possible. And as already stated before, the Judeans had a remarkable role in this scribal activity of the Persian administration in Egypt in general, and in the Aramaic chancery in particular.

4.5. Religion

In the category of religion I divided the source material into these six subcategories: names of the Divine, names of temples, allusions to religious feasts, religious customs and actions, religious professions and religious vocabulary.

4.5.1. Names of the Divine

In this subcategory I investigated and studied all the names of the Divine that appear in the Aramaic documents as such. Here I did not take into account the divine particles included in the theophoric personal names which I have discussed already before (Chapter 4.2.2. Personal names, page 139). The following table (Table 21) presents the names of the Divine found in these Aramaic documents.

⁸⁸⁷ TAD A 4.7: 19-21.

Table 21 Names of the Divine which appear in the Aramaic documents

DEITY	ARAMAIC NAME
Ahuramazda	אהורמזד
Amon	אמון
Anat-Bethel	ענתביתאל
Anat-Yahu	ענתיהו
Atum	אתם
Banit	בנת
Bel	בל
Bethel	ביתאל
El	אל
Ešem-Bethel	אשמביתאל
God of Heaven/Lord of Heaven	מרא /אלה/ שמיא
God of the mountain	אלה טורא
Hanilat	הנאלת
Herem	חרם
Herem-Bethel	חרמביתאל
Horus	חור
Isis	אסי
Khnum or Khnub	חנום
Lord of Holy Ones	בעל קדשן
Lord of the two Truths	נמעתי
Min	מן
Nabu	נבו
Nergal	נרגל
Osiris	אוסרי
Osiris-Ḥapi	אוסרי חפי
Ptaḥ	פתח
Queen of Heaven	מלכת שמיין
Sati	סתי
Šamaš	שמש
Sin	סן
Yahu/Yahu Šeba'ot	יהו/ יהה צבאת

Altogether 32 different names of deities appear in the Aramaic documents studied. In addition, one name is fragmentary and cannot be identified.⁸⁸⁸ When we compare this table with Table 18 (page 150), which represents the deities found in the theophoric names, we observe that fifteen names of the list in Table 18 are missing here (these are the Akkadian Marduk, Aramean ʿAtha, Hadad, Nanay, Nušku and Šahar, Egyptian Neit, Northwest Semitic Dagan and Kemoš, Persian Atar, Baga, Mithra and Tir as well as the Phoenician Astarte and Baʿal). Probably these deities represented the gods worshiped in the homelands and families of the people but were not actually worshiped in

⁸⁸⁸ This unidentifiable name of a deity appears in TAD D 17.1:5 and reads ופרנחתי or ופדנחתי.

Egypt. However, they were in the collective memory of the people and kept as part of the personal names of some Arameans, Babylonians, Persians and Phoenicians. Interesting to note, fourteen new names appear in Table 21 but are missing from the list of deities found in the theophoric names in Table 18. Five of these new names are the joining of two deities together, as follows: Anat-Betel, Anat-Yahu, Ešem-Bethel, Herem-Bethel and Osiris-Hapi. Using the premise of the original language, most of these divine names are Aramean. The only exceptions are Yahu, originally a Hebrew name and Osiris-Hapi from Egyptian origin. Especially popular seem to have been the Aramean deities Anat and Bethel.

We observe one interesting feature here: in the light of this evidence, it seems that the religious atmosphere in Persian-period Egypt was such that it promoted the worship of different deities together. A second option is that these combined names of deities existed among these people already before the Persian period, and they simply brought them into Egypt. Karel Van der Toorn argues convincingly for this second view. In his study he suggests that the goddess Anat was a consort of Yahu and that Anat was originally an Aramean creation.⁸⁸⁹ According to evidence mainly from the Ugaritic texts, Anat (Ugar. *'ant*, Akk. *Ḥanat/Anatu/Kanat*) seems to have originally been a North West Semitic goddess.⁸⁹⁰ Ugaritic texts present Anat as the daughter of El and the sister of Baal, as well as a warrior and patron of warriors. Her role as a fertility goddess is rejected by most scholars today; she is seen more as a war-goddess.⁸⁹¹ In Syro-Palestine Anat is known at least since 18th-16th centuries BCE. It should be noted that the Beth Shan stele from the time of Ramses III (ca.1184-1153 BCE) refers to Anat as “the Queen of Heaven”.⁸⁹² Anat was introduced in Egypt for the first time probably by the Hyksos. Later she was popular in Egypt especially during the New Kingdom (ca.1550-1069 BCE).⁸⁹³ In Egyptian mythology Anat is sometimes paired with Astarte, but this assumption on the merging of Northwest Semitic goddesses in Egypt is still

⁸⁸⁹ Van der Toorn 1992, 80-101.

⁸⁹⁰ P.L. Day “Anat”, in Van der Toorn Karel, Bob Becking and Pieter W. Van der Horst, (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 62-63.

⁸⁹¹ Izak Cornelius, “Anat”, in <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex/das-bibellexikon/lexikon/sachwort/anzeigen/details/anat/ch/763b1f8a169b008d36e961e53c3b6450/> Accessed 11.6.2016.

⁸⁹² A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan*. (Philadelphia 1940), 33. The question whether the Queen of Heaven referred to in Jer.7:18 and 44:17 is Anat is debated by scholars. Against this assumption, look S. Ackerman, *Under Every Green Tree. Popular Religion in Sixth-Century Judah*. (Atlanta 1992), 5-35.

⁸⁹³ Cornelius recalls how Ramses II named even his daughter, dog and sword after Anat. Cornelius, “Anat”, accessed 11.6.2016.

debated.⁸⁹⁴ In a treaty of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon with Baal of Tyre from the 7th century BCE, Anat appears by the name Anat-Bethel.⁸⁹⁵ However, scholars still debate the assertion that Anat was a consort of Bethel and Yahu. For example, Day rejects such a notation and argues that “it would be most odd to find a single goddess sexually paired with two gods on a standard basis at the same time in the same location”.⁸⁹⁶ According to Van der Toorn, Anat-Yahu is a parallel to Anat-Bethel: both of them were imported into Egypt. He states that Anat-Yahu “was created by the same North Syrian Arameans who brought Bethel and Anat-Bethel to Egypt.”⁸⁹⁷ He notes that the worship of Anat and Bethel was introduced into Israel by the Arameans in the 7th century BCE as a result of the Assyrian victory of North Syria and Samaria at the end of the 8th century BCE. Thus, according to Van der Toorn, Anat-Yahu was created by the Arameans deported into Israel using the model of Anat-Bethel. His theory, therefore, assumes that the Judeans and Arameans of Elephantine and Syene originated predominantly from Northern Israel. Van der Toorn also suggests that another goddess in my list, Queen of Heaven (מלכת שמים), is none other than the same Aramean Anat.⁸⁹⁸

In her recent work, Rohrmoser also discusses the possible reason for the appearance of the four Aramean deities (Bethel, Anat, Ašim and Ḥerem) in connection with the Judeans of Elephantine and YHW their God.⁸⁹⁹ As we can see, these names also appear in the joined forms of Anat-Bethel, Anat-Yahu, Ešem-Bethel, and Ḥerem-Bethel. Except for Anat and Ašim (Ešem), all the names of these deities appear only once in the Aramaic documents.⁹⁰⁰ Anat and Ašim appear only in compound forms or in theophoric personal names. Based on the evidence, Rohrmoser argues that it is not possible to conclude whether the origin of these gods was in Samaria, North-Syria or Jerusalem.⁹⁰¹ However, Rohrmoser’s basic assumption asserts that the population of Elephantine was composed of a mixture of Arameans and Judeans, hence the name

⁸⁹⁴ Day 1995, 71.

⁸⁹⁵ SAA 2 5 iv 6. R. Borger, “Anat-Bethel”, *Vetus Testamentum* 7, 1957, 102-104.

⁸⁹⁶ Day 1995, 72.

⁸⁹⁷ Van der Toorn 1992, 87.

⁸⁹⁸ Van der Toorn 1992, 97. He also argues that the compound name of Ḥerem-Bethel is not a divine name, but refers to the sacred property of Bethel. Van der Toorn 1992, 86. I would argue that it might be a compound divine name of an Aramean war-god who was popular among soldiers and mercenaries in North Syria and elsewhere in ancient Near East. According to Klein, Hebrew חָרַם = to ban, devote, excommunicate, exterminate; Aram.-Syr. = to ban, devote, excommunicate. Klein 1987, 233.

⁸⁹⁹ Rohrmoser 2014, 126-152.

⁹⁰⁰ Anat-Bethel appears in TAD C 3.15:128; Anat-Yahu in TAD B 7.3:3; Bet’el in TAD A 2.1:1; Ešem-Bethel in TAD C 3.15:127; Ḥerem in TAD B 7.3:3; Ḥerem-Bethel in TAD B 7.2:7; See also Porten and Lund 2002, 425-427.

⁹⁰¹ Rohrmoser 2014, 151.

“Judäo-Aramäer” as she prefers to call them.⁹⁰² Thus, she argues the appearance of these other gods in Elephantine is evidence of this mixture of people and their mixed religion, and this mixture was typical for Elephantine and included elements from North-Syria, Samaria and Jerusalem. She further argues that this mixture shows that the population of Elephantine came there from Judah or at least through Judah. However, whether this specific cultural and religious identity of the Judeans of Egypt was born in Elephantine or was brought there from Judah can not, according to Rohrmoser, be clearly and completely determined.⁹⁰³

It is important to note that Table 21 presents the names of those deities who were very probably also worshiped in Persian-period Egypt. They were not only preserved in the collective memory of the people or in their personal names but were also worshiped in practice.⁹⁰⁴ Albertz and Schmitt, as well as Becking, have the view that the deities represented in the theophoric personal names should be seen as expressions of religion at the level of the family and household, while the names of the divine appearing in different documents might be indicative for the religion at the level of community or state.⁹⁰⁵ This study supports their assumption. Albertz and Schmitt also argue that up to the 7th century BCE, the Israelite family and household religion was quite similar to other family and household religions of the Levant, and only from the 6th century onward it acquired a distinctive, Israelite shape.⁹⁰⁶ They also suggest that theophoric personal names show a clear tendency toward an inclusive monolatry both in Israelite and all other Levantine family and household religions during the pre-exilic period.⁹⁰⁷

When we collect all the different names of the Divine from both of these tables (Tables 18 and 21), we get forty seven names of deities’ altogether. The combined list

⁹⁰² Rohrmoser 2014, 8.

⁹⁰³ Rohrmoser 2014, 151-152.

⁹⁰⁴ In this study I will not further discuss the relation of collective memory to the religious group identity. However, it should only be noted that according to Hervieu-Léger religion is to be seen as a chain of memory, a form of collective memory and imagination based on the sanctity of tradition. Tradition is to be understood as the authorized version of this collective memory. Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a chain of memory*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 4, 97.

⁹⁰⁵ Rainer Albertz and Rüdiger Schmitt, *Family and Household Religion in Ancient Israel and the Levant*. (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 245, 262, 482-489; Bob Becking, “Die Gottheiten der Juden in Elephantine”, in M.Oeming and K. Schmid (eds.), *Der eine Gott und die Götter*. Polytheismus und Monotheismus im antiken Israel. (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2003), 217; Similarly also Granerød following Smith’s tripartite model for religions in ancient Near East. Granerød 2016, 10-17; Smith 2003, 21-36.

⁹⁰⁶ Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 495.

⁹⁰⁷ Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 488.

of these divine names is presented in Appendix 11. From this variety of different gods, we ascertain and accept the precept that the religious atmosphere in Persian-period Egypt was multireligious. In this multireligious environment a monotheistic religion (in a modern sense of the word) was an exception. Thus, it is logical to argue that the Judeans of Egypt were under the influence and pressure of the multireligious society around them. A result of this influence can probably be seen in the combination of the divine name of Anatyahu; here an originally Hebrew divine name Yahu is combined together with an Aramean divine name of Anat. Certainly, the name of Anatyahu is not monotheistic in the modern sense of the word. Though it appears only once in an oath text, the combined legal and religious context of this document is undisputable:

Oa(th whi)ch Menahem son of Shallum son of Ho(ša'yah/ davyah)
swore/will swear to Mešullam son of Natan by Ḥ(erem) the (god) in/by
the place of prostration and by AnathYHW.⁹⁰⁸

On the basis of their Hebrew names, both of these two men appear to be Judeans. Even their patronymes are Hebrew. These men both appear in court, one swearing to the other in the name of two deities. The first deity referred to is Aramean while the second contains a combination of a Hebrew YHW and an Aramean Anat. The reconstruction of the first deity read as Ḥ(erem) was created by Porten and Yardeni (1989); however, the term could also be read as Ḥor. Ḥerem derives from a common Semitic root *Ḥrm* (Akk. *ḥarāmu*) meaning “separate, forbid, consecrate”. Malul asserts that Ḥerem was not part of a compound divine name and probably not even a deity at all, instead simply a piece of temple property, on which an oath was sworn.⁹⁰⁹ According to Malamat, Ḥerem is similar to the Mesopotamian concept *asakkum* that refers to something completely consecrated to a deity, priest or king. *Asakkum* appears both in regular and military contexts.⁹¹⁰ Ḥerem seems to reflect two apparently opposite realities – consecration (positive) and destruction (negative). An object under ḥerem consecrated to a deity is removed from the normal life of the community to the divine sphere. In the context of

⁹⁰⁸ TAD B 7.3:1-3.

⁹⁰⁹ M. Malul, “Taboo”, in Van der Toorn, Becking and Van der Horst, (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 1995, 1559-1560.

⁹¹⁰ A. Malamat, “The Ban in Mari and in the Bible”, *Biblical Essays-Proceedings of the 9th Meeting of Die Oud-Testamentiese Werksgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika*, (Bloemfontein 1966), 40-49.

war an enemy under ḥerem is completely destroyed and thus removed.⁹¹¹ Rohrmoser agrees and further suggests that Ḥerem refers to some kind of holy property dedicated to YHW that was located in the temple of Elephantine. As an argument for this interpretation, she observes that the component “Bethel” in the Aramaic documents (TAD B 7.2:7-8) is added to the word Ḥerem, hence the name Ḥerem-Bethel. Furthermore, she connects the term “Bethel”, meaning “house of god”, to the term “Betyl”, meaning a holy stone representing god, in a similar way as this idea of divine representation appears in the Nabatean inscriptions and in the oath texts of Mari.⁹¹² Based on this evidence Rohrmoser suggests the divine name Ḥerem-Bethel in TAD B 7.2:7-8 to be translated “the consecrated Betyl of God”. She connects this to what is said about the destroyed Temple of Judeans in TAD A 4.7:11-12 *כלא זי...ואחרן זי תמה* “all of which...were there” and interprets this sentence to refer to the consecrated stone of YHW.⁹¹³ However, the Aramaic documents do not provide any clear evidence for this kind of conclusion. If this assertion is true, so then AnathYHW also would have been only a piece of temple property and not a deity at all as both terms share a parallel position in the above oath text. However, it is clear that the second deity is Anatyahu. Because of this it seems possible that Ḥerem was a separate Aramean deity.

Nevertheless, the reason that this Judean man, Menaḥem son of Shallum would swear in the name of these two Aramean deities remains unclear. However, it is clear that both of these deities were of Aramean origin as Van der Toorn asserts. This does not mean that this document can absolutely be used as an argument for the multireligious nature of the religion of the Judean community of Elephantine. While these two Judean men, mentioned in the oath document, might have been multireligious themselves, one document cannot claim that the whole Judean community was such. Their Temple in Elephantine was that of Hebrew Yahu and not that of Aramean Anatyahu. Grabbe extends Porten’s argument, coming to the same conclusion: the Judean community in Elephantine was not multireligious. Both Porten and Grabbe also argue that

⁹¹¹ Malul 1995, 1563-1565. Lohfink argues that in the Old Testament ḥerem applies to the enemy himself meaning the complete extermination of the enemy, whereas at Mari the practice applies only to the booty. N. Lohfink, *הָרֵם* ḥāram; *הֵרֵם* ḥērem, *TWAT* 3, 1982, 205-206.

⁹¹² Rohrmoser 2014, 148, 151; about the Nabatean inscriptions look Józef T. Milik, “Nouvelles inscriptions nabatéennes”, in *Syria* 35, 1958, 227-251; RES 2051¹; 2052¹; CIS ii 161¹; 185^{1f}; 190¹; about the oath texts of Mari Angel Marzal, “Mari Clauses in ‘Casuistic’ and ‘Apodictic’ Style (Part I)”, in *CBQ* 33, 1971, 333-364; Karel Van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia. A Comparative Study*. (Assen 1985), Ch.2 § 10, Ch.3 §§ 2,6; about the divine name Ḥerem-Bethel look Karel Van der Toorn, “Ḥerem-Bethel and Elephantine Oath Procedure”, in *ZAW* 98, 1986, 282-285.

⁹¹³ Rohrmoser 2014, 149 (also in note 337).

the other divine names appearing in relation to the Judeans of Elephantine were actually only hypostases of YHW by this time.⁹¹⁴ This might well be the case, but it is also a possible argument to say that some of the members of the Judean community in Elephantine were multireligious by their religion.

As already mentioned above, Hummel observes that ethnic identities are relative and situational and individuals may possess multiple identities.⁹¹⁵ We must concede, however, the majority of the Judeans in Egypt identified Yahu with “God” (אלהא, אלהיא, אלה). Grabbe notes that the term “God of heaven” (אלה שמיא) had become widely used of Yahu in the Persian period. Occasionally the alternative title, (מרא שמיא) “Lord of heaven” was also used by the Judeans of Egypt. This term also appears among the Phoenicians in the form *Baal Shamem* (בעל שמים).⁹¹⁶ Grabbe concludes that “the usage of the Elephantine texts is parallel with usage in the Hebrew Bible, in which *Yhwh* and *Elohim* had become identified and thus often used interchangeably”.⁹¹⁷ I agree with Grabbe; It seems to me plausible that the majority of the Judeans of Egypt identified Yahu with “God” and that the title “God of heaven” was also used of Yahu in the Persian period as shown in the Aramaic documents.

Following Dupont-Sommer’s observation Lemairé reminds us that the name of the Judean god in the Aramaic papyri is generally spelled YHW, but in contrast in the ostraca “the spelling YHH is the rule, the second H marking the vowel *ō* as in the Hebrew ostraca from the First Temple period”.⁹¹⁸ This could be an additional piece of evidence for the pre-exilic nature of the religion of the Elephantine Judeans.

4.5.2. Names of temples

The Aramaic documents mention the names of the eight following temples:

⁹¹⁴ Grabbe 2013, 127; Porten 1968, 173-179.

⁹¹⁵ Hummel 2014, 50, 53.

⁹¹⁶ Grabbe 2013, 126-127.

⁹¹⁷ Grabbe 2013, 127.

⁹¹⁸ He adds that the Aramaic ostraca from the Persian period Egypt is generally dated to the first quarter of the 5th century BCE. Lemairé 2015, 51. André Dupont-Sommer, “Yahô” et “Yahô-Şeba’ot” sur les ostraca d’Éléphantine d’après des ostraca araméens inédits’, *CRAI* (1947), 175-191.

Table 22 Names of temples and their location

TEMPLE	LOCATION
Altar-house of the God of Heaven	Elephantine
House of the shrine of the god	Elephantine
(Temple of Khnum	Elephantine) ⁹¹⁹
Tempel of Banit	Syene
Tempel of Bethel	Syene
Temples of the gods of Egypt	Egypt
Temple of Nabu	Syene
Temple of the Queen of Heaven	Syene
Temple of Yahu	Elephantine

As can be seen from the above list, Syene had at least four different temples, the temples of Banit, Bethel, Nabu and the Queen of Heaven. According to Van der Toorn, Banit and Nabu were originally Babylonian gods, although they were worshiped also by the Arameans.⁹²⁰ Bethel in all of its forms (Bethel, Anat-Bethel and Ashim/Eshem-Bethel) was an Aramean deity as was also the goddess Anat. According to Porten and Van der Toorn, the expression Queen of Heaven is an epithet applied to the goddess Anat.⁹²¹ If this is true, it means that the temple of the Queen of Heaven that was in Syene was in fact the temple of Anat. Van der Toorn suggests that all the Babylonian and North Syrian deities were imported into Egypt by Arameans and probably by Judeans; “There is hardly any evidence for the involvement of other groups, besides Arameans and Jews, in the introduction of these deities into Egypt.”⁹²² Whether Judeans can be included in this process of religious import of Aramean deities into Egypt is a question that can not be answered only on the basis of these Aramaic documents. However, Van der Toorn is correct in his argument that the Arameans imported the Babylonian deities with them into Egypt. One Aramaic ostrakon discovered from Elephantine combines four Babylonian deities (Bel, Nabu, Šamaš and Nergal) together in a salutation sent by an Aramean to a Judean man.⁹²³

In light of these Aramaic documents, Elephantine seems to have had three temples, the temple of Yahu, a small temple for some unknown deity, and the temple of Khnum. The expression altar-house of the God of Heaven refers, according to the con-

⁹¹⁹ The temple of Khnum is mentioned in the Aramaic documents only indirectly; therefore it is here in brackets.

⁹²⁰ Van der Toorn 1992, 86-87.

⁹²¹ Porten 1968, 165; Van der Toorn 1992, 97.

⁹²² Van der Toorn 1992, 87.

⁹²³ HL 277 cc 3 reads BL WNBW WŠMŠ WNRGL (Bel and Nabu and Šamaš and Nergal).

text of the text, to the temple of Yahu in Elephantine.⁹²⁴ Although it is not mentioned directly, certain Aramaic documents suggest that Egyptian temples existed in Elephantine. The Egyptian expression “House of the shrine of the god” (בֵּית קְנַחְנֵת) appears twice and refers to a small temple.⁹²⁵ It seems to have been built on the plot of the Caspian (or Persian) Šatibara towards the end of the 5th century BCE. Because of the use of an Egyptian name for this sanctuary, Porten believes it refers to an Egyptian temple, possibly to a new small temple of Khnum.⁹²⁶ However, according to von Pilgrim and Rohrmoser, we do not know exactly which god was worshiped in this sanctuary. Von Pilgrim even assumes that it could have served as a chapel of remembrance of some diseased person.⁹²⁷ Indirect evidence for the existence of the temple of Khnum in Elephantine does appear in the Aramaic documents. The expression “plaza of Khnum the god” (תְּמִי זִי חֲנוּם אֱלֹהֵא), which was in Elephantine, appears twice.⁹²⁸ These texts both speak about the priests of Khnum who lived in Elephantine as well.⁹²⁹ One Aramaic ostrakon found from Elephantine combines the two deities of Elephantine together in a salutation that reads “I blessed you by YHH and KHnum”.⁹³⁰ According to Rohrmoser, archaeological discoveries have confirmed the existence of a large temple of Khnum in Elephantine. In addition, a temple of Sati the goddess located near by the temple of Khnum although it is not mentioned in the Aramaic documents at all.⁹³¹

In addition to the seven different temples located in Elephantine and Syene, the Aramaic documents generally state that there were temples of Egyptian gods throughout the country. One Aramaic ostrakon discovered from Elephantine connects the Egyptian deity Khnum with Memphis.⁹³² Surprisingly the only Egyptian temple in Elephantine mentioned in the Aramaic documents is the temple of Khnum. This is of importance because the Egyptian goddess Sati had a temple in Elephantine and is understood to have held an important place in the pantheon of Elephantine. As already noted

⁹²⁴ TAD A 4.9:3.

⁹²⁵ TAD B 3.10:9 and B 3.11:5.

⁹²⁶ Porten 1968, 309.

⁹²⁷ Cornelius von Pilgrim, “Tempel des Jahu und ‘Straße des Königs’ – ein Konflikt in der späten Perserzeit auf Elephantine”, in Sibylle Meyer (ed.), *Egypt – Temple of the Whole World*. Festschrift für Jan Assmann. Leiden 2003, 310. Rohrmoser 2014, 181.

⁹²⁸ TAD B 3.4:8 and B 3.5:10.

⁹²⁹ TAD A 4.7:5.

⁹³⁰ HL 70 cc 3 reads BRKTK LYHH WLHN.

⁹³¹ Rohrmoser notes that since ancient times three deities; Knum, Sati and Anuket, have been central in Egyptian mythology of Elephantine. However, only Sati and Khnum have had their temples in Elephantine. Rohrmoser 2014, 35-38, 164-166.

⁹³² HL 203 cc 4 reads LHNM BMNPY (to Khnum in Memphis).

above Sati's temple does not, however, come out in the Aramaic documents at all. In addition, the documents do not mention the existence of a temple to any Egyptian deity in Syene.

Moreover, it is worthwhile to identify the different words used in the Aramaic documents to designate the religious building labelled a temple. The following table (Table 23) presents the six Aramaic expressions used for temples:

Table 23 Expressions used to designate a temple in the Aramaic documents

IN ENGLISH	IN ARAMAIC	APPEARANCES
Altar-house	בית מדבחה	1
House	בי	11
House of the shrine of the god (Egypt.)	בית קנהנתי	2
Place of prostration	מסגד	1
Shrine (Pers.)	ברזמדין	1
Temple (Akk.)	אגור	30

The most common word for temple is the originally Akkadian expression אגור which is used thirty times. Second in popularity is the common word used to designate a house בי. A temple was perceived to be the house of a god. There was not a temple in Persian-period Egypt that was not connected to a certain god or gods. At this point a deeper study of the Judean temple in Elephantine is needed in order to find answers to the main questions of this research.

Temple of Yahu in Elephantine

According to the evidence ascertained from the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt, the Judeans had a temple on the island of Elephantine at least between 525-410 BCE. As Grabbe notes, Judeans had in Elephantine “only one temple, which is always referred to as the “temple of Yhw” (אגורא זי יהו) where a deity's name occurs.”⁹³³ The temple at Elephantine is mentioned in the Aramaic documents altogether fifteen times. In eleven cases the term referring to this temple is אגורא, in three cases בי and in one case בית מדבחה. The word אגור meaning ‘temple, shrine’ is derived from the Sumerian é.kur and Akkadian ēkurru. In the Aramaic documents this same word אגור is also used for Egyptian temples. The term בי (house) is used in the construct form “the

⁹³³ Grabbe 2013, 128.

house of Yahu” **בית יהו**. This same expression in Hebrew, **בית**, is used, as we know, also for the temple of Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible. It is interesting that although the High Priest of Jerusalem is mentioned in the Aramaic documents, no reference is made to the temple of Jerusalem as such.⁹³⁴ Porten observes that the temple of Elephantine was oriented toward Jerusalem and suggests that this was done because of king Solomon’s prayer and the prophecy of Isaiah 19:19.⁹³⁵ This text of Isaiah (19:18-25) reflects positive attitude toward the temple of YHW in Egypt and perhaps also hints that the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem became more important for the Judean religious tradition only later in the Persian period.

Recently, Granerød has criticized Porten’s theory calling it a “sacred orientation”. Granerød rejects this theory and argues that the biblical texts used by Porten are not relevant for this case. He suggests that the direction of YHW’s temple at Elephantine was determined by the urban plan of the town, and that the temple theology of the Judeans of Elephantine did not need it to be oriented toward Jerusalem.⁹³⁶ However, it seems to me that rejection of Porten’s theory is crucial for the establishment of Granerød’s own theory about the independent and self-sufficient nature of the Judean temple of Elephantine.⁹³⁷ In doing this, Granerød is underestimating the relationships of the Judean community of Elephantine with Jerusalem. He is also downplaying the fact that according to the archaeological excavations the temple of Elephantine really was oriented toward Jerusalem. Although the temple of Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Aramaic documents found in Egypt, the High Priest of Jerusalem was respected by the Judean community of Elephantine. This can be seen in the fact that the Elephantine Judeans did not have their own High Priest.

The term **מזבחה** is used in the Aramaic text in the construct form **בית מזבחה** (house of the altar). The temple of Elephantine was not a synagogue, but a building with an altar for animal sacrifices.⁹³⁸ It consisted of stone pillars, five gateways of carved stone, doors with bronze hinges and a cedar wood roof.⁹³⁹ The Aramaic documents declare clearly that the altar was used for sacrifices. According to Porten, it is

⁹³⁴ TAD A 4.7: 18; A 4.8: 17. Grabbe 2013, 128.

⁹³⁵ Porten 1968, 119-121.

⁹³⁶ Granerød 2016, 118.

⁹³⁷ About Granerød’s “Elephantine Temple Theology” see Granerød 2016, 107, 124-126.

⁹³⁸ TAD A 4.7: 21-22, 25-26. The Aramaic word for sacrifice (DBH') appears also in an Aramaic ostrakon discovered from Elephantine together with three personal names: Natan, Uri and Paḥe. HL 17 cv 4.

⁹³⁹ TAD A 4.7: 9-11.

possible that the temple of Elephantine had two altars, a small one for burning incense inside and a large one for sacrifices in the courtyard.⁹⁴⁰ Other expressions, like **היכל** (palace) or **בית מקדש** (sanctuary), which are used to refer to the temple of Jerusalem in the biblical writings, are not used in these Aramaic texts from Egypt. Once in an oath document already mentioned above, the expression **מסגד** (place of worship or prostration) appears. Here Menahem ben Shallum swore an oath by order of the court in the **מסגדא**, by Anathyahu and by another deity whose name is not fully preserved, probably **Ḥerem** or **Ḥor**.⁹⁴¹ Cowley interprets this as a reference to the temple of Yahu in Elephantine; however, Kraeling is more sceptical.⁹⁴² On the basis of this text alone, it is unclear, whether or not the term refers to the temple of Yahu in Elephantine. I would counter argue that the very lack of clear evidence means that it is not a reference to the temple of Yahu. Because the main context of this document of oath is legal, the term **מסגד** might, therefore, refer to a special place of prostration in the courthouse that was reserved for giving of this kind of oaths in public.

When was the temple of the Judeans in Elephantine erected? The only piece of information that the Aramaic documents provide concerning the history of this temple is that it was built before the Persian period. In other words, the temple already existed when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BCE. How much before 525 BCE was it built remains an open question. One answer is connected to the date when the Judeans settled in Elephantine. That issue has already been discussed in the subchapter 2.1.6. Settlement of Judeans in Egypt (page 45). One reasonable explanation is that the Judeans of Egypt constructed it after Babylonians had destroyed the temple of Jerusalem in 586 BCE. In that scenario, the temple was not a rival of the temple in Jerusalem but was instead built because the temple in Jerusalem was in ruins. In any case, three Aramaic documents (dated November 407 BCE and after) give us the information that the temple of Elephantine was already in existence in 525 BCE when the Persian King Cambyses (530-522 BCE) conquered Egypt.

And during the days of the king(s) of Egypt, our fathers had built that Temple in Elephantine the fortress, and when Cambyses entered Egypt, he found that Temple built. And they overthrew the temples of the gods

⁹⁴⁰ Porten 1968, 111.

⁹⁴¹ TAD B 7.3:1-3.

⁹⁴² Cowley 1923, XX; Kraeling 1953, 91.

of Egypt, all (of them), but one did not damage anything in that Temple.⁹⁴³

The destruction of the temple of the Judeans in Elephantine is much better documented than its beginning. According to the Aramaic documents, the temple was destroyed in 410 BCE at the initiative of the Egyptian priests of Khnum who also had a temple in Elephantine. This evil plot of the priests of Khnum is found in a petition letter of the Judean leaders of Elephantine to Bagavahya, the governor of Judah.

Now, your servant Yedanyah and his colleagues say thus: In the month of Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius, when Aršama had departed and gone to the king, the priest of Khnum the god who are in Elephantine the fortress, in agreement with Vidranga who was Chief here, (said), saying, 'Let them remove from there the Temple of YHW the God which is in Elephantine the fortress.'⁹⁴⁴

The above letter, which has been preserved in two nearly identical copies,⁹⁴⁵ reports the anti-Judean plot between the Egyptian priests of Khnum and the Persian governor Vidranga in Syene. According to another document, these two parties had already co-operated before in the same year (year 14 of King Darius) in building a wall in the midst of the fortress of Elephantine, thus stopping up the well of the Judean community. These men exploited the absence of the Satrap Aršama for implementing both of these anti-Judean actions. The co-operation of the Persian governor Vidranga was gained with bribes of silver and goods which the priests of Khnum provided him.

In year 14 of (Ki)ng Darius, when our lord Aršama went to the king, this is the evil act which the priests of Khnum the god (di)d in Elephantine the fortress in agreement with Vidranga who was Chief here: They gave him silver and goods. There is part of the royal barley-house which is in Elephantine the fortress – they demolished (it) and buil(t) a wall (in) the midst of the fortress of Elephantine...And now, that wall (stands) built in

⁹⁴³ TAD A 4.7: 13-14. The same information appears also in TAD A 4.8: 12-13 and in TAD A 4.9: 4-5.

⁹⁴⁴ TAD A 4.7: 4-6.

⁹⁴⁵ The second draft is TAD A 4.8 and it is about a third shorter than the first draft in TAD A 4.7.

the midst of the fortress. There is a well which was built with(in) the f(or)tress and (which) did not lack water to give the garrison drink so that whenever they would be garrisoned (there) they would drink the water in (th)at well. Those priests of Khnub stopped up that well.⁹⁴⁶

It can be argued that in the light of these documents it seems that Vidranga was a man whose first priority was to promote his own interests, not only the wellbeing of his subordinates or the Persian administration. All of this was planned so that the Persian satrap of Egypt, Aršama, was absent, on his trip to Babylon and Persia. Vidranga exploited the power vacuum caused when the Satrap Aršama left for a visit to the King. The Aramaic texts bear evidence that also other corrupt Persian officials were in Egypt. The Anatolian Armapiya and the Egyptian Nakhtḥor each got a letter of warning from the Satrap Aršama because of their incorrect behaviours and actions.⁹⁴⁷ When the suitable moment was at hand, Vidranga sent a letter of authorization to his son Naphaina, the garrison commander of Syene, to destroy the temple of the Judeans in Elephantine. According to the letter of the Judeans, their temple was destroyed and burned down in the summer of 410 BCE.

The Aramaic documents seem to imply that the main reason for the destruction of the temple of the Judeans was the evil plan of the Egyptian priests of Khnum and the corrupt mind of the Persian governor, Vidranga. However, it must be noted that this picture is presented by the Judeans themselves and is therefore perhaps biased. Rohrmoser tries to discover a practical reason for this conflict utilizing both archaeological and textual evidence for argumentation. First, she observes that according to the archaeological findings, the courtyard wall of the temple of Yahu in Elephantine most probably blocked the main street called “the street of the King”. Because of this the street of the King narrowed to only 50 cm wide and possibly traffic was forced to be redirected to pass around Yahu’s temple. Most likely this situation had previously existed for about 100 years in Elephantine; however, now at this time it began to irritate the priests of Khnum who were planning to expand their own temple.⁹⁴⁸ Secondly, Rohrmoser furthers Briant’s hypothesis saying Vidranga himself had to base his deci-

⁹⁴⁶ TAD A 4.5: 2-8.

⁹⁴⁷ To Armapiya from Aršama TAD A 6.8., to Nakhtḥor from Aršama A 6.10, and from Virafša to Aršama A 6.15.

⁹⁴⁸ Rohrmoser 2014, 253, 287.

sion to destroy the temple of the Judeans on an existing Egyptian law code. Briant's hypothesis, based on Codex Hermopolis-West dating from the Ptolemaic period, clearly states that any wall built on an open public street shall be put down.⁹⁴⁹ While Rohrmoser sees the first reason for this conflict to be the blockage of the street of the King by the Judeans as practical, she also adds the desire of the Judeans to build an altar for burnt offerings in the courtyard of their Yahu temple as a second possible reason. She bases this on two assumptions. Firstly, the temple of Yahu did not include an altar for burnt offerings from the beginning, but it was built only later in the 5th century BCE, thus resulting in the blocking of the main street of the island. In the memorandum of Bagavahyah and Delayah (TAD A 4.9) sent to the Judean leaders of Elephantine, the central position of the term "altar house" (בית מִדְבָּחָה), points to this as an original reason for the conflict.⁹⁵⁰ Moreover, Rohrmoser speculates that because neither side in the conflict had any hard evidence proving their right to the land, Vidranga was put into a stalemate situation.⁹⁵¹ In this situation Vidranga, because he preferred to promote the stability of his province and also the priests of Khnum supported his decision by giving him "gifts", decided according to the existing Egyptian law. Additionally Persian law in general was designed to maintain peace and security in the Empire, peace and security which now seemed to be threatened by the temple of the Judeans.⁹⁵² However, Rohrmoser's assumption concerning the altar for burnt offerings does seem to be without proof as the Judeans clearly state in their letter to Bagavahyah that burnt offerings were performed in their destroyed temple even before Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 BCE.

After the destruction of its temple, the Judean community of Elephantine was in crisis. The Judeans fasted and prayed for the just punishment of their enemies and for the reconstruction of their temple. Their case was presented in front of the royal Persian authorities and the corrupt Vidranga and his son Naphaina were punished by death. Authorities decided that a letter of warning was not enough in this case; the harsh punishment Vidranga and his son received confirms the neutrality of the Persian admin-

⁹⁴⁹ Girgis Mattha, and George R. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*. Bibliothèque d'étude, Vol. 45 (Cairo: IFAO, 1975), sections VI-VIII. Pierre Briant, "Une curieuse affaire à Éléphantine en 410 av.d.è: Widranga, le sanctuaire de Khnûm et le temple de Yahweh", in *Méditerranées*. Nr.6/7 (1996), 126; Rohrmoser 2014, 256-257.

⁹⁵⁰ Rohrmoser 2014, 276, 287.

⁹⁵¹ Rohrmoser 2014, 258.

⁹⁵² Rohrmoser 2014, 289.

istration towards the different religions and ethnic groups of the Empire. Vidranga paid the price for his unjust actions; however, it seems that the Egyptian priests of Khnum remained unpunished. In addition, the temple of the Judeans remained in ruins.

The above picture describing the punishment of Vidranga is based on the translation that Porten and Yardeni give for these Aramaic texts. Rohrmoser, however, feels the need to correct this picture of a dastardly evil Vidranga. She provides a picture of a Vidranga who was put into a difficult situation – a Vidranga who acted according to the existing Egyptian and Persian law. Her view of him implies a leader who did not want to risk the sensitive political situation in Egypt.⁹⁵³ Accordingly, she then also suggests that Vidranga's punishment was not death but imprisonment. She bases her argument on another Aramaic text (TAD A 3.9) dated to 399 BCE, eleven years after the destruction of the Judean temple. According to this document, at that time, Vidranga was still alive and in prison. However, it must be noted that the text is fragmented and the interpretation is not precise.⁹⁵⁴ In conjunction, Rohrmoser rejects the previous translations of TAD A 4.7: 15-17 by Cowley, Grelot and Porten,⁹⁵⁵ and instead bases hers on the interpretation suggested by Lindenberg which translates the above text as a curse and wish, and not as an event that really took place: "Und alle Männer, die Böses für jenen Tempel suchten, sie sollen alle getötet werden und wir mögen auf sie (herab) schauen."⁹⁵⁶ Recently, also Granerød supports Lindenberg's theory.⁹⁵⁷ Rohrmoser, however, admits herself that both Muraoka and Porten oppose this interpretation and observe that the perfect tense for expressing a wish is not used in Imperial Aramaic.⁹⁵⁸

After their temple was destroyed, the Judeans of Elephantine had immediately sent a letter to the Judean leaders in Jerusalem requesting their recommendation to rebuild the temple, but no answer was received although three years had already elapsed. The leaders of the Judeans in Jerusalem answered with silence.

Moreover, before this- at the time that this evil was done to us- we sent a

⁹⁵³ Rohrmoser 2014, 289.

⁹⁵⁴ Rohrmoser 2014, 283.

⁹⁵⁵ Cowley 1923, 113-114; Grelot 1972, 410; and Porten (ed.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, 1996, 142.

⁹⁵⁶ Rohrmoser 2014, 282-283, 400.

⁹⁵⁷ Granerød even calls this text as "a communal prayer of curse" and "liturgy". Granerød 2016, 155-160 and 329.

⁹⁵⁸ Takamitsu Muraoka and Porten Bezael, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*. (HdO 1, 32) Leiden, 1998, 195; Rohrmoser 2014, 284. Granerød does not accept this explanation but instead calls this grammatical form as "perfect of prayer". Granerød 2016, 159.

letter (to) our Lord, and to Yehoḥanan the High Priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem, and to Avastana the brother of Anani and the nobles of the Jews. They did not send us a single letter. Moreover, from the month of Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius and until this day we are wearing sackcloth and fasting; our wives are made as widow(s); (we) do not anoint (ourselves) with oil and do not drink wine. Moreover, from that (time) and until (this) day, year 17 of King Darius, they did not make meal-offering and ince(n)se and holocaust in that Temple.⁹⁵⁹

It seems probable that a similar petition for help had been sent also to the Persian governor in Samaria, but that a copy of it has not survived. Then the question arises; why didn't the Judean leaders in Jerusalem answer the request of their Judean brothers from Elephantine? An answer to this question remains unclear. Rohrmoser suggests that the situation in Jerusalem after the exile had changed so much that no-one there was willing to give the requested recommendation. On the other hand, she also interprets this silence in a positive way; no person in Jerusalem actively wanted to prevent the rebuilding of the temple in Elephantine either.⁹⁶⁰ The Aramaic documents discovered from Elephantine also include a memorandum received after 407 BCE as a reply to the petition of the Judeans.⁹⁶¹ It was issued jointly by Bagavahya from Jerusalem and Delayah from Samaria, who was the son of Sin'uballit the governor of Samaria. This memorandum recommends that the Persian authorities in Egypt authorize the rebuilding of the temple of the Judeans on its previous site in Elephantine as it formerly was. What is new, however, is that the memorandum recommends that only incense and meal-offering should be made in this new temple, and not anymore burnt-offerings as was requested by the Judeans of Elephantine. The request of burnt-offerings was passed over in silence in the text of the memorandum.

Memorandum of what Bagavahya and Delayah said to me, saying:
Memorandum: You may say in Egypt before Aršama about the Altar-house of the God of Heaven which in Elephantine the fortress built was

⁹⁵⁹ TAD A 4.7: 17-22.

⁹⁶⁰ Rohrmoser 2014, 288.

⁹⁶¹ TAD A 4.9.

formerly before Cambyases (and) which that wicked Vidranga demolished in year 14 of King Darius: to (re)build it on its site as it was formerly and they shall offer the meal-offering and the incense upon that altar just as formerly was done.⁹⁶²

Again, we must ask the question; why is this recommendation for the request of burnt-offerings ignored? As stated before, Rohrmoser suggests that the temple of Yahu did not have an altar for burnt offerings from its very beginning, and that it was only built later in the 5th century BCE. This, however, meant blocking the main street of the island, which in turn caused the conflict with the priests of Khnum. According to Rohrmoser, the central position of the term “altar house” (בית מִדְבַּחָא) in the memorandum of Bagavahyah and Delayah shows that the original reason for the conflict was this altar of burnt offerings.⁹⁶³ However, Rohrmoser’s assumption is not supported by the evidence found in other Aramaic documents.⁹⁶⁴

After receiving positive answer from the Persian authorities in Jerusalem and Samaria, the leaders of the Judeans of Elephantine then offered in their following letter to the responsible Persian authority in Egypt, probably Aršama, a payment of 1000 ardabs of barley and some amount of silver if he would authorize the reconstruction of the temple in Elephantine.

Your servants – 1 named Yedanyah, son of Gem(aryah); (1) named Mauzi, son of Natan; 1 named Shemaiyah, son of Haggai; 1 named Hošea*, son of Jathom; 1 named Hošea*, son of Nattun: all (told) 5 persons, Syenians who are heredi(tary-property- hold)ers in Elephantine the fortress – say thus: If our lord (...) and our Temple of YHW the God be rebuilt in Elephantine the fortress as it was former(ly bu)ilt – and sheep, ox, and goat are (n)ot made there as burnt-offering but (they offer there) (only) incense (and) meal-offering – and should our lord mak(e) a statement (about this, then) we shall give to the house of our lord si(lver...and) a thousa(nd) ardabs of barley.⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶² TAD A 4.9: 1-11.

⁹⁶³ Rohrmoser 2014, 287.

⁹⁶⁴ For example, in the Aramaic documents TAD A 4.7; TAD A 4.8 and TAD A 4.9.

⁹⁶⁵ TAD A 4.10: 1-14.

The leaders of the Judeans of Elephantine apparently used the same means of motivation as the priests of Khnum earlier. Perhaps the Judeans thought that if a bribe helped in destroying the temple, then it would also in rebuild it. These two examples of bribery can also be understood in their references to the corruption of the Persian officials. Another explanation for this suggested payment could be that the monies were an official payment of some kind to the treasury of the King for the clerical work needed for this kind of a statement from the Persian authorities.

Reconstruction and afterlife of the Judean temple in Elephantine

The Aramaic documents do not clearly detail what happened after this letter was sent. Porten suggests that the last Aramaic document from Elephantine (dated December 13, 402 BCE), mentions the temple of the Judeans, and indicates that the temple may have been rebuilt.⁹⁶⁶ However, it does not reveal clearly if the reconstruction really took place. The specific document Porten is referring to is a legal document that mentions the temple, as well as its servitors, as an existing reality without any hint to its destruction.

On the 12th of Thoth, year 4 of King Artaxerxes, then Anani son of Azaryah, a servitor of YHW, and lady Tapamet his wife, a servitor of YHW the God (who) dwells in Elephantine the fortress...This is (= these are) its boundaries, (those of) the house which we sold and gave you: east of it your house, you Anani son of Haggai, which we gave to Yehoyišma' our daughter (as) an after-gift on her document of wifedom, adjoins wall to wall; west of it is the Temple of YHW and the street of the king is between them.⁹⁶⁷

The scarcity of information that the Aramaic documents provide in terms of the reconstruction of the temple has inspired some scholars to search for additional evidence from archaeology or supplemental support from the Biblical writings. One such scholar is Reinhard Kratz, who in his article "The Second Temple of Jeb and of Jerusalem"

⁹⁶⁶ TAD B 3.12: 18-19; Porten 1996, 78-79.

⁹⁶⁷ TAD B 3.12: 1-2, 16-19.

compares the reconstruction of the destroyed Judean temple in Elephantine to that of the Second Temple in Jerusalem.⁹⁶⁸ He details many common features of these projects, especially in the diplomatic efforts of the Judeans to obtain permission for reconstruction from the Persian officials, although the Second Temple of Jerusalem was reconstructed more than a hundred years earlier. Kratz asserts that the Judean temple of Elephantine was really reconstructed very soon after its destruction during the same 27th Dynasty (525-404 BCE) in the Persian period and on the same spot in Elephantine. According to Kratz's chronology, the temple should have been rebuilt between 407-404 BCE; his argument is based on the Elephantine Papyri which contains information that after three years from its destruction in 410 BCE the temple was still in ruins. All of Kratz's hypotheses are based on recent archaeological discoveries in Elephantine.⁹⁶⁹ Rohrmoser has thoroughly studied the archaeological discoveries that provide new evidence of the rebuilding of Yahu's temple in Elephantine. It seems that the second temple of Yahu in Elephantine included a courtyard that was divided into two separate areas by a wall. This was a clear development compared to the first temple that had only one courtyard. Rohrmoser speculates that this might reflect some new development in the cultic practice of the temple. The external wall that previously blocked the main street, the street of the King, was in the second temple so built that it left an open space of 1.5-2 meters for the street to pass by.⁹⁷⁰

Already in 1961 B. Porten outlined the plan of the Judean district at Elephantine on the basis of the Aramaic contracts, but only in 1998 C. von Pilgrim confirmed his suggestion on the basis of the findings of the archaeological excavations.⁹⁷¹ Many scholars had tried to locate the so-called Aramaic quarter of Elephantine, where the Judeans lived, and the Temple of YHW which was situated inside it. In January 1969 the German Institute of Archaeology started excavations at Elephantine in co-operation with the Swiss Institute for Architectural and Archaeological Research. According to excavation reports, the earlier ruins of the temple were completely covered by a new building, the new great Khnum temple, where construction started under Nectanebo II

⁹⁶⁸ Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Second Temple of Jeb and of Jerusalem" in Lipschits and Oeming (eds.), 2006, 247-264. (Published in German in Kratz 2004, 60-78)

⁹⁶⁹ Kratz 2006, 248-249.

⁹⁷⁰ Rohrmoser 2014, 185.

⁹⁷¹ Botta 2013, XV; Cornelius von Pilgrim, "Textzeugnis und archäologischer Befund. Zur Topographie Elephantines in der 27. Dynastie", in Guksch Heike and Polz Daniel (eds.), *Stationen, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*. Festschrift für Rainer Stadelmann. (Mainz 1998), 485-497.

(360-343 BCE).⁹⁷² It is well known that Khnum was one of the most important local Egyptian deities in the area and was even drawn onto a stele discovered in Elephantine called “the Lord of the Cataracts.”⁹⁷³

German archaeologists succeeded in locating the northwest houses of the Aramaic quarter on the island of Elephantine, dating them back to the 27th Dynasty of the ancient Egypt (525-404 BCE). The systematic architecture of these houses demonstrates state-controlled building that could possibly have been used for the settlement of the immigrants from Syro-Palestine.⁹⁷⁴ The Aramaic quarter was in east-west direction; it was about 100 meters wide and could well accommodate the temple of the Judeans inside it.⁹⁷⁵ This archaeological evidence shows that when the Persian influence in the area diminished after 400 BCE, the Aramaic quarter was rebuilt with a new layer.⁹⁷⁶

The German archaeologists also located the temple of Khnum inside Elephantine. According to the Aramaic textual evidence, the Judean temple of Elephantine was situated northwest of the temple of Khnum, called “the town of Khnum.”⁹⁷⁷ Up to that time the discovery of the location of the Judean temple had been almost impossible because of the ruins of the later great Khnum temple. However, these archaeologists were able to recognize a firelayer in the destroyed southern part of the Aramaic quarter, belonging to Stratum 5 dated to 26th Dynasty.⁹⁷⁸ Now the archaeological picture became clearer. The first Judean temple was founded in Stratum 5 sometime during the 26th Dynasty in the Saite period 664-525 BCE and destroyed during the 27th Dynasty 525-404 BCE. According to this archaeological evidence, the most interesting detail is the fact that a new building was soon laid over the firelayer in Stratum 4.⁹⁷⁹ Thus, it now seems that archaeological evidence confirms the hypothesis made using the Aramaic documents concerning the reconstruction of the Judean temple in Elephantine

⁹⁷² MDAIK Band 26, 1970, 87, 109.

⁹⁷³ A text on a Ramessidian stele discovered at Elephantine reads (translated into German): “Ein Opfer, das der König gibt an Chnum, Herrn des Kataraktes, Amun-Re, der in Elephantine verehrt wird, Satet, Herrin von Elephantine, Anuket..”. MDAIK Band 46, 1990, 230.

⁹⁷⁴ MDAIK Band 46, 1990, 215.

⁹⁷⁵ MDAIK Band 49, 1993, 177-178.

⁹⁷⁶ MDAIK Band 49, 1993, 179.

⁹⁷⁷ TAD B 3.4:8 and 3.5:10.

⁹⁷⁸ The excavation report states: “Seine Lage zwischen der Chnumstadt und den jüdischen Häusern im Westen, vor allem aber die Brandschicht in Bauschicht 5 können dabei als weitere Indizien gewertet werden, dass es sich um die letzten Überreste des jüdischen Tempels handeln dürfte.” MDAIK Band 55, 1999, 143.

⁹⁷⁹ The excavation report reads: “Das direkt über der Brandschicht liegende Ziegelpflaster und die breite Ausenmauer (M 355) im Westen des Bereiches sind hingegen mit dem jüngeren, zwischen 407 und 402 v.Chr. wiederaufgebauten Tempel in Bauschicht 4 in Verbindung zu bringen.” MDAIK Band 55, 1999, 143.

sometimes between 407-402 BCE.⁹⁸⁰ It can also be claimed that the archaeological evidence reinforces the picture given by the Aramaic documents about the conflict between the Khnum priests and the Judean community of Elephantine. The architectural development of the city clearly shows how the Khnum temple later expanded to block the Judean quarter from the east and the south with the construction of separating walls.⁹⁸¹

With this new archaeological evidence, we can assume that the Judean community of Elephantine won the battle with the priests of Khnum, and the temple of the Judeans was really reconstructed sometime between 407-402 BCE. However, this victory lasted only a short time. The same archaeological evidence shows that soon after the exchange of power in Egypt during the 30th Dynasty (380-343 BCE), a new much bigger Khnum temple was built on the same spot. At this time Egyptians also began building over the Judean quarter from the south. This state of affairs continued to the end of the Second Persian period 343-332 BCE and even until the Hellenistic-Roman age.⁹⁸²

The above archaeological and textual evidence concerning the finality of the temple of the Judeans in Elephantine raises a question: Why didn't the Judean community of Elephantine have enough power to resist the expansion of the Khnum temple? The answer to this question is probably both political and religious. The fading power of the Persian Empire in Egypt in the fourth century BCE left the Judeans of Egypt in general and of Elephantine in particular under the discretion of Egyptians. Judeans were a minority in Egypt, and the priests of Khnum represented one of the country's ancient national cults. Already during the Persian imperial rule, Persian officials like Aršama encountered many conflicting political ambitions in Egypt. In their petition to Bagavahya, the Judean leaders of Elephantine were careful to underline that they were not accusing Aršama at all: "Aršama had departed and gone to the king...Moreover,

⁹⁸⁰ MDAIK Band 55, 1999, 142-145.

⁹⁸¹ According to the excavation report, "Die in dieser Weise rekonstruierbare Bauabfolge im Stadtzentrum der späten 27. Dynastie spiegelt nun einen deutlichen Bruch in der Stadtentwicklung wider, der einen entscheidenden Beitrag im Konflikt zwischen der jüdischen Gemeinde und den Chnumpriestern dargestellt haben dürfte." MDAIK Band 58, 2002, 196; See also Kratz 2006, 250.

⁹⁸² The excavation reports read: "Die älteren Tempel Elephantines, die den Neubauten Nektanebos' II vorangingen, sind sowohl durch inschriftliche Nennungen wie zahlreiche Blöcke belegt, die in den neuen Tempeln verbaut worden sind." MDAIK Band 26, 1970, 109; "Es erscheint daher denkbar, dass im Zusammenhang mit der Anlage des Chnumtempels auch das umgebende Gelände einer Neuordnung unterworfen wurde und die hier vorhandenen Bauanlagen bis auf wenige Reste abgerissen wurden." MDAIK Band 28, 1972, 173. See also MDAIK Band 58, 2002, 197-200 and Kratz 2006, 250-251.

Aršama did not know about this which was done to us at all.”⁹⁸³ This statement may well be true, but still one wonders if the Satrap Aršama was really unaware of the disputes between the priests of Khnum and the Judeans of Elephantine? When we consider the fact that a Judean Anani was his Chancellor during that time, as mentioned in the Aramaic document dated to January 411 BCE⁹⁸⁴, it seems more probable that Aršama was well informed about the situation of the Judeans in Elephantine. In one of their letters from 410 BCE, the Judeans of Egypt emphasize their loyalty to the Persian Empire; “...detachments of the Egyptians rebelled. We did not leave our posts; damage was not found in us.”⁹⁸⁵ Aršama as the Persian satrap of Egypt had a difficult choice whether to support the small loyal Judean garrison of Elephantine or to win the trust of the previously rebellious Egyptian population. I assert that in times of open conflict, the Judeans of Egypt had only little political influence in the eyes of the Persian rulers. In addition, the Judeans were left with neither answer nor support from their Judean religious leaders in Jerusalem. For them the Judeans of Egypt were only a questionable secondary branch of the true Israel, a far away diaspora in gentile Egypt. Kratz, however, argues a different view, stating there’s a separation between the historical Israel and the Biblical Judeans:

...the Elephantine Papyri portray a Jewry that is so different from that of the Old Testament that it is treated as an exception. However, the Egyptian Jews probably had much more in common with the historical Israel of the pre- and post-exilic age in Palestine than do the biblical Jews. The Bible is the exception, not Elephantine.⁹⁸⁶

Kratz compares the religious traditions of the Judeans of Elephantine to the traditions of the Hebrew Bible, attempting at the same time to evaluate which one of them, Elephantine or the Bible, was closer to “the historical Israel”. His conclusion is that the Judeans of Elephantine were closer to “the historical Israel”. Kratz does not however define what he means with “the historical Israel” and seems to exclude the religious leadership of the Judeans in Jerusalem from “the historical Israel”. It must, however, be noted that

⁹⁸³ TAD A 4.7:4-5, 30.

⁹⁸⁴ TAD A 6.2:23.

⁹⁸⁵ TAD A 4.5:1-2.

⁹⁸⁶ Kratz 2006, 247-248.

the usage of Biblical vocabulary like the terms Sabbath (שִׁבְעָה) and Passover (פֶּסַח) by the Judeans of Egypt in the Aramaic documents from the Persian period suggests that the (historical) Judeans of Elephantine were in some respect similar to their Biblical Judean counterparts. They celebrated the Passover and ate the unleavened bread both in Egypt and in Jerusalem. The Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period had at least some knowledge of those traditions which are now collected in the Hebrew Bible, although it is true that no copy of any part of it that could be dated to the Persian period has so far been discovered in Egypt. With regard to religious leadership, it seems to me that also the religious leaders of the Judeans in Jerusalem were part of “the historical Israel”. While the High Priest of Jerusalem did not respond to the letter from Elephantine, I am convinced that He was aware of what happened to the Judean temple in Elephantine. One could take this silence of Jerusalem as a hint that the official religious traditions of the Judeans in Jerusalem had already been changed closer to those traditions that we now have in the Hebrew Bible compared to those traditions followed at Elephantine. Perhaps the religious leadership of the Judeans in Jerusalem saw no need to support a form of tradition somewhat different to the one they promoted.

Evaluating the history of the temple of the Judeans in Elephantine demonstrates the concrete fact that Judeans of Egypt in general shared good relations with the Persian administration in the country and with Persians as an ethnic group. Possibly the closest relationships that the Judeans of Egypt developed were with the Aramean people who spoke the same Aramaic language and served in the same military units. The relationships of the Judeans with the Egyptians, however, seem to have been ambivalent, and at times even conflicting. One eminent reason for this was the competing religious and political objectives of the priests of Khnum and the priests of the Judeans of Elephantine.

Interestingly, the Judeans of Egypt turned first to Jerusalem for help during the time of their crisis.⁹⁸⁷ Throughout peaceful times they lived their daily lives without any input from Jerusalem; however, in a critical situation directly contacting their original home became important. This observation, on one hand, reinforces the assumption that the Judean community had settled in Egypt already long before the Persian period. However, on the other hand, it also confirms that the original historical and religious roots of the Judean community of Egypt were in Jerusalem.

⁹⁸⁷ TAD A 4.7:1, 18 and A 4.8:17-18.

But then, the question presented already above (p.235) has to be asked again. Why didn't the Judean leaders in Jerusalem answer immediately the request for help from Elephantine? Why did it take three years for an answer? And why did the Judeans of Elephantine also send a letter asking for help to Samaria? Unfortunately these questions can only be answered with conjectures. The assumption of Rohrmoser is already presented above where she argues that the situation in Jerusalem after the exile had changed so much that no-one there was willing to give the requested recommendation.⁹⁸⁸ My suggestion is that the reasons for hesitation and silence of Jerusalem were both political and religious. Yehoḥanan the High Priest, his priest colleagues as well as the Judean nobles and elders in Jerusalem themselves lived in a sensitive political atmosphere under the Persian Empire. One religious reason for their hesitation might have been the growing importance of the second Temple of the Judeans in Jerusalem. This Temple had now stood more than a hundred years (515-410 BCE) simultaneously to the Judean temple of Elephantine. Probably at least some of the Judean leaders in Jerusalem had viewed the temple of Elephantine as a rival of Jerusalem. These critical Judeans of Jerusalem might have even argued that it was "the hand of God" behind the destruction of the Judean temple of Elephantine. Permitting its reconstruction would have proven more difficult than giving a religious explanation for its destruction. With this observation the text of the above memorandum reflects not only a political, but also a religious middleway. While it seems to be more a political and administrative document than a religious statement, it also reflects obliquely certain theological voice. How much it reflects the theological line of the Judean leadership in Jerusalem remains unclear. Rohrmoser argues that the memorandum reflects only the Persian decision; "dass die Perser bei der Verweigerung der Brandopfererlaubnis auf die Interessen der Jerusalemer Judäer Rücksicht nahmen, kann bezweifelt werden".⁹⁸⁹ Rohrmoser refers here to the growing religious conflict between Jerusalem and Samaria that was too sensitive for the Judean religious leadership in Jerusalem.⁹⁹⁰

Albertz tries to answer the above question concerning the silence of Jerusalem by comparing Josephus's so-called Bagoses story to the Aramaic documents discovered from Elephantine and to the Biblical narratives of Nehemiah and Ezra.⁹⁹¹ His recon-

⁹⁸⁸ Rohrmoser 2014, 288.

⁹⁸⁹ Rohrmoser 2014, 238.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid. 268.

⁹⁹¹ Rainer Albertz, "The Controversy about Judean versus Israelite Identity and the Persian Government: A

struction of the events cannot be fully proved but it fits the picture provided by the Aramaic documents and also fills the information gaps with regard to the actual situation in Jerusalem. According to Albertz, the main reasons for the silence of Jerusalem on one hand were the conflicts between Jerusalem and Samaria and on the other, the conflict between the Persian governor Bagohi and the Judean High Priest Joḥanan. Albertz argues that the temple of the Samaritans was probably erected in 424 BCE. Albertz also suggests that the religious leadership of Jerusalem represented a more exclusive Judean identity arguing that Jerusalem was the only legitimate location of YHWH cult. This exclusive concept of Judean identity probably provoked the theological separation of the Samaritans.⁹⁹²

Albertz concludes that the Bagoses story of Josephus perfectly explains the second conflict, namely that between the Persian governor Bagohi and the Judean High Priest Joḥanan, if it is dated between the two letters which the Judeans of Elephantine sent to Jerusalem (410-407 BCE). Albertz observes that the first petition of the Judeans of Elephantine was sent in 410 BCE to the Persian governor Bagohi and to the councils of the Judean self-government “namely, the high priest Joḥanan, leader of the priestly congregation, and Ostanēs, the leader of the assembly of the elders”.⁹⁹³ The High Priest Joḥanan and the other leaders of the Judean self-government were against the reconstruction of the temple of Yahu in Elephantine because it would contradict the law of centralization. In addition, the High Priest Joḥanan wanted to demonstrate the cultic exclusivity of Jerusalem and his own religious leadership. The Persian governor Bagohi was not happy for this decision because he wanted to support the Judean garrison in Elephantine against the rebellious Egyptians. This is where Josephus’s so-called Bagoses story elaborates the picture. The story tells us how the governor Bagohi wanted to replace the High Priest Joḥanan with his brother Joshua’ who was Bagohi’s friend. This resulted in the murder of Joshua’ by his brother Joḥanan and in the severe punishment of the Judean community by Bagohi.⁹⁹⁴

When the Judeans of Elephantine became informed of this conflict, they understood that their opportunity was at hand and they sent their second petition only to the

New Interpretation of the Bagoses Story (Jewish Antiquities XI.297-301)”, in Lipschits, Knoppers and Oeming, (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*, 2011, 483-504.

⁹⁹² Albertz 2011, 490, 499.

⁹⁹³ Albertz 2011, 491, 497.

⁹⁹⁴ Albertz 2011, 500.

Persian governors of Jerusalem and Samaria in 407 BCE, excluding the High Priest Johanan and the Judean councils of self-government from among the recipients. Without consulting the Judean leaders of Jerusalem, Bagohi and Delaiah approved the reconstruction of the Elephantine temple. The Persian governors wanted to show their power to the Judean community of Jerusalem and express their support for a more inclusive concept of the Israelite religion and identity.⁹⁹⁵ According to Albertz's reconstruction, the Judeans of Elephantine were well informed of the situation in Jerusalem and Samaria and they also were keen in pulling the right ropes for the benefit of their own cause.

As already stated above, the Aramaic documents do not prove Albertz's theory but they also do not directly bear evidence against it. A point that speaks against Albertz's argumentation is the decision made by Bagohi and Delaiah to recommend the rebuilding of the Elephantine temple, but without any burnt offerings. Why would the Persian governors have entered into such details of the native religion of their subject people while that was not the official policy of the Persian Empire in general? Two specific points, however, support Albertz's theory in the evidence found in the Aramaic documents. First, from the recipients of the letter sent by the Judeans of Elephantine in 407 BCE, it can explicitly be observed that Johanan and the other Judean leaders of Jerusalem were not among those who later approved their petition. Only the Persian governors of Jerusalem and Samaria approved the petition. Second, based on the approval of the petition only by the Persians, it can be assumed that there was a conflict between the Judean leaders of Jerusalem and the Persian governor Bagohi and his colleagues in Samaria.

4.5.3. Allusions to religious feasts

The next subcategory includes those allusions made to religious feasts. From a general point of view, very few allusions to religious feasts in these Aramaic documents exist. This may be that the texts mostly deal with official or semi-official topics and not primarily with religious or private things. If we analyze other than Judean religious feasts, we see only a couple probable allusions. One document speaks about the sacrifices of

⁹⁹⁵ Albertz 2011, 496.

Khnum the god without mentioning anything more.⁹⁹⁶ Another text details about buying perfumed oil for the temple of Banit in Syene without adding any other information.⁹⁹⁷ If this oil was used at some religious festival in this temple, we do not know. As for the religious feasts of the Judeans the Aramaic documents refer only to two, the Sabbath and Passover-Unleavened Bread festival.⁹⁹⁸ Any other piece of evidence alluding to other Judean festivals is missing.

Observance of Sabbath and celebration of Passover

Nine times the word Sabbath (שבתה) appears in the Aramaic documents from Egypt,⁹⁹⁹ however, the term Sabbath is never used in official letters or legal contracts. Except for Segal's one papyrus fragment, all other references to the Sabbath are found in short private letters written on ostraca, dated to the first quarter of the 5th century BCE. These letters do reinforce the theory that the Persian administration allowed religious freedom to its subjugated people.¹⁰⁰⁰ According to this Persian policy, religion was seen merely as a national matter for every nation. Most of the appearances of the expression Sabbath (שבתה) are just brief mentionings of the day. However, this is important because it demonstrates that the Aramaic documents confirm the existence and practices of Sabbath in the Judean community of Egypt. How the Sabbath was celebrated among these Judeans is never clearly shown. Anyhow it appears that observing the Sabbath was not a new tradition among the Judean people in Egypt, but instead it had a long history as Grabbe notes.¹⁰⁰¹ According to Rohrmoser, the few appearances of Sabbath in the Aramaic ostraca show that it was known among the Judeans of Egypt however, it was not

⁹⁹⁶ TAD D 1.12:16.

⁹⁹⁷ TAD A 2.2: 11-12.

⁹⁹⁸ Grabbe reminds us that Passover and Unleavened Bread festivals had a history before the Persian period and may have originally been distinctive festivals. Grabbe 2013, 130. Becking, however, notes that unleavened bread is referred to only in the so-called Passover Papyrus and not in other inscriptions discovered from the Persian period Egypt. The Passover Papyrus gives advice for the correct celebration of the Passover-Unleavened Bread festival and is dated to 419 BCE. Becking 2011, 406.

⁹⁹⁹ TAD D 7.10:5 (= HL 44 cc 5); D 7.12:9; D 7.16:2 (= HL 152 cc 2); D 7.28:4; D 7.35:7 (= HL 186 cv 1); D 7.48:5; HL 205 cc 4; Segal 72a, 1 and 72 b, 1. Segal himself is skeptical; "an allusion to the Sabbath, however tempting, cannot be proved", Segal 1983, 6. He interpretes the word as being a personal name; "In the present context it maybe safer to regard *šbt*' as a n.pr. 'born on the Sabbath'. Segal 1983, 95, note 2. However, Segal does not take into account that in the same document 72 b, 3 appears also the word דבה 'sacrifice' that reinforces the fact that the term שבתה refers to the day of Sabbath and not necessarily to a person named Šabah that appears for example in TAD D 19.7:1. See also Porten and Lund 2002, 288.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Waters 2014, 155-156. Waters notes that although the royal Persian inscriptions portray the Achaemenid kings as pious worshippers of Ahuramazda there is no evidence that the Persians compelled worship of Ahuramazda among their subjects. These royal inscriptions reflect more the contemporary imperial propaganda of the Persian kings.

¹⁰⁰¹ Grabbe 2013, 132.

a central element in their religion as was the temple and its cult.¹⁰⁰² In two of the texts discovered at Elephantine, the Sabbath reference refers to transported foodstuffs:

Dispatch to me ...that day 2. Dispatch to me little bread this day. And now, bring (OR: they brought) to me on the Sabbath.¹⁰⁰³

Food was transported to the island of Elephantine by boat, the second of these texts also mentions the transporting vessel:

Greetings, Yislah. Now, behold legumes I shall dispatch tomorrow. Meet the boat tomorrow on Sabbath.¹⁰⁰⁴

It is probable that these boats also functioned as kinds of shops where people could buy basic foodstuffs like salt:

Now, dispatch to me a little salt this day. And if there isn't salt in the house, buy from the boats of grain (OR: ferryboats) which are in Elephantine.¹⁰⁰⁵

If the Sabbath was a common transporting day, it means that the Judeans of Elephantine could not have kept the Sabbath in the Biblical manner of refraining from physical work. Of course transporting could also have taken place on Saturday evening, which then would not have been a problem, even for a religious Judean. Only one message on an ostrakon seems to stress the need to do something before the Sabbath day enters.

(To my brother...) yah. Your welfare may YHH of (Hosts see)k after at all times. Now, when (the...) of Wahpre son of (PN...)..., dispatch to me (...)...yšh and salt (...)...until (= before) the Sabbath day.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰² Rohrmoser 2014, 357.

¹⁰⁰³ TAD D 7.48:1-5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ TAD D 7.16:1-2. About the appearance of the word Šabah in HL 152 cc 2 (= TAD D 7.16:2) look Hallo and Lawson, *The Context of Scripture. Vol. III: Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, 2003, 214.

¹⁰⁰⁵ TAD D 7.2:1-5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ TAD D 7.35:1-7 (= HL 186 cv 1). Reconstructed text in brackets made by Porten and Yardeni.

“Until the Sabbath day” is in Aramaic **עַד יוֹם שַׁבָּה**. The word “until” **עַד** (Akk. *ad/adi*) has a similar meaning both in Hebrew and in Aramaic.¹⁰⁰⁷ When a Judean asked to send some foods before the day of the Sabbath, it can be understood that he was celebrating the Sabbath day resting and therefore needed to make preparations beforehand. Of course, this interpretation is only plausible and does not necessarily refer to the prohibition of work on Sabbath. According to Porten, the Sabbath and other Judean festivals continued to be celebrated in exile and the personal Hebrew names like Šabbetai and Ḥaggai bear evidence of this.¹⁰⁰⁸ The personal name **שַׁבְּתַי** (Šabbetai) appears six times in the Persian period Aramaic texts. Its feminine form **שַׁבְּתִית** (Šabbetit) appears only in the later Ptolemaic-period documents. The personal name **שַׁבָּה** (Šabah = “Born on the Sabbath”) appears only once.¹⁰⁰⁹ The name **חַגִּי** (Ḥaggai) appears altogether forty eight times.¹⁰¹⁰ Porten notes that although the appearance of these Hebrew personal names clearly indicates an awareness of the Sabbath and other Judean religious feasts among the Judeans of Egypt, it does not reveal to what degree they were observed in practice.¹⁰¹¹ Thus, it seems with the evidence of the Aramaic documents that the Sabbath was known among the Judeans of Egypt, and at least some of them kept it according to the biblical tradition which prohibits doing any work on that day. It also seems that others among them did not keep the Sabbath in the strictest way but instead did some business on Sabbath if needed. Grabbe suggests: “One certainly gains the impression that the very strict prohibition on work and other activities had not become a part of its observance among the Jews of Egypt”.¹⁰¹²

The word Passover (**פֶּסַח/פִּסְחָא**) appears only three times in the Persian period Aramaic documents from Egypt, and all of these appearances are found in private letters written on ostraca coming from Elephantine from the first quarter of the 5th century BCE.¹⁰¹³ This word seems to be a special term in the Aramaic documents and bears evidence of

¹⁰⁰⁷ BDB 1959, 1105; Klein 1987, 464; Porten and Lund 2002, 250.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The personal name Ḥaggai derives from the Hebrew word Ḥag (חַג) which means “feast, festival”. Klein 1987, 207. Porten 1968, 124.

¹⁰⁰⁹ It appears in TAD D 19.7:1. As mentioned already above, I understand the word שַׁבְּתָא (Šabta) in Segal 72a,1 and 72b, 1 as referring to the day of the Sabbath. See above note 979.

¹⁰¹⁰ HL 147 cc, 1; HL 266 cv, 4; HL 277 cc, 1. Segal 54:2. Porten and Lund 2002, 350-351 and 410-411 list all the other appearances.

¹⁰¹¹ Porten 1968, 127.

¹⁰¹² Grabbe 2013, 132.

¹⁰¹³ TAD D 7.6:8-10 ; TAD D 7.24:5 and probably also in HL 62 cv, 4.

the common roots of tradition with the texts of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁰¹⁴ The first of them was sent to Hoša'yah and includes a request:

Send (word) to me when you make (= observe) the Passover.¹⁰¹⁵

The second ostracon containing instructions concerning the Passover is fragmented but reads as follows:

Now, lo, on account of the Sukkiens/sharp implements (...)...this day. If you can d(o (OR: pas(s over))...)...on the Passover then stand w(ith (= by) ...) (just) as I would have you stand with (...)..., and his vessels examine...¹⁰¹⁶

This text discusses the Passover, and appears to request “his vessels examine”. The Aramaic word used here, **ܬܝܬܐ**, can be translated as “vessel” or “utensil”.¹⁰¹⁷ In most of the Aramaic texts where this expression appears, it refers to bronze or iron utensils as in the example from the following text:

There (are) the(se) goods – woollen and linen garments, bronze and iron utensils, wooden and palm-leaf utensils, grain and other (things).¹⁰¹⁸

This evidence in the above text with its instructions concerning the Passover can be understood as referring to the household utensils which had to be purified for the celebration of Passover. If this interpretation is correct, then this evidence confirms the supposition that at least some of the Judeans of Elephantine kept the Passover according to the Biblical regulations because all leavened foodstuffs were removed from the home before the Passover feast.

The third ostracon containing an allusion to the Passover was published by Lozachmeur in 2006.¹⁰¹⁹ The reading of this fragmentary text is not clear, but the context of the document supports an allusion to Passover, as it refers to Elephantine in the

¹⁰¹⁴ The term “Passover” (פסח) has a similar meaning both in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. BDS 1951, 820; Klein 1987, 515; Porten and Lund 2002, 267.

¹⁰¹⁵ TAD D 7.6:8-10.

¹⁰¹⁶ TAD D 7.24:3-7.

¹⁰¹⁷ The concordance of Porten and Lund translates this expression “vessel”. Porten and Lund 2002, 210.

¹⁰¹⁸ TAD B 2.9:5.

¹⁰¹⁹ HL 62 cv, 4.

night, as well as to fish and Passover.¹⁰²⁰

One strong prove for the idea of the celebration of Passover among the Judeans of Egypt is provided by a letter dated to the fifth year of Darius II (419 BCE) sent by a Judean called Ḥananyah to his brothers Yedanyah and his colleagues in the Judean garrison of Elephantine. Although this letter is partly fragmentary and the exact term Passover does not appear in it at all, it clearly addresses the Judean feast of Passover and/or Unleavened Bread, underlining that the feast should be celebrated seven days from the 15th day until the 21st day of Nisan and that anything leavened should not be eaten during these days.

(To my brothers Ye)danyah and his colleagues the Jewish ga(rrison.)
your brother Ḥanan(y)ah. May God/the gods (seek after) the welfare of
my brothers (at all times.) And now, this year, year 5 of King Darius, it
has been sent from the king to Arša(ma...)(...)...Now, you thus count
four(teen days in Nisan and on the 14th at twilight ob)serve (the Passo-
ver) and from the 15th day until the 21st day of (Nisan observe the Festi-
val of Unleavened Bread. Seven days eat unleavened bread. Now,) be
pure and take heed. (Do) n(ot do) work (on the 15th day and on the 21st
day of Nisan.) Do not drink (any fermented drink. And do) not (eat) any-
thing of leaven (nor let it be seen in your houses from the 14th day of Ni-
san at) sunset until the 21st day of Nisa(n at sunset. And b)ring into your
chambers (any leaven which you have in your houses) and seal (them) up
during (these) days. (...)...(To) my brothers Yedanyah and his col-
leagues the Jewish garrison, your brother Ḥananyah s(on of PN).¹⁰²¹

The words in brackets are reconstructed in Porten and Yardeni on the basis of the Biblical text. However, even when we leave the reconstructed parts out, clearly enough evidence in this text speaks about the celebration of the Passover of the Judeans that seems to have the same historical roots of tradition as the texts of the Old Testament. It even

¹⁰²⁰ Cowley interpretes the text in HL 62 cv, 4 as reading LM PSHH KZY QDMY, but Dupont-Sommer reads it instead as LM PSHHNTY QDMY where PSHHNTY could be a personal name. However, Dupont-Sommer's interpretation is not certain. Thus, the context of the text supports the allusion to Passover because this feast was celebrated in the night and fish was one suitable dish to eat at Passover.

¹⁰²¹ TAD A 4.1:1-10. The reconstruction in the brackets is made by Porten and Yardeni on the basis of the Biblical text.

gives advice on how to celebrate the feast and how to keep the religious purity of this festival. Rohrmoser suggests that the date of the Passover might not have been on the same day in all places or perhaps even different calendars may have been used, causing confusion about the celebration, and therefore advice was needed.¹⁰²² She also argues that although the document (TAD A 4.1) does not state clearly the name of the feast, it does address the celebration of the unleavened bread.¹⁰²³ The Passover and the feast of unleavened bread were probably originally two separate feasts, but questions about the date of their joining are still debated.¹⁰²⁴ Also the Aramaic documents do not clearly answer that question, although they imply that they were celebrated jointly at the same time.

Because Ḥananyah's letter does not contain any reference to the temple in Elephantine, it can be argued that the paschal meal may have been sacrificed and eaten in private homes. Porten, Grabbe and Rohrmoser argue that the Passover had been celebrated by the Judeans of Egypt already prior to the arrival of Ḥananyah, and that he was not the first to introduce the paschal lamb to the Judeans of Egypt.¹⁰²⁵ According to Granerød, Ḥananyah's letter may signal a change of the social sphere of this festival, from being part of domestic religion to becoming part of public religion.¹⁰²⁶ Ḥananyah's personality and mission do raise some difficult questions. Who was he? And just what was his mission in Egypt? In the beginning of his letter, Ḥananyah tells the recipients that something had been sent by the King Darius to the Satrap Aršama in a manner that seems to imply that he himself had received the authorization for his mission from the Persian King and from the local satrap. If this is true, one must assume that his mission was both a political and religious one. This seems very probable when Ḥananyah's mission is compared to the mission of the Egyptian Udjahorresnet about a hundred years earlier and to the missions of the Judean Ezra and Nehemiah as reflected in the Hebrew Bible. All of these missions took place in the same Persian Empire, although under different kings.¹⁰²⁷ Blenkinsopp compares the missions of Udjahorresnet and

¹⁰²² Rohrmoser 2014, 358.

¹⁰²³ Rohrmoser 2014, 352-353.

¹⁰²⁴ Rohrmoser 2014, 348-350.

¹⁰²⁵ Rohrmoser 2014, 358; Grabbe 2013, 130; Porten 1968, 280-281.

¹⁰²⁶ Granerød 2016, 208. Reasons for this change, according to Granerød, may have been in the need of the Persian rulers to regulate the economy and stability of Elephantine.

¹⁰²⁷ Udjahorresnet acted as an agent of Persian policy under Darius I, both Ezra and Nehemiah probably during the reign of Artaxerxes I, and Ḥananyah under Darius II. Blenkinsopp compares the missions of Udjahorresnet

those of Ezra and Nehemiah. He identifies many similarities, but also some differences in them. Similarities are that all of them were pro-Persian personalities who occupied positions of some importance at the royal court; they were sent on missions to their home countries involving restoration after serious disturbances; they expelled foreigners from the temple and reformed the cult providing it with the needed support; they also reorganized judicial institutions. In addition to the different time frame, the biggest difference between these narratives is that the theme of opposition is missing in the narrative of Udjahorresnet.¹⁰²⁸ In the narrative of Ḥananyah's mission the opposition, however, appears. All of these texts reflect the same Persian policy to make use of local and native pro-Persian dignitaries as instruments of imperial policy in the different satrapies.¹⁰²⁹ Grabbe presents a slightly different view and suggests that Ḥananyah's mission was not based on an official Persian decree, but his letter was probably a response to a request from the Judeans themselves.¹⁰³⁰ One of the Aramaic documents describes the opposition that Ḥananyah's arrival at Egypt actually created between the Judeans and the Egyptian priests of Khnum. Ma'uziyah, son of Natan, wrote to Yedanyah, Uriyah and the priests of YHW the God, (Mattan son of Yašobyah (and) Berekyah son of ...):

It is known to you that Khnum is against us since Ḥananyah has been in Egypt until now.¹⁰³¹

This sentence confirms that Ḥananyah came to Egypt from abroad, probably from Jerusalem or Babylon. Satrap Aršama's second office was in Babylon and Ḥananyah gives the impression that he was sent to Egypt by the Satrap Aršama. Thus, it seems probable that Ḥananyah came to Egypt from Babylon since a large Judean population lived there during the Persian period. Also Rohrmoser seems to agree as she proposes that the writers behind the letter and mission of Ḥananyah were probably influential Judeans in the Persian diaspora who were interested in uniting the Judean people and their reli-

and those of Ezra and Nehemiah in his article. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and Those of Ezra and Nehemiah." *JBL* 106, No. 3 (1987), 409-421.

¹⁰²⁸ Blenkinsopp 1987, 415-417.

¹⁰²⁹ Blenkinsopp 1987, 414. Blenkinsopp observes that "the Artaxerxes rescript follows the same pattern as those of Cyrus (Ezra 6:3-5; cf. 1:2-4:2 Chr. 36:23) and Darius (Ezra 6:6-12). Common to all three is the permission to return, to reestablish the cult and make adequate provision for sacrifice with appropriate governmental and private subventions." Blenkinsopp 1987, 418.

¹⁰³⁰ Grabbe 2013, 131. Also Rohrmoser suggests that "Der Brief könnte auch eine Antwort auf eine Anfrage der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine bezüglich der Begehung ihres Festes sein". Rohrmoser 2014, 348.

¹⁰³¹ TAD A 4.3:7.

gious cult and practice.¹⁰³² The above letter (TAD A 4.3) that informs about the problems caused by Ḥananyah's arrival at Egypt mentions that one of the servants of Anani, Ḥor by name, was also a servant of Ḥananyah.¹⁰³³ If this Anani was the same Judean chancellor Anani who worked in the high position in the office of the Satrap Aršama in Memphis,¹⁰³⁴ which is highly possible, then Ḥananyah's mission was at the same time both political and religious. And he had the authorization of the Persian administration for his mission in Egypt. Grabbe suggests that the letter of Ḥananyah probably "reflects a permit from the Persian court to continue celebrating the Passover, possibly in the light of local opposition. The local Khnum priests may well have opposed the sacrifice of lambs".¹⁰³⁵ From the above Aramaic document it is clear that Ḥananyah was a Judean religious personality who wanted to strengthen and direct the ritual life of the Judeans of Egypt. It also seems that his mission contributed to some extent to the conflict that later resulted in the destruction of the Judean temple of Elephantine by the priests of Khnum. By that time Ḥananyah was probably not in Egypt himself. One must then ask: why then couldn't the Judean chancellor Anani who worked in Aršama's office prevent the destruction of the Judean temple of Elephantine. The answer may lie in two reasons: it might be that Anani was not in Egypt but went to the King together with Aršama's delegation or it is also possible that he was in his office in Memphis, but the plot of the priests of Khnum with the Persian Vidranga was totally kept secret from Aršama's office in Memphis.

4.5.4. Religious customs and actions

The following subcategory is formed from all those expressions in the Aramaic documents which are related to religious customs and activities whatsoever. In addition to erecting temples, naming children with theophoric names, keeping of the Sabbath and celebrating of Passover, the following eight customs and activities are related to religion: religious greetings and blessings, prayer and fasting, offerings, oaths, purity of the food, collection of money, pilgrimage and rites of passage.

¹⁰³² Rohrmoser 2014, 358-359.

¹⁰³³ TAD A 4.3:4, 8.

¹⁰³⁴ TAD A 6.2:23. This document is, according to Porten and Yardeni, dating from the 12th of January, 411 BCE.

¹⁰³⁵ Grabbe 2013, 130-131.

Religious greetings and blessings

About 36% (29 out of 80) of the Aramaic letters written on papyrus include some religious greeting or blessing at the beginning of the letter.¹⁰³⁶ Of those 29, only five of these letters have both a religious greeting and a religious blessing.¹⁰³⁷ In those five letters, the writer of the message sends greetings to some temple and utters blessings for the recipient in the name of a deity (this is not considered the same as a greeting):

Greetings to the Temple of Bethel and the Temple of the Queen of Heaven...I have blessed you by Ptaḥ that he may let me behold your face in peace.¹⁰³⁸

This double greeting-blessing is a typical format for the so-called Hermopolis letters. In one case, the double greeting-blessing is actually used by a Judean, but it is not clear whether or not both of them are made in the name of YHW.¹⁰³⁹ It appears that the religious greeting or blessing is used mostly in private letters and not in official documents. In the sixteen official letters written on leather which the Satrap Aršama sent or received, a religious greeting appears only twice. Once it was sent by Aršama himself¹⁰⁴⁰ and the second time by his servants to him.¹⁰⁴¹ Also the form of these greetings seems to be more generalized than those which were associated with some certain deity. It is probable that the Persian administration did not want to impose any religious customs on the people under its power. Although the religious greetings mostly appear in private letters, when we analyze the private letters written on ostraca, the picture is totally different from what we see on the letters written on either papyrus or leather. The blessing or greeting on ostrakon was usually more clearly related to a certain deity and written in a short form while greetings and blessings on papyrus and leather were written in a more generalized and official format. Lemairé also argues that the Aramaic content of ostraca “is probably very close to the everyday way of speaking and less formal than the other documents”.¹⁰⁴² A religious blessing or greeting appears in only

¹⁰³⁶ For example, in TAD A 2:1-7; A 3:1-11; A 4:1-10; A 5:1-5; A 6.1-16 and TAD D 1:1-16.

¹⁰³⁷ TAD A 2.1:1-2; A 2.2:1-2; A 2.3:1-2; A 2.4:1-2; A 3.3:1-3.

¹⁰³⁸ TAD A 2.1:1-2.

¹⁰³⁹ TAD A 3.3:1-3.

¹⁰⁴⁰ TAD A 6.6:1.

¹⁰⁴¹ TAD A 6.1:1-2.

¹⁰⁴² According to him, this difference comes out in three aspects: the spelling of the ethnic deity (YHH instead of YHW), the salutation, and profane swearing. Lemairé 2015, 51.

four of the 292 private letters written on ostraca and dated to the Persian period.¹⁰⁴³ Moreover in these four ostraca, the blessing or greeting is uttered by the name of YHH and Khnum¹⁰⁴⁴, by Bel, Nabu, Šamaš and Nergal¹⁰⁴⁵ or by YHH alone.¹⁰⁴⁶ The blessing in the name of YHH alone appears only in two ostraca.¹⁰⁴⁷ Perhaps one reason for the small number of appearances of religious greetings or blessings on ostraca can be derived from the fact that writing on an ostrakon utilizes a minimal space, thus limiting the use of long expressions like these.

In addition to these four ostraca, there exist some private letters written on ostraca, which include two types of expressions, not identified as greetings or blessings but rather marked as a religious sentiment or an exclamation. One such religious sentiment concerning the writer's own death appears in one Aramaic ostrakon and reads "the day I die... may Yahu Sebaot receive thee (fem.)".¹⁰⁴⁸ Another religious exclamation appears in nine private letters (all of which seem to have been sent by Judeans to other Judeans) written on ostraca and discovered from Elephantine.¹⁰⁴⁹ This religious exclamation reads חַי לַיָּהּ, which Lozachmeur translates into French "Par la vie de Yahô!" meaning "By the life of Yaho!" Whether or not it is some kind of an oath, exclamation, swearing or even a creed remains unclear.¹⁰⁵⁰ What is clear, however, is that this exclamation was used exclusively by Judeans and was connected to the name of Yahu. This exclamation appears in about three percent of all the private letters written on ostraca. According to Lemaire, it is a formula of profane swearing that was especially typical for soldiers like those of Elephantine.¹⁰⁵¹

According to Porten, the salutations of Aramaic letters usually followed a defi-

¹⁰⁴³ Most of these private letters written on ostraca can be found in HL's collection (altogether 241); the remainder can be found in TAD D 7:1-54. Segal's collection does not include any private letters written on an ostrakon.

¹⁰⁴⁴ HL 70 cc, 3 = TAD D 7.21:3.

¹⁰⁴⁵ HL 277 cc, 1-3 = TAD D 7.30:2-3. Both Lozachmeur and Lemaire argue that this ostrakon includes a scribal exercise. Lemaire 2015, 60-61.

¹⁰⁴⁶ HL 186 cc, 1-2 = TAD D 7.35:1-2.

¹⁰⁴⁷ The second one appears in HL 167 cc, 1 that reads "YHH ŠB'T YŠ'L".

¹⁰⁴⁸ The text reads (BY)WM ZY 'MWT QBLKY YHH ŠB'T. The above reading was made by A. Cowley, but H. Lozachmeur herself follows A. Dupont-Sommer's reading KBLKY instead of QBLKY. This reading does not make very much any sense when translated as Lozachmeur does "Yahu Sebaot made you sterile" or "Yahu Sebaot thee bound"; HL 175 cc, 1-2. Lemaire reads YBLKY instead of QBLKY and translates "Yahu Sebaot will bring you"; Lemaire 2015, 59. Out of these suggestions, I prefer Cowley's reading as the more correct one.

¹⁰⁴⁹ HL 14 cv, 1; HL 20 cc, 3; HL 41 cv, 5; HL 56 cc, 7; HL 152 cc, 3 (= TAD D 7.16: 3, appears twice); HL 174 cc, 2; HL 185 cc, 6; HL 214 cc, 2 and probably also in HL X 16 cc, 5.

¹⁰⁵⁰ According to Granerød, this expression was profane swearing of Judeans used in everyday conversation. Granerød 2016, 164.

¹⁰⁵¹ Lemaire 2015, 53-54.

nite pattern:

1. To/from the superior party.
2. From/to the inferior party.
3. Greetings.
4. "And now..." (The body of the letter).¹⁰⁵²

The greeting formula varied depending upon the sender of the letter. Normally a non-Judean writer formulated this greeting: "The peace (welfare) of X may (all) the gods seek abundantly (at all times)."¹⁰⁵³ Or in the case of a blessing, the format was: "I have blessed you by X (deity) that he may show me your face in peace."¹⁰⁵⁴ Instead, in four letters written on papyrus, the Judean sender or senders chose the following greeting: "The peace (welfare) of X may the God of Heaven seek (abundantly at all times)."¹⁰⁵⁵ The blessing in the name of YHH alone appears only twice in the ostraca discovered from Elephantine sent by Judeans. The first one reads "YHH Sebaot seek after"¹⁰⁵⁶ and the second one "Your welfare may YHH of (Hosts see)k after at all times"¹⁰⁵⁷. Evidently the Judean writers preferred to use the expression God of Heaven when referring to their God instead of spelling his Holy name. Grabbe notes that the term "God of Heaven" (אלה שמיא) had become widely used of Yahu in the Persian period. Occasionally the alternative title, "Lord of Heaven" (מרא שמיא) was also used by the Judeans of Egypt.¹⁰⁵⁸ In one papyrus letter a Judean first sends greetings to the Temple of YHW in Elephantine and then utters a blessing to the recipient of the letter. However, the letter is fragmented and there is a lacuna exactly on the spot of the divine name. Porten and Yardeni reconstructed the lacuna as the name of YHW; read as it follows (reconstructed words in brackets):

Now, blessed be you (by YHW the God (ליהו אלהא) that He may sh)ow
me your face in peace.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵² Porten 1968, 150.

¹⁰⁵³ For example, TAD A 3.10:1 and A 6.1:1-2.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For example, TAD A 2.2: 2.

¹⁰⁵⁵ These four letters are TAD A 3.6: 1 ; A 4.3:2-3; A 4.7:1-2 and A 4.8:1-2.

¹⁰⁵⁶ HL 167 cc, 1.

¹⁰⁵⁷ HL 186 cc, 1-2 = TAD D 7.35:1-2. The reconstruction in brackets is made by Porten and Yardeni.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Grabbe 2013, 126-127.

¹⁰⁵⁹ TAD A 3.3:2-3.

I propose that this same lacuna could also be reconstructed using the term the God of Heaven as follows:

Now, blessed be you (by the God of Heaven (לאלה שמיא) that He may
sh)ow me your face in peace.

Both reconstructions are clearly possible because they utilize the same number of Aramaic letters. Which one of these actual divine names was written remains open to debate. In some cases Aramaic letters sent by Judeans or to Judeans bear greetings or blessings which bring the Judean's faith in Yahu into question. This problem arises especially with such letters which Judeans have written to other Judeans but choose to use the general greeting: "The peace (welfare) of X may (all) the gods seek abundantly (at all times)." In fact from the eleven letters written by Judeans to other Judeans, written on papyrus and included in TAD A, six of those letters include this general greeting format.¹⁰⁶⁰ Thus, in more than a half of these cases, the general format is used by the Judean writers including the term "all the gods". This same multireligious feature appears in one Aramaic letter on an ostrakon from the first quarter of 5th century BCE, very probably sent to a Judean, where the greeting is in the following form:

To my brother Ḥaggai, your brother Yarḥu. The welfare of my brother
may Bel and Nabu, Šamaš and Nergal (seek after at all times).¹⁰⁶¹

In another letter on ostrakon from the same period, a servant greets his Judean lord as follows:

To my lord Mikayah, your servant Giddel. (Blessings of) welfare and life
I sent to you. I blessed you by YHH and Khnum.¹⁰⁶²

Porten explains these word choices using the arguments proposed by other scholars in order to solve the problematic multireligious greetings written by Judeans or to Jude-

¹⁰⁶⁰ They are TAD A 3.5:1; A 3.7:1; A 3.9:1; A 4.1:1; A 4.2:1-2; A 4.4:1.

¹⁰⁶¹ HL 277 cc, 1-3 = TAD D 7.30:1-3.

¹⁰⁶² HL 70 cc, 3 = TAD D 7.21:1-3. Translation is made by Porten and Yardeni.

ans.¹⁰⁶³ First he asserts that the letters were dictated by Judeans but written by professional Aramean scribes who used the general greeting format. However, this proposal seems illogical in that the Judeans of Egypt did not need the help of Aramean scribes; in fact, they had their own professional Judean scribes, as the Aramaic documents also attest. Secondly he explains the divine name **אלהיא** may have had a singular meaning “God”, whether the verb was singular or plural. Again this view can be easily disputed. In three of the letters, the Judean sender uses the expression **אלהיא כלא** (all the gods).¹⁰⁶⁴ In this context the word “all” (אֵלֶּכ) refers to many gods in general and not to the “wholeness of God” in particular. However, this particular interpretation is remotely possible. A third explanation suggests a solution to the above mentioned two examples. Perhaps both Yarḥu and Giddel are originally Aramaic names for Aramean persons. Concerning the word Yarḥu this argument is very strong; the name Yarḥu honours the moon god, Yarāḥ. The term Giddel may be both Aramaic and Hebrew.¹⁰⁶⁵ According to my analysis (Appendix 8; Gaddul, not Giddel) and also according to the Concordance of Porten and Lund¹⁰⁶⁶, the third explanation is the most plausible; both Yarḥu and Giddel were Aramaic names of Aramean persons who, as we already know, worshiped several gods. Lemaire has the same view and he suggests that this ostrakon (HL 277 cc, 1-3 = TAD D 7.30:1-3) “does not seem connected with Judaeon culture but is probably a scribal exercise in the context of the Aramaean scribal tradition”.¹⁰⁶⁷ Lemaire accepts Knauf’s assumption that there was an Aramaic scribal school in Elephantine.¹⁰⁶⁸

In addition to the above greetings that appear in different kind of letters, there are still some special greetings which appear in funerary inscriptions and in graffiti. The blessing is found mostly in the form: *Blessed be X before/by DN* (the name of the divinity). On one graffiti dated to the first half of the 5th century BCE that was discovered from Wadi-el-Shatt el-Rigal, there appears the inscription:

Blessed be Azario son of Sagb(a)i by Ḥorus.¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶³ Porten 1968, 160.

¹⁰⁶⁴ This expression is used in TAD A 3.5:1; A 3.7:1 and A 3.9.1.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Thus, following Dupont-Sommer Lozachmeur translates “Gadôl” and not “Giddel”. HL 70 cc, 2.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Porten and Lund 2002, 335-336.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Lemaire 2015, 61.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Lemaire 2015, 64. Knauf 2002, 182-183.

¹⁰⁶⁹ TAD D 22.41.

Both of the personal names are originally Hebrew but the deity is Egyptian.¹⁰⁷⁰ The reading of the text is, however, not certain because it is based on the drawings of Petrie and Sayce.¹⁰⁷¹

Praying and fasting

The verb “to pray” (צלי) appears in the Aramaic texts only three times and always in connection with the Judeans.¹⁰⁷² The same is true concerning the verb “to fast” (צום) that appears four times and as well only in connection with the Judeans.¹⁰⁷³ Both terms appear together in the two copies of the petition of the Judeans of Elephantine to Bagavahya the Governor of Judah:

And when this had been done (to us), we with our wives and our children were wearing sackcloth and fasting and praying to YHW the Lord of Heaven...¹⁰⁷⁴

Let a letter be sent from you to them about the Temple of YHW the God to (re)build it in Elephantine the fortress just as it was formerly built. And they will offer the meal-offering and the incense, and the holocaust on the altar of YHW the God in your name and we shall pray for you at all times – we and our wives and our children and the Jews, all (of them) who are here.¹⁰⁷⁵

In the first instance the Judeans inform the Governor Bagavahya about what they did in the time of crisis after their temple was in ruins. As a Judean community together with their wives and children they wore sackcloth and fasted and prayed to YHW the Lord of Heaven. Here prayer is connected to mourning. As a physical sign of their grief, they all fasted and wore sackcloth. Even their wives and children wore sackcloth and

¹⁰⁷⁰ Porten and Lund, 2002, 388 and 411.

¹⁰⁷¹ TAD D, page 267.

¹⁰⁷² It appears in the forms מצלין and נצלה in two documents which are written by the Judeans of Elephantine: TAD A 4.7: 15, 26 and A 4.8: 25. See also Porten and Lund 2002, 272.

¹⁰⁷³ The word “fast” appears in the forms צימין and צום in three documents which are TAD A 4.7:15, 20; A 4.8:14 and HL 200 cc, 3 (jeûne).

¹⁰⁷⁴ TAD A 4.7:15. Also in TAD A 4.8:14, but with a lacuna on the spot of the word “prayer”. The divine name used by the Judeans of Elephantine about Yahu “Yahu the Lord of Heaven” (יהו מרא שמיא) appears only here in TAD A 4.7:15.

¹⁰⁷⁵ TAD A 4.7:24-27 as well as TAD A 4.8:23-26. Translations are made by Porten and Yardeni.

fasted. Together the Judean community prayed to YHW the Lord of Heaven, to the same deity to whom their temple in Elephantine had been dedicated. Normally, as was their custom, they called their God as “the God of Heaven”, but now they confessed clearly his divine name: “YHW the Lord of Heaven”.¹⁰⁷⁶

In the second instance the Judeans of Elephantine promise to pray for the Governor Bagavahya if he will support their cause. They promise to pray for him at all times – again as a Judean community together with their wives and their children and with all the Judeans who are in Elephantine and in Egypt. This refers to a prayer of intercession, as also Granerød notes.¹⁰⁷⁷ According to the text, this prayer of intercession took place in the temple of Elephantine before the altar of YHW together with the different offerings. According to the Judeans themselves, this prayer would provide great benefit to Bagavahya before YHW the God because the same letter continues as follows:

If they do thus until that Temple be (re)built, you will have a merit before YHW the God of Heaven more than a person who offers him holocaust and sacrifices (whose) worth is as the worth of silver, 1 thousand talents and gold.¹⁰⁷⁸

Analyses of these quotations demonstrate that communal prayer had a central place in the temple worship service of the Judeans of Elephantine. They valued prayer even more than holocaust and sacrifices. All people, even women and children took part in these communal prayers. And clearly these prayers were directed to only one divinity, YHW the God of Heaven. Interestingly there does not appear a single piece of evidence in the Aramaic documents for this kind of communal prayer to other deities in Persian-period Egypt. Probably worshippers of other deities concentrated more on private prayer and other religious rituals. Fasting also appears only in connection with the Judeans and mostly together with prayer.¹⁰⁷⁹

¹⁰⁷⁶ See the note 838 above. The divine name used by the Judeans of Elephantine about Yahu “Yahu the Lord of Heaven” (יהו מרא שמיא) appears only here in TAD A 4.7:15.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Granerød 2016, 154.

¹⁰⁷⁸ TAD A 4.7:27-28. Translation is made by Porten and Yardeni.

¹⁰⁷⁹ In HL 200 cc, 3 without the word “prayer”.

Offerings

Terms referring to offerings appear in the Aramaic texts both in connection with the Judeans and with other ethnic groups. Five kinds of offerings are mentioned:

Animal sacrifice (דבֿח)

Burnt offering (עֶלִיָּהּ and מִקְלוֹ, Akk. *maqlû*)

Incense (לְבוֹנָה)

Libation (נִסֵּךְ and נִקְיָה)

Meal offering (מִנְחָה)

From those mentioned, the term “animal sacrifice” (דבֿח) appears three times, both in connection with Judeans and Egyptians.¹⁰⁸⁰ The term “burnt offering/holocaust” (עֶלִיָּהּ and מִקְלוֹ, Akk. *maqlû*) appears seven times and always in connection with the Judeans.¹⁰⁸¹ The expression “incense” (לְבוֹנָה) appears five times, always in a context concerning the Judeans.¹⁰⁸² Additionally, two different Aramaic expressions appear in the documents for the libation offering.¹⁰⁸³ Both are used in connection with the Judeans and other ethnic groups. The term נִקְיָה appears three times referring once to the worship of Ptah, once to the worship of Isis and once in relation to the Judeans.¹⁰⁸⁴ The second Aramaic expression used for libation offering is נִסֵּךְ; this appears twice and always in a context that clearly concerns only the Judeans.¹⁰⁸⁵ One document provides a record of six different kinds of vessels which Ḥanan, son of Ḥaggai delivered to Yedanyah. Among these vessels were also the following:

¹⁰⁸⁰ In connection with the Judeans, the term appears in TAD A 4.7: 28 and A 4.8: 27. In connection with the Egyptians, the term appears in TAD D 1.12: 16 that read “sacrifices of Khnum” (דבֿחי חֲנוּם). See also Porten and Lund 2002, 74. The term is cognate to Hebrew זֶבֶח.

¹⁰⁸¹ The term עֶלִיָּהּ appears in TAD A 4.7: 21, 25 and 28, as well as in A 4.8: 21, 25 and 27. The originally Akkadian term מִקְלוֹ appears only once in TAD A 4.10: 10. See Porten and Lund 2002, 226 and 258.

¹⁰⁸² The term “incense” (לְבוֹנָה) appears in TAD A 4.7: 21 and 25; A 4.8: 21; A 4.9: 9 and A 4.10: 11. See Porten and Lund 2002, 204.

¹⁰⁸³ Grabbe misses the libation offering when he describes the different offerings conducted in the Judean temple in Elephantine. Grabbe 2013, 128. Similarly also Rohrmoser 2014, 200-201.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The term appears in TAD D 3.12:26 which deals with the disbursement of wine for the worship of Ptah, as well as to the worship of the goddess Isis in TAD D 3.12: 27. This term also appears in HL 204 cc, 7 (brebis) in a context that is related to the Judeans of Elephantine because the same text refers (in cv 5) to “Friday = Eve of Sabbath” (עַד עֵרִיבָה). Look also Porten and Lund 2002, 235.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The term appears in TAD C 3.13: 7 in a general context, but second time in TAD D 7.9: 1 in a text that also recalls two Hebrew names (Uryah and Gemaryah). See also Porten and Lund 2002, 233.

...sprinkler(s), 4(+1+) + 2(=7), to pour libations...¹⁰⁸⁶

On an ostrakon we find again Judeans writing to each other about libation:

Now, regard the gift which Uriyah gave me for the libation. Give it to Gemaryah, son of Ahio, so that he may prepare it from the beer, and bring it to Uriyah.¹⁰⁸⁷

The expression “meal offering” (מנחה) appears in the documents seven times and always in a context that concerns the Judeans.¹⁰⁸⁸ In conclusion, from the appearance of these different Aramaic terms for offerings, only four appear in a context that involves the Judeans and concern burnt offering, meal offering, libation (נסך) and incense. Nearly all of these references appear in documents dealing with the temple of the Judeans of Elephantine. In one document the Judeans ask for a recommendation from Bagavahya, the governor of Judah to rebuild their destroyed temple in Elephantine just as it was formerly built; here they also tell him the many activities which will be performed there:

And they will offer the meal offering and the incense, and the holocaust on the altar of YHW the God...¹⁰⁸⁹

As these activities had been performed in the temple previously, they are now requesting permission to continue these same rituals in the rebuilt temple. Another such document provides the response the Judean community of Elephantine received from Bagavahya and Delaiyah:

...to (re)build it on its site as it was formerly and they shall offer the meal offering and the incense upon that altar just as formerly was done.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁶ TAD C 3.13:7.

¹⁰⁸⁷ TAD D 7.9:1-3.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The term מנחה “meal offering” appears in TAD A 4.5: 14; A 4.7: 21, 25; A 4.8: 21, 24; A 4.9: 9 and A 4.10: 11. In TAD A 4.7:25 the word is in the form מנחת where the ך has been dropped out. See also Porten and Lund 2002, 224.

¹⁰⁸⁹ TAD A 4.7:25-26. Translation is made by Porten and Yardeni.

For some reason not revealed in this document, the Persian leaders in Judah and Samaria recommend that only meal offering and incense be done in the rebuilt temple of Elephantine and not burnt offerings as well. The Judeans of Elephantine seem to have understood this limitation as can be derived from the document they sent to the Persian leader in Egypt; his name is not preserved in the document, but he was very probably Aršama:

If our lord (...) and our temple of YHW the God be rebuilt in Elephantine, the fortress as it was former(ly bu)ilt – and sheep, ox and goat are (n)ot made there as burnt offering but (they offer there) (only) incense (and) meal offering – and should our lord mak(e) a statement (about this, then) we shall give to the house of our lord si(lver ...and) a thousa(nd) ardabs of barley.¹⁰⁹¹

From this document, we acknowledge that previously the Judeans had offered sheep, ox and goat as burnt offerings in the temple of Elephantine. In this sense, the temple resembled the temple of Jerusalem. However, the recommendations for the rebuilding of the Judean temple omit these burnt offerings and, in fact, do not mention them at all. It can also be asserted that the Judeans of Elephantine understood this change because they themselves repeated it clearly in their letter to the Persian leadership in Egypt. Probably the main reason for this change in implementation was provided to the Judeans of Elephantine orally and not in written form. We can only theorize whether the reason was religious, political or both. What is clear is that the recommendation for the change of policy came from Jerusalem and Samaria, not from Egypt or Persia. In addition, it came through the channels of the Persian administration not through the religious channels of the Judeans. However, this does not necessarily mean that the religious leadership of the Judeans in Jerusalem was not involved in the formation of this new religious policy. What is clear from the Aramaic documents is that the Judeans of Elephantine were actively seeking this recommendation, and they were keen in using the existing channels of the Persian administration. They seemed to have possessed

¹⁰⁹⁰ TAD 4.9:8-11. Translation is made by Porten and Yardeni.

¹⁰⁹¹ TAD A 4.10:7-14.

open access to these channels. Although the answer they received was not exactly what they asked for, for all appearances they seemed satisfied with it. Their ultimate goal was to get the destroyed temple in Elephantine rebuilt.

Although the term “meal offering” (מנחה) appears only in connection with the Judeans, the Aramaic texts also include a reference to sending of barley to Khnum in a letter written on an ostrakon.

Moreover, the (bas)ket in which is the barley of Khnum – let them bring them (into) the house of Peṭosiri.¹⁰⁹²

Because this document was discovered in Elephantine, we can assume meal offerings were prepared not only for YHW but also for Khnum, and probably also for other deities. However, these Aramaic documents do not contain any evidence concerning the use of incense in the worship of other deities than YHW.

As already mentioned, only two terms for the five different offerings appearing in the Aramaic texts are used both in connection with the Judeans and non-Judeans; these are animal sacrifice and libation. The expression animal sacrifice (דבה) appears in TAD A 4.7: 28 and A 4.8: 27 in connection with the Judeans. These documents (TAD A 4.7 and A 4.8) are copies of the same letter that the Judeans of Elephantine sent to the Persian governors in Jerusalem and Samaria. In reference to non-Judeans, the term appears in TAD D 1.12: 16 which reads “sacrifices of Khnum” (דבחי חנום). Thus, this proves that some animals were sacrificed in the worship of Khnum because the word דבה particularly refers to animal sacrifices. As already presented above, two words (נסך and נקיה) are used for libation, the first only by Judeans, but the second one both by Judeans and non-Judeans.¹⁰⁹³ From this, we can assert that libation was practiced as a type of deity offering both among Judeans and non-Judeans. It appears that Judeans in general used a different word than worshippers of other deities. According to the Aramaic documents, libation was prepared of wine or beer and the Judeans used a special vessel called sprinkler (זלוח) to pour it.¹⁰⁹⁴ Most probably Judeans shared libation together with the meal since the term “libation” does not appear separately in the list of

¹⁰⁹² TAD D 7.39:2-5.

¹⁰⁹³ In HL 204 cc, 7 the term נקיה is very probably used by the Judeans.

¹⁰⁹⁴ This vessel appears four times in a document that very probably is related to libation and Judeans; TAD C 3.13:7, 17, 21 and 25.

offerings presented in the temple of Elephantine.¹⁰⁹⁵

In the Aramaic documents names of vessels other than sprinkler appear; names which were used in the worship of a deity. For example, the word *altar* (מזבֿח) appears four times and always in connection with the Judeans.¹⁰⁹⁶ Also the Egyptian expression “offering table” (חֲתָפִי) which was written on a table was discovered in Memphis: “Offering table as an offering of Banit to Osiris-Hapi (Serapis)...”¹⁰⁹⁷

In connection with the temple of Judeans in Elephantine, the Persian loanword brazier (אֶתְרוּדִין)¹⁰⁹⁸ appears one time, seemingly used at the offering worship. Additionally the bronze and silver bowls (מִזְרָק) appear belonging to the utensils used in the Judean temple of Elephantine.¹⁰⁹⁹ In the above document where the term sprinkler appears, there is a list of utensils which also might have been used in the religious service at the temple in Elephantine.

Memorandum: cups of bronze which gav(e)

Hanan son of Haggai (in)to the hand of Yedanyah son of (PN) –

cups of bronze, 21;

silver cup 1;

tlph(n) 4;

(r)ods (x); rod (o)f (...)...

sprinkler(s) 4 (+1+)+2 (=7) to pour libations

which in (s)taters is 2;

sk(-)h for eating 6; for ...3(+)¹¹⁰⁰

The impression about the temple service of the Judeans of Elephantine given by these Aramaic documents is that their religious life was well-organized and ritually rich.

Oaths

Porten notes that in the ancient world, an oath was used in the cases of exculpation from a charge in the cases where any other verifiable objective evidence did not exist.

¹⁰⁹⁵ TAD 4.9:8-11 and TAD A 4.10:7-14.

¹⁰⁹⁶ TAD A 4.7:26; A 4.8:25; A 4.9:3; A 4.9:10.

¹⁰⁹⁷ TAD D 20.1:1-2.

¹⁰⁹⁸ TAD A 4.5:17.

¹⁰⁹⁹ TAD A 4.7:12 and A 4.8:11.

¹¹⁰⁰ TAD C 3.13:1-9.

Then, the accused or suspected was asked to take an oath in the name of a deity. One's readiness to take an oath was the needed evidence to determine innocence.¹¹⁰¹ The term "oath" (מומא) appears ten times in eight different Aramaic documents.¹¹⁰² In addition, in one document this action is called מקריא על אלהך a "declaration to deity".¹¹⁰³ Furthermore, in four documents the person taking an oath can be identified as a Judean whereas in four documents the ethnic identity cannot be defined. The number of oath-taking Judeans, when compared to other ethnic groups in these documents, seems relatively high, especially when we remember that they represent 16 % presentation of overall populace (Gentilics on page 131 above). The opponent parts mentioned in the documents are a Khwarezmian, an Egyptian and a Persian.¹¹⁰⁴ Judeans usually swore an oath "by the life of YHW", and this form appears ten times on nine Aramaic ostraca from Elephantine, written as one word: חיליהה¹¹⁰⁵ In some cases, it seems that this form might also have been used as an everyday means of swearing among the Judeans of Elephantine, and not only in official legal connections. In the Aramaic papyri, this form does not appear, but two documents do recall an oath using the name of Yahu. In the first, documented from 464 BCE, a Judean named Maḥseyah son of Yedanyah swore to Khwarezmian Dargamana that a piece of land belonged to him and not to Dargamana:

Dargamana, son of Xvaršaina, a Khwarezmian whose place is made (=fixed) in Elephantine, the fortress of the detachment of Artabanu, said to Maḥseyah son of Yedanyah, a Jew who is in the fortress of Elephantine of the detachment of Varyazata, saying: You swore to me by YHW the God in Elephantine, the fortress, you and your wife and your son, all (told) 3, about the land of mine; on account of which I complained

¹¹⁰¹ Porten 1968, 151.

¹¹⁰² Three of these are documents of oath (TAD B 7.1:4; B 7.3:1 and B 7.4:1), two documents of withdrawal (TAD B 2.2:6 and B 2.8:4,6,9), one document of a house (TAD B 2.3:24) and one court record (TAD 8.9:5 that is the same as Segal 2, 4 and 5). In the last mentioned court record appears also another term together with the term oath and that is the word נפרת. Segal interprets it as deriving from the Iranian *ni-frīti*- meaning "curse". In addition to these legal texts, the term probably appears also on an ostrakon from Elephantine; HL 123 cc, 1 that is a private letter.

¹¹⁰³ TAD B 7.2:6.

¹¹⁰⁴ A Khwarezmian appears in TAD B 2.2:2 and B 2.3:23; an Egyptian in TAD B 2.8:1-2 and a Persian in TAD B 7.2:3. In two other cases the encountering party is a Judean, in TAD B 7.1:2 and B 7.3:2.

¹¹⁰⁵ Most of these ostraca were published only by Helen Lozachmeur in 2006. Only one of them was published in the collection of Porten and Yardeni. The expression חיליהה appears in the following documents: HL 14 cv, 1; HL 20 cc, 3; HL 41 cv, 5; HL 56 cc, 7; HL 152 cc, 3 and 7 (that is the same "ostrakon araméen du Sabbat" as TAD D 7.16: 3,7); HL 174 cc, 2; HL 185 cc, 6; HL 214 cc, 2 and HL X16 cc, 5.

against you before Damidata and his colleagues the judges, and they imposed upon you an oath to me to swear by YHW on account of that land, that it was not the land of Dargamana, mine, behold I.¹¹⁰⁶

In addition, this example shows that women also were required to swear an oath in some situations. In another case, partly reconstructed by Porten and Yardeni, from 413 BCE, a man, whose name has not survived, was asked to swear an oath to a Judean Maḥseyah, son of Šibah, concerning his stolen fish:

(PN son of PN, a Jew/Aramean of Elephantine/Syene of the detachment of Iddinna)bu, (said) to Maḥseyah son of Šibah, an Aramean of Syene (of the detachment of PN, saying: You complained against me) on account of fish, saying: ‘You stole (them) from me.’ And (I was) interro(gated) before PN and his colleagues the judges and imposed upon me was an oat(h) to you by YHW the God that (I) did not steal fish (from you).¹¹⁰⁷

Most likely the person made to take this oath was Judean, but of course we can not be sure of that without clear evidence. In addition to these two documents where an oath is taken using YHW, three texts exist which recall an oath in the name of another deity. Surprisingly the person swearing the oath in these documents is a Judean in all three cases. In the first case from 440 BCE, a Judean woman called Mibṭaḥyah swears to an Egyptian Pia son of Paḥe by Sati the goddess about her goods:

Pia son of Paḥe, a builder of Syene the fortress, said to Mibṭaḥyah daughter of Maḥseyah son of Yedanyah, an Aramean of Syene of the detachment of Varyazata, about the suit which we made(=undertook) in Syene, a litigation about silver and grain and raiment and bronze and iron – all (the) goods and property- and (the) wifehood document. Then, an oath came (=was imposed) upon you and you swore to me about them by Sati the goddess. And my heart was satisfied with that oath which you made (=took) to me about those goods and I withdrew from you from this day

¹¹⁰⁶ TAD B 2.2:2-7. The translation is made by Porten and Yardeni.

¹¹⁰⁷ TAD B 7.1:1-4. Maḥseyah son of Šibah is called an Aramean but he is a Judean because both his personal and patronymic name is Hebrew by origin and because the oath was asked to be made by YHW the God.

and forever.¹¹⁰⁸

According to this document, Mibṭaḥyah was either engaged or married to Pia son of Paḥe, but their marriage seems to have dissolved.¹¹⁰⁹ It is interesting that the goddess Sati is mentioned in these Aramaic documents; this occurs only two times.¹¹¹⁰ Sati belonged to the pantheon of Elephantine as one of the three divinities which protected the yearly flow and fruitfulness of the Nile.¹¹¹¹ She also had a temple in Elephantine that, however, is not mentioned in the Aramaic documents. Perhaps it was the custom that the deity by whom the oath was sworn was to be determined by the opposing party in each legal case. Sati was an Egyptian goddess, especially known as the goddess consort of Khnum. Therefore, here we can assume that Sati was the deity that Pia son of Paḥe worshiped and therefore suggested be the attachment to this oath. According to another Aramaic document, this same Mibṭaḥyah remarried after this, choosing another Egyptian man, named Ešor son of Djeḥo. Together they had two sons, Yedanyah and Maḥseyah.¹¹¹² In later Aramaic documents it is revealed that Ešor son of Djeḥo also had the Hebrew name Natan.¹¹¹³ From this, we can assume that in spite of the above oath in the name of Sati, Mibṭaḥyah was Judean as well as her family.

The second example of a Judean swearing an oath by a god other than Yahu is found in a document from late 5th century BCE. Here Menaḥem son of Šallum, accused of fraud, swore to another Judean Mešullam son of Natan in a case concerning a female donkey. The text, though a fragmentary reconstruction, suggested by Porten and Yardeni is very probable, and reads as follows:

Oa(th whi)ch Menahem son of Shallum son of Ho(ša'yah/ davyah)
swore/will swear to Mešullam son of Natan by Ḥ(erem) the (god) in/by
the place of prostration and by AnatYHW. And (he swore/will swear to
him), saying: The she-ass which is in the hand of P(mise son of Pa)met

¹¹⁰⁸ TAD B 2.8:1-7.

¹¹⁰⁹ Both Porten and Azzoni argue that Mibṭaḥyah was not married to Pia. Thus, it seems that she was married only twice. Porten 1996, 190; Azzoni 2013, 6.

¹¹¹⁰ See Porten and Lund 2002, 427. The first of these is the above text TAD B 2.8: 5. The second appearance can be found in Segal 181, 3. Possibly also Segal 6, 7 (= TAD B 8.12) and Segal 35, 5 (= TAD B 4.7) could include the name of Sati, but Porten and Yardeni interpret these documents as not referring to Sati the goddess.

¹¹¹¹ The other two important Egyptian deities of Elephantine were Khnum and Anuket. Rohrmoser 2014, 35-37.

¹¹¹² TAD B 2.9:2-3. This document is, according to Porten and Yardeni, from 420 BCE.

¹¹¹³ TAD B 2.10: 2-3. This document is dated to 416 BCE. See also TAD B 2.11:2 that is dated to 410 BCE.

a(bout) which you are bringing (suit) against me, (saying): “Half of it is mine,” I (am) entitled (to) bestow it on Pmise. Your father did not give me a he-ass in exchange for half of it and (he did no)t (gi)ve me silver or the value of silver in exchange for h(alf of it).¹¹¹⁴

Here a question arises: why would these two Judean men be willing to swear an oath in the name of a deity other than Yahu? If the rule stands that the opposing party decided the deity of the oath, then Mešullam son of Natan made the decision. Either he was not a Judean (in spite of his Hebrew name) or perhaps he was a Judean who wanted the oath to be taken in the name of these deities. As already noted above, the name of the first deity could also be reconstructed as Ḥor the god, however, the second name is clearly Anatyahu. Ḥerem might be a better fit in this context than Ḥor because both Ḥerem and Anat were related to the context of war, and were worshiped by the Aramean soldiers of Syene. As already noted before (p.224), scholars suggest that Ḥerem is probably not a deity at all but simply a piece of temple property.¹¹¹⁵ The divine name Ḥerem appears in the Aramaic documents thirteen times, once in the above document as a divine name, once in the divine name Ḥerem-Bethel,¹¹¹⁶ seven times in the theophoric name Ḥeremnatan,¹¹¹⁷ and four times in the theophoric name Ḥeremšezib.¹¹¹⁸ I believe that the name Ḥerem here refers to a divine name as it is also used as a theophoric component in personal names. Theophoric names in the ancient world did not usually include a compound referring to temple property but instead to some deity. Although the text of this document (TAD B 7.3: 1-10) is fragmented, it is extremely clear that also the first deity mentioned is someone other than YHW. The expressions **במסגדא** “in/by the place of prostration” and **ובענתיהו** “and by AnatYHW” are certain. The word **מסגדא** (*misgad*) is not used to denote the Judean temple at Elephantine in the Aramaic texts. This term appears only once, and in this document. Porten notes that the word derives from the root *sgd*, which in both Aramaic and Arabic means “bow down, pros-

¹¹¹⁴ TAD B 7.3: 1-10. The reconstruction in brackets is of Porten and Yardeni.

¹¹¹⁵ Grabbe 2013, 127; Rohrmoser 2014, 148, 151.

¹¹¹⁶ TAD B 7.2:7; Look also Porten and Lund 2002, 426.

¹¹¹⁷ TAD B 3.9:12; B 6.4: 9; D 18.6: a, b; D 18.10: a, b and D 22.36:1.

¹¹¹⁸ TAD D 18.2:a,b; D 22.5:1; D 22.6:1. Possibly it may also appear in the theophoric name **חרמחי** (Ḥaramḥai) that is found in two ostraca found from Elephantine (HL 121 cc, 3 and HL 140 cc, 5), but Lozachmeur interprets it as referring to an Egyptian theophoric name Ḥormahy (Horus est à l’horizon) that is attested also elsewhere in Egypt. Lozachmeur 2006, 496.

trate oneself,” meaning “a place of prostration”.¹¹¹⁹ The expression עַנְתִּיהוּ (Anatyahu), a strange combination of an Aramean goddess Anat and Yahu, appears only here and is in this context further related to the other deity (probably Ḥerem) by the particle “and”. The divine name Anat, explained already above (p.220-221), is, in addition to this text, mentioned a total of three other times in these Aramaic documents: once in the divine name Anat-Bethel¹¹²⁰ and twice as a personal name Anati.¹¹²¹

A third example of an oath taken by a Judean swearing by a foreign deity is found in the 401 BCE oath of Malkiyah son of Yašobyah, who was accused of assault and robbery by a Persian Artafrađa:

(Y)ou com(plained against me) in np’: “Yo(u brok)e (into my house) by force and struck my wife and took out goods from my house by force and took (and) made (them) your own.” (I) was interrogated and the declaration to deity came (=was imposed) upon me in the suit. I, Malkiyah, shall declare for you to Ḥerembet’el the god among 4 (oath) administrators, say(ing): ‘I did (not) break into your house by force and I did not strike (that) wife of yours and I did not take goods from your house by force.’¹¹²²

As I suggested before, the opposite party seems to have been responsible for choosing the deity to be used. In this case he was a Persian called Artafrađa. Why wouldn’t he choose a Persian deity instead of an Aramean one? Nevertheless clearly shown by these Aramaic documents from Egypt, time and time again Judeans living there took oaths by YHW and other deities. At least three Judeans mentioned by their Hebrew name and probably living at Elephantine took an official oath in court swearing by a deity other than YHW. Of these foreign deities, Sati an Egyptian goddess, Ḥerem-Bethel, Ḥerem as well as Anat gods the Arameans worshiped were chosen. Additionally, the combination of an Aramean deity Anat and the Hebrew YHW resulted in the divine name Anat-yahu, which can be interpreted as a multireligious tendency among the Judeans of Ele-

¹¹¹⁹ Porten 1968, 155. The verb has the same meaning also in Amharic.

¹¹²⁰ TAD C 3.15:128.

¹¹²¹ TAD A 2.1:3 and C 3.15:111.

¹¹²² The reconstruction in brackets is of Porten and Yardeni, TAD B 7.2: 4-9. The four officials mentioned in the text might have been co-litigants of Malkiyah’s accuser, representing the prosecution (as Porten suggests, Porten 1968, 157) or Malkiyah’s helpers representing his defence.

phantine. Porten restates that, according to the Hebrew Bible, Judeans were forbidden from even mentioning the names of other gods (Ex.23:13, 24), which certainly would include the taking of oaths. Swearing by other deity than YHW was understood to be worshipping a foreign deity (Josh.23:7; Jer.5:7; 12:16).¹¹²³ Since any logical explanation for these cases can not be found, we are obligated to accept the assumption that at least some of the Judeans of Egypt living there during the Persian period were in some respect non-Yahwistic from a Biblical point of view.

Religious purity of the food

From the Aramaic documents emerges the reminder that at least some of the Judeans of Egypt if not all followed religious regulations concerning clean and unclean food. The word impure (טמא) appears a total of five times in three Aramaic documents, all of which come from the Judean context of Elephantine.¹¹²⁴ All of these documents, short private letters written on an ostrakon, deal with the impure food. One of them includes detailed information concerning the dispatch of impure food. According to Porten and Yardeni, it dates from the first quarter of the fifth century BCE:

Do not dispatch to me bread without it being sealed. Lo, all the jars are impure. Behold, the bread which (you) dispatch(ed) to me yesterday is im(pure).¹¹²⁵

Additionally, we observe that the opposite of the term impure “innocent, clean, pure” (דכי/דכי) appears only twice in these documents.¹¹²⁶ However, the verb “to seal” (חחם) appears in fourteen documents, one written on papyrus and thirteen written on ostraca found from Elephantine.¹¹²⁷ Furthermore in ten of these ostraca, a Hebrew name appears. At least six names of food stuff that should have been sealed appear, including flour, raisins, bread, fish, herbs and figs. The sealing of the transported jars of food was a practical way of securing the religious purity of the food for Judeans. In general, seals

¹¹²³ Porten 1968, 158.

¹¹²⁴ The term “impure” appears in HL 97 cc, 3; HL 125 cv, 4 (= TAD D 7.44: 7, 9), and HL 137 cc, 1.

¹¹²⁵ TAD D 7.44:4-9.

¹¹²⁶ This term appears in TAD A 4.1: 5 and TAD C 1.1: 46. The Hebrew expression טהר “pure” does not appear in these Aramaic documents. The only document where it possibly could be mentioned is HL 107 cc, 4 (“Gaddul, dans la pureté?”), but that is far from sure.

¹¹²⁷ These documents are the following: TAD A 4.1: 8; HL 11 cc, 3 (flour); HL 37 cv, 3; HL 42 cc, 9 (raisins); HL 60 cc, 3; HL 71 cc, 5; HL 82 cv, 3; HL 112 cc, 3 (bread); HL 125 cv, 1 (= TAD D 7.44, bread); HL 164 cc, 4 (fish); HL 170 cc, 7 (herbs); HL 246 cc, 3 (figs); HL 265 cv, 2; and HL X14 cc, 4.

in ancient Near East were employed as a method of identifying property against theft and marking the owner or content of the jars of oil, wine or other packaged goods.¹¹²⁸ In the case of wine or other fermented drinks, sealing was a practical method of preservation, but in general, vacuum packing as a method of food preservation was invented only much later. In this respect, sealing in the above document has more to do with the religious purity of the food (bread) than with its proper preservation. Because these ostraca were discovered in Elephantine and Hebrew names appear in many, it is highly possible that both the sender and the receiver of these short letters were Judeans.

Another even more undisputed example of the religious regulations of the Judeans living in Egypt concerning the food comes from the so-called Passover Letter dated to 419 BCE and discovered from Elephantine. A person called Ḥananyah sent this document to his Judean brothers Yedanyah and his colleagues at the Judean garrison of Elephantine. It reads as follows:

Now, you thus count four(teen days in Nisan and on the 14th at twilight ob)serve (the Passover) and from the 15th day until the 21th day of (Nisan observe the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Seven days eat unleavened bread. Now,) be pure and take heed. (Do) n(ot do) work (on the 15th day and on the 21th day of Nisan.) Do not drink (any fermented drink. And do) not (eat) anything of leaven.. (...And b)ring into your chambers (any leaven which you have in your houses) and seal (them) up during (these) days.¹¹²⁹

The text of this letter is fragmented; the parts in brackets are reconstructed in Porten and Yardeni on the basis of the Biblical text. However, even when we leave the reconstructed parts out, enough certain evidence remains for us to understand that this document deals with the Judean Passover that originates from the same roots of tradition as the texts dealing with Passover in the Old Testament. Moreover, the letter is sent by a Judean person to Judean recipients, and the contents clearly deal with religious regulations. Especially important are three of its expressions, all appearing in the certain text: these expressions are “leaven” (חמיר) the above mentioned “to seal” (חתם) and “to be

¹¹²⁸ ”Seal, Seals”, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Volume 14. (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 1071.

¹¹²⁹ TAD A 4.1:3-6, 8.

pure” (דכין הוו). The first term refers to leavened bread and food; the second expression refers to the necessary sealing of the food, and the third one refers to the need for Judeans to remain “pure, innocent, and clean” (זכי). Also appearing in the text is the unconditional negative אל, “do not”, and connected to eating of the leaven. Using this evidence, it becomes clear that this document deals with the religiously impure and pure food eaten during the Passover feast in the Judean community. No evidence appears in the Aramaic documents about religiously pure food among other religious and ethnic groups in Persian-period Egypt. This custom seems to have been typical only for Judeans in the Aramaic speaking communities of the Persian period Egypt.

Collection of money

One document discovered at Elephantine, dated to 400 BCE by Porten,¹¹³⁰ gives an account of the names of those people of the Judean garrison who offered (יהב כסף) silver to YHW the God. A total of 128 contributors donated at least two shekels each resulting in a total sum of 318 shekels of silver. 42 of the contributors were female and Porten suggests that these women probably contributed for their families in absence of their husbands.¹¹³¹ Although the money was originally contributed to YHW, the document details that in the end only 126 shekels was dedicated to YHW. The remainder of the silver was given to Ešembet’el (70 shekels) and to Anatbet’el (120 shekels),¹¹³² as the document shows:

The silver which stood that day in the hand of Yedanyah son of Gemaryah in the month of Phamenoth: silver, 31 karsh, 8 shekels. Herein: for YHW 12 k., 6 sh; for Ešembet’el, 7 karsh; for Anatbet’el, silver, 12 karsh.¹¹³³

This document seems to indicate that donating money for the worship of different deities was practiced in Persian-period Egypt, not only among the Judeans but at least among the Arameans, too. This leads to an interesting question: why did the Judeans of

¹¹³⁰ TAD C 3.15. This papyrus is usually dated to the fifth year of Darius II (419 BCE), but on the ground of palaeographic and onomastic reasons, Porten argues for the fifth year of Amyrtaeus (400 BCE). Porten 1968, 162.

¹¹³¹ Porten 1968, 161.

¹¹³² TAD C 3.15:1, 123-128. The total of the earmarked silver is 316 shekels; thus a difference of two shekels exists between the contributed and earmarked silver.

¹¹³³ TAD C 3.15:123-128.

Elephantine collect money for Aramean deities? Attempts have been made to answer this question; some explain that Ešembet'el (אשמביתאל) and Anatbet'el (ענתביתאל) were not Aramean deities but subordinate to YHW or hypostatic forms of YHW.¹¹³⁴ This view was first suggested by Porten but has recently been supported also by Grabbe.¹¹³⁵ However, Porten clearly asserts that Ešem-Bethel, Anat-Bethel as well as Ḥerem-Bethel were Aramean deities.¹¹³⁶ While Elephantine was a settlement of Judeans, Arameans were located in the opposite Syene. Here Arameans worshiped several deities whose origins are either from Babylonia or Syria. Porten suggests that the Arameans of Syene, originally from Northern Syria or from Hamath and Samaria,¹¹³⁷ brought some of their deities to Samaria after it fell into the hands of Assyria in 722 BCE. This view is also suggested by Van der Toorn.¹¹³⁸ As we have seen from the evidence in the Aramaic documents, the Arameans worshiped several deities also in Persian-period Egypt. Four of the papyrus Aramaic letters, sent from Memphis to Syene, include salutations to different temples located in Syene. Among these we find the temple of Bet'el and the temple of the Queen of Heaven (TAD A 2.1:1), the temple of Banit (TAD A 2.2:1 and A 2.4:1) and the temple of Nabu (TAD A 2.3:1). In fact, the greeting of an Aramean Jarhu on an ostrakon (TAD D 7.30:1-3) reveals even more deities the Arameans worshiped:

The welfare of my brother may Bel and Nabu, Šamaš and Nergal (seek after at all times).¹¹³⁹

Moreover, theophoric personal names of the Arameans indicate the worship of Anat, Atar, El, Ešem, Hadad, Ḥerem, Nušku and Sin. The most popular of all the above mentioned deities as a compound in theophoric personal names of the Arameans seems to be Nabu.

One more text that must be mentioned here again is Papyrus Amherst 63. The main features of its history and content are already presented above (pp. 51-53). If Steiner's interim translation is correct this Aramaic text written in Demotic script includes

¹¹³⁴ The expression "hypostatic" refers to underlying substance or manifestation of something.

¹¹³⁵ However, Porten himself admits that, "the evidence for considering it (Anat) a hypostatization is not sufficiently decisive". Porten 1968, 175, 179; Grabbe 2013, 127-128.

¹¹³⁶ Porten 1968, 164-173.

¹¹³⁷ Porten 1968, 173.

¹¹³⁸ Van der Toorn 1992, 80-101.

¹¹³⁹ TAD D 7.30: 2-3.

several names of deities, among them Adonai (seven times), Yaho, (once), Mar (“lord”), Marah (“lady”), Nanai, Nebo and Bethel.¹¹⁴⁰ Papyrus Amherst shows how these Aramean people worshiped Yahu but at the same time also their own deities whom they knew from northern Israel and their original homeland. In Papyrus Amherst 63, Bethel is called as resident of Hamath and Ashi(m)Bethel.¹¹⁴¹ This important document provides evidence about an Aramaic-speaking community living in Syene at the end of the 4th century BCE that seems to have been religiously very similar to those Arameans whom we meet in the other Aramaic documents from the same area. The only surprising element in their religion is the worship of Yahu. This observation leads to hypothesize that probably one reason for the multireligious tendency in the religion of the Judeans of Elephantine was their closeness to the Arameans living and serving together with them in the close-by Syene.

The name of the Aramean deity Ešem-Bethel (אשמביתאל) is not found any place else in these Aramaic documents and it appears only once in the above collection list from Elephantine (TAD C 3.15). However the first particle *Ešem* of this Aramean deity does appear thirteen times as a divine component in personal names in the Aramaic documents. From these, four different names have been discerned: Ešemzabad (once), Ešemkudurri (once), Ešemšezib (twice) and Ešemram (nine times).¹¹⁴² According to Porten, the Arameans brought from Hamath the deity called Ašima who might be related to Ešem.¹¹⁴³ He further speculates that if the first element Ešem means “name”, the expression Ešembet’el could be translated as “name of the house of El”. Porten, in his study from 1968, also argues that the deity *El* does not appear in any of the thephoric personal names from Elephantine-Syene, but instead the name of Bethel “The house of El” seems to have replaced it.¹¹⁴⁴ However, this study shows that in Porten’s later text editions TAD A-D, the divine particle ‘*El*’ appears at least five times in the Aramaic theophoric names from Persian-period Egypt, three of them discovered at Elephantine,

¹¹⁴⁰ Steiner, “The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script”, 1997, 309-310.

¹¹⁴¹ Steiner 1997, 310. According to Steiner, the location of the original homeland of these people is debated, but he suggests that it is found in the area between Babylonia and Elam.

¹¹⁴² Ešemzabad in TAD B 3.9:12, Ešemkudurri in TAD C 4.8:6, Ešemshezib in TAD B 3.9:11 and B 3.13:12 and Ešemram in TAD B 3.9:11; B 3.13:12; B 4.7:1 (= Segal 35, 1); C 3.14:1; C 4.8:8; D 18.7:a; D 19.2:1; D 22.18:2, as well as in Segal 88, 2. In two fragmentary cases only, the element Ešem appears without a full thephoric name, in TAD C 3.14:4 and C 4.5:9.

¹¹⁴³ Porten 1968, 171.

¹¹⁴⁴ Porten 1968, 167-168.

namely **שזיב־אל** (Šezib'el), **שכאל** (Saka'el) and **אלישב** (Elyašib).¹¹⁴⁵

Both of the deities, Ešembet'el and Anatbet'el, contain the compound **ביתאל** (Bet'el). As the Arameans already had a temple for Bet'el in Syene,¹¹⁴⁶ Porten asserts that Bet'el can also be understood as *The house of El* raised to the status of a god.¹¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Grabbe suggests that “Bethel was once a separate deity but may have been identified with YHW by the temple participants at Elephantine.”¹¹⁴⁸ In my research, I have discerned at least thirteen different Aramaic personal names which have Bet'el as their divine element from among the Aramaic documents. Most popular among them is Bet'elnatan with seven appearances.¹¹⁴⁹ Moreover, the deity Anatbet'el appears already in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal, King of Tyre ca. 675 BCE (SAA 2 5 iv 6), and Bet'el is also found among Babylonian personal names from the time of Nebuchadnezzar.¹¹⁵⁰ However, Porten argues, none of the Hebrew names, either that found in the Bible or within other sources, is compounded with the element Bet'el or Ešem.¹¹⁵¹

According to Porten, Anat (**ענת**) is the best known of the above deities.¹¹⁵² The history of Anat as a deity is already discussed above (pp.220-221). Porten notes that Anat was often connected to other deities, both male and female. This can also be seen in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. In one document already detailed before Anat is associated with YHW when the expression Anatyahu appears in the context of an oath by two deities.¹¹⁵³ The second appearance is the above collection account where Anat is connected to Bet'el.¹¹⁵⁴ Porten argues that the juxtaposition of

¹¹⁴⁵ Šezib'el in TAD C 3.13:56a and Saka'el in TAD D 2.25:8 are Aramaic by origin. Elyašib in TAD D 3.4:3 is originally Hebrew, but because the text is fragmented, the reading can also mean *to Yašib*. Saka'el is found also in TAD B 3.2:11 discovered from the Persian period Aswan, not far from Elephantine. In addition to these four appearances, the Aramaic name **רעאל** (Ra'el) is found in TAD B 8.4:3 discovered from the Persian period Saqqara. Three Hebrew names, **שמעאל** (Šema'el, TAD D 8.4:22 from Edfu), **אליעזר** (Eli'ezer, TAD D 8.7:4 from Edfu) and **אליעני** (Elio'enai, TAD D 21.4:3 from Alexandria), are all dated to the later Ptolemaic period. The divine particle *El* could also be included in two of the Aramaic texts of the Segal collection, but both of them are far from sure. Segal 69b, 1 has **אלשו**, and Segal speculates that it is “Perhaps Semitic n.pr. hypocoristic compounded with ‘*El*’”. Segal 1983, 93, note 2. Similarly, in Segal 44, 7 **אליאיתא**, Segal explains it is “Semitic n.pr. ‘My god has come’”. Segal 1983, 64, note 17. However, probably both of these texts may also be post-Persian. See also p.99 and note 407, as well as p.152.

¹¹⁴⁶ TAD A 2.1:1.

¹¹⁴⁷ Porten 1968, 167.

¹¹⁴⁸ Grabbe 2013, 127.

¹¹⁴⁹ See Porten and Lund 2002, 332-333.

¹¹⁵⁰ Porten 1968, 169.

¹¹⁵¹ Porten 1968, 176.

¹¹⁵² Porten 1968, 170.

¹¹⁵³ TAD B 7.3:3.

¹¹⁵⁴ TAD C 3.15:128.

Bet'el and the Queen of Heaven in the above mentioned greeting to Syene is reminiscent of the deity Anatbet'el because the expression Queen of Heaven is an epithet usually applied to the goddess Anat.¹¹⁵⁵ Therefore, he maintains, Anat-Bethel was worshiped by the Arameans of Syene. The name Anat, found also in the personal names of the Arameans, is either in the form of Anati (ענתי)¹¹⁵⁶ or in the compounded form of Attahat (עתחת).¹¹⁵⁷ The goddess Anat also appears in Egypt after the Persian period; in a memorial stela probably found in Memphis and dated to the Ptolemaic period, Anoth is portrayed as wife of Baal (בעלענות).¹¹⁵⁸

In this connection it should be noted that the text of Jeremiah 44:17-19 describes the worship of the Queen of Heaven also by the Judeans in Judah, Jerusalem and Egypt.¹¹⁵⁹ Porten suggests that the Judeans brought the concept of worshipping the Queen of Heaven with them in their transition from Judah to Egypt, adding further that this worship was mainly carried out in the home by women. He explains that this is how the worship of Anat found its way to the Judean community of Elephantine and that together with the worship of YHW, this gave rise to the multireligious deity Anat-yahu.¹¹⁶⁰ Porten might be right but still two points should be underlined. First, according to my understanding, the beginning of the settlement of the Judeans in Egypt should be dated to the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century BCE and therefore their religion represents the first temple religion of Judah. Second, the writers of the texts of the Hebrew Bible view critically the pre-exilic religion of Judah, and the religion of the Judeans who lived in Egypt during the Persian period. The religion of the Judeans in Egypt, as reflected in the Aramaic documents, resembles in many aspects the structure of the religion criticized by the Hebrew Bible.

To understand why the contribution of money for YHW in Elephantine was distributed to YHW and to two Aramean deities, several explanations have been suggested. In the first proposed by Porten, the papyrus is fragmented and incomplete; therefore it may be that some unrecorded collection took place already earlier and the previous columns would have recorded the source of the money for two Aramean deities of Sye-

¹¹⁵⁵ TAD A 2.1:1, Porten 1968, 165.

¹¹⁵⁶ The name Anati appears twice, in TAD A 2.1:3 and TAD C 3.15:111.

¹¹⁵⁷ The name Attahat appears only once in TAD D 1.16:3.

¹¹⁵⁸ TAD D 21.17:3. Porten and Yardeni give also another option to understand the expression בעלענות by translating it as *citizen of Anoth*.

¹¹⁵⁹ The question whether the Queen of Heaven referred to in Jer.7:18 and 44:17 is Anat is debated by scholars. Look note 892 above.

¹¹⁶⁰ Porten 1968, 176-179.

ne. Yedanyah was thus also responsible for collecting these funds.¹¹⁶¹ Lemaire goes further and suggests that Yedanyah played the role of treasurer, “and the Temple of Yaho could well have been also a kind of bank”.¹¹⁶² While this explanation is possible it lacks any concrete evidence. In the second explanation, raised already earlier by Vincent and Albright, and supported later by Van der Toorn, the Judeans of Elephantine came from the northern kingdom of Israel and probably from the environs of Bethel and therefore they used the names of Bethel and Ešem as epithets for YHW.¹¹⁶³ Ironically Porten himself asserts that both of the above explanations are unlikely.¹¹⁶⁴

B. Becking has proposed the third theory to explain the presence of different deities in this collection list (TAD C 3.15). According to him, the temple of Yahu in Elephantine also functioned as a meeting place for an elitist group within the Judean community of Elephantine. Thus, he asserts the purpose of the collecting of two sheqel per economic unit was the *marzēah* of Yahu in Elephantine.¹¹⁶⁵ This explanation is tempting but cannot be proved, as also Becking himself admits.¹¹⁶⁶ The fourth explanation was brought up by Joisten-Pruschke who suggests that this column (TAD C 3.15:123-128) of the original fragmented document does not belong to the list of names at all.¹¹⁶⁷ Lemaire supports this assumption and argues that it is all the more difficult to determine “whether Ashim-Bethel and Anath-Bethel are anthroponyms or theonyms”.¹¹⁶⁸

My own theory for the collection of silver also for other deities than Yahu is that the Judean community of Elephantine, and of Egypt, was to some extent multireligious. This was due to the pre-exilic origin of its religion in the land of Judah. The multireligious tendency is even more understandable when we take into account that the Judeans of Elephantine lived and served together with the Arameans of Syene who were multireligious in their very essence, as also Papyrus Amherst 63 demonstrates. Perhaps this type of collection of money was a part of the daily co-operation between the Judeans and the Arameans. By evaluating the size of the total contributions, the number of people who contributed to Anat-Bethel and YHW seem to have been greater

¹¹⁶¹ Porten 1968, 175.

¹¹⁶² Lemaire 2015, 62.

¹¹⁶³ Vincent 1937, 562-569; Albright 1942, 171-175; Van der Toorn 1992, 80-101.

¹¹⁶⁴ Porten 1968, 175.

¹¹⁶⁵ B. Becking, “Temple, *marzēah*, and Power at Elephantine”, *Transeuphratène* 29 (2005), 37-47.

¹¹⁶⁶ Becking 2005, 46.

¹¹⁶⁷ A. Joisten-Pruschke, *Das religiöse Leben der Juden von Elephantine in der Achämenidenzeit*, Göttinger Orientforschungen III. Reihe: Iranica, NF 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 92-95.

¹¹⁶⁸ Lemaire 2015, 61.

than those who contributed to Ešem-Bethel. Estimated in the value of silver, Anat-Bethel was as valuable as YHW. In this multireligious atmosphere the Judeans of Egypt were influenced to be drawn even more to the worship of deities other than YHW. This feature is also reflected in the book of Jeremiah when the prophet condemns the worship of deities other than YHW and prophesizes divine punishment for the Judeans of Egypt (Jer.44:1-6, 24-29). In his recent study Granerød suggests that Yahwism in the Persian period was poly-Yahwism and in that sense the Yahwism of the Elephantine Judeans was a living example of the “normal” Yahwism of the Persian period. He argues that the Elephantine Yahwism was not a relic from the pre-exilic times.¹¹⁶⁹ Granerød also views the Elephantine Yahwism as an independent Yahwism and not a branch of the Jerusalem-centred Yahwism.¹¹⁷⁰ I do not agree with Granerød because while rejecting both the pre-exilic roots of the Elephantine Judean community and its Persian period connections to the Yahwism of Jerusalem he makes it a fictional Yahwism that was born in a historical vacuum and that later lived in a self-contained vacuum. The Aramaic documents found from Persian-period Egypt do not support this kind of a picture about the Judeans of Egypt.

After presenting the possible arguments for the multireligious nature of the Judean community of Elephantine we must also look at the opposite argumentation. In contrast, there is evidence arguing against the multireligious nature of the Judeans of Elephantine in that the name of their temple was “the temple of YHW” and not the temple of Anatbet’el or the temple of Ešem-Bethel. This argument forwarded by Grabbe notes “Yet all references to deities as such in the Elephantine texts relating to the Jewish community are to YHW, and the temple is the ‘temple of YHW’. That these names are known only from lists might suggest only a small place in the cult”.¹¹⁷¹ As suggested above, one possible explanation for this money collection for different deities could be that for some reason (for example *marzēah*) the money collected at the temple of YHW in reality was meant for both the Arameans and the Judeans and for their respective deities. It can be asserted that the issue that connected these two ethnic groups in the collection of money was not a religious reason, but rather a practical bondage of

¹¹⁶⁹ Granerød 2016, 339. Lemaire has a different view; he argues that the religion of the Elephantine Judeans reflected the First Temple Judean religion that “was monolatrous and not monotheistic and the Elephantine Judeans had no problem in recognizing the cults of other deities for non-Judean people”, Lemaire 2015, 62, also 65.

¹¹⁷⁰ Granerød 2016, 340.

¹¹⁷¹ Grabbe 2013, 127-128.

military service on the island of Elephantine. Supporting this argument is the fact that both Anat-Bethel and Ešem-Bethel were Aramean deities, whereas YHW was worshiped by the Judeans of Elephantine in their own temple on the island.

Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage during Persian-period Egypt can be traced in the Aramaic documents only from graffiti. In fact, the word pilgrimage itself does not appear in the Aramaic documents. However, many people visited sites of temples in Egypt and inscribed names of different deities on stones or rock at the site. This practice may be interpreted as pilgrimage and not simply tourism. Graffiti dated to the Persian period have been discovered at over a dozen sites from the north to the south of Egypt. In many cases people have left their names and miscellaneous notations in Aramaic, showing that Aramaic was used widely during the Persian period not only by the professional scribes or by the imperial administration but by regular people. The largest number of graffiti has been found on the walls of the temple of Seti I (1306-1290 BCE) in Abydos, a famous pilgrimage site in Egypt.¹¹⁷² Among the total of 54 graffiti dated to the Persian period, over a half (28) are in the form of proskynemata: *Blessed be PN (name of a person) off/before DN (name of a deity)*.¹¹⁷³ The remainder of the graffiti contains personal names with only two exceptions.¹¹⁷⁴ Personal names by their very original language are Egyptian, Aramaic, mixed Egyptian-Aramaic, Arabian, mixed Egyptian-Persian and Anatolian. Here Hebrew names do not appear. The person with the Anatolian name is said to have been a Pisidian commander.¹¹⁷⁵ Also on these graffiti seven different deity names appear in the proskynema: Horus, Isis, Khnum, Min, Osiris, Šamaš and the god of the mountain.¹¹⁷⁶ The first five of these deities are Egyptian by their origin; Šamaš is Aramean and the last one Nubian. Truly the most popular of these deities in the light of the graffiti were Osiris (seven times) and Min (five times). It is possible to theorize, on the basis of the evidence gathered from the above graffiti, that pilgrimage during the

¹¹⁷² Nineteen graffiti written in Aramaic and dating to the Persian period were discovered at Abydos. TAD 22.9-28. The temple of Seti I was dedicated to the Egyptian deity Osiris. TAD D, 267.

¹¹⁷³ Proskynema appears in TAD D 22.8, 10-11, 13-14, 16-18, 20-21, 24-25, 27, 29-33, 40-44, 46-47, 49 and 50-51.

¹¹⁷⁴ Exceptional are two pieces of graffiti, one containing an abecedary (TAD D 22.28) and the other the word ܠܒܝܬ house (TAD D 22.45).

¹¹⁷⁵ TAD D 22.25 and 27.

¹¹⁷⁶ The names of these deities appear in the following graffiti: Horus in TAD D 22.41; Isis in TAD D 22.40; Khnum in TAD D 22.43-44; Min in TAD D 22.8, 29-32; Osiris in TAD D 22.10-11, 13, 16-18 and 24; , Šamaš in TAD D 22.47 and 49; the god of the mountain in TAD D 22.51.

Persian period Egypt was mainly practiced by Egyptians, Arabians, Arameans and Nubians. It seems that Judeans did not take part in this pilgrimage at all. Additionally there is no evidence of Judeans living in other parts of Egypt making a pilgrimage to the temple of Elephantine. In fact, evidence of any pilgrimage to countries outside of Egypt is completely absent in these Aramaic documents.

Rites of passage

When approaching the Aramaic documents from the anthropological point of view, one can observe that the rites of passage, those which are connected to the main events of the human lifecycle, are only partially present and nearly completely disconnected from religion. No birth record of a child appears in these documents. Even the Judean records of circumcision are absent. The only possible rite related to birth, which from the document can be assumed to have existed, is the naming of a child. Giving a name to a newborn child was considered an important act in many ancient cultures. Albertz and Schmitt assert that the naming of a child in ancient Israel was considered a special occasion that was commonly celebrated with a family feast.¹¹⁷⁷ Whether circumcision was or was not performed at the time of giving of a name to a child among the Judeans can not be answered; the Aramaic documents remain silent. According to Albertz and Schmitt, post-biblical evidence together with the practice in present-day Judaism show that the naming of a child probably occurred on the day of circumcision also in the pre-exilic times.¹¹⁷⁸ Fortunately, according to Porten, features of the ancient personal names can tell us much about the identity of the persons involved and about their community.¹¹⁷⁹ Porten, recognizing a strong tendency to *papponymy* (the naming of children after their grandparents) among the Judeans of Egypt, argues that the Judeans of Egypt who migrated from Judah wanted to retain the names they had brought with them.¹¹⁸⁰ According to my research, 26 percent of all the names appearing in the Aramaic documents are theophoric while 44 percent of all the Hebrew names are Yahwistic. Considering this high percentage, it is possible to conclude that the naming of one's child was an important cultural and religious act among the Judeans in Persian-period Egypt.

¹¹⁷⁷ Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 247. They have observed that in the Hebrew Bible the naming of a child is reported 46 times: in 25 of the instances by the mother, in 15 by the father, in one or two cases by both parents, and in one case the father corrects the name given by the mother. In addition, there are some ambiguous cases. The ratio of naming by women is 54,3%. Albertz and Schmitt 2012, 247, also the note 9.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁹ Porten 1996, 26.

¹¹⁸⁰ Porten 1968, 148.

One rite of passage, frequently recorded in the texts of the Aramaic documents, is the act of marriage. Altogether, seven out of the fortyfive official legal documents are documents of wifehood.¹¹⁸¹ In addition, one document and one fragment also concern marriage.¹¹⁸² Five of these documents were written by the initiative of a Judean, two by Egyptians, one either by a Judean or by an Aramean and the last one by a person whose ethnic origin can not be determined. What is surprising, however, is that the records are completely void of the religious aspect of the marriage rite. Instead, all the documents underline only the official and legal side of the marriage. This also seems to be the case among the Judeans. Not one single prayer for the married couple is recorded. Thus, it could be argued that marriage was a social not religious rite of passage in Persian-period Egypt. Although the title of these documents, document of wifehood (ספר אנתו), refers to a patriarchal society, women did have legal rights to the property in case of death. Furthermore a wife also had the same equal rights as her husband to initiate a divorce.

The records of death as a rite of passage are visible in the Aramaic documents only in the form of funerary inscriptions. Eventhough most of the Aramaic inscribed sarcophagi and mummy labels were written for Arameans,¹¹⁸³ two Hebrew names also appear;¹¹⁸⁴ however, these funerary inscriptions include only the name of the deceased. In three cases the names are those of temple officials whose professions are also mentioned: Še'il the priest of Nabu (from Syene),¹¹⁸⁵ Heremšezib son of 'Ashah the priest,¹¹⁸⁶ and Šarah the servitor.¹¹⁸⁷ The findings of offering tables and funerary stelae have religious connections because the name of a deity is inscribed on them, specifically the Egyptian divine names of Osiris and Osiris-Ḥapi.¹¹⁸⁸ According to Porten and Yardeni (1999), offering tables, funerary stelae as well as burial markers attest Aramean and Egyptian cultural and religious influence especially at Abusir, Memphis, Saqqarah and Syene.¹¹⁸⁹ Thus, it appears that only the Egyptians and Arameans in some cases inscribed the names of their gods on the funerary markers; Judeans do not appear

¹¹⁸¹ TAD B 2.6; B 3.3; B 3.8; B 6.1; B 6.2; B 6.3 and B 6.4.

¹¹⁸² TAD B 2.5 is a fragment of a betrothal contract and TAD B 3.11 is a dowry addendum.

¹¹⁸³ TAD D, 238.

¹¹⁸⁴ TAD D 18.18 and D 19.7.

¹¹⁸⁵ TAD D 18.1:1-2.

¹¹⁸⁶ TAD D 18.2.

¹¹⁸⁷ TAD 21.2. This is a burial marker.

¹¹⁸⁸ TAD D 20.1-6. Three stelae contain the formula *Blessed be PN of/before/the excellent –(one)-of Osiris*. TAD D 20.2-3, 5.

¹¹⁸⁹ TAD D, 251 and 258.

to have practiced such a custom. Consequently the Aramaic documents reveal nothing more about the funerary customs of the Judeans in Persian-period Egypt.

In addition to the above rites of passage, two rites of passage, not related to the normal human lifecycle but rather to a change of social status, appear in the Aramaic documents: adoption and the manumission of slaves. Both of these are legal procedures and are documented accordingly. Adoption appears in two documents¹¹⁹⁰ and the manumission of slaves in four documents¹¹⁹¹. As with marriage, adopting children and adults as well as freeing slaves are considered as status change and were therefore legally well-documented and even confirmed by signatures of witnesses.

***Marzēah* institution**

This ancient institution and its appearance in the Aramaic documents from Egypt were already discussed earlier (pp.179-180), but *marzēah*'s religious connection still needs some more attention. According to McLaughlin, *marzēah* was religious only in the sense that it was connected with a patron deity or deities. It was not a cultic gathering for the worship of some deity.¹¹⁹² However, this group referred to as *marzēah* was organizing some kind of feast in which the consumption of wine in great quantities was an essential feature of the celebration.¹¹⁹³ Unfortunately, the Aramaic documents from Egypt do not provide any information on the identity of the patron deity or deities of the *marzēah* at Elephantine; neither do they offer any information regarding the feast organized by the *marzēah*. What is clear is that the Judeans of Elephantine were part of this upper class celebration enabled by their good financial status. We can only speculate that because *marzēah* was especially a West Semitic cultural feature, also the patron deities were West Semitic by origin. At Elephantine the deity of the *marzēah* might have been either Yahu or some Aramean deity or even both of them at the same time. Becking asserts that the collection list in TAD C 3.15 should be connected to the *marzēah* of Elephantine and that the patron deity of this upper-class institution was Yahu.¹¹⁹⁴ In TAD D 7.29: 1-10, where the reference to the *marzēah* of Elephantine appears, two of the personal names are originally Hebrew (Ḥaggai and Igdal) and one is

¹¹⁹⁰ This adoption formula appears in Segal 11, 2 and in TAD B 3.9: 2-9.

¹¹⁹¹ The manumission of slaves appears in HL 255 cv, 3; in Segal 4, 5; and in TAD A 6.7:8-9 as well as in TAD B 3.6:2-10.

¹¹⁹² McLaughlin 2001, 69.

¹¹⁹³ For an example, at Ugarit. McLaughlin 2001, 35.

¹¹⁹⁴ Becking 2005, 46.

Aramean (Ašian). These personal names refer to the participation of both Judeans and Arameans together in the same *marzēah*.¹¹⁹⁵

4.5.5. Religious professions

The Aramaic documents reveal some organization of religious occupancy, both among the Judeans and non-Judeans. The following table (Table 24) presents the names of eight religious professions, appearing in the documents, divided to those held by Judeans and those held by non-Judeans.

Table 24 Religious professions appearing in the Aramaic documents categorized by those held by Judeans and non-Judeans

PROFESSION	JUDEANS	NON-JUDEANS
Gardener of Khnum the god		גנן זי חנום
Magus		מגורש
Physician		אסי
Priest	כהן	כמר
High Priest	כהנא רבא	
Temple servitor	לחן	לחן
Wife of temple servitor	לחנה	
Scribe of the book of God		פסחמצננותי

The most common position is that of “the temple servitor” (לחן). Originally an Akkadian word, this term appears in the documents altogether nineteen times.¹¹⁹⁶ In addition, once expression “wife of the temple servitor” (לחנה) appears.¹¹⁹⁷ Apparently in Persian-period Egypt, the title of “the temple servitor” (לחן) was used by both Judeans and non-Judeans. In eighteen cases it refers to the Judean Ananyah son of Azaryah, the servitor of Yahu in Elephantine. Only once does it refer to an Aramean: Šarah, the servitor. According to Bleiberg, priests in Assyria and Babylonia also used this title (לחן).¹¹⁹⁸ The meaning of this title in Persian-period Egypt, however, is not clear, and other words were used to designate priests of the Judeans (כהן) and non-Judeans (כמר) in the

¹¹⁹⁵ Becking observes that these two Hebrew names (Haggai and Igda) mentioned in the *marzēah*-text (TAD D 7.29), also appear in the collection account (TAD C 3.15). Becking 2005, 44-45.

¹¹⁹⁶ TAD B 3.2:2; B 3.3:2; B 3.4:3, 25; B 3.5:2, 23; B 3.7:2; B 3.10:2, 23, 27; B 3.11:1, 9, 17; B 3.12:1, 10, 33; TAD C 3.13:45, 48; TAD D 21.2:1.

¹¹⁹⁷ The expression “wife of the temple servitor” appears only once, and it refers to Tapemet, the wife of the Judean Ananyah son of Azaryah, TAD B 3.12:2. A similar word appears also in TAD C 1.1:178 but there it means very probably something else; Porten and Yardeni suggest a translation “slave-lass”, TAD C, 49.

¹¹⁹⁸ Edward Bleiberg, *Jewish life in ancient Egypt. A family archive from the Nile Valley*. (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2002), 18-19.

Aramaic documents. Therefore, this term “the temple servitor” (לִחֵן) must refer to some other specific position in the temple of Elephantine. Possibly that person in question was responsible for music in the temple or for everyday maintenance and care of the temple building as well as the ritual utensils, garments, and jewelry used in the temple worship, as Bleiberg suggests.¹¹⁹⁹

The word designating the profession of a priest appears nearly as often as that of a temple servitor, namely eighteen times. However there is a great difference when this term is compared to the title of a temple servitor. Clearly a distinction between a Judean and a non-Judean priest is made by using a different word for each position. For a Judean priest the term is כֹּהֵן, and it appears in the texts six times.¹²⁰⁰ The corresponding expression for a non-Judean priest is כִּמָּר, which is used in the documents twelve times.¹²⁰¹ The title of “High Priest” (כֹּהֵנָא רַבָּא) appears only among the Judeans.¹²⁰² Noam Mizrahi, who has recently studied the linguistic history of the biblical terms denoting the position of the High Priest,¹²⁰³ states that the general opinion of scholars has been that because both of the terms, the biblical הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, and its Aramaic equivalent כֹּהֵנָא רַבָּא, are attested to in postexilic writings, the biblical term is nothing but a Late Hebrew calque (a loan translation) of the Aramaic term.¹²⁰⁴ Mizrahi further observes that the Aramaic “term כֹּהֵנָא רַבָּא is found only in contexts that refer directly to the Jerusalem temple”,¹²⁰⁵ concluding then that the biblical term הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל does not have its origin in Aramaic but rather in old NWS. Thus he asserts it belongs to Classical Hebrew and “was the standard term denoting the High Priest in ancient Hebrew, in both preexilic and postexilic times, while כֹּהֵן הָרִאשׁוֹן was coined in the exilic and/or early postexilic period”.¹²⁰⁶ Mizrahi’s observation is probably correct because the title of “High Priest” (כֹּהֵנָא רַבָּא) in the Aramaic documents from Egypt refers exclusively to Yehoḥanan, the High Priest in Jerusalem. In this sense, this title still links the Judean community of Egypt to Jerusalem. Here, however, the corresponding title for a non-

¹¹⁹⁹ Bleiberg 2002, 19. According to Klein, the etymology of the verb (לִחֵן) is found in the Semitic verb “he chanted, psalmodized, set to music, composed” (Arab. *laḥḥana*). Klein 1987, 298.

¹²⁰⁰ TAD A 4.3:1, 12; A 4.7:1, 18 (twice); A 4.8:1.

¹²⁰¹ Segal 56, 1; TAD A 4.5:3,8; A 4.7:5; A 5.4:2; TAD B 2.7:15; TAD C 3.5:11; TAD D 2.30:3; D 5.10:2; D 18.1:1; D 18.2:a; D 23.1.XI:9.

¹²⁰² TAD A 4.7:18.

¹²⁰³ Noam Mizrahi, “The History and Linguistic Background of Two Hebrew Titles for the High Priest”, (*JBL*), Volume 130, NO.4, 2011, 687-705.

¹²⁰⁴ Mizrahi 2011, 693-694.

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid. 694.

¹²⁰⁶ Mizrahi 2011, 705.

Judean High Priest is missing in the Aramaic documents.¹²⁰⁷ A third difference between the Judean and non-Judean priests might be that the term *kmr* is used also of a priestess and not only of a priest, as Segal argues.¹²⁰⁸ Rohrmoser counterargues that the fact that the Judean Priests of Elephantine preferred to use their own term (כהן) to denote themselves could mean that they chose to be bound to the traditions of their original homeland rather than to those of their present environment. This would also mean that these priests came to Egypt from the land whose inhabitants later wrote the Biblical texts. This, according to Rohrmoser, is additional evidence, proving that the Judeans came to Egypt from Jerusalem, not from Syria.¹²⁰⁹

Priests were responsible for the temple rituals such as offerings and prayers. In this position they were also responsible for the religious leadership of their respective community. Interestingly both the positions of a priest and of the temple servitor were connected to a specific local temple. Outside of the temple there existed no practical infrastructure for these positions. The very word כהן designating a Judean priest found six times in the Aramaic documents specifically refers four times to “Yedanyah and his colleagues the priests who are in Elephantine the fortress”.¹²¹⁰ Once the term refers to Yehoḥanan the High Priest and once to “his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem”.¹²¹¹ These texts also specifically name four of the Judean priests who served at the temple in Elephantine:

Yedanyah, Uriyah and the priests of YHW the God, Mattan son of
Yašobyah (and) Berekyah son of...¹²¹²

Because the name of Yedanyah always comes first, the impression is given that he was the highest religious Judean leader in Elephantine. Twice his name is immediately followed by the name of Uriyah separated from the names of other priests; from this we understand that Uriyah was most likely his deputy. The term כמר designating a non-

¹²⁰⁷ Mizrahi recalls a funerary inscription from Ḥatra that mentions a local high priest, whose title was רבא כמרא, not כהנא רבא. Mizrahi 2011, 695; Francesco Vattioni, *Le iscrizioni di Ḥatra*. Annali Supp. 28. (Naples: Instituto Orientale di Napoli, 1981), 33, no. 25; Basile Aggoula, *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 139. (Paris: Geuthner, 1991), 21, no. 25.

¹²⁰⁸ Segal 1983, 80, note 1.

¹²⁰⁹ Rohrmoser 2014, 221.

¹²¹⁰ TAD A 4.7:1. Other texts are TAD A 4.3:1, 12; and A 4.8:1.

¹²¹¹ TAD A 4.7:18.

¹²¹² TAD A 4.3:1, 12.

Judean priest appears twelve times; eight times it refers to an Egyptian priest, twice to an Aramean priest, and in two cases, the reference is unclear. Three deities are mentioned together with these priests: Nabu in one case, Isis in one case and Khnum in four cases.¹²¹³

In addition to the titles of the temple servitor, his wife, and the priest, four other religious professions appear in the Aramaic documents. First the title “gardener of Khnum” (גנן זי חנום), appearing in two documents, refers specifically to the Egyptian Ḥor son of Peṭese who owned a house in Elephantine.¹²¹⁴ This title demonstrates that great temples could hire additional personnel to care for the infrastructure of the temple and its area. The title “Magus, magician” (מגורש) appears only once in the Aramaic version of the Bisitun Inscription that was discovered at Elephantine, referring to Gaumata, the rebellious opponent of the King Darius.¹²¹⁵ Briant notes that the term refers originally to one of the Median tribes, but in the Persian context the *magus* was primarily a ritual official. It seems that the office of *magus* was transmitted from father to son.¹²¹⁶ Because the term appears in the Bisitun Inscription, which is usually seen as propaganda of the King Darius, the term’s connection to Gaumata should be handled with some skepticism. The title “Physician” (אסי) also appears once in a papyrus fragment; here it is probably a court record from the Persian period Saqqarah.¹²¹⁷ Physicians in Ancient Egypt were priests whose practices were based on both religious and physiological knowledge. In fact, they developed the famous Egyptian art of healing. The originally Egyptian title “Scribe of the Book of God” (פסחמצנור) appears only once in a fragment of a court record discovered from Saqqarah; here it refers to an Egyptian scribe named Šednahib who probably worked in an Egyptian temple copying sacred texts.¹²¹⁸

As we can observe from the terms above, most refer to Egyptian religious personnel. One title is exclusively Persian (מגורש). The title of a priest (כמר) is shared by

¹²¹³ TAD D 18.1:1 and D 18.2a refer to an Aramean priest, the first of them including also the name of the deity Nabu. The reference to an Egyptian priest is found in Segal 56, 1; TAD A 4.5:3, 8; A 4.7:5; A 5.4:2; TAD B 2.7:15; TAD D 2.30:3 and D 23.1.XI:9. The deity Isis appears in Segal 56, 1 which reads ‘Tmose priest of Isis-the-g(reat)’. The deity Khnum appears in TAD A 4.5:3, 8; A 4.7:5 and TAD B 2.7:15. In two texts the reference is unclear, and the ethnic origin or the religious context of the priest cannot be determined (TAD C 3.5:11 and TAD D 5.10:2). Both of them, however, were discovered at Elephantine, and might also refer to both Aramean and Egyptian priests and deities.

¹²¹⁴ TAD B 3.10:10 and B 3.11:6. In Segal 40, 1 the title of a gardener in plural appears in reduplicated form (גנניא), but there it is not connected to any deity. Segal 1983, 57, note 3.

¹²¹⁵ TAD C 2.1:75.

¹²¹⁶ Briant 2002, 96.

¹²¹⁷ TAD D 2.31 frag b:3.

¹²¹⁸ TAD B 8.12:4.

Egyptians and Arameans, whereas the title of temple servitor (לִחֵן) is shared by both Arameans and Judeans. The Judeans have an exclusive title for their own priests (כֹּהֵן) and the High Priest of Jerusalem (כֹּהֵן רֶבֶא), and about 58 % (25 cases) of the 43 appearances of religious professions refer to Judean personnel. I argue that there might be two explanations for this. Either the most part of the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt were written by Judeans and thus, reflect more the life of the Judeans during this era or Judeans living in Persian-period Egypt were more organized in their religious life than other ethnic and religious groups. Probably a combination of both of these factors contributes to the higher percentage.

It is useful to observe that those Aramaic documents referring to Judean religious personnel do not mention any religious scribe, completely opposite to the case of the Egyptian title “Scribe of the Book of God” (פִּסְחַמְצוּתִי). This leads to the conclusion that the professional Judean scribes might also have acted as religious scribes when needed. Not one copy or even a fragment of the books of the Hebrew Bible have been found in the excavations that unearthed the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. With only the evidence provided by the Aramaic documents, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions whether the Judeans of Egypt had any biblical texts, which we know from the Hebrew Bible, in their disposal during the Persian period. A professional Judean scribe, Maʿuziyah son of Natan, whose name appears in the documents was the scribe who produced at least six of the Aramaic documents discovered from Egypt.¹²¹⁹ In one of these, a letter, he is also the sender who presents himself as the servant of the Judean leaders of Elephantine:

To my lords Yedanyah, Uriyah and the priests of YHW the God, Mattan son of Yašobyah (and) Berekyah son of (...); your servant Maʿuziyah.¹²²⁰

Additionally in two documents Maʿuziyah's name appears as one of the leaders of the Judean garrison in Elephantine. In the first of these documents, his name is placed between the names of the priests Yedanyah and Uriyah:

To my lords Yedanyah, Maʿuziyah, Uriyah and the garrison...¹²²¹

¹²¹⁹ TAD A 4.3; TAD B 2.9; B 2.10; B 3.5; B 3.8 and B 6.4.

¹²²⁰ TAD A 4.3:1-2.

The second document probably sent to the satrap Aršama after 407 BCE, included an offer of payment for the reconstruction of the Judean temple in Elephantine. Here Maʿuziyah's name appears again after the name of Yedanyah as one of the five prominent representatives of the Judean garrison of Elephantine:

1 named Yedanyah son of Gem(aryah),
 (1) named Maʿuzi son of Natan,
 1 named Shemaiyah son of Haggai,
 1 named Hošeaʾ son of Yatom,
 1 named Hošeaʾ son of Nattun:
 all (told) 5 persons, Syenians who are
 heredi(tary-property-hold)ers in Elephantine the fortress.¹²²²

We can also assume that Shemaiyah son of Haggai was a scribe: it is known that one of the professional Judean scribes at the end of the fifth century BCE was called Haggai son of Shemaiyah, and tradition mandated that a son follows his father's profession.¹²²³ Because of these documents, it is possible to conclude that Maʿuziyah, son of Natan not only acted as a professional scribe at the end of the fifth century BCE in Elephantine, but also served as one of the prominent leaders of the Judean community of Elephantine and when needed might have even served as a religious scribe. On the basis of this evidence it is also possible to conclude that the leadership of the Judean community in Persian-period Egypt included both priests and scribes. However, whether this was a normal Judean tradition of leadership during the Persian period cannot be argued with this data only. Rohrmoser also observes that the leading group of the Judeans of Elephantine not only included priests but also scribes, and that the chairman of both groups seems to have been Yedanyah.¹²²⁴ However, Rohrmoser can not in all of assurance declare that Yedanyah was a priest himself; therefore she prefers to identify him as "an elder" who acted only as the chairman of the leading group.¹²²⁵ From her assumptions, she concludes that the organization of the Judean community of Elephantine more closely resembled the pre-exilic Judean society than the post-exilic temple and priest

¹²²¹ TAD A 4.2:1.

¹²²² TAD A 4.10:1-6. Reconstruction in brackets is suggested by Porten and Yardeni.

¹²²³ TAD B, 189.

¹²²⁴ Rohrmoser 2014, 84.

¹²²⁵ Ibid. 83.

centered community. Once again this feature points, according to Rohrmoser, to the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century BCE as the possible settlement date of the Judeans in Egypt.¹²²⁶ Kratz has a similar view as he dates the founding of the Judean temple of Elephantine to the 7th or 6th century BCE and argues that the form of Judaism the Elephantine Judeans followed was Judaism without the Torah of Moses and without the demand for the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem.¹²²⁷

An interesting question arises. Was Yedanyah son of Gemaryah who in the Aramaic documents is presented as a Judean priest and the leader of the Judean community of Elephantine also a soldier in the military force of Elephantine? I argue, against Rohrmoser, that the fact that Yedanyah really was a Judean priest can be clearly derived from the letter that the Judean community of Elephantine sent to Bagavahyah, governor of Judah, after the destruction of their temple in November 25, 407 BCE. There Yedanyah is addressed as a colleague of the priests of Elephantine: “To our lord Bagohi governor of Judah, your servants Jedaniah and his colleagues the priests who are in Elephantine the fortress.”¹²²⁸ In other Aramaic letters, Yedanyah is presented as the first leader of the Judean garrison of Elephantine, e.g. in the report of conflict and request for assistance from late 5th century BCE: “To my lords Jedaniah, Mauziah, Uriah and the garrison.”¹²²⁹ In the above mentioned offer of payment to Aršama for the reconstruction of the Judean temple, Yedanyah and his colleagues are called “Syenians who are heredi(tary-property-hold)ers in Elephantine the fortress”.¹²³⁰ This address was aimed at showing the Satrap Aršama that Yedanyah and the other leaders of the Judeans of Elephantine were long time members of the Persian military garrison of Syene. It also seems that the Judean military unit in Elephantine was officially considered a part of the garrison of Syene, whose headquarters were located in Syene. Based upon this evidence, it can be hypothesized that the leaders of the Judean community of Elephantine served two roles. On one hand, they acted as full members of the Persian military garrison. For example, Mauziah acted as a professional scribe of the garrison with his educational background and expertise. Most likely the Judean priests like Yedanyah and Uriyah held some official position in the military unit of Elephantine; however, what it might have been remains unclear. On the other hand, these same men also held

¹²²⁶ Ibid. 85.

¹²²⁷ Kratz 2007, 86-87, 93; - 2006, 260.

¹²²⁸ TAD A 4.7:1. The translation is made by Porten and Yardeni. Look also TAD A 4.8:1.

¹²²⁹ TAD A 4.2:1. Same also in TAD A 4.1:1.

¹²³⁰ TAD A 4.10:6. Reconstruction in brackets is made by Porten and Yardeni.

religious position as leaders of the Judean community of Elephantine. Whether or not they were also acting as the military leaders of the Judean unit of Elephantine seems uncertain, when based solely on the evidence found in the Aramaic documents. Not one of the military officers of the Persian garrison of Syene or Elephantine has a Hebrew or Yahwistic name, leading to the conclusion that the Judeans of Elephantine worked in the Persian garrison either as scribes or as ordinary soldiers. The fact that they held position as leaders of the Judean community in Elephantine is based on their religious education and status within the same Judean community rather than on their military rank in the Persian army.

4.5.6. Religious vocabulary

The last subcategory of the main category of religion deals with the religious vocabulary of the Aramaic documents. In addition to all the expressions related to religion already presented, some other religious words should be noted, words which also appear in the Hebrew Bible, in addition to some personal and divine names and other expressions already presented in the previous chapters. The following table (table 25) presents some of these words.

Table 25 Some words of the Aramaic documents which appear also in the Hebrew Bible

IN ENGLISH	IN ARAMAIC	APPEARANCES
Fast, fasting	צום	4
Netherworld	שאול	1
Righteousness, justice, merit	צדקה, צדקתא	4
Rigtheous, just	צדיק	8
Sacrifice (animal)	דבח	5
Sin	חטא	2
Soul, person, breath	נפש	26
Vow	נדר	1
		51 in total

First, it should be brought to mind that the texts, which were discovered from Egypt, are written in Aramaic whereas the Hebrew Bible is written in Hebrew. This means that similar words do not necessarily have the same meaning in both languages. However, the above list includes words that are general terms both in Aramaic and Hebrew, and

thus also have a similar meaning.¹²³¹ The use of the above words in the Aramaic documents shows that they were not exclusively used by Judeans. In fact, only nineteen of the 51 appearances of the above words were probably written by Judeans; of the remainder, eleven appear in the Aramaic literary texts while 21 appear in other texts written by non-Judeans.¹²³² To clarify, we can use the Aramaic words righteousness/justice/merit, and righteous/just from the above table 25 as an example. This Aramaic verbroot קדצ appears six times in the Aramaic wisdom and folktale texts, four times in the Words of Ahiqar and twice in the Tale of Hor, son of Punesh, three times in other texts written by non-Judeans and twice in documents written by Judean authors. Additionally it appears on an ostrakon from Elephantine; however, the author's identity is not clear.¹²³³ Because of this, we are forced to conclude that the above Aramaic words, appearing in the Persian period Aramaic documents from Egypt, do not provide evidence of the influence of those traditions among the Judeans of Egypt which are now written down in the texts of the Hebrew Bible. In fact, the opposite seems to be true. The authors of the Hebrew Bible tended to use the common language and vocabulary familiar to them from the cultures and literature of the ancient Near-East. In this conclusion, however, it must be noted that it appears that in the Aramaic documents, the term Sabbath (שבת) might bear witness to the influence of those religious traditions among the Judeans of Egypt. According to Klein, the primary meaning of the Hebrew שבת is "day of rest, Sabbath" and the term is borrowed from ancient Hebrew to several

¹²³¹ Words with similar or close by meaning are, according to Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. With an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic. Based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson. (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1959), Klein, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, 1987, and Porten and Lund, *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance*, 2002, the following: fast, fasting (BDB, 847; Klein, 543; Porten and Lund, 272), righteousness, justice, merit (BDB, 842; Klein, 541; Porten and Lund, 271); righteous, just (BDB, 843; Klein, 541; Porten and Lund, 271); netherworld (BDB, 982; Klein, 633; Porten and Lund, 287); sacrifice (in Hebrew זבח, BDB, 256; Klein, 193; Porten and Lund, 74); sin (BDB, 306-308; Klein, 213; Porten and Lund, 133); soul (religious word in sense that it refers both to life and afterlife of a), person, breath (BDB, 659; Klein, 422; Porten and Lund, 234); vow (BDB, 623; Klein, 406; Porten and Lund, 230).

¹²³² A text can be supposedly written by a Judean author if the name of the sender is an originally Hebrew name, if its receiver has a Hebrew name, if the other context of the text lets the reader to understand that its author is a Judean, or if it was discovered in a location together with other texts written by Judean authors, like in Elephantine. Naturally, the probability of a Judean author of a text is higher when many of these factors appear simultaneously.

¹²³³ The verbroot appears in the Aramaic wisdom text in TAD C 1.1:103, 109, 126, 128 and in a folktale in TAD C 1.2:21-22; in other texts written by non-Judeans it appears in TAD B 5.6:8; TAD C 3.6:3 and TAD D 23.1.Va:7; in documents written by Judeans it appears in TAD A 4.7:27 and TAD B 7.3:6. The ostrakon discovered from Elephantine including this Aramaic word has been published by Lozachmeur, HL 47 cc, 2.

other languages (Aram.-Syr. שבתא, Arab. *sabt*, Ethiop. *sanbat*, Gk. *sabbaton*).¹²³⁴ The term Sabbath appears in the Aramaic documents nine times and except for one Segal's papyrus fragment, all the other instances are seen in short private letters written by Judeans on ostraca, all of which were discovered from Elephantine.¹²³⁵ How would the Judeans of Egypt perceive this religious term if not from their own religious traditions? They must have had some knowledge of those traditions which are now written down in the texts of the Hebrew Bible which deal with the celebration of Sabbath and unleavened bread (Gen. 2:2-3; Ex. 20:8; Ex. 31:13-17; Ex. 35:1-3; and Lev. 23:1-3).

At the same time, it should be noted that none of the Hebrew personal names of the patriarchs, Moses or David appear in the onomastica of the Judeans of the Persian period Egypt. Using this as evidence, it seems that the Judeans of Egypt knew about the origins of Sabbath but not about the patriarchs of Israel. Does this mean that they knew the creation story but not the stories about the patriarchs? An argument should not be drawn from silence, but this same partial knowledge of the traditions of the Hebrew Bible can also be seen in relation to other religious terms and texts of the Old Testament.

These same questions can be raised concerning the terms Priest (כהן) and High Priest (כהן רבא) used exclusively by the Judeans in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt as shown above. According to Mizrahi, both the Biblical Hebrew כהן and its Aramaic equivalent have their origin in old NWS.¹²³⁶ However, the term's exclusive usage by the Judeans bears evidence of common roots of tradition. The term priesthood appears in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. in Ex. 28: 1-2; however, Grabbe observes that the Aramaic documents do not mention Levites at all.¹²³⁷ The Levites appear in the Hebrew Bible, Numbers chapters 3 and 4. Does this mean that the Judeans of Egypt had knowledge of the book of Exodus but not of the book of Numbers? If they had knowledge of the Exodus, why wasn't the name of Moses used at all? And why doesn't the term *Torah*, "the law" appear in these Aramaic documents? Of course one can argue that the Judeans knew the important significance of Exodus and the name of God YHWH (Ex. 3:14) whom they worshiped. In some instances they also used the name "God of Heaven", as reference to their God, a name which appears in the book of Ne-

¹²³⁴ Klein 1987, 638. BDB 1959, 991; Porten and Lund 2002, 288.

¹²³⁵ The word Sabbath appears in TAD D 7.10:5 (= HL 44 cc 5); D 7.12:9; D 7.16:2 (= HL 152 cc 2); D 7.28:4; D 7.35:7 (= HL 186 cv 1); D 7.48:5; HL 205 cc 4; Segal 72a, 1 and 72 b, 1.

¹²³⁶ Mizrahi 2011, 705.

¹²³⁷ Grabbe 2013, 126.

hemiah and Daniel (Neh. 1:5; 2:4; 2:20; Dan. 2:28, 37)¹²³⁸. It seems that they also knew something about the celebration of Passover as per the reference to Exodus (Ex. 12) and Leviticus (Lev. 23:4-8). However, they obviously needed more advice on this topic, explaining why the Judean Hananyah was sent to assist them in 419 BCE.

In their own temple in Elephantine the Judeans of Egypt offered sacrifices, prayed and fasted; they also performed animal sacrifices, burnt offerings, incense, libation and meal offering, demonstrating certain knowledge of Leviticus (Lev. 1-4). Additionally they knew the rituals of clean and unclean food (Lev. 11). With regard to Deuteronomium, it does seem that the Judeans of Egypt did not know the practice of a letter of divorce being submitted by the husband (Deut. 24:1-4).¹²³⁹ Kratz observes that especially the centralization of cult in Deuteronomy 12 seems to have been unknown among the Judeans of Elephantine.¹²⁴⁰ However, the only evidence the Judeans of Egypt knew anything from the book of Deuteronomium or about the centralization of the cult could be argued that they did not have their own High Priest in Egypt and recognized and accepted the High Priesthood of Jerusalem as their own. Even this feature in their religious tradition seems strange considering that at the same time they did not know or accept the demand of centralization of worship in Jerusalem.

The practice of praying could refer to knowledge of the book of Psalms; Porten observes that a great part of the Egyptian Judean Hebrew onomastica from the Persian period is similar to that of the Psalms.¹²⁴¹ However, the personal names of David and Solomon do not appear in any Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. The rite of fasting appears only in the religious rituals of the Judeans and not among other religious groups in Persian-period Egypt; however, references to the Judeans fasting is especially connected to mourning for the destroyed temple. In the Hebrew Bible, fasting appears in many texts, mainly in connection with prayer and mourning (e.g. Lev.

¹²³⁸ Grabbe notes that YHWH seems to be identified in Elephantine with "God" (אלה, אלהא, אלהי) and with "God of Heaven" (אלה שמיא). He also argues that the Hebrew expression אלהי השמים became widely used of YHWH among the Judeans in the Persian period. Grabbe 2013, 126.

¹²³⁹ According to Modrzejewski, this principle has governed Jewish divorce law throughout history and the woman's prerogative in matters of divorce practiced in Elephantine is in strict contradiction to this traditional law. Modrzejewski questions whether this practice in Elephantine is "due to Egyptian or Babylonian influence, or did it stem from ancient Hebrew legal practice, antedating Deuteronomy?" This issue is still debated. Modrzejewski 1997, 36.

¹²⁴⁰ Kratz 2007, 84.

¹²⁴¹ Porten observes "Psalms contain many of the words which appear in the personal names of the Elephantine Jews... The ideas contained in the nominal and verbal sentence names are given full expression in the Psalmic literature and elsewhere. The names or their analogues may all be found in pre-exilic Israel and some in post-exilic Judah as well". Porten 1968, 135-136, 146-147.

23:26-32; Ezra 8:21-23; Psalm 35:13 and 69:10-14). Thus, although no part of the Hebrew Bible has been found from Persian-period Egypt, it seems a logical assumption that Judean religious traditions had real impact on the Judeans of Egypt. Based solely on the evidence provided by the Aramaic documents, we see that the Judeans of Egypt at least knew the creation story of Gen. 1-2, parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Psalms and probably parts of Ezra and Nehemia.

From the Aramaic documents we can observe that connections between the Judean leaders of Jerusalem and those of Egypt existed. Grabbe observes the same; “it seems clear that there was communication between the two communities. For example, Elephantine was aware of who the current high priest was”.¹²⁴² Thus, it can be hypothesized that Judean religious traditions found their way to Egypt either in oral or written form. Kratz argues for the oral development of the Torah of Moses, “torah was originally something other than the written, Mosaic Torah as we know it from the Hebrew Bible”.¹²⁴³ He suggests that the process of development of the Torah from the oral into literary form began in pre-exilic times and came to an end during the Persian period.¹²⁴⁴ This assumption seems especially true when we look at the so-called Passover Letter of the Judean Ḥananyah. This letter was sent to the Judean garrison of Elephantine in 419 BCE giving advice about how to celebrate correctly the Passover feast.¹²⁴⁵ The term “Passover” (פסח/פסחא) seems to be a special term in the Aramaic documents and bears evidence of the common roots of tradition with the texts of the Hebrew Bible. Rohrmoser probably is right when arguing that the priests of Yahu in Elephantine received their education in oral rather than in written form. This conclusion derives from the fact that except of the Words of Aḥiqar no other educational text neither any biblical text of the Hebrew Bible has been found which date back to Persian-period Egypt.¹²⁴⁶

¹²⁴² Grabbe 2013, 129.

¹²⁴³ Kratz 2007, 93.

¹²⁴⁴ Kratz 2007, 94.

¹²⁴⁵ TAD A 4.1.

¹²⁴⁶ Rohrmoser 2014, 239.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1. General conclusions

Settlement of Judeans in Egypt

This study includes content analysis of all the 1,042 Aramaic documents dating from the Persian period, those found from Egypt and published up through the year 2014. While it is true that the picture that these fragmented documents provides is limited, at the same time it is also wide enough to draw some conclusions.

This research confirms the assumption that the Judean settlement of Egypt was old. The very fact that there is a high representation of female names among the personal names in the original languages of Aramaic and Hebrew shows that these ethnic groups were settled among Egyptian families, and even deeper than other groups. These Judeans had already lived there for a long time and had established families. They possessed houses and had even left them as inheritances for their children. While the exact time when the Judeans arrived for the first time in Egypt and from where they originated still remains a debated question, this study supports the assumption that the Judeans came to be in Egypt in several waves of migration, the most probable dates being between the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BCE. In most cases, their original homeland was Judah which is seen by the name they identified with. Because the Judeans of Egypt lived in close neighbourhood with the Arameans, it can be also argued that the affiliation was caused not only by the common language but also by the common geographical roots, meaning that at least one part of the Judeans of Egypt came from Samaria and the area of the previous northern kingdom of Israel. However, it is also probable that this group of Israelites and Arameans first settled in Judah and only later immigrated to Egypt as mercenaries. Another way to explain this hypothesis is that only the group of Israelites from Samaria stayed some time in Judah before immigrating to Egypt and the Arameans joined them directly from Samaria. Among them, Aramaic was the main language.

The demographic size of the Judean settlement in Persian-period Egypt remains difficult to determine. From the ground of the information the Aramaic documents provide about the size of the Persian military units, some demographic size can be estimated. The Judean settlements were mainly in both the northern area of the so-called Lower-Egypt around the capital Memphis and in the southern area in Elephantine and Syene

in the so-called Upper-Egypt. This research supports the estimation suggested earlier by Knauf and then forwarded by Rohrmoser,¹²⁴⁷ that the size of the Judean garrison at Elephantine included 500-600 men, leading to the conclusion that the overall size of the Judean settlement in Persian-period Egypt was at its most, some thousands, not tens of thousands, including women and children.

Furthermore, the economic status of the Judeans in Persian-period Egypt was rather good. Many of them owned houses on the island of Elephantine, some of them even several houses. Some Judeans owned slaves. One argument for the good economic status was their long-lasting settlement. However, this status changed when the Persian Empire in Egypt since 399 BCE started fading, and Persia lost its control over the country for about sixty years. During this time the Judeans of Egypt virtually seem to have disappeared, next appearing in the Hellenistic period Egypt.

Judeans as part of the Persian administration

This research reaffirms the known position that the Persian Empire was a multiethnic and multireligious society. In total twenty six different gentilics and forty seven deities were traced in the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt. Additionally, the Persian regime was not oppressive and did not force their national worship of Ahuramazda upon the other ethnic groups under its power.

This research confirms the previous knowledge of the effective administrative organization of the vast Persian Empire. On many different levels, its administration was highly organized from central through local levels, each level of administration having its respective officials. The Persian administration itself in Egypt had several departments, including royal, legal, economic and military. The royal administration directly cared for the interests of the King himself; this was especially true about royal tribute and intelligence. Legal activities within the organized court system secured the wellbeing of local residents of the Empire. Additionally, the Persian imperial economic system was highly efficient at collecting resources from around the Empire and feeding them back into the royal treasury of the King and partially into the imperial administration system. The royal treasures and storehouses acted as local powermills, as collecting centers for the enormous economic system. The Persian military was organized according to the decimal system, meaning that the Persian army was divided into units

¹²⁴⁷ Knauf 2002, 181; Rohrmoser 2014, 81-82.

of tens, hundreds, and thousands with each unit having its own respective officers. This research also supports the reality that the highest positions both in the royal and the military administration were occupied by ethnic Persians; 75% of the garrison commanders as well as 71% of the detachment commanders were Persians. Even the satrap of Egypt and most of the governors were Persians. However, officials on lower levels of administration were both of Persian and non-Persian origin.

The professions held by Judeans during Persian-period Egypt were, according to this research, chiefly related to the military and scribal activities of the Persian administration. This research suggests two such professional profiles. First, Judeans often served as regular soldiers in the garrisons of foreign mercenaries; however, most did not occupy high ranks in the Persian army. Secondly, Judeans were also utilized in the professional scribal activity of the Persian administration. Together with Arameans, Judeans possessed the best and most vital knowledge of Imperial Aramaic, which they in turn utilized for their livelihood. With this expertise, they served the Persian administration on all levels, as well as occupying high positions, such as the chancellor Anani in the office of the Persian Satrap in Memphis.

This research indicates that Aramaic language was widely used on every level of the Persian administration, also in Egypt. Demand for fluent Aramaic scribes provided a steady job market for Judeans and Arameans who knew Aramaic as their mother tongue. In fact, according to this study, most of the professional Aramaic scribes in Persian-period Egypt were either Judean or Aramean.

My study confirms the previously known challenge of the Persian administration in Egypt: the fact that the marginal geographical position of Egypt in relation to the center of the Persian Empire resulted in a great difficulty in maintaining permanent control over the country. In addition, this study suggests one additional challenge of the Persian administration in Egypt: corruption of Persian officials. Corruption existed inside the Persian administration, but surveillance by the hearers of the king and the legal system, supervised by judges of the provinces, usually succeeded in rooting it out.

Continued, successful rebellions of the Egyptians against Persian rule raise a question about the imperial continuity of the Persian regime in Egypt. More than 95 percent of the Aramaic documents discovered from Persian-period Egypt are dated to the first Persian period (525-404 BCE) while only 36 documents are dated to the period of Egyptian independence (404-343 BCE). And no more than one document dates from

the second Persian period (343-332 BCE), with even that one being questionable. In itself this provides some evidence for the discontinuity of the Persian imperial regime in Egypt. At its very least, it bears evidence to the diminishing use of Aramaic as the language of official administration in Egypt during this era. The effective Persian administration seems to have peaked in the 5th century BCE, but after Egypt regained its independence, Persian influence began to fade. Ultimately, during the time of the second Persian period (343-332 BCE), Persian control and influence seem to have been only minimal. However, the first Persian period (525-404 BCE), ruled by the kings like Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II, appears successful for the Persian Empire in Egypt, at least in light of the Aramaic documents.

This research shows that generally Judeans held good relationships with the Persian administration and authorities in Egypt. Judean mercenaries served the Persian King no less in the times of rebellion of the Egyptian troops. Moreover, the closest relationships the Judeans of Egypt had were with the Arameans, with whom they shared the same daily language, as well as some geographical roots and the military service under the Persians. This intimacy created a communal atmosphere of socio-religious exchange between the Arameans and the Judeans of Egypt. Most fragile and problematic though were the relationships the Judeans had with the Egyptians, especially with the priests of the god Khnum in Elephantine, mainly for religious and practical problems, caused by the closeness of their temples in the island of Elephantine.

Religion of the Judeans of Egypt

On the basis of evidence found in the Aramaic documents, the Judean community in Egypt appears to be in principle a Yahwistic community. Forty four percent of all the Hebrew personal names used in this community were theophoric, and not only theophoric, but Yahwistic. This is a high number when compared to the average percentage (26%) of theophoric names among all 993 Aramaic names found in these documents. The Judean people had their own temple in Elephantine, complete with animal sacrifices and serving priests, but because they did not have their own High Priest they also recognized the office of the High Priest in Jerusalem. This state of affairs seems to have become under question only towards the end of the fifth century BCE when they did not get any support from the religious leaders of Jerusalem for their petition of rebuilding their destroyed temple. The Yahwistic faith seems to have been the specific group

identity of the Judeans, differentiating them from other ethnic groups living in Persian-period Egypt. The Judean temple on the island of Elephantine served as a visible token of the Judean identity.

On the other hand, among the same Judeans were some individuals who sent greetings using the names of all the gods in their letters, some who took judicial oaths using the names of other deities than YHW, as well as others who married persons from other ethnic or religious groups. Some of the Judeans probably worked on Sabbath, and even collected money, not only for YHW but also for two Aramean deities, Ešembet'el and Anatbet'el. Some Judeans seem to have worshiped a deity called AnatYHW, a god who was some combination of an Aramean deity Anat and YHW of the Judeans. The facts are not just incidental or unintentional. Instead they bear evidence to the multireligious nature of the religion of Judeans in Egypt, a trend probably caused by the close relationships between the Judeans of Egypt and the Arameans, as well as by the intermarriage with people of other ethnic and religious groups. Also, the multiethnic and multireligious environment surrounding the Judeans of Egypt contributed to an atmosphere of cultural and religious exchange in Persian-period Egypt. While the extent of the religious exchange between the Arameans and Judeans in Egypt is still open to debate, according to this research, the religious acculturation between these two groups is visible in the Aramaic documents, but only marginally. The religion of the Judean community in Persian-period Egypt seems to have been mainly Yahwistic.

At least in theory, the Judeans of Egypt seemed to have accepted the leadership of the Judean High Priest in Jerusalem; they did not have their own High Priest in Egypt. However, the strained nature of the relationship of the Judean community of Egypt with the Judean leaders of Jerusalem was evident from the manner the leadership in Jerusalem responded to the request of help from the Judeans of Egypt. In three years' time there was no answer except silence. Only after the Judeans of Egypt petitioned the Persian governors in both Jerusalem and Samaria did they receive a response. The Aramaic documents provide a clear picture of how the Judeans of Egypt were more loyal to their leadership in Jerusalem than that leadership was to them. Whether the reserved attitude of the Jerusalem leadership was motivated by political or religious factors or even by both cannot be fully answered by this research. The contradictory religious nature of the Judean community of Egypt points perhaps more to a religious motive than to political reasons. From this point of view, Kratz's and Granerød's theory about

the Yahwism of Elephantine Judeans as typical Persian-period Yahwism should be rejected.¹²⁴⁸ Rather, the Yahwism of Elephantine probably followed the pre-exilic Yahwism of Judah, which was much criticized by those Yahwistic traditions that form the Hebrew Bible of today.

In the beginning of the fourth century BCE, it seems that the Judeans of Egypt disappear from the scene of history for about a hundred years when they reappear in the Hellenistic period. Thus, the evidence found in the Aramaic documents only reflects the religion of the Judeans of the Persian period Egypt from the end of the sixth through the end of the fifth century BCE.

Judeans of Egypt and the Torah

The relationships between the religion of the Judeans of the Persian period Egypt to that of Judah and the Hebrew Bible can be defined by examining the religious vocabulary used, as well as the traditions followed. They were called by others and also labeled themselves as “Judeans”, thus accepting the leadership of the High Priest of Jerusalem. The personal names they gave to their children resemble both pre-exilic and post-exilic Judean onomastica. Thus, without doubt, both their ethnic and religious roots were firmly rooted in Judah. In the religious traditions the Judeans followed, they acknowledged YHW to be their God; they celebrated Sabbath, prepared and ate unleavened bread at Passover, followed at least some of the rules for clean and unclean food, brought different sacrifices to temple services, acknowledged the priesthood, fasted, and prayed. From this, it is possible to conclude that they had some knowledge of the common religious traditions of the Judeans in Judah and about the content of what we know as the Torah of Moses included in the Hebrew Bible. It also seems that they wanted to maintain their religious group identity in line with Jerusalem. On the other hand, it seems that they did not know anything about the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. In addition, no partial or whole copies of the Torah or any books of the Hebrew Bible dating back to the Persian period Egypt have been discovered. Because of this, the picture the Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt provide shows the Judeans as having a limited knowledge of the traditions known from the Hebrew Bible. One practical reason for this is that these Aramaic documents are very fragmented, thus making the reconstruction of the Judeans’ religion difficult to theorize. However, it

¹²⁴⁸ Kratz 2006, 247-248. Granerød 2016, 325-326.

does seem probable that the religious tradition of the Judeans of Egypt was mainly passed to them in an oral rather than in written form.

5.2. Contribution of the study

This research utilizes very vast data from 1,042 Aramaic documents, all of which are dated to the Persian period and are discovered from Egypt. In addition, these documents are analyzed using the method of textual content analysis, which takes into account all the different aspects of the ancient society of the Persian period Egypt. This kind of systematic approach in such a large scale has not been used in the study of Aramaic texts from Egypt before, at least not in Finland nor Europe. The vast data of my study complements the picture provided by previous research. The Judeans were settled in Egypt mainly in the areas of Elephantine and Syene in the South as well as in the region of Memphis in the North. This research shows that Yahwistic names were still highly preserved by the Judeans of Egypt during the Persian period and disappearance of these names began only in the Hellenistic period.

One of the contributions of this study is that through this research, the picture of the Judean settlement in Egypt in general and of the Judean military garrison in Elephantine in particular becomes clearer. The information the Aramaic documents provide on these Judeans is placed within the wider historical framework of the Persian Empire. In this wider context the Judeans of Egypt appear only as one minority among others in the periphery of a vast multiethnic Empire. However, in the local context of Egypt they served as loyal subjects of the Persian Empire mainly in the positions of regular soldiers and scribes at the important southern border post of the Empire. This research confirms the previously suggested theory that the Judean settlement of Egypt was rather old, most probably dating back to the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BCE. It seems that the Judeans came to Egypt in several waves of immigration. Originally their homeland was Judah, but some might have originated in Samaria, coming to Egypt with Arameans from Samaria. Even this group immigrated to Egypt through Judah. One strong argument for the old dating of the Judean settlement in Egypt is that of the families with them. Evidence for this is found in the female names, which appear in abundance among the personal names of the Judeans. Probably the Judean population of Egypt during the Persian period included only some thousand people, a conclusion drawn from the size of the Judean military unit in Elephantine that

consisted of between 500-600 soldiers, their number totaling with their families about 2,500-3,000 people. One important contribution this study makes is the observation that the Judeans in Persian-period Egypt worked as regular soldiers and professional scribes. It seems that none of them held a position of an officer in the Persian army. However, one Judean did work as Chancellor in the head office of the Persian Satrap Aršama in Memphis at the end of the 5th century BCE.

This study also contributes to the recent discussion on the religious identity of the Judean community in Egypt. Based on this research, it seems that the Judean community in Egypt during the Persian period without doubt drew from the same source of tradition as the texts of the Hebrew Bible. It probably possessed a similar Yahwistic group identity as was common for Judeans during the time of their first settlement in Egypt (at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th century BCE). It seems that the Judeans of Egypt practiced their religion in the Egyptian multireligious context in a way that was convenient both for their own identity and their coexistence with other ethnic groups. Yahu was their God, and together with the temple, also their most important group identity marker. However, enough clear evidence exists to prove their partial religious acculturation, especially with the Arameans. The religious group identity of the Judeans of Egypt consisted of different traits which included faith in Yahu as their God, the temple of Yahu in Elephantine, the religious tradition that originated from Judah, the Hebrew naming culture, and the respect for the High Priest of Jerusalem.

It seems that the Judean priesthood and community in Egypt tried to maintain good relationships with the religious leadership in Jerusalem. This is unexpected because at the same time they are seemingly completely unaware about the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. The only change in relations with the Jerusalem leadership might have taken place at the end of the fifth century BCE when the religious leadership of Jerusalem did not support their petition of rebuilding the temple of Yahu in Elephantine. Possible reasons for the mixing of religions that took place especially between the Judeans and Arameans could have been their common daily service in the Persian army, intermarriages and the multiethnic, multireligious atmosphere of Persian-period Egypt. To some extent this mixing of religions between Judeans (Israelites) and Arameans could have begun already in Samaria as also Papyrus Amherst 63 hints. However, any such kind of total mixing of Judean and Aramean group identities that,

for example, Rohrmoser suggests¹²⁴⁹ by calling them Judeo-Arameans, can not be discerned from the Aramaic documents. This research confirms the picture that the Judeans of Egypt in the Persian period knew many of the traditions known from the Hebrew Bible, mainly in an oral form. No evidence of the written law of Moses or any of the texts of the Hebrew Bible can be found in the Aramaic documents from this period.

This study enhances current understanding of Persian administration by confirming the previously known picture of a well-organized Persian Imperial administration with an effective economic system, and powerful army. According to the Aramaic documents, all these elements of the Persian Empire were present and active also in Egypt during the end of the sixth and through the fifth century BCE; this means during the first Persian period (525-404 BCE). This study also provides new information revealing details about the Persian administration in Egypt that have not been discussed earlier. Examples of these details include the existence of *garda* (royal household slaves and workers), *ḥaṭru* (state sponsored farmers), and *naupati* (lit. naval commander). The Judeans of Egypt were always loyal servants of the Persian Empire. In addition to the commonly known challenge of the Persian administration in Egypt, which derived from its peripheral location and encouraged Egypt to engage in many rebellions, this research suggests an additional one; the evident corruption of several Persian officials. Since the end of the fifth century BCE, the Persian rule in Egypt began to fade, and the Judeans of Egypt also seem to have disappeared from the scene.

5.3. Suggestions for further study

One continuation for this research could be a comparative study of the religion and social status of the Judeans in the diaspora of Babylon and Egypt during and after the exile.¹²⁵⁰ Another related topic could be a research on the role Judean priests and scribes played as custodians of the religious tradition in the diaspora of Babylon and Egypt during the exilic and post-exilic period.

One challenging topic for possible new research would be an investigation into the disappearance of the Judeans of Egypt after the final destruction of their rebuilt temple in Elephantine at the beginning of the fourth century BCE. Where did they go?

¹²⁴⁹ Rohrmoser 2014, 8, 151.

¹²⁵⁰ Granerød in his recent monograph also suggests the same topic for a future study. Granerød 2016, 333-338.

Did they really disappear?

Some specific issues for future study could include the following four topics: Slavery in the Persian Empire; An Extensive Study of the Economic System of the Persian Empire; The Foreign Mercenary in the Service of the Royal Persian Army; or The Status of Women in the Judean Diaspora of Babylon and Egypt during the Exilic and Post-Exilic Period.

SUMMARY IN FINNISH (TIIVISTELMÄ)

Siljanen Esko: *Judeans of Egypt in the Persian Period (539-332 BCE) in Light of the Aramaic Documents*

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää millaisen kuvan Egyptistä löydetty erilaiset arameankieliset asiakirjat antavat persialaisaikana (539–332 eKr.) Egyptissä asuneista juudealaisista. Tutkimuksen lähdeaineiston muodostavat Egyptistä löydetty arameankieliset asiakirjat, jotka ovat peräisin persialaisajalta. Tutkimuskysymykset ovat seuraavat: Millaisen kuvan Egyptistä löydetty persialaisaikaiset arameankieliset asiakirjat antavat Egyptissä asuvista juudealaisista? Millainen oli Egyptin juudealaisten uskonto? Oliko heillä tietoa niistä teksteistä ja uskonnollisista traditioista, jotka tunnemme Vanhasta testamentista ja erityisesti sen sisältämästä Mooseksen laista? Millaisen kuvan nämä arameankieliset asiakirjat antavat Persian valtakunnan hallinnosta, armeijasta ja taloudellisesta järjestelmästä Egyptissä?

Tutkimuksen lähdeaineiston muodostavia persialaisajan arameankielisiä asiakirjoja lähestytään historiallisen analyysin kautta. Tämä analyysi toteutetaan lähdekritiikin, sisällön-analyysin ja tulkitseva vuoropuhelun avulla. Lähdekritiikin avulla todennetaan lähteitten luotettavuus ja validiteetti, sisällönanalyysiä taas käytetään sirpaleisen ja laajan lähdeaineiston tarkkaan tutkimiseen, tulkitsevan vuoropuhelun tarkoituksena taas on ymmärtää sisällönanalyysin tuottamien tutkimustulosten merkitys suhteessa tutkimuskysymyksiin.

Tämän tutkimuksen laajan, 1042 arameankielistä asiakirjaa sisältävän, lähdeaineiston systemaattisen läpikäymisen tuloksena kuva juudealaisten asutuksesta Egyptissä tarkentuu ja asettuu persialaisajan kehyksiin. Tutkimus osoittaa, että juudealaiset olivat asettuneet asumaan pääasiassa Etelä-Egyptissä sijaitsevaan Elefantineen sekä Memfoksen alueelle Pohjois-Egyptissä. Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että juudealaisilla oli perheet mukanaan Egyptissä, mikä puolestaan todistaa juudealaisten asutuksen pitkäaikaisuudesta. Tutkimus näin ollen vahvistaa jo aikaisemmin esitetyn teorian siitä, että juudealaisten asutus Egyptissä oli peräisin todennäköisesti seitsemännän vuosisadan lopulta tai kuudennen vuosisadan alusta eKr. Tutkimuksen uusi löytö on havainto, että juudealaiset toimivat Egyptissä pääasiassa tavallisina sotilaina ja ammattimaisina arameankielen kirjureina, heitä ei kuitenkaan mainita Persian armeijan upseereiden joukossa. Heidän erityisosaamisensa kirjureina pohjautui arameankielen sujuvaan hallintaan, joka oli Persian imperiumin hallinnon yleiskieli.

Tutkimus myös osoittaa sen, että Egyptin juudealaisella yhteisöllä oli pääasiassa Jahvistinen ryhmäidentiteetti, joka oli todennäköisesti peräisin pakkosiirtolaisuutta edeltäneen kuningasajan Juudasta. Tämän ryhmäidentiteetin keskeisin tunnusmerkki oli Jahven temppeli Elefantinen saarella ja siitä todistavat myös Jahvistiset henkilönimet, jotka olivat vielä persialaisajalla runsaasti käytössä. Edellisestä huolimatta uskontojen sekoittumista on myös havaittavissa erityisesti juudealaisten ja aramealaisten kesken. Tämä sekoittuminen todennäköisesti johtui näiden kahden etnisen ryhmän jokapäiväisestä kanssakäymisestä Persian armeijan palveluksessa. Tutkimus vahvistaa käsitystä siitä, että vaikka juudealaiset ammensivat samasta uskonnollisen tradition lähteestä, josta myös Vanhan testamentin tekstit ovat peräisin, heidän tietämyksensä Mooseksen laista oli kuitenkin rajallista. He halusivat säilyttää hyvät suhteet Jerusalemin ylipappiin, mutta heillä ei näyttänyt olevan mitään tietoa kultin keskittämisestä Jerusalemiin. Egyptistä ei ole löydetty yhtään persialaisaikaista Vanhan testamentin tekstin kopiota. Ilmeisesti uskonnollinen traditio siirtyi Juudeasta Egyptin juudealaisille suullisen perimätiedon muodossa. Tämä tutkimus laajentaa käsitystä Persian valtakunnan hyvin organisoidusta hallinnosta, tehokkaasta taloudellisesta järjestelmästä ja voimakkaasta armeijasta, jotka aktiivisesti vaikuttivat Egyptissä ensimmäisen persialaisjakson aikana (525–404 eKr.). Persian valtakunnan suurimmat haasteet johtuivat Egyptin perifeerisestä sijainnista sekä useiden Persian viranomaisten korruptoituneisuudesta. Sen jälkeen, kun Persia menetti valtansa Egyptissä viidennen vuosisadan lopulla eKr., myös Egyptin juudealaiset katosivat historian näyttämöltä.

Avainsanat: Egyptin juudealaiset, Persian valtakunta, arameankieliset asiakirjat, Elefantine.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. The places of discovery of the Persian period Aramaic documents from Egypt with the type of each document

Abbreviations: B = Bowl; BM = Burial Marker; CI = Cave Inscription; DS = Dedication Stone; G = Graffito; J = Jar ; L = Leather or its fragment; M = Mummy Label; O = Ostrakon; OT = Offering Table; P = Papyrus or its fragment; S = Sarcophagus; SBS = Seal, Bullae or Stamp; SP = Stone Plaque; ST = Stelae; WP = Wooden Plaque.

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
1. Abusir			
	TAD D 3.27	P/Account	1888
	TAD D 5.23	P/Unclassified	1888
	TAD D 11.19	O/J/ Notation	1907
	TAD D 11.20	O/J/ Notation	1907
	TAD D 21.1	BM/ Funerary Inscription	Before 1911
	TAD D 22.2	G/Name	1907
	Dušek and Mynářová	G/Name	2008
2. Abydos			
	TAD D 22.9	G/Name	1910
	TAD D 22.10	G/Proskynema	Before 1889
	TAD D 22.11	G/Proskynema	Before 1868
	TAD D 22.12	G/Name	Before 1868
	TAD D 22.13	G/Proskynema	Before 1868
	TAD D 22.14	G/Proskynema	Before 1889
	TAD D 22.15	G/Name	Before 1889
	TAD D 22.16	G/Proskynema	Before 1889
	TAD D 22.17	G/Proskynema	Before 1868
	TAD D 22.18	G/Proskynema	1910
	TAD D 22.19	G/Name	1910
	TAD D 22.20	G/Proskynema	1910
	TAD D 22.21	G/Proskynema	1910
	TAD D 22.22	G/Name	Before 1889
	TAD D 22.23	G/Name	1993
	TAD D 22.24	G/Proskynema	1910
	TAD D 22.25	G/Proskynema	1883
	TAD D 22.26	G/Proskynema	1910
	TAD D 22.27	G/Proskynema	1910
3. Aswan			
	TAD A 3.9	P/Private letter	1893
	TAD B 2.1-4, 6-11	P/Legal contracts	1901-1904
	TAD B 3.2-13	P/Legal contracts	1893
	TAD B 6.1	P/Marriage document	1893
	TAD C 3.16	P/Account	1893
	TAD D 1.12	P/Letter	1893
	TAD D 7.3,6,9, 22	O/Private letter	1901-1904
	TAD D 7.25,42	O/Letter	1901-1904
	TAD D 13.1	WP/Scribe's Palette	1893
	TAD D 17.1	DS/ Dedication	Before 1903

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 18.16	S/ Funerary Inscription	1963
	TAD D 18.17	S/ Funerary Inscription	1963
	TAD D 18.18	S/ Funerary Inscription	1963
	TAD D 22.45	G/ Unclassified	1906
4. Dahshur			
	TAD D 22.4-6	G/Name	1894
5. Elephantine			
	TAD A 3.1-2, 5-8	P/Private letters	1906-1908
	TAD A 3.3-4	P/Private letters	1815-1819
	TAD A 3.10	P/Private letter	1906-1908
	TAD A 4.1-4, 6-10	P/Communal letters	1906-1908
	TAD A 4.5	P/ Communal letter	1898
	TAD A 5.2	P/Official letter	1906-1908
	TAD A 5.5	P/Official letter	1902
	TAD A 6.1 and A 6.2	P/Letters of Aršama	1906-1908
	TAD B 2.5	P/Legal contract	1906-1908
	TAD B 3.1	P/Legal contract	1906-1908
	TAD B 4.1-6	P/Deeds of obligation	1906-1908
	TAD B 5.1-5	P/Conveyances	1906-1908
	TAD B 6.2-4	P/Marriage documents	1906-1908
	TAD B 7.1-4	P/Judicial oaths	1906-1908
	TAD C 1.1	P/Wisdom Text- Aḥiqar	1906-1908
	TAD C 2.1	P/Historical Text-Bisitun	1906-1908
	TAD C 3.3-4	P/Accounts	1906-1908
	TAD C 3.7,9,13,14,15	P/ Accounts	1906-1908
	TAD C 4.4-8	P/Lists	1906-1908
	TAD D 1.6	P/Private letter	1815-1819
	TAD D 1.7	P/Letter	1906-1908
	TAD D 1.11	P/Letter	1906-1908
	TAD D 1.18-19	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.20	P/Letter	1906-1908
	TAD D 1.21-22	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.23-25	P/Letter	Unknown
	TAD D 1.26	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.27	P/Letter	Unknown
	TAD D 1.28	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.29-30	P/Letter	Unknown
	TAD D 1.31	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.1	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.2-4	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.5	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.6	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.7-8	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.9-11	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.12	P/Contract	1904
	TAD D 2.13	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.14	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.15	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.16-17	P/Document of wifehood	Unknown
	TAD D 2.18	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.19	P/Contract	Unknown

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 2.20	P/Document of wifehood	Unknown
	TAD D 2.21-23	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.24	P/Contract	Unknown
	TAD D 2.25	P/Contract	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.26	P/Endorsement	Before 1911
	TAD D 2.27	P/Endorsement	Unknown
	TAD D 2.28	P/Endorsement	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.1	P/Account	Unknown
	TAD D 3.2-3	P/Lists	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.4-6	P/Lists	Unknown
	TAD D 3.7-11	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 3.12	P/Account	Unknown
	TAD D 3.13	P/List	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.14	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.15	P/List	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.16-17	P/Lists	1988
	TAD D 3.18	P/Account	1988
	TAD D 3.19	P/Account	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.20	P/List	Unknown
	TAD D 3.21	P/Unclassified	1988
	TAD D 3.22	P/Account	Unknown
	TAD D 3.23-24	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 3.25	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 3.26	P/List	1902
	TAD D 4.1-3	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 4.4-6	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.7	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 4.8-9	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.10-12	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 4.13	P/List	Unknown
	TAD D 4.14	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.15	P/Deed of Obligation	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.16-17	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 4.18	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.19-22	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 4.23	P/Unclassified	1988
	TAD D 4.24	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 4.25-33	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 6.1-2	L/List	1906-1908
	TAD D 7.1	O/Private letter	Before 1926
	TAD D 7.4	O/Private letter	1905
	TAD D 7.8	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.11	O/Private letter	1870's
	TAD D 7.12	O/Private letter	1907-1908
	TAD D 7.13	O/Letter	1875
	TAD D 7.14	O/Letter	1907-1908
	TAD D 7.15	O/Letter	1906
	TAD D 7.17	O/Private letter	1886
	TAD D 7.18	O/Private letter	1924-1925
	TAD D 7.19	O/Private letter	1911
	TAD D 7.20	O/Letter	1906

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 7.23	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.24	O/Letter	1905
	TAD D 7.26	O/Private letter	1897
	TAD D 7.27	O/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 7.28	O/Private letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 7.29	O/Private letter	1902
	TAD D 7.31	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.32	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.33	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.34	O/Private letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 7.36	O/Private letter	1978
	TAD D 7.37	O/Letter	1870's
	TAD D 7.38	O/Letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.39	O/Letter	1924-25
	TAD D 7.40	O/Letter	1876
	TAD D 7.41	O/Letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.43	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.45	O/Private letter	1902
	TAD D 7.46	O/Letter	1924-1925
	TAD D 7.47	O/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 7.48	O/Private letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.49	O/Letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.50	O/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 7.51	O/Letter	1906-1907
	TAD D 7.52	O/Letter	1907-1908
	TAD D 7.53	O/Letter	1907-1908
	TAD D 7.54	O/Letter	1907-1908
	TAD D 8.2	O/Account	1907-1908
	TAD D 9.1	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.2	O/ List	Before 1911
	TAD D 9.3	O/ List	1906
	TAD D 9.4	O/ List	1902
	TAD D 9.5	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.6	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.7	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.8	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.9	O/ List	1888
	TAD D 9.10	O/ List	1888
	TAD D 9.11	O/ List	1979
	TAD D 9.12	O/ List	1906-1907
	TAD D 9.13	O/ List	Before 1911
	TAD D 9.14	O/ List	1988
	TAD D 10.1	O/Abecedary	1970's
	TAD D 11.2	O/J/Name	1979
	TAD D 11.3	O/J/Name	1979
	TAD D 11.4	J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.5	J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.6	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.7	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.8	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.9	O/J/Name	1906-1908

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 11.10	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.11	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.12	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.13	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.14	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.15	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.16	O/J/Name	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.17	O/J/Royal sign	1906-1908
	TAD D 11.18	O/J/Royal sign	1906-1908
	TAD D 12.1	SP/List	1906-1907
	TAD D 13.3	WP/List	1907-1908
	TAD D 13.4	WP/Palette	1907-1908
	TAD D 13.5	WP/Stamp	1906-1907
	TAD D 19.7	M/ Funerary Inscription	1906-1907
	HL nos. 1-4	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 6	O/Unclassified	1906-1911
	HL nos. 7-8	O/Name	1906-1911
	HL nos. 9-23	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 24	O/Unclassified	1906-1911
	HL nos. 25-27	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 28	O/J/Lable	1906-1911
	HL nos. 29-37	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 38	O/J/Name	1906-1911
	HL nos. 39-53	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 54	O/Unclassified	1906-1911
	HL nos. 55-62	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 63	O/Account	1906-1911
	HL nos. 64-85	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 87-95	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 96	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 97-102	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 103	O/J/Lable	1906-1911
	HL nos. 104-112	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 113	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 114-121	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 122	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 123- 133	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 134	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos.135-140	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 141	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no 142	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 143	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no 144	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 145	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 146-176	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 177-178	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 179-180	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 182	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 183-189	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 191-195	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 196	O/Name	1906-1911

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	HL nos. 199-206	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 208	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 210-215	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 217-219	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 220-221	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 222-224	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 225	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 226-230	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 231	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 232-247	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 249	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 250	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no 251	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 252	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 253-254	O/J/Jar inscription	1906-1911
	HL no 255	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. 256-258	O/J/Unclassified	1906-1911
	HL no 259	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no 260	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 261	O/Account	1906-1911
	HL no 262	O/J/Label	1906-1911
	HL no 263	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 264	O/J/Jar inscription	1906-1911
	HL no 265	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 266	O/List of distribution	1906-1911
	HL no 267	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. 268-271	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 272	O/J/Label	1906-1911
	HL no 273	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 275	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no 276	O/Unclassified	1906-1911
	HL no 277	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no 280	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. X 1-2	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no X 3	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no X 4	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL no X 5	O/J/Label	1906-1911
	HL nos. X 6-10	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. X 11-12	O/List of names	1906-1911
	HL nos. X 13-19	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no X 24	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL no X 25	O/Private letter	1906-1911
	HL nos. E 1-3	WP/M/Name	1909
	HL no E 4	WP/M/Name	1910
	HL no E 5	WP/M/Name	1908
	(TAD D 7.2 = HL no 169	O/Private letter	1907-1908)
	(TAD D 7.5 = HL no 228	O/Private letter	1908-1909)
	(TAD D 7.7 = HL no 16	O/Private letter	1907)
	(TAD D 7.10 = HL no 44	O/Private letter	1907)
	(TAD D 7.16 = HL no 152	O/Private letter	1907-1908)
	(TAD D 7.21 = HL no 70	O/Letter	1907)

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	(TAD D 7.30 = HL no 277	O/Private letter	1908-1909)
	(TAD D 7.35 = HL no 186	O/Private letter	1907-1908)
	(TAD D 7.44 = HL no 125	O/Private letter	1907)
6. Elephantine-Syene			
	TAD D 1.2	P/Letter	Before 1977
	TAD D 1.3	P/Letter	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.4-5	P/Letters	Unknown
	TAD D 1.8-9	P/Letters	Before 1911
	TAD D 1.10	P/Letter	Unknown
	TAD D 1.13	P/Letter	Unknown
	TAD D 1.14	P/Letter	Before 1911
7. Elephantine and unknown			
	TAD D 5.1-2	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.3	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.4	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.5-6	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.7-13	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.14	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.15-21	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.22	P/Unclassified	1988
	TAD D 5.24	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.25	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.26	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.27-28	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.29-32	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.33-35	P/Unclassified	1988
	TAD D 5.36-37	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.38	P/Unclassified	Before 1911
	TAD D 5.39-40	P/Unclassified	Unknown
	TAD D 5.41	P/Unclassified	1988
8. El-Hibeh			
	TAD A 3.11	P/Private letter	1959
	TAD B 1.1	P/Land-lease	1936
9. Gebel Abu-Ghorab			
	TAD D 22.36-39	G/Name	1886
10. Giza			
	TAD D 22.1	G/List	1928
11. Hermopolis			
	TAD A 2.1-7	P/Private letters	1945
	TAD D 1.1	P/Private letter	1945
12. Ma'sarah quarry			
	TAD D 22.3	G/Name	1886
13. Maṣṭabat-Fara'un			
	TAD C 3.26	P/Account	1924-25
14. Memphis			
	TAD A 5.4	P/Official letter	1862
	TAD C 3.21	P/Register of fields	1862
	TAD C 3.27	P/Account	1887
	TAD D 1.16	P/Letter	Before 1863
	TAD D 1.32	P/Letter	Late 1960's
	TAD D 1.33-34	P/Official letters	Before 1911
	TAD D 12.2	SP/Unclassified	Before 1909

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 20.1	OT/ Funerary Inscription	1851
15. Memphis-Saqqâra			
	TAD C 1.2	P/Literary Text	1825
	TAD C 3.12	P/Account	1826
	TAD C 3.19	P/Account	1827
	TAD C 3.25	P/Account	1880's
	TAD C 4.9	P/List	1827
	TAD D 20.2	ST/ Funerary Inscription	1907
	TAD D 20.5	ST/ Funerary Inscription	Before 1704
	TAD D 20.6	ST/ Funerary Inscription	Before 1860
16. Oxyrhynchus			
	TAD D 8.1	O/Account	1897
17. Saqqâra			
	TAD A 5.1	P/Official letter	1902
	TAD C 3.5	P/Account	1917
	TAD C 3.8	P/Account	1926
	TAD C 3.10	P/Account	1940
	TAD C 4.1	P/List	1913
	TAD C 4.2	P/List	1926
	TAD D 1.15	P/Letter	1938
	TAD D 2.29-34	P/Court Records	1926
	TAD D 2.35	P/Witness Signature	Before 1931
	TAD D 3.28-34	P/Accounts	1926
	TAD D 3.36-37	P/Accounts	1926
	TAD D 3.39-46	P/Accounts	1926
	TAD D 4.34	P/Unclassified	1926
	TAD D 5.42-45	P/Unclassified	1926
	TAD D 5.46	P/Unclassified	Before 1931
	TAD D 5.47-51	P/Unclassified	1926
	TAD D 5.52	P/Unclassified	Before 1931
	TAD D 5.53	P/Unclassified	1926
	TAD D 5.54	P/Account	Before 1911
	TAD D 11.21	O/J/ Potter's mark	1978-1979
	TAD D 20.3	ST/ Funerary Inscription	Before 1877
	TAD D 20.4	ST/ Funerary Inscription	In 1920's
18. North-Saqqâra			
	Segal 1-18	P/Legal and judicial	1966-1967
	Segal 19-25	P/Taxation	1966-1967
	Segal 26	P/Official letter	1966-1967
	Segal 27-34	P/Historical	1966-1967
	Segal 35-52	P/Commercial	1966-1967
	Segal 53-63	P/Miscellaneous	1966-1967
	Segal 64-65	P/Miscellaneous	1971-1972
	Segal 66-101	P/Miscellaneous	1966-1967
	Segal 102-106	P/Miscellaneous	1971-1972
	Segal 107-110	P/Miscellaneous	1966-1967
	Segal 111	P/Miscellaneous	1972-1973
	Segal 112-188	P/Miscellaneous	1966-1967
	Segal 189-194	P/Miscellaneous	1971-1972
	Segal 195-202	P/Miscellaneous	1972-1973
	Segal I	O/Potter's mark	1966-1973

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	Segal VII	O/Abecedary	1966-1973
	Segal XVI	O/ Potter's mark	1966-1973
	Segal XXII	O/Account	1966-1973
	Segal XXVI	O/Potter's mark	1966-1973
	(TAD B 4.7 = Segal 35	P/Deed of obligation	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 5.6 = Segal 8	P/Conveyance	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.1 = Segal 29	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.2 = Segal 10	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.2 = Segal 44	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.3 = Segal 5	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.4 = Segal 28	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.4 = Segal 30	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.4 = Segal 61	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.6 = Segal 9	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.7 = Segal 4	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.8 = Segal 1	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.9 = Segal 2	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.10 = Segal 3	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.10 = Segal 16	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.11 = Segal 21	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD B 8.12 = Segal 6	P/Court Record	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.6 = Segal 47	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.11 = Segal 19	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.11 = Segal 20	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.18 = Segal 45	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.20 = Segal 57	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.22 = Segal 48	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.23 = Segal 87	P/Account	1966-1967)
	(TAD C 3.24 = Segal 106	P/Account	1971-1972)
	(TAD C 4.3 = Segal 53	P/List	1966-1967)
	(TAD D 10.2 = Segal VII	O/Abecedary	1966-1973)
	(TAD D 11.22 = Segal I	O/J/Label	1966-1973)
	(TAD D 11.23 = Segal XXVI	O/J/Label	1966-1973)
	(TAD D 11.24 = Segal XVI	O/J/Label	1966-1973)
	(TAD D 11.25 = Segal XXII	O/J/Account	1966-1973)
19. South-			
Saqqâra	TAD D 3.47	P/Account	1924-1925
	TAD D 18.1	S/Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.2	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.3	S/ Funerary Inscription	1928-1929
	TAD D 18.4	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.5	S/ Funerary Inscription	1928-1929
	TAD D 18.6	S/ Funerary Inscription	1928-1929
	TAD D 18.7	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.8	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.9	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.10	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.11	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.12	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 18.13	S/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 18.14	S/ Funerary Inscription	1928-1929
	TAD D 18.15	S/ Funerary Inscription	Before 1939
	TAD D 19.1	M/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 19.2	M/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 19.3	M/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 19.4	M/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 19.5	M/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 19.6	M/ Funerary Inscription	Unknown
	TAD D 21.2	BM/ Funerary Inscription	1929-1930
	TAD D 21.3	BM/ Funerary Inscription	1930
20. Sheikh Fadl			
	TAD D 22.7	G/Name	1921/22
	TAD D 23.1	CI/Tale (of Hora)	1921/22
21. Tel el-Maskhuṭa	TAD D 15.1	B/Libation	1954
	TAD D 15.2	B/Libation	1954
	TAD D 15.3	B/Libation	1954
	TAD D 15.4	B/Libation	1957
22. Unknown			
	TAD A 5.3	P/Official letter	1824
	TAD A 6.3-16	L/ Letters of Aršama	1933
	TAD B 8.5	P/Court Record	1842-45
	TAD C 3.17	P/Account	1926
	TAD D 3.35,38	P/Account	Before 1931
	TAD D 5.55-66	P/Unclassified	1946
	TAD D 6.3-14	L/Letters	1933
	TAD D 13.2	WP/Account	Unknown
	TAD D 14.2	SBS/Seal	Before 1939
	TAD D 14.3	SBS/Seal	Before 1888
	TAD D 14.4	SBS/Seal	Before 1939
	TAD D 14.5	SBS/Seal	Before 1954
	TAD D 14.6	SBS/Seal	Before 1954
	TAD D 22.54	G/ST/Name	Before 1836
23. Wadi Abu Qwei			
	TAD D 22.29	G/Proskynema	1989
	TAD D 22.30	G/Proskynema	1989
	TAD D 22.31	G/Proskynema	1989
	TAD D 22.32	G/Proskynema	1907
	TAD D 22.33	G/Proskynema	1989
	TAD D 22.34	G/Proskynema	1989
	TAD D 22.35	G/Proskynema	1989
24. Wadi el-Hudi			
	TAD D 22.46	G/ST/Proskynema	Before 1939
	TAD D 22.47	G/ST/Proskynema	Before 1939
	TAD D 22.48	G/ST/Name of Deity	Before 1939
	TAD D 22.49	G/ST/Proskynema	Before 1939
	TAD D 22.50	G/ST/Proskynema	Before 1939
	TAD D 22.51	G/ST/Proskynema	Before 1939
25. Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal			
	TAD D 22.40	G/Proskynema	1887

Place of discovery	Document	Type of the document	Year of discovery
	TAD D 22.41	G/Proskynema	1887
	TAD D 22.42	G/Proskynema	Before 1895
	TAD D 22.43	G/Proskynema	Before 1895
	TAD D 22.44	G/Proskynema	Before 1895
26. Wadi Ham-mamat	TAD D 22.28	G/Abecedary	1946
27. Wadi Sheikh Sheikhun	TAD D 22.8	G/Proskynema	1886
28. Wadi Tumas	TAD D 22.52	G/Name	1907
	TAD D 22.53	G/Name	1907

Appendix 2A. The Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt which were acquired by individuals or institutions arranged in chronological order

Date	Acquired by	Place	Document
Before 1704	J.-P. Rigord of Marseilles	Memphis	TAD D 20.5
1815-19	G. B. Belzoni	Elephantine	TAD A 3.3-4; D 1.6
1824	Drovetti collection	Unknown	TAD A 5.3
1825	Duc de Blacas	Memphis	TAD C 1.2
1826	Louvre	Memphis	TAD C 3.12
1827	M. Lanci	Memphis	TAD C 3.19
1827	S. Borgia	Memphis	TAD C 4.9
Before 1836	Henry Salt Collection	Unknown	TAD D 22.54
1842-45	C. R. Lepsius	Saqqâra	TAD B 8.5; D 5.54
Before 1860	Vatican	Memphis	TAD D 20.6
Before 1868	Th. Devéria	Abydos	TAD D 22.11-13,17
1875-76	British Museum	Elephantine	TAD D 7.13,40
Before 1877	Mr. Travers	Saqqâra	TAD D 20.3
Before 1880	F. Mook	Elephantine	TAD D 7.11,37
1880's	Unknown	Memphis	TAD C 3.25
1883	A. H. Sayce	Abydos	TAD D 22.25
1886	A. Erman	Elephantine	TAD D 7.17
1886	A. H. Sayce	Ma'sarah q.	TAD D 22.3
1887	Harrow School Museum	Memphis	TAD C 3.27
1888	Unknown	Abusir	TAD D 3.27; D 5.23
Before 1888	V.S. Golenischeff	Unknown	TAD D 14.3
1888	V.S. Golenischeff	Elephantine	TAD D 9.9-10
Before 1889	Sayce , Euting, Grébaut and Maspero	Abydos	TAD D 22.10,14-16,22
1893	C. E. Wilbour	Aswan	TAD A 3.9; B 3.2-13; 6.1; C 3.16; D 1.12; 13.1
1895	A. H. Sayce	W.el-Shatt el-Rigal	TAD D 22.42-44
1897	Unknown	Oxyrhynchus	TAD D 8.1
1898	Bibliot. Nat. of Strasbourg	Elephantine	TAD A 4.5
1901	A. H. Sayce	Elephantine	TAD B 4.2
1902	Egyptian Museum in Cairo	Elephantine	TAD D 7.29,45; 9,4
1901-04	Bodleian Library	Aswan	TAD B 2.1; D7.3,6,9,22,25,42
1901-04	W. Cecil	Aswan	TAD B 2.2, 6, 7, 11
1901-04	R. Monday	Aswan	TAD B 2.3, 4, 8-10
Before 1903	Egyptian Museum in Cairo	Aswan	TAD D 17.1
1904	Unknown	Elephantine	TAD D 2.12
1905	O. Rubensohn	Elephantine	TAD D 7.4,24
1906	British Museum	Elephantine	TAD D 7.15,20; 9.3
1906	A. H. Sayce	Aswan	TAD D 22.45
1907	J. Capart and F. Cumont	Memphis	TAD D 20.2
1910	Lidzbarski	Abydos	TAD D 22.9,18-21,24,26-27
Before 1911	Unknown	Abusir	TAD D 21.1
Before 1911	Unknown	Memphis	TAD D 1.33-34
1911	H.J. Junker	Elephantine	TAD D 7.19
In 1920's	H. Thompson	Elephantine	TAD D 7.1

Date	Acquired by	Place	Document
1924-25	Egyptian Museum in Cairo	Elephantine	TAD D 7.18,39,46
1928	É. Baraize	Giza	TAD D 22.1
1933	L. Borchardt	Unknown	TAD A 6.3-16; D 6.3-14; 14.6
1936	H. Bauer and B. Meissner	El-Hibeh	TAD B 1.1
Before 1939	Aimé-Giron	Unknown	TAD D 14.2,4
1946	D. Cohen	Unknown	TAD D 5.55-66
Before 1954	A. Reifenberg	Cairo	TAD D 14.5
1954-57	Brooklyn Museum	Tel el-Maskhuṭa	TAD D 15.1-4
1959	Museo Archeol. of Florence	El-Hibeh	TAD A 3.11
Late 1960's	D.J.P.-R. Casamitjana	Memphis	TAD D 1.32
Before 1977	A. Mallon	Elephantine	TAD D 1.2
Before 1977	Pontifical Bib. Institute Jerusalem	Elephantine	TAD D 10.1
Before 1987	Louvre	Unknown	TAD D 13.2
1993	Porten and Yardeni	Abydos	TAD D 22.23
Unknown	Egyptian Museum in Cairo	Saqqâra	TAD D 19.6

Appendix 2B. The Aramaic documents from Persian-period Egypt which were found during excavations arranged in chronological order

Date	Excavations of	Place	Document
1851	F. A. Mariette	Memphis	TAD D 20.1
1862	F. A. Mariette	Memphis	TAD A 5.4; C 3.21; D 1.16
1886	Maspero and Grébaut	W.Sheikh Sh.	TAD D 22.8
1886	Maspero and Grébaut	G.A. Ghorab	TAD D 22.36-39
1887	F. Petrie	W.el-Shatt el-Rigal	TAD D 22.40-41
1894	J. de Morgan	Dahshur	TAD D 22.4-6
1897	L. Borchardt	Elephantine	TAD D 7.26
1902	G. Maspero	Saqqâra	TAD A 5.1
1902	G. Maspero	Elephantine	TAD A 5.5; D 3.26
1906-1907	O. Rubensohn	Elephantine	TAD D 7.8,23,31, 33,38,41,43,48-49,51; 9.1, 5-8,12; 12.1; 13.5; 19.7
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD A 3.1-2, 5-8, 10
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD A 4.1-4, 6-10
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD A 5.2
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD A 6.1-2
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 2.5
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 3.1
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 4.1-6
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 5.1-5
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 6.2-4
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD B 7.1-4
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD C 1.1; C 2.1
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD C 3.3, 4, 7,9,13-15; 4.4-8
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD D 1.7,11,20; D 6.1-2
1906-1908	Rubensohn and Zucker	Elephantine	TAD D 11.4-18
1906-1911	Clermont-Ganneau, Gautier, Clédât	Elephantine	HL nos. 1-4, 6-85, 87-189, 191-196, 199-206, 208, 210-215, 217-247, 249-273, 275-277, 280, X 1-19, X 24, E 1-5
1907	A. Weigall	W.Abu Qwei	TAD D 22.32
1907	A. Weigall	Wadi Tumas	TAD D 22.52-53
1907	L. Borchardt	Abusir	TAD D 11.19-20; 22.2
1907	Clermont-Ganneau and Clédât	Elephantine	TAD D 7.7,10,21,44
1907-1908	F. Zucker	Elephantine	TAD D 7.12,14,52-54; 8.2; 13.3-4
1907-1908	C. Clermont-Ganneau	Elephantine	TAD D 7.2,16,35
1908-09	J.-É. Gautier	Elephantine	TAD D 7.5,30
Before 1909	Petrie and Walker	Memphis	TAD D 12.2
1913	J. E. Quibell	Saqqâra	TAD C 4.1
1917	J. E. Quibell	Saqqâra	TAD C 3.5
1918	Pontifical Bib. Institute of Rome	Elephantine	TAD C 3.17; D 2.35; 3.35,38,45; 5.46,52
1921-1922	F. Petrie	Sheikh Fadl	TAD D 22.7; 23.1
1924-1925	G. Jéquier	Maṣṭabat-Faraʿun	TAD C 3.26
1924-1925	G. Jéquier	Saqqâra	D 3.47

Date	Excavations of	Place	Document
1926	C. M. Firth	Saqqâra	TAD C 3.8; C 4.2; D 2.29-34; 3.28-34, 36-37, 39-44,46; 4.34; 5.42-45, 47-51,53; 20.4
1928-1929	G. Jéquier	Saqqâra	TAD D 18.3, 5-6,14
1929-1930	G. Jéquier	Saqqâra	TAD D 18.1-2, 4, 7-13; 19.1-5; 21.2-3
1938	É. M-F Drioton	Saqqâra	TAD D 1.15
1939	I.Abdel 'Al Effendi	W. el-Hudi	TAD D 22.46-51
1940	Z. Saad	Saqqâra	TAD C 3.10
1945	Sami Gabra	Hermopolis	TAD A 2.1-7 ; D 1.1
1946	G. Goyon	W.Hammamat	TAD D 22.28
1963	El-Hetta	Aswan	TAD D 18.16-18
1966-1967	W.B. Emery	N.- Saqqâra	Segal 1-63,66-101,107-110, 112-188
1971-1972	G.T. Martin	N.- Saqqâra	Segal 64-65,102-106,189-194
1972-1973	G.T. Martin	N.- Saqqâra	Segal 111,195-202
1966-1973	W.B. Emery and G.T. Martin	N.- Saqqâra	Segal I,VII,XVI,XXII,XXVI
1978-1979	Bresciani	Saqqâra	TAD D 11.21
1978	German Institute of Archaeology	Elephantine	TAD D 7.36
1979	German Institute of Archaeology	Elephantine	TAD D 9.11; 11.2-3
1988	German Institute of Archaeology	Elephantine	TAD D 3.16-18, 21; 4.23; 5.33-35, 41; 9.14
1989	L.B. Fanfoni	W.Abu Qwei	TAD D 22.29-31,33-35
Unknown	Berlin Museum	Elephantine	TAD D 7.27-28,34,47,50; 9.2,13
2008	Krejčí, Callender, Verner	Abusir	Dušek and Mynářová

Appendix 3. Twenty-six Aramaic Papyri and five pieces of Ostraca of Segal's North Saqqara edition which have been included in Porten-Yardeni editions (1986, 1989, 1993 and 1999) = TAD

Segal's North Saqqara Papyri	TAD
1.	B 8.8
2.	B 8.9
3.	B 8.10
4.	B 8.7
5.	B 8.3
6.	B 8.12
8.	B 5.6
9.	B 8.6
10.	B 8.2
16.	B 8.10
19.	C 3.11
20.	C 3.11
21.	B 8.11
28.	B 8.4
29.	B 8.1
30.	B 8.4
35.	B 4.7
44.	B 8.2
45.	C 3.18
47.	C 3.6
48.	C 3.22
53.	C 4.3
57.	C 3.20
61.	B 8.4
87.	C 3.23
106.	C 3.24
Segal's North Saqqara Ostraca	TAD
I	D 11.22
VII	D 10.2
XVI	D 11.24
XXII	D 11.25
XXVI	D 11.23

Appendix 4. Nine Aramaic Ostraca of Lozachmeur's edition which were previously published by Porten and Yardeni

Number in Lozachmeur's edition	Number in Porten and Yardeni's
No 16	TAD D 7.7
No 44	TAD D 7.10
No 70	TAD D 7.21
No 125	TAD D 7.44
No 152	TAD D 7.16
No 169	TAD D 7.2
No 186	TAD D 7.35
No 228	TAD D 7.5
No 277	TAD D 7.30

Appendix 5. Documents which are not valid for this research

Number of the document in the edition	Reason for being invalid
Segal's edition (21 pieces):	
Segal II	Phoenician
Segal III	Phoenician
Segal IV	Phoenician
Segal V	Phoenician
Segal VI	Phoenician
Segal VIII	Phoenician
Segal IX	Phoenician
Segal X	Phoenician
Segal XI	Phoenician
Segal XII	Phoenician
Segal XIII	Phoenician
Segal XIV	Phoenician
Segal XV	Phoenician
Segal XVII	Phoenician
Segal XVIII	Phoenician
Segal XIX	Phoenician
Segal XX	Phoenician
Segal XXI	Phoenician
Segal XXIII	Phoenician
Segal XXIV	Phoenician
Segal XXV	Phoenician
Porten-Yardeni editions (52):	
TAD A 1.1	Written before the Persian period
TAD C 3.1	Written before the Persian period
TAD C 3.2	Written before the Persian period
TAD C 3.28	Written after the Persian period
TAD C 3.29	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 1.17	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 7.55	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 7.56	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 7.57	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.3	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.4	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.5	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.6	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.7	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.8	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.9	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.10	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.11	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.12	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 8.13	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 9.15	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 11.1	Written before the Persian period
TAD D 11.26	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 14.1	Written before the Persian period

Number of the document in the edition	Reason for being invalid
TAD D 14.7	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 14.8	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 15.5	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 16.1	Written before the Persian period
TAD D 16.2	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.4	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.5	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.6	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.7	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.8	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.9	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.10	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.11	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.12	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.13	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.14	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.15	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.16	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 21.17	Written after the Persian period
TAD D 24.1	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.2	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.3	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.4	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.5	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.6	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.7	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.8	Dubiosa
TAD D 24.9	Dubiosa
Lozachmeur's edition (27):	
5	Phoenician
86	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
190	Text faded
197	Script cannot be identified
198	Text faded
207	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
209	Phoenician
216	Coptic
248	Phoenician
274	Text faded
278	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
279	Script cannot be identified
X20	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
X21	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
X22	Script cannot be identified
X23	Demotic/Ptolemaic period
X26	Late/1 st century BCE
X27	Neo-Punic/1 st -2 nd century AD
X28	Syriac/6 th century AD
X29	Mandaic/6 th -7 th century AD
X30	Arabic

Number of the document in the edition	Reason for being invalid
X31	Arabic/9 th -10 th century AD
X32	Greek/2 nd century AD
X33	Phoenician
Y1	Text faded
Y2	Text faded
Y3	Text faded

Appendix 6. The documents which have been created by joining fragments together

Porten and Yardeni (40 documents):

Papyrus documents	Leather documents
TAD A 4.4	TAD A 6.3
TAD A 5.5	TAD A 6.4
TAD B 3.2	TAD A 6.5
TAD B 3.8	TAD A 6.6
TAD B 4.1	TAD A 6.11
TAD B 5.2	TAD D 6.3
TAD B 8.2	TAD D 6.4
TAD B 8.4	TAD D 6.8
TAD B 8.10	
TAD C 1.1	
TAD C 3.7	
TAD C 3.11	
TAD C 3.13	
TAD C 3.15	
TAD C 3.17	
TAD C 4.2	
TAD D 1.30	
TAD D 1.31	
TAD D 2.10	
TAD D 2.14	
TAD D 2.25	
TAD D 2.29	
TAD D 2.30	
TAD D 2.31	
TAD D 2.32	
TAD D 2.33	
TAD D 3.2	
TAD D 3.25	
TAD D 3.38	
TAD D 3.39	
TAD D 3.46	
TAD D 3.47	

Lozachmeur (12 documents)

Number of the joined document	Original ostraca joined together
J1	9 + 23
J2	22 + 43 + 83
J3	57 + 99
J4	64 + 227
J5	84 + 88
J6	149 + X3
J7	153 + 271
J8	175 + 185
J9	221 + 231 + X1
J10	224 + 242
J11	79 + 160
J12	120 + 203

Appendix 7. Aramaic documents which include a reference to Judeans, Hebrew names, or Yahwistic religion

Abbreviations: G = Graffitum; J = Jar; M = Mummy Label; O = Ostrakon; P = Papyrus or its fragment; S = Sarcophagus; SP = Stone Plaque; WP = Wooden Plaque

Document	Topic or type of the document	Place of discovery
TAD A 3.2-8	Private letter/P	Elephantine
TAD A 3.9	Private letter/P	Aswan
TAD A 3.11	Private letter/P	El-Hibeh
TAD A 4.1	Passover letter/ P	Elephantine
TAD A 4.2-6	Communal letters/P	Elephantine
TAD A 4.7	Request of Recommendation (First Draft)/ P	Elephantine
TAD A 4.8	Request of Recommendation (Second Draft)/ P	Elephantine
TAD A 4.9	Recommendation for the Reconstruction of the Temple/P	Elephantine
TAD A 4.10	Offer of Payment for the Reconstruction/P	Elephantine
TAD A 6.2	Letter of Aršama/P	Elephantine
TAD B 2.1-4, 6-11	Legal contract/P	Aswan
TAD B 2.5	Legal contract/P	Elephantine
TAD B 3.1	Legal contract/P	Elephantine
TAD B 3.2-13	Legal contract/P	Aswan
TAD B 4.1-6	Deeds of obligation/P	Elephantine
TAD B 5.1-3, 5	Conveyances/P	Elephantine
TAD B 6.3-4	Marriage documents/P	Elephantine
TAD B 7.1-3	Judicial oaths/P	Elephantine
TAD B 8.10 (= Segal 3)	Court Record/P	North-Saqqâra
TAD C 3.4	Account/P	Elephantine
TAD C 3.6 (= Segal 47)	Account/P	North-Saqqâra
TAD C 3.13	Memorandum/P	Elephantine
TAD C 3.14	Account/P	Elephantine
TAD C 3.15	Collection account/P	Elephantine
TAD C 3.16	Account/P	Aswan
TAD C 3.17	Account/P	Unknown
TAD C 4.2	List of names/P	Saqqâra
TAD C 4.4,5,6,8	Lists of names/P	Elephantine
TAD D 1.6	Private letter/P	Elephantine
TAD D 1.7,11,21,23,26	Letters/P	Elephantine
TAD D 1.9,13-14	Letters/P	Elephantine-Syene
TAD D 2.3,5,7,9,12,22-23	Contracts/P	Elephantine
TAD D 2.26	Endorsement/P	Elephantine
TAD D 3.2	List of names/P	Elephantine
TAD D 3.4-6,15,17,20	Lists/P	Elephantine
TAD D 3.7,10	Unclassified/P	Elephantine
TAD D 3.18	Account/P	Elephantine
TAD D 4.9,16,23,25,29	Unclassified/P	Elephantine

Document	Topic or type of the document	Place of discovery
TAD D 4.13	List/P	Elephantine
TAD D 4.15	Deed of Obligation/P	Elephantine
TAD D 5.5,33-34,40	Unclassified/P	Elephantine and unknown
TAD D 7.1,2 (=HL 169), 4,5,8,10,11, 12,16 (=HL 152), 17, 18,19,23,26,28, 29,30 (=HL 277),31,32, 33,34,35 (=HL 186),44 (= HL 125), 48	Private letters/O	Elephantine
TAD D 7.3,6,9, 22	Private letters/O	Aswan
TAD D 7.13,14,15,20, 21(= HL 70), 24,27	Letters/O	Elephantine
TAD D 7.25	Letter/O	Aswan
TAD D 9.1-8,10,12-14	Lists/O	Elephantine
TAD D 11.14,16	Names/O/J	Elephantine
TAD D 12.1	List of names/SP	Elephantine
TAD D 13.3	List of names/WP	Elephantine
TAD D 13.5	Stamp/WP	Elephantine
TAD D 18.8	Funerary Inscription/S	Aswan
TAD D 19.7	Funerary Inscription/M	Elephantine
TAD D 22.19	Name/G	Abydos
TAD D 22.41	Proskynema/G	Wadi el-Shatt el-Rigal
Segal 54	Report/P	North-Saqqâra
HL 2,4,10,11,14,15,17,19,20,23,29, 30,33,35,36,39,40,41,42,44,45,46,48, 53,55,56,60,65, 71,75,76,81,82,85,93, 97,105,107, 112,115,127, 135,136,140, 144,147,150,154,157,162,164, 167, 170,174,175, 179,185,187, 192,193, 200,201,203,204,210,213, 214,215, 223,227,228,229,233,235,236, 239, 247,249, 255,263,265,273,280,X6,X7, X8,X9, X13,X14,X16,X17,X18	Private letters/O	Elephantine
HL 96,113,122,134,141,143,145, 163,177,178,181,182,208,221,231,250, 252,259,X1,X2,X4,X11,X12	Lists of names/O	Elephantine
HL 103,272,X5	Lables/O/J	Elephantine
HL 196	Name/O	Elephantine
HL 253,264	Jar inscriptions/O/J	Elephantine
HL 261	Account/O	Elephantine
HL 266	List of distribution/O	Elephantine

Appendix 8. List of all the 154 originally Hebrew names which appear in the Aramaic documents with the total number of each one's appearances

Name in English and gender	Name in Aramaic	Total number of appearance
Yahwistic (67 names)		
Adayah, m	עדיה	1
Ananyah, m	ענניה	91
Avadyah, m	עבדיה	1
Azanyah, m	אזניה	3
Azaryah, m	עזריה	38
Ba'adiyah, m	בעדיה	3
Benayah, m	בניה	2
Berekyah, m	ברכיה	10
Delayah, m	דליה	4
De'uyah, m	דעויה	8
Gedalyah, m	גדליה	3
Gemaryah, m	גמריה	35
Ḥananyah, m	חנניה	5
Ḥilkiyah, m	חלקיה	1
Hodavyah, m	הודויה	13
Hodiyah, m	הדיה	3
Hoša'yah, m	הושעיה	26
Immanuyah, m	עמניה	1
Kayah, m	כיה	2
Kilkelyah, f	כלכליה	2
Ma'azyah, m	מעזיה	3
Maḥseyah, m	מוחסיה	53
Malkiyah, m	מלכיה	9
Ma'uziyah, m	מעוזיה	19
Mibṭaḥyah, f and m	מבטחיה	33
Mikayah, m	מיכיה	17
Neriyah, m	נריה	6
Obadyahu, m	עבדיהו	1
Oša'yah, m	אושעיה	3
Pedayah, m	פדיה	3
Pelalyah, m	פלליה	3
Pelatyah, m	פלטיה	16
Pelulyah, m	פלוליה	3
Penuleyah, m	פנוליה	5
Qavileyah, f	קויליה	1
Qenayah, f	קניה	1
Qoneyah, m	קוניה	7
Re'uyah, m	רעויה	5
Samakyah, m	סמכיה	1
Šapeleyah, m	צפליה	2
Šelemyah, m	שלמיה	4
Šema'yah, m	שמעיה	23
Šephanyah, m	צפניה	6
Šepatyah, m	שפטיה	1
Serayah, f	שריה	2
Tiqvatiya', f	תקוטיא	1

Name in English and gender	Name in Aramaic	Total number of appearance
Uriyah, m	אוריה	22
Ya'azanyah, m	יאזניה	3
Yahmolyah, f	יחמליה	1
Yašobyah, m	ישביה	10
Yedanyah, m	ידניה	84
Yeho'eli, f	יהועלי	1
Yehoḥanan, m	יהוחנן	2
Yehoḥen, f	יהוחן	7
Yehomori/ Yehomodi, m	יהומורי/יהומודי	1
Yehonatan, m	יהונתן	2
Yehoram, m	יהורם	4
Yehošama', f	יהושמע	5
Yehoṭal, f and m	יהוטל	11
Yeho'ur, f and m	יהואור	6
Yehoyišma', f and m	יהוישמע	48
Yeša'yah, m	ישעיה	14
Yezanyah, m	יזניה	11
Yigdalyah, m	יגדליה	1
Yo'šiyah, m	יאשיה	1
Zebadyah, m	זבדיה	1
Zekaryah, m	זכריה	21
Non-Yahwistic (87 names)		
Abihi, f	אביהי	5
Abihu, m	אביהו	1
Abi'oreš, f	אבערש	1
Abi'ošer, f	אבעשר	1
Abītab, m	אביטב	3
Aḥi, m	אחי	1
Aḥi'ab, m	אחיאב	5
Aḥio, m	אחיו	24
Akbari, m	עכברי	1
Anani, m	ענני	19
Aqabi, m	עקבי	1
Aṭer, m	אטר	1
Azaryo, m	עזריו	1
Azzur, m	עזור	1
Ba'adi, m	בעדי	4
Barqa, m	ברקא	1
Baruk, m	ברוך	1
Be'eri, m	בארי	1
Dalah, m	דלה	2
Didi, m	דידי	1
Gaddul, m	גדול	36
Galgul, m	גלגול	4
Haggai, m	חגי	48
Hanan, m	חנן	7
Haṣṣul, f and m	הצול	10
Hodo, m	הודו	8
Hošea', m	הושע	46
Kuši, m	כשי	2

Name in English and gender	Name in Aramaic	Total number of appearance
Maḥseh, m	מחסה	11
Mattan, m	מתן	10
Ma'uzi, m	מעוזי	5
Menahem, m	מנחם	42
Menahemeth, f	מנחמת	5
Mešullak, m	משלך	9
Mešullam, m	משלם	61
Mešullemet, f	משלמת	9
Mikah, m	מיכה	6
Miptaḥ, m	מפטח	1
Miptaḥ, f	מפתח	5
Naḥum, m	נחום	8
Natan, m	נתן	92
Nattun, m	נתון	10
Nedaba, m	נדבה	1
Ne'hab, m	נאהב	5
Ne'hebet, f	נאהבת	4
Neri, m	נרי	2
Ošea', m	אושע	16
Pallul, f	פלול	1
Pilṭi, m	פלטי	4
Qallai, m	קלי	1
Qavla', f	קולא	1
Qileh, m	קילה	1
Qon, m	קון	4
Qoṣri, m	קצרי	2
Rami, f	רמי	1
Rapha', m	רפא	1
Šabah, (Šabta), m	שבה (שבתה)	2
Šabbetai, m	שבתי	6
Šabit, f	שבית	1
Šadoq	צדק	3
Sagb(a)i, m	שגבי	1
Sallu'ah, f	סלואה	8
Šallum, m	שלום	14
Šalwah, m	שלוה	3
Šammua', m	שמוע	3
Sammuaḥ, m	שמוח	4
Šašar, m	ששר	1
Šelomam, m	שלומם	19
Šibah, m	שיבה	1
Šillem, m	שלם	20
Simki, m	סמכי	1
Šim'on, m	שמעון	1
Sitri, m	סתרי	2
Tišhelet, fem	תשחלת	1
Tobšalom/Tābšalam, m	טבשלם	1
Uri, m	אורי	5
Ya'azan, m	יאזן	1
Yaḥmol, f	יחמול	5
Yašub, m	ישוב	1

Name in English and gender	Name in Aramaic	Total number of appearance
Yatom, m	יתום	8
Ya'uš, m	יאוש	9
Yetoma, fem	יתומה	2
Yezan, m	יזן	1
Yigdal, m	יגדל	11
Yislah, m and f	יסלח	18
Zaccur, m	זכור	48
Zaki, m	זכי	1

Appendix 9. Hebrew names that were not used during the Persian period in Egypt but appear afterwards in the Hellenistic period

Name in English	Name in Aramaic
Abram, m	אברם
Abri, m	אברי
Aqabyah, m	עקביה
Azgad, m	עזגד
Berukah, f	ברוכה
Beyadyah, m	בידיה
Dallui, m	דלוי
Eli'ezer, m	אליעזר
Elio'enai, m	אליועני
Ḥanniyah, m	חניה
Ḥaššub, m	חשוב
Kelal, m	כלל
Kese', m	כסא
Nadb(a)i, m	נדבי
Natn(a)i, m	נתני
Piltah, f	פלטה
Šabbetit, f	שבתי
Ša'ul, m	שאול
Šebanyah, m	שבניה
Šelamšion, m	שלמצי
Šema''el, m	שמעאל
(Šim'on, m	(שמעון)
Šob'am/Šuba'am, m	שבעם
Tam, f	תם
Yaddua', m	ידוע
Yašib, Šib, m	ישיב
Yehudah, m	יהודה
Yehudit, f	יהדת
Ya'ir, m	יאיר
Yidleh, m	ידלה
Yihyi, m	יחיי
Yohanan, m	יוחנן
Yin'amyom, m	ינעמיום
Yonatan, m	יונתן
Yoseph, m	יוסף
Yotaqum	יתקום

Appendix 10. Hebrew names which appear both in the Aramaic documents from Egypt and in the Akkadian texts from Babylonia (572-477 BCE; Pearce and Wunsch CUSAS 28)

Name in English and gender	Name in Aramaic/Hebrew	Name in Akkadian
Yahwistic		
Avadyah, m	עבדיה	Abdi-Yāḥû
Azanyah, m	אזניה	Izin-Yāma
Azaryah, m	עזריה	Azar-Yāma
Benayah, m	בניה	Banā-Yāma
Berekyah, m	ברכיה	Barak-Yāma/Barīk-Yāma
Delayah, m	דליה	Dalā-Yāma
Gedalyah, m	גדליה	Gadal-Yāma/Dagal-Yāma
Hananyah, m	חנניה	Ḥanan-Yāma
Hoša'yah, m	הושעיה	Amuṣ-Yāma/Uššuḥ-Yāma
Mikayah, m	מיכיה	Mī-kī/kā-Yāma
Neriyah, m	נריה	Nīr-Yāma
Pedayah, m	פדיה	Padā-Yāma
Pelalyah, m	פלליה	Pillil-Yāma
Pelaṭyah, m	פלטיה	Palat-Yāma
Samakyah, m	סמכיה	Samak-Yāma
Šelemyah, m	שלמיה	Šalam-Yāma/Šilim-Yāma
Šema'yah, m	שמעיה	Šamā-Yāma
Šephanyah, m	צפניה	Šapā-Yāma
Yeho'eli, f	יהועלי	Yāḥû-li-ia
Yehoḥen, f	יהוחן	Yāḥû-ḥīn
Yeša'yah, m	ישעיה	Išši-Yāma
Zekaryah, m	זכריה	Zakar-Yāma
Non-Yahwistic		
Aqabi, m	עקבי	Aqabi (hyp. of Aqabi-Yāma)
Haggai, m	חגי	Ḥaggâ
Ḥanan, m	חנן	Ḥanan/Ḥannan
Hošea', m	הושע	Amušeḥ, Ušeḥ
Menaḥem, m	מנחם	Mannuḥim
Mešullam, m	משלם	Mušallam
Rapha', m	רפא	Rapā (hyp. of Rapā-Yāma)
Šabbetai, m	שבתי	Šabbatāia
Šadoq, m	צדק	Šadduq
Šillem, m	שלם	Šillimu
Ṭobšalom/Ṭabšalam, m	טבשלם	Ṭāb-šalam

Appendix 11. Divine names which appear in the Aramaic documents as such or as a part of the theophoric personal names

Deity	Aramaic name
Ahuramazda	אהורמזד
Amon	אמון
Anat-Bethel	ענתביתאל
Anat-Yahu	ענתיהו
Astarte	עשתרת
Atar	עתר
Atha	עתה
Atum	אתם
Ba'al	בעל
Baga	בגא
Banit	בנת
Bel	בל
Bethel	ביתאל
Dagan	דגן
El	אל
Ešem-Bethel	אשמביתאל
God of Heaven	אלה שמיא
God of the mountain	אלה טורא
Hadad	הדד
Hanilat	הנאלת
Ḥerem	חרם
Ḥerem-Bethel	חרמביתאל
Ḥor	חור
Isis	אסי
Yahu	יהו
Yahu Šeba'ot	יהה צבאת
Kemoš	כמש
Khnum or Khnub	חנום
Lord of holy ones	בעל קדשן
Marduk	מרדך
Min	מן
Mithra	מתרא
Nabu	נבו
Nanay	נני
Neit	נית
Nušku	נשכו
Lord of the two Truths	נמעתי
Nergal	נרגל
Osiris	אוסרי
Osiris-Ḥapi	אוסרי חפי
Ptaḥ	פתח
Sati	סתי
Šahar	שהר
Šamaš	שמש
Sin	סן
Tir	תר
Queen of Heaven	מלכת שמיין

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