

**Documentary Texts from the Judaeen Desert:
A Matter of Nomenclature***

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With the publication of Ada Yardeni's *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaeen Desert and Related Material* in 2000, almost all documentary material from the Judaeen Desert has now been published.¹ The publication in this issue of five papers concerned with documentary papyri from the Judaeen Desert seems to offer the occasion for putting some order into the method of referring to them, i.e. the choice of abbreviations — which is in great disarray. The confusion is due in part to the fact that the documentary papyri found in the Judaeen Desert have always been associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls, and have been published, sometimes together with them, in the Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert (DJD) series. They were therefore subject to that series' editorial practice of referring to texts by cave and by inventory number.² The papyrologists, on the other hand, sometimes rejected the designation chosen in the first publications in favour of one which fits better with the principles expounded in the preface to the fourth edition of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplement No. 7, 1992.³ The following lines are intended to

* I should like to thank Roger Bagnall, Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Ada Yardeni for their helpful comments.

¹ For early and late texts see Appendix at the end; cf. H.M. Cotton, s.v. 'Documentary Texts', in Lawrence H. Schiffman, James C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford, 2000, and inventory in eadem, 'Die Papyrusdokumente aus der jüdischen Wüste und ihr Beitrag zur Erforschung der jüdischen Geschichte des 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr.', *ZDPV*, 115, 1999, pp. 244-7.

² See Roger Bagnall in review of DJD XXVII in *BASP* 36, 1999, 129ff.

³ The title of the 5th edition, Beta Version, last revised November 30, 2000, reads *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. One regrets the absence of 'Semitic' or 'Aramaic', 'Hebrew' etc. from the new title. For those who are not familiar with the purpose of the *Checklist*, I

provide some guidance to those unacquainted with the intricacies of controlled and clandestine excavations, discoveries, and publications⁴ as well as to endorse some abbreviations and discourage the use of others. The survey below is arranged by site. A table summarizing the published data is given at the end.

Wadi Murabba‘at

All⁵ the papyri found in the caves of Wadi Murabba‘at were published by P. Benoit, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux in *Les Grottes de Murabba‘at*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II, Oxford 1961. The collection consists of documents written in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Arabic. They are generally referred to as *P.Mur.* or *Mur.* or as DJD II no. so and so. The Hebrew and Aramaic texts (nos. 8, 18-49, 55-74) are now re-published with corrections in Yardeni, *Textbook* (see below).

Naḥal Ḥever: Cave of Letters

Nowhere is the problem of designation as acute as with the papyri from Naḥal Ḥever, which are cited variously as *P.Hever* (*P.Hev.*), *Naḥal Ḥever*, *5/6Hever*,⁶ *P.Yadin* and *P.Babatha*. In the case of the Seiyāl Collection II,⁷ which contains quite a few papyri known to have originated in Naḥal Ḥever, the papyri are designated *P.Hever* (*P.Hev.*), *XḤev/Se* or as DJD XXVII (where the collection was published), no. so and so, and even (wrongly) *Naḥal Se‘elim*.

cite from the preface of the 4th edition: ‘The primary purpose of the *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* is to provide for scholars and librarians a ready bibliography of all monographic volumes, both current and out-of-print, of texts written on papyrus, parchment, ostraca or wood tablets’. Address: <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>.

⁴ See usefully S.J. Pfann, ‘History of the Judaean Desert Discoveries’, and ‘Sites in the Judaean Desert where Texts have been found’, 109-19 in E. Tov with the collaboration of S.J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche, Companion Volume*, revised edition, Leiden 1995, 97-119.

⁵ Except for DJD XXVII no. 50 which, as Yardeni has shown, joins *Mur* 26.

⁶ So designated in E. Tov with the collaboration of S.J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche, Companion Volume*, revised edition, Leiden 1995. 5/6 stands for the number of the cave, i.e. the Cave of Letters.

⁷ On the genesis of the so-called Seiyāl collection II see the introduction to H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyāl Collection II)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII, Oxford 1997, 1ff.

The papyri found in the Cave of Letters of Naḥal Ḥever can now be found in four collections:

1. N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, Jerusalem 1989. This volume contains the Greek part of the Babatha archive found in Naḥal Ḥever by Yigael Yadin together with Aramaic and Nabatean signatures and subscriptions edited by Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield. The Aramaic and Nabataean papyri of the Babatha archive are published elsewhere (see collections 3 and 4 below). The Greek papyri published in this volume are designated *P.Yadin* 5, 11-35 and 37.⁸ However, the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin Papyri Ostraca and Tablets* designates them *P.Babatha*.⁹ They are often referred to as *P.Hever* (*P.Hev.*). One must be warned against this usage because it causes confusion with the papyri published in the following collection.
2. H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix containing alleged Qumran Texts. The Seiyāl Collection II, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII*, Oxford 1997. Since the papyri in this volume were not found in the course of controlled excavations, one cannot be certain of their provenance except in the case of the archive of Salome Komaïse (nos. 12, 32(?), 60-65) which certainly came from the Cave of Letters. Other papyri in this collection may not have come from the Cave of Letters, or from Naḥal Ḥever at all. The papyri are designated in the volume *XHev/Se* with reference to the false attribution of the papyri in this volume to Naḥal Se'elim.¹⁰ The *Checklist* refers to them as *P.Hever*.¹¹ They can also be referred

⁸ Although published together with the Greek part of the Babatha archive, *P.Yadin* no. 37 does not belong to the Babatha archive, but to that of Salome Komaïse. It was published again in DJD XXVII, as no. 65. The designation *P.Yadin* no. 36 (not published in Lewis' volume) was kept aside for Papyrus Starcky (= *XHev/Se nab* 1) and the two fragments (*P.Yadin* 36a and 36b) which belong to it found by Yadin — on the (false) assumption that Papyrus Starcky was part of the Babatha archive.

⁹ Based on the principle that in the case of an archive the abbreviation is given as 'the name of the person or group whose papers constitute the archive', preface to 4th edition (see n. 3 above).

¹⁰ They were found by Bedouin and brought, in August 1952 and July 1953, to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM), subsequently known as the Rockefeller Museum, where they have been kept to this day. The plates were labelled 'Se', i.e. Wadi Seiyāl (Naḥal Se'elim).

¹¹ So in the 5th edition (above, n. 3).

to by their number in DJD XXVII. The Nabataean papyri, *XHev/Se nab* 1-5, were not published in this volume, although they clearly come from Naḥal Hever (see below).¹²

3. A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaeen Desert and Related Material*. 2 vols. Jerusalem 2000.¹³ The first volume contains texts, transcriptions, drawings, translations into Hebrew and essays on palaeography. The second contains English translations of the texts and the essays on palaeography, and concordances. There are no commentaries. Of the papyri from Naḥal Hever (it includes many from other sites too), this work includes the Aramaic and Nabataean subscriptions to the Greek documents published by Lewis (*P.Yadin* 12, 14-23, 26-27, 31, 34), and all the Semitic papyri found by Yigael Yadin in the Cave of Letters, namely the Aramaic and Nabataean parts of the Babatha archive (*P.Yadin* 1-4, 6-10) and the Hebrew and Aramaic documents of Bar Kokhba (*P.Yadin* 39, 42-47, 49-51, 53-58, 60-63). Yardeni designates all of them *Naḥal Hever*. The volume contains also a re-publication (with corrections) of the Hebrew and Aramaic documents published in DJD XXVII (nos. 7, 8, 8a, 9, 9a, 10-14, 19, 21-24, 24a-47, 49-52) and the Aramaic and Nabataean subscriptions to the Greek documents published in DJD XXVII (nos. 60, 62, 64). Yardeni designates all of them *XHev/Se* in vol. II and (with the false attribution) *Naḥal Se'elim* in vol. I. In addition the volume contains two of the Nabataean papyri which belong to the Seiyāl Collection, but which certainly come from Naḥal Hever: *XHev/Se nab* 1, commonly known as Papyrus Starcky,¹⁴ and *XHev/Se nab* 2. There is a useful concordance in both volumes to the list in H.M. Cotton, W. Cockle and F. Millar, 'The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey', *JRS* 85, 1995, 214-35.¹⁵

¹² DJD XXVII, as its title says, includes also an appendix containing alleged Qumran texts, some of which may come from Naḥal Hever, see pp. 283ff.

¹³ Many of these texts became available to the scholarly community already in 1984 in the edition of Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Göttingen; see also idem, *Ergänzungsband*, Göttingen 1994. This edition, however, was based largely on photographs whose quality left something to be desired.

¹⁴ See above, n. 8.

¹⁵ In this list all the papyri discovered by Yadin in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Hever are referred to as *P.Yadin* and those of the Seiyāl Collection as *XHev/Se*.

4. Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, Ada Yardeni and Baruch Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters II. Hebrew Aramaic and Nabataean Documents* (forthcoming) will contain all of the Bar Kokhba material and the Semitic part of the Babatha archive, already published in Yardeni's *Textbook*, together with the long-awaited commentaries. One hopes that the papyri will be designated *P.Yadin*, rather than *5/6Hever*. An appendix will contain the two Greek letters which have so far received only preliminary publication.¹⁶

**Ketef Jericho, Wadi Sdeir, Naḥal Ḥever (Cave of Horror),
Naḥal Mishmar and Naḥal Se'elim**

The documentary texts in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek from all these sites were published by different editors in one volume: *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXVIII, Oxford 2000. They could be designated by the site they come from, i.e. *P.Jericho* 1-19; *P.Sdeir* 2; *P.Hever* (*8Hever*, i.e. Cave of Horror) 4; *P.Mishmar* 2; *P.Se'elim* (*34Se'elim*, i.e. Cave of Scrolls) 3-5,¹⁷ or by a single abbreviation for the volume.¹⁸ *P.Jericho* 1-3, and *P.Sdeir* 2 are re-published in Yardeni's *Textbook*.

Masada

The documentary texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and Latin from Masada occupy volumes I and II of The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports, of which so far six volumes are in print.

¹⁶ B. Lifshitz, 'Papyrus grecs du désert de Juda', *Aegyptus* 42, 1962, pp. 240-58; G. Howard and J.C. Shelton, 'The Bar-Kochba Letters and Palestinian Greek', *IEJ* 23, 1973, pp. 101-2; H.B. Rosén, 'Die Sprachen im römischen Palästina', *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher* 40, 1980, pp. 224-6; D. Obbink, 'Bilingual Literacy and Syrian Greek', *BASP* 28, 1991, pp. 51-7; H. Lapin, 'Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba's Administration', *HUCA* 64, 1993, pp. 111-35; G.W. Nebe, 'Die beiden griechischen Briefe des Jonatan Archivs in Engedi aus dem zweiten jüdischen Aufstand 132-135 n. Chr.', *Revue de Qumran* 17, 1996 (= *Hommage à J.T. Milik*), pp. 275-89.

¹⁷ The volume contains in addition biblical and para-biblical texts, which partly accounts for the numbers missing in the list of documentary texts given above.

¹⁸ E.g. either *P.Sdeir* 2 or DJD XXXVIII B. Sdeir, no. 2.

Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *Masada I: The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, 1989. The volume contains also the coins of Masada published by Y. Meshorer.

H.M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents*, Jerusalem, 1989. The editors suggested designating the texts in this volume *Docs.Mas.* The *Checklist* refers to the documents as *P.Masada* and *O.Masada*, respectively. However, in addition to papyri and ostraca, the volume contains Greek, Latin and bilingual jar inscriptions as well as graffiti.

Appendix (early and late documentary texts)

Wadi Daliyeh

The Samaritan papyri in Aramaic from the fourth century BCE (375-335 BCE) found in Wadi Daliyeh (*P.Samaria*) will be published in volumes XXIV and XXVIII of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.

Khirbet Mird

Here were found Arabic, Greek and Syriac documents from the seventh-ninth centuries CE. The hundred Arabic texts (out of 150) of the eighth and ninth centuries so far published are extremely fragmentary, and yield little information about the Umayyad period in Palestine. They include protocols (i.e. the manufacturer's label on the first sheet of the papyrus roll), legal texts, lists and official and private letters (A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet el Mird*, Bibl. du Muséon 52, Leuven, 1963). Of the two hundred Greek texts, currently stored mainly at the University Library of Leuven with some at the University of Chicago, only five have so far been published; two of them are letters (J. Van Haelst, 'Cinq textes provenant de Khirbet Mird', *Ancient Society* 22, 1991, 297-317). Of more than ten texts in Syriac, one letter has been published (J.T. Milik, 'Une inscription et une lettre en araméen christo-palestinien', *RB* 60, 1953, 526, 533-9).

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Documentary Papyri from the Judean Desert: Publications and Abbreviations¹

| | DJD 2 | Yardeni, <i>Textbook</i> | Lewis | DJD 27 | DJD 38 |
|---|-----------------------------|---|---|--|--------|
| Wadi Murabba'at <i>P. Mur.</i> or <i>Mur.</i> | 7-87, 89-107, 113-168 | 8, 18-49, 55-74 | | 26 + <i>XHew/Se</i> 50 | |
| Naḥal Ḥever The Babatha Archive <i>P. Yadin</i> or <i>P. Babatha</i> or <i>NH</i> [#] | | 1-10 12-23*, 26-27*, 31*, 34* | <i>P. Yadin</i> 5, 11-35 | | |
| Naḥal Ḥever Letters and Leases of Bar Kokhba <i>P. Yadin</i> or <i>5/6Hever</i> or <i>NH</i> [#] | | 39, 42-47, 49-51, 53-58, 60-63 | | | |
| Naḥal Ḥever The Seiyāl Collection II <i>P. Hever</i> or <i>XHew/Se</i> or <i>Naḥal Se'elim</i> [#] | | 2, 7, 8, 8a, 9, 9a, 10-14, 19, 21-24, 24a-47, 49-52, 60*, 62*, 64* | <i>P. Yadin</i> 37 = <i>XHew/Se</i> (DJD 27) 65 | 7, 8, 8a, 9, 9a, 10-14, 19, 21-24, 24a-47, 49-50, 60-73 | |
| Ketef Jericho <i>P. Jericho</i> | | <i>P. Jericho</i> 1-3, 11 | | | 1-19 |
| Wadi Sdeir <i>P. Sdeir</i> | | <i>P. Sdeir</i> 2 | | | 2 |
| Naḥal Ḥever, Cave of Horror <i>8Hever</i> | | | | | 4 |
| Naḥal Mishmar <i>P. Mishmar</i> | | | | | 2 |
| Naḥal Se'elim <i>P. Se'elim</i> | | | | | 4-5 |

- ¹ The Masada texts are not included
* Only subscriptions and/or signatures.
The use of this abbreviation should be avoided.