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RENT OR TAX RECEIPT FROM MAOZA

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RENT OR TAX RECEIPT FROM MAOZA*

This is the second document written in Greek from the group of documents known as *P.Se'elim* (i.e. papyri from Wadi Seiyal) to be published in this journal.¹ Despite their designation as *P.Se'elim*, it is now commonly agreed that they are likely to have come from Naḥal Ḥever.² Although none of the people mentioned in this document appears in the Babatha Archive, nonetheless the social milieu seems to be identical: the present document was written in Maoza, the people involved are all Jews and the subscription is in Aramaic.³ Moreover, the three people whose names are recorded here — namely, Reisha (probably “son of Judah”, see below), Sammouos son of Simon and Menahem son of John — all appear in an unpublished deed of gift in Greek from 9 November 129 CE: the first as the second witness on the verso and the last two as the neighbours of the property given in gift. Since the beneficiary of that deed is none other than the Salomê alias Komaisê⁴ of *P.Yadin 37* (a marriage contract, written on 7 August 131 CE), and since the deed undoubtedly came from the cave where *P.Yadin 37* and the Babatha Archive were discovered,⁵ the document published here very likely came from the same cave as well.

It is hard to decide whether the payment here recorded is of tax or of rent. The formulation has many of the elements of Egyptian tax or rent receipts.⁶ The ἀπέριχ]αμεν

* This article was given as a paper in a Seminar held at the University of Köln in June 1993. I am grateful to the participants for their useful comments. I would also like to thank Professor N. Lewis and Dr. John Rea for their kind help.

¹ See “Another Fragment of the Declaration of Landed Property from the Province of Arabia”, *ZPE* 99, 1994, 115ff

² See J.C. Greenfield, “The Texts from Naḥal Se’elim (Wadi Seiyal)”, *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991*, eds., J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner II, Leiden 1992: “There can ... be little doubt that Naḥal Ḥever is the source for the so-called Se’elim texts. However, for convenience and because the plates are so labeled in the Rockefeller Museum, the designation Se’elim will be maintained” (662).

³ See N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, Jerusalem 1989 = *P.Yadin*. This volume contains also ‘Aramaic and Nabataean Subscriptions’ to the Greek documents edited by Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield. The Aramaic and Nabataean documents themselves have not yet been published.

⁴ Lewis ad *P.Yadin 37* reads Salome - Komais, but so far as I can tell the δ in l. 6 is not certain, and in ll. 4, 13 and 15 there is room for the restoration of Κο[μαι]την], Κομα[ι]τη] and Κομα[ι]τη], respectively. The reading Κομα[ι]τη] in the deed of gift is quite certain.

⁵ See Lewis p. 130.

⁶ See U. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien I* 1899, 103; S.L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, New York 1938, 318ff.

π[αρά σοῦ] τειμήν φοίμικος could refer to either, since the term τιμή could be used for both.⁷

The apparent presence of more than one revenue collector might suggest that we are dealing with a body of *conductores* on an imperial estate.⁸ In Egypt, however, ordinary taxes were often collected by a group of people.⁹ We have no information about the system of taxation which operated in Arabia before and after 106. The crucial question seems to be whether ὀφείλεις Κ[υ]ρίω Καίσαρι could be used to describe the public purse, *i.e.* the ordinary taxes, or whether it signifies the emperor's private property exclusively.¹⁰

The existence of imperial properties in Maoza is known from *P.Yadin* 16, which mentions a date-grove owned by Babatha bordering the Emperor's property and the sea, ll. 23-4: γείτονες μοσχαντική¹¹ κυρίου Καίσαρος καὶ θάλασσα. This imperial property used to belong to the Nabataean kings, as we know from *P.Yadin* 2 (unpublished) from the year 99, which states that a date-grove which used to belong to Babatha's father is bordered by King Rabael's grove and a swamp:

מלך נבטו — “to the south the grove of our lord Rabael, king of the Nabataeans”.¹²

It is hardly surprising that the payment is for dates, for this is the main product of the area, as we know from the literary sources¹³ as well as the Babatha Archive. In her census

⁷ Admittedly, the usual term for rent in cash is φόρος (see H.A. Rupprecht, *Studien zur Quittung im Recht der greco-ägyptischen Papyri*, Munich 1971, 30); but see ad *P.Fay.* 60, 149 CE: “It is not quite clear whether the payment here recorded was on account of a tax or simply rent; the term φόρος includes both meanings”. In a census declaration from Maoza published by N. Lewis in *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8-9, 1985/88, 132-137 (“A Jewish Landowner from the Province of Arabia”) the declarant registers “a yearly half share of a field called Areoaratha ... paying as φόρος one black and forty five lepta”, ll. 14-17. Since this is a census declaration Lewis is probably right to translate it as tax.

⁸ On the three-tiered administration of imperial estates in Egypt see G.M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt, American Studies in Papyrology* 18, 1978, 52; 57; D.P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire* (Bonn 1992), 16ff.; for Africa see D.P. Kehoe, *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa*, Göttingen 1988, 117-153. A general survey in D.J. Crawford-Thompson, ‘Imperial Estates’, *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M.I. Finley, Cambridge 1976, 57-70 (abridged version in *The Roman World*, ed. J. Wachter, II, London and NY 1987, 555-567).

⁹ See Wallace (above, n. 6), 286ff.

¹⁰ In the unpublished deed of gift from 129 the date-grove is said to be paying a certain amount of dates every year εἰς λόγον κυριακοῦ φίσκου: do we have here a reference to tax or rent? See F. Millar, “The Fiscus in the First Two Centuries”, *JRS* 53, 1963, 29-42; *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, 623-30 and *contra* P.A. Brunt, “The ‘Fiscus’ and its Development”, *JRS* 56, 1966, 75-91 = *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford 1990, 134-162.

¹¹ See G. W. Bowersock, ‘The Babatha Papyri, Masada and Rome’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4, 1991, 341, who rightly suggests that the “μοσχ-*element*” translates the old name of Zoara, Egaltein — the dual form of עגל = calf. Μοσχαντική means therefore: “an imperial estate in ‘Egaltein’”.

¹² Y. Yadin, “The Expedition to the Judaean Desert, 1960-1961: Expedition D”, *IEJ* 12, 1962, 240-41; *idem*, *Ex Oriente Lux* 17, 1963, 231.

¹³ See for example Pliny, *NH* 5.73 and 13.44 (= M. Stern, *Greek and Roman Authors on Jews and Judaism* I, Jerusalem 1974, no. 204, p. 470 and no. 214, p. 491) for Engeddi and Jericho. M. Broshi

declaration Babatha enumerates no less than four different date-groves in Maoza (*P.Yadin* 16). Her late second husband, Judah son of Eleazar, owned there at least three date-groves, which Babatha kept in her possession in lieu of her dowry (*P.Yadin* 21-22: a contract for the lease of date-groves in a share-cropping arrangement). We also hear of date-groves which Judah registered in Babatha's name in his lifetime,¹⁴ but which Besas son of Jesus claimed for his wards, Judah's nephews.¹⁵ Another date-grove is mentioned in the census declaration referred to above (n. 7) as well as in the deed of gift (above, n.10).¹⁶

(“Agriculture and Economy in Roman Palestine: Seven Notes on the Babatha Archive”, *IEJ* 42, 1992, 234) reminds us that Zoara is “the city of palms” in the Mishnah (*mYeb.* 16.7).

14 *P.Yadin* 24, ll. 4-6: ἀπεγράψατο Ἰουδας ... ἐπ’ ὀνόματός σου ἐν τῇ ἀπολογραφῇ κήπους φοινικῶνος ἐν Μωζα.

15 Lewis (ad *P.Yadin* 24, ll. 4-6) does not think that they can be the date-groves of *P.Yadin* 21-22, detained by her in lieu of her dowry. We know that Judah borrowed three hundred denarii from Babatha on 21 February 128 (*P.Yadin* 17) making his entire property liable in case of a default. One may tentatively suggest that the ἐν τῇ ἀπολογραφῇ (see previous note) refers to the registration of the mortgage (ὑποθήκη) in favour of Babatha on his entire registered property. In Egypt, as we learn from the prefects' edicts cited in the celebrated petition of Dionysia (*P.Oxy.* II 237, col. VIII, ll. 21-43, see also *P.Mert.* III 101), wives were ordered to deposit a copy of their marriage contract in the same public archives in which their husbands' properties were registered in order to warn prospective buyers that these properties were entailed.

16 Date-groves are mentioned also in *P.Yadin* 7, July 120 CE, unpublished: a deed of gift from Simon son of Menahem, Babatha's father, to his wife Miriam, Babatha's mother.

P.Hever (previously known as *P.Se'elim Gr. 5*)

8.5 x 9.5 cm.

(TAFEL XXXII c)

Box 866 (Rockefeller Museum)

Date: 29 January 125 CE

The document is written against the fibers, which seems characteristic of papyri from the area. It is hard to know how much of the upper margin is lost. The back is blank.

1.]θ.[
2.]ξτ[
3. .α[...]ς Ιουδα καὶ ετα[...]. Μ[α]ναημω
4. [Ιωα]νου χαίρι[ν]. Ἐπέ[σ]χ[α]μεν παρὰ σοῦ
5. τειμήν φοί[ν]ικος οὗ ὀφείλεις Κ[υ]ρίω
6. Καίσαρι ἐν Μαώζα ἔτους ὀκτωκαι-
7. δεκάτου, ἐξ ὧν ἀπειλήσαμεν παρὰ
8. σοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς Σαμμούου Σίμωνος μέ-
9. λεπτά πεντήκοντα ὀκτώ
λανες τέσσαρες. Ἐγράφη ἐν Μαώζα ἐπὶ
10. ὑπάτων τῶν μετὰ ὑπατίαν Γλαβρίωνος
11. καὶ Θηβαιανοῦ, ἕ[ξ]το[υ]ς ἐνεακαιδε[κ]άτου
12. μηνὸς [Π]ερειτίου τεσσα[ρ]εκα[ι]δε[κ]άτη
13. כתיב השנה

4 χαίρειν ἀπέσχομεν

5 τιμήν

8 χειρός

8-9 μέλανας

9 τέσσαρας

10 ὑπατείαν

12 Περίτιος

Translation:

‘ [Names and patronyms] ... [] son of Judah and to Menahem son of John greetings. We received from you the amount due for dates, which you owe to our Lord the Emperor in Maoza for the eighteenth year (of the province). On the account of which we have now received from you through Sammouos son of Simon four blacks and fifty-eight lepta-units. Written in Maoza in the year of the consulate which comes after that of Glabrio and Thebanianus, the nineteenth year (of the province), the fourteenth day in the month of Peritios. Reisha underwrote this.’

Commentary:

1-2 The two lines are likely to have contained more names, perhaps also titles, as the *καί* in l. 3 suggests. This is very common in tax receipts from Egypt, *e.g.* *W.O.* 782: Παίων Παίου τελώνης) της(αυροῦ) ἱερῶν Νεφερῶς Πεχοίτο(υ) καὶ Πεκῦ(ς) υἱὸ(ς) καὶ Παναμ(εὺς) ἄλλο(ς) υἱὸ(ς) χα(ίρειν).

3 α[...].ς Ιουδα — it is tempting to restore ΠΕΙC or ΠΕΙCΑC (Reisha = רִישָׁה in l. 13), since a Reisha son of Judah (רִישָׁה בֶר יְהוּדָה) in Aramaic is known to us from a deed of gift from 129 CE (see n. 10 above and on l. 13 below), where he is the second of seven witnesses whose signatures appear on the back of the deed. But “Reisha underwrote this” at the bottom of the document implies that he was the senior person and hence his name is likely to have appeared at the head of the document. Judah, the patronym, was a common name and more than one person in Maoza could have been “son of Judah”.

καὶ ετα[...]. — perhaps επα. Not likely to be another patronym of Reisha, or the first name of the tax-payer or lessee, who would then have two patronyms. In Egyptian tax receipts a name is sometimes followed by the title of the tax collectors, *e.g.* καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἀπατ(ηταί) *O.Tait* 767 (148 CE); 771 (135 CE); 772 (138 CE); καὶ μ(έτοχοι) πράκτορες *O.Tait* 834 (111 CE); 835 (116 CE); καὶ μ(έτοχοι) τελών(αι) *O.Tait* 1021 (145 CE); καὶ μ(έτοχοι) ἐπιτ(ηρηταί) *O.Tait* 1023 (154 CE). Yet I cannot think of a title which will fit the surviving letters; ἐτα[ι]ροι is not attested as a title.¹⁷ Alternatively ἐτα[ι]ροι may stand for ἔτεροι, see Gignac I, p. 193 for interchange of ε and αι.

4 Ἀπέ[χ]λαμεν: for second aorist formations with first aorist endings see Gignac II, p. 340ff.; for our form, *ibid.*, 342.5.

¹⁷ However, in the Aramaic receipt, *P.Se'elim* 12 (below, n. 36) we find יח. בן תשָׁה וחברֵי “Ych... son of Thesha and his friend (or friends?)”. Here too the verb of receiving the tax is in the plural קבלן — “we received” — and signifies the plurality of collectors.

For the formula ἀπέσχαμεν παρὰ σοῦ τιμὴν see Preisigke, *WB s.v. ἀπέχω*, where he cites many examples of ἀπεσχήκαμεν τιμὴν.

5 τειμὴν φοίνικος: the value of dates in money. See *e.g. O.Tait II*, nos. 989-993: “Receipts for τιμὴ οἴνου and eventually φοινίκων” ii-iii CE; nos. 994-1002: “Receipts for τιμὴ φοινίκων”, ii-iii CE *O.Tait II*, nos. 1003-1005 are receipts for τιμὴ δημοσίου φοίνικος, referring perhaps to a lease of an imperial date-grove.¹⁸ The absence of the amount of money after the τὴν τειμὴν in our document suggests that the whole sum has now been paid, although ἐκ πλήρους is missing; see for example *BGU XI* 2112; *XV* 2478, 2479 where ἐκ πλήρους occurs with τιμὴ without specifying the sum of money.

φοίνικος: φοίνιξ is used here as a collective noun for ‘dates’; *cf. P.Yadin 5A*, col. i, ll. 7-11: ἔχ[ει]ν σε παρ’ ἐμ[οῖ] ἀργυρ[ίου] μέ[λανας] χεῖλια καὶ ... τειμῆς [ὀ]λύνθων κα[ὶ] τειμῆς οἴνου καὶ τειμῆς φοίνικος καὶ τε[ι]μῆς ἐλαίου κτλ.; *P.Yadin 16*, ll. 17-20: κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων λεγόμενον Αλγιφιαμμα... τελούντα φοίνικος κυροῦ καὶ μείγματος κάτα δεκαπέντε.

6-7 Year 18 of the province is from 22 March 123 to 22 March 124, since the era of the province began in 22 March 106, see R.E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia III*, Strassburg 1909, 303; G.W. Bowersock, “The Annexation and Initial Garrison of Arabia”, *ZPE* 5, 1970, 39; *idem*, “A Report on Arabia Provincia”, *JRS* 61, 1971, 231.

7 ἐξ ὧν must by *constructio ad sensum* refer to the τειμὴν φοίνικος. Since the full sum of money has been paid, this must be the last installment. For payment of taxes in Egypt by installments see Wilcken (above, n. 6), 140, 281, 567, 619; Wallace (above, n. 6), 296, 318f; Rupprecht (above, n. 7), 30-31. See 1.5 on ἐκ πλήρους.

7-8 ἀπειλήφαμεν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκ χερὸς Σαμμούου Σίμωνος μέλανες τέσσαρες etc.: note the similarity with *P.Yadin 18*, ll. 10-12 = 43-45: ἦν τειμογραφίαν ὠμολόγησεν ὁ γήμας Ἰούδας Κίμβερ ἀπειληφέναι παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς Σελαμψιοῦς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ χερὸς παραχρήμα παρὰ Ἰούδου πατρὸς αὐτῆς.

8 Σαμμούου Σίμωνος. Sammouos (שמון) son of Simon appears as one of the neighbours of the property given in gift in the deed of gift mentioned above (n. 10), ll. 14 (inner text) and 35 (outer text). A Sammouos son of Menahem is written in Greek letters in *P.Yadin 14*, l. 37; 21, 17-18 and in Aramaic letters in *P.Yadin 14*, l. 46 and 21, l. 35 (on the back, see p. 146 on the Aramaic subscription).

¹⁸ But see Wilcken (above, n. 6), I, 310ff.

8-9 μέλανες (*scil.* μέλανας) here suggests a masculine form; see Gignac II, 46 for nom.pl. ες used for the acc. pl.; and *ibid.*, 129 on μέλας. Lewis ad *P.Yadin* 5, pp., 35-6 draws attention to the fact that the “blacks” appear in all the genders.

Whatever “black money” may mean, its appearance in a tax or rent receipt and in two census returns¹⁹ confirms beyond any doubt that it was an officially recognized unit (see Lewis ad *P.Yadin* 5, p. 36). I believe that Bowersock is right to regard the old Nabataean coinage as “the obvious candidates” for these “blacks”.²⁰ This can be supported by the fact that “blacks” appear in the earliest document in the archive (110 CE), where they are used to record the monetary value of various assets and properties as well as a dowry. This dowry belonged to the mother of Jesus, Babatha's first husband; it certainly was evaluated before the annexation of Arabia.²¹ Even more cogent is the association of “blacks” with the στεφανικόν in Babatha's census declaration (*P.Yadin* 16),²² where the term can hardly mean *aurum coronarium*, which did not become an annual tax — to which στεφανικόν must refer in a census declaration — before the time of Elagabalus.²³ More likely, στεφανικόν was the tax-rate imposed on these date-groves by the Nabataean kings and taken over later by the Roman government. The “blacks” are associated with dates in the receipt published here as well as in *P.Yadin* 21, ll. 22-24 and 22, ll. 19-20, where both *denarii* and “blacks”, this time μέλανα μία, are mentioned as discrete units. It is hard to know what their real value was. If “blacks” represented Nabataean *denarii*, their value will have been the same as that of Roman *denarii*, since the Romans, “in an attempt to standarize the coinage in circulation”,²⁴ or to use the large quantities of Nabataean coins that fell into their hands,²⁵ overstruck the silver coins of the

¹⁹ *P.Yadin* 16, ll. 27 and 32 and *SCI*, 8-9 1985/88 (above, n. 7), 134, ll. 16-17.

²⁰ Bowersock (above, n. 11), 342. I cannot accept Y.Meshorer's conjecture (“The ‘Black Silver’ Coins of the Babatha Papyri: A Re-evaluation”, *The Israel Museum Journal* 10, 1992, 67-74) that they are the pre-Neronian Roman *denarii* with a higher proportion of silver in them used in evaluation of assets and income. It is impossible to believe that the Roman government would have tolerated a double standard to be applied to its *denarii*.

²¹ *P.Yadin* 5, Frag. a, ll. 5-8; 14-16; Frag. b, ll. 4-5, where the “blacks” appear together with Tyrian *denarii*. On the Jesus of the document see Lewis, p. 35.

²² See ll. 17-32: κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων λεγόμενον Αλγιφιαμμα ... τελῶντα ... στεφανικοῦ μέλαν ἐν λεπτά τριάκοντα ... κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων λεγόμενον Βαγαλαγά ... τελῶντα ... στεφανικοῦ μελαίνας τρεῖς λεπτά τριάκοντα ... κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων λεγόμενον Βηθφααραια ... τελῶντα ... στεφανικοῦ μελαίνας ὀκτώ λεπτά τεσσαράκοντα.

²³ See Wallace (above, n. 6), 281-84; L. Neesen, *Untersuchungen zu den direkten Staatsabgaben der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1980, 142-145; F. Millar, *JRS* 53, 1963, 38-9; Wilcken (above, n. 6) I, 1889, 299-302. The στεφανικόν is rarely mentioned before the late ii CE: I could find only two examples of ὑπὲρ στεφάνου Καίσαρος on ostraca, both from Claudius' time, see Wilcken, *ibid.* II, nos. 1376 and 1556. It is certainly not an ordinary tax as we see in the census returns.

²⁴ W.E. Metcalf, “The Tell Kalak Hoard and Trajan's Arabian Mint”, *Amer.Num.Soc.Mus.Notes* 20, 1975, 102

²⁵ A. Kindler, *The Coinage of Bostra*, Warminster, Wilts. 1983, 95-99.

Nabataean kings. But we simply do not know the value of “blacks” or whether they corresponded to any particular silver coin in existence.

9 For τέσσαρες instead of τέσσαρας see Gignac II, p. 191.

The interlinear ΛΕΠΤΑ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ὀκτώ above the line belongs after τέσσαρες. The sum of *lepta* here, fifty-eight, unlike the thirty and forty-five of *P.Yadin* 16 (ll. 20-21, 27-28, 32 and the census declaration published in *SCI* 8-9 1985/88, 134, l. 17), does not support, even if it does not preclude, Lewis’ conjecture that “the monetary unit represented by the ‘blacks’ was divided into sixty *lepta*” (commentary ad *P.Yadin* 16, ll. 20, 27 and 30).

9-10 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν μετὰ ὑπατίαν. It is surprising to find this late formula here. The only likely reason for it is that the names of the eponymous consuls of the year had not yet reached this part of the Roman world.²⁶ We can be sure that in this instance μετὰ ὑπατίαν really means what it says: “in the year after the consulate” and not just “after the consulate”, see R.S. Bagnall. and K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978), 51. A glance at the abbreviation μ.τ.ὑ. in their Appendix D (pp. 103ff.) gives us measure of how common this manner of dating had become from the fourth century onwards. Although we do not know the method by which the provinces were informed of the names of the ordinary consuls for the coming year, it is likely that this was done soon after they became *designati*. An indication of this can be found in *P.Yadin* 18, ll. 29-30, where the *ordinarii* of 128 CE are recorded as P. Metilius Nepos II and M. Annius Libo (ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Που[β]λεί[ο]υ Μετειλί[ου] Νέπωνος τὸ β καὶ Μάρκου Ἀννίου Λίβωνος). However, the first must have died before taking office and was replaced by L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus II (see R. Syme, “People in Pliny”, *JRS* 68 1978, 138).²⁷ Thus by the 29th of January the names of the ordinary consuls had been known for some time; the delay was much more than 29 days.²⁸

“The year after” is 125, in which the *ordinarii* were M. Lollius Paulinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus II and L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus, see *P.Yadin* 14 and 15.

²⁶ See R. Duncan Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge 1991, 7-29 for communication-speed in the Roman Empire. The names of the ordinary consuls of 194 were as yet unknown on the 21th of February of that year in the Arsinoite nome of Egypt, see *BGU* I 326 (= *FIRA* III² no. 50 = *MChr.* 316), col. II, l. 11: πρὸ θ’ Καλανδῶν Μαρτίων ὑπάτοις τοῖς οὔσι. I owe the reference to Professor Werner Eck.

²⁷ The change, although unknown in Arabia on 5 April 128, was known in Egypt before the Kalends of April of that year, as we know from the “Birth Certificate of Herennia Gemella”, *P.Mich.* III, 166 (l. 4) = *AE* 1939 309; cf. O. Salomies, *Zur Namengebung der Konsuln in den handschriftlich überlieferten Konsulverzeichnissen 15 - 284 n. Chr.*, *Arctos* 26, 1992, 111, n. 18. .

²⁸ See de Ruggiero, *DE* II, 689-91 for *designatio*. A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell’ impero romano*, Rome 1952, has a list of “consolari designati che non entrarono in carica” on p. 276.

10-11 μετὰ ὑπατίαν Γλαβρίωνος [καὶ] Θηβανιανοῦ: the full names of the consuls of 124 are M.' Acilius Glabrio and C. Bellicius Flaccus Torquatus Tebanianus, see *P.Yadin* 12.

11 The year 19 of the province is from 22 March 124 to 22 March 125, see ad ll. 6-7.

12 The month of Peritios (Περίτιος) in Arabia is from 16 January to 15 February, see A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* I.7, Munich 1972, p. 177.

13 The last line is in Aramaic.

Reisha — רישה — as a proper name is unattested as well as unlikely.²⁹ The word 'reish' ריש in Aramaic ('rosh' ראש in Hebrew) means 'head'. Reisha — רישה — means 'the head' since the *he* — ה — at the end stands for the definite article. Reisha could thus be a title or a nickname: "the head", "the chief", "the boss". I found only two other cases where Rosh or Reisha could be a title or a nickname.³⁰ In both of them however, unlike the present case, the nickname is affixed to the name rather than replacing it.³¹

It is highly likely that this Reisha is to be identified with Reisha son of Judah (Reisha bar Yehudah — רישה בר יהודה) of the deed of gift of 11 November 129 CE (above n. 10 and ad l. 3). Both documents were written in Maoza within five years of each other. Although only a few letters have remained, the same hand may well have written the name in the two documents. However, if, we assume, as we probably should, that Reisha is a nickname or a

²⁹ The Hebrew 'Rosh' occurs once in the Old Testament: Rosh (ראש) son of Benjamin son of Jacob (Gen. 46:21).

³⁰ Rosh or Reisha is not mentioned in any of the studies on nicknames among Jews in the time of the Mishnah and Talmud; see e.g. R. Hachlili, "Names and Nicknames in the Second Temple Times", *Eretz Israel* 17, 1984, 195ff. (Hebrew with an English summary on pp. 9*-10*).

³¹ There is a Rabbi Joshua son of Pathar Rosh — רבי יהושע בן פתור ראש — in the Babylonian Talmud (Nazir 56b; but see *Tosefta, Nazir* 5.1 with S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-feshutah* Part VII: *Order Nashim*, New York 1967, 557 for the variants), a contemporary of R. Meir and R. Eleazar son of Shammua, i.e. the third generation of Tannaites 130-60 CE, see H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, Edinburgh 1991, 83-85. The other example is Joseph Reisha (יוסף ראשא) in *Midrash Echa Rabbah* (see Strack and Stemberger, 308ff.), 3.17 = p. 132.2 (Buber), a contemporary of R. Abbahu (the third generation of Amoraim in Palestine, the head of the school of Caesarea, d. 309 CE), who lived in Bosra. Buber's apparatus records that the title Rabbi appears as a variant: R. Yossi Reisha (רבי יוסי רישה). In both these cases Rosh and Reisha look very much like a title; see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Ramat-Gan 1990, pp. 510-11.

One must distinguish our case from the Reish — ריש — in the case of the famous Reish Lakish — ריש לקיש of the second generation of Amoraim in Eretz Israel, hence mid-third century CE. Since there is no definite article, it is hard to take it as a nickname. Although often found in the mss. without the symbol for an acronym (i.e. the inverted commas " as in רש = R"Sh = R. Shimeon), but with the *yod* (י) instead, it is nevertheless interpreted as an acronym for R. Shimeon, and not as a nickname. If so, this is the sole instance for the use of the acronym as an independent name at the time, see A. Wasserstein, "A Good Man fallen among Robbers", *Tarbiz* 39, 1979-80, 197-8.

title, and not a proper name, and son of Judah (bar Yehudah — בר יהודה) is his name (a patronymic used as a name), then we are faced here with an almost unparalleled case³² — as far as I know — of a title or nickname followed by a name: “the chief, son of Judah”.³³

כתבה (*ktavah*) means literally “wrote this”, but since the document is written in Greek it can hardly be taken literally: it must mean that Reisha underwrote the receipt, acknowledging thereby that the money has really been paid. It has the meaning of *σεσημείωμαι* in papyri from Egypt rather than that of *ἔγραψα*.³⁴ There are other examples for the use of כתבה — “wrote this” in this sense. In *P.Yadin* 20 (19 June 130) Besas son of Jesus and Julia Crispina attach their subscriptions to a document written in Greek by Germanus the *libellarius* (l. 45): Besas does so in Aramaic and Julia Crispina in Greek. The first says: “I acknowledge (מדא אנה) to you ... that I will act and clear the title <according to> all that is written above. Besas son of Yeshua wrote it — כתבה” (ll. 41-42); whereas Julia Crispina writes in Greek: Ἰουλί(ι)α Κρισιπείνα ἐπίσκοπος ὁμολογῶ συνκεχωρηκένε ἀκολούθως (l. 43). The hand is not that of Germanus, but probably of Julia Crispina herself. There is no reason to assume that unlike his female partner, Besas wishes to stress the fact that he himself wrote the subscription; thus the כתבה adds nothing to the acknowledgement made both in Aramaic and Greek in both subscriptions. The same seems to be true of the subscriptions to *DJD* II, no. 42 (134-5 CE), where the two administrators (פרנסים) who sent the message to the Head of Camp (ראש המנהיגה) certainly did not write it, despite the כתבה in their subscriptions (ll. 8-9), as can easily be proved by the different hands: they are simply attesting responsibility for its contents.³⁵

Dr. Ada Yardeni kindly showed me a similar receipt³⁶ for a quantity of dates (but not for their value in money) written in Aramaic in the month of Shebat in the twenty-fifth year of the Province, and thus probably from early 131. This receipt is addressed to Shalom daughter of Levi, who should be identified with the Salomê Komaisê daughter of Levi of the deed of gift (above n. 10) as well as with the Salomê Komaisê of *P.Yadin* 37 (above, n. 4). She appears

³² The other case would be Hygros son of Levi (הגרס בן לוי), who appears in the list of officers in the Temple in *Mishnah*, *Sheqalim* 5.1; if indeed Hygros is a nickname, see J. Naveh, “Nameless People”, *IEJ* 40, 1990, 110.

³³ Professor Simon Hopkins advises me that since the sequence of name and title in both Hebrew and Aramaic is not fully stable, it is less problematic to render Reisha son of Judah as “the Chief, Bar Yehudah” — in apposition to each other — than to try to find in Reisha a proper name.

³⁴ See e.g. *P.Oxy.* III 485 (178 CE); IV 719 (193 CE); XII 1455 (275 CE); 1474 (216 CE) for the occurrence of both terms in the same document.

³⁵ See J. Naveh, *On Sherd and Papyrus*, Jerusalem 1992, 106-7 (Hebrew). Milik’s translation of כתבה as “l’a (fait) écrire, l’a dicté (à un scribe professionnel)”, *DJD* II, p. 158, is not literal but it captures the sense.

³⁶ *P.Se’elim* 12 = Box 736 (Rockefeller Museum).

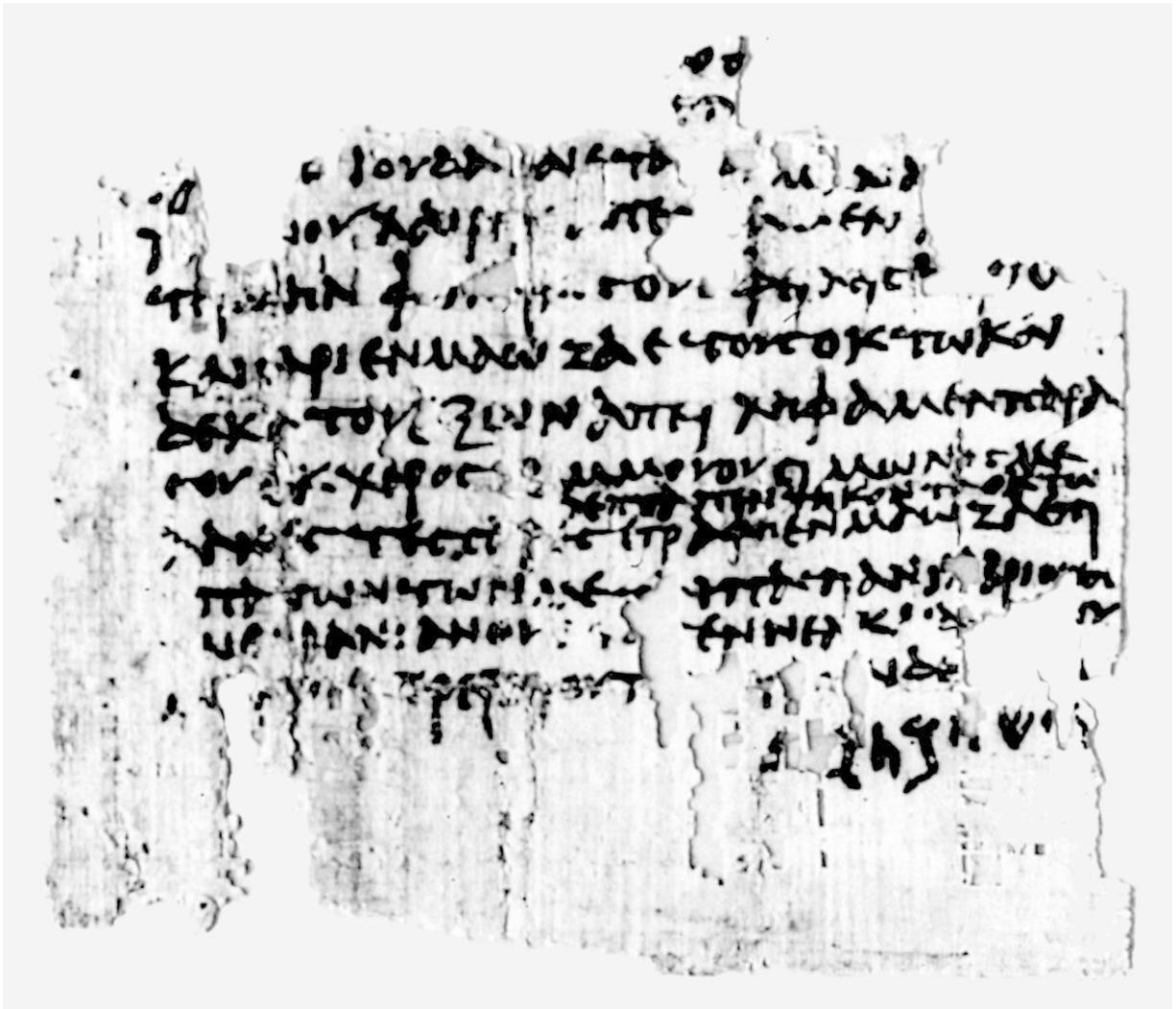
in another document whose nature is still unclear to me.³⁷ The three safely dated documents range over the years 129-131. Of the four documents only *P.Yadin 37* was found in the course of a controlled excavation and is known to have come from the same cave as the Babatha Archive (see ad n. 5 above). It is highly likely, though, that the others came from the Cave of Letters as well. Thus we have another woman's archive from Naḥal Ḥever, that of Salomê Komaisê daughter of Levi, who like Babatha left her precious documents behind.³⁸

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³⁷ *P.Se'elim* Gr. 5 = Box 866, Rockefeller Museum. Its date, 127 CE, is less than certain.

³⁸ This archive will be published by Hannah Cotton and Ada Yardeni in a forthcoming *IEJ*.



Quittung aus Maoza