

## Witnesses in the Judaeen Desert Documents: Prosopographical Observations\*

Tal Ilan

It has long been noted that the same witnesses lent their signature to document after document in the famous Babatha archive from the Roman province of Arabia. To the best of my knowledge, no one has previously asked about the meaning of this phenomenon. In the following lines I would like to suggest that literate men, in an illiterate society, practised the witnessing of documents as a profession. First, I discuss the witnesses most frequently attested in documents written in Maḥoza, a village in the Roman province of Arabia. In the second part I follow the fate of some of them in Judaea after the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. I shall argue that, notwithstanding the war, these people continued to ply their trade.<sup>1</sup>

---

\* This article is based on a talk I gave at the 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Conference of the Martin (Szusz) Department of the Land of Israel Studies, held at Bar Ilan University on 13 March 2001, and devoted to 'New Studies on the Bar Kokhba Revolt'. I wish to thank Professor Hanan Eshel and Dr. Boaz Zissu for inviting me to take part in this conference, and Professor Hannah Cotton for suggesting that I offer this piece to *Scripta Classica Israelica*. I consulted Dr. Ada Yardeni on the identity of the signatures, and have benefited greatly from her expertise.

<sup>1</sup> *P. Yadin* 5, 11, 13-27 were published in N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*, Judean Desert Studies 2, Jerusalem 1989 (henceforth Lewis); *P. Yadin* 6-10 in A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaeen Desert and Related Material I*, Jerusalem 2000, 60-1 (*P. Yadin* 8); 93-102 (*P. Yadin* 7); 125-9 (*P. Yadin* 10); 295-8 (*P. Yadin* 6, 9); *P. Hever* were published as *XHev/Se* in H.M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*, Discoveries in the Judaeen Desert XXVII, Oxford 1997 (henceforth Cotton and Yardeni).

### I. The Witnesses in Maḥoza

Table 1 records those witnesses who appear in more than one document, revealing immediately how widespread the phenomenon was. Some of them call for a more detailed discussion of the nature of their activities in the documents.

1. *Joseph son of Ḥananiah*: The witness whose signature occurs most often in the Babatha archive is Joseph son of Ḥananiah (יִוְהָסֶף בֶּן חֲנַנְיָהּ). His signature is easily identifiable by the way he writes both his and his father's names. He writes his personal name as יוהספ, rather than the conventional יהוספ (note the displacement of the letters *he* and *waw*)<sup>2</sup> and he writes his father's name –חנניה, with a final נ in the middle of the name, as though it were composed of two separate words. This Joseph witnessed seven documents between 119 and 130 CE (*P.Yadin* 6, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21 and 22). Five of these are Babatha's own documents: her litigation against the guardians of her orphaned son (*P.Yadin* 14, 15), a loan she gave her second husband (*P.Yadin* 17) and a sale of a date harvest which she contracted after her second husband's death (*P.Yadin* 21, 22). However, two of the documents he witnessed do not belong to Babatha. *P.Yadin* 6 of 119 CE belongs to Judah son of 'Ele'azar Khthousion, who became Babatha's husband sometime between 125 and 128. The deed, written in the Nabataean script, records a lease of one of Judah's orchards in Maḥoza<sup>3</sup> to Yoḥana son of Meshullam, who identifies himself as a native of Ein Gedi (עִינְגֵדִי[א]). Nine years later, in 128, Joseph son of Ḥananiah signs *P.Yadin* 18, the marriage contract of Shelamzion, Judah's daughter and Babatha's stepdaughter. It appears that for eleven years Joseph son of Ḥananiah was at the beck and call of Babatha's extended family. For what reason? Was he a relative? A family friend? Perhaps, but this may not explain his frequent witnessing of the family's documents. In 129 we find his signature on the back of *P.Hever* 64, a document which belongs to the archive of Salome Komaise. Salome, who, like Babatha, lived, owned property and conducted legal transactions in Maḥoza,<sup>4</sup> was not, so far as we know, related to Babatha and her family. *P.Hever* 64 cannot therefore be associated with the Babatha archive. Hence the suggestion that Joseph son of Ḥananiah signed the documents in his

<sup>2</sup> See J. Naveh 'On Formal and Informal Spelling of Unpronounced Gutturals', *SCI* 15, 1996, 264-5.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification of בגלגלא (*bagalgala*, i.e. 'in Galgala'), as a locality in Maḥoza, see H.M. Cotton and J.C. Greenfield, 'Babatha's Patria: Maḥoza, Maḥoz 'Eglatain and Zo'ar', *ZPE* 107, 1995, 129-30.

<sup>4</sup> See Cotton and Yardeni, 158-62 on the archive.

capacity of a professional witness in Maḥoza, rather than as a relative or friend of the families. The identification of Joseph son of Ḥananiah with his homonym in *P. Hever* 49, written in Judaea during the Bar Kokhba Revolt, will lend considerable force to this suggestion (see Part II below).

2. *Yoḥana son of Makoutha*: Although Joseph son of Ḥananiah holds the record for witnessing documents in the Babatha archive, he is not as intriguing as Yoḥana son of Makoutha (יוחנא בר מכותא). Elsewhere I have argued that he was a Nabataean, basing my claim on his father's Nabataean theophoric name (עבדעבדת / 'Abd'obdat, *P. Yadin* 16, verso) and on the fact that he writes his signature and subscription (*P. Yadin* 22) in the Nabataean script.<sup>5</sup> In *P. Yadin* 7, a deed of gift from Babatha's father to her mother in July 120 CE, we learn that Yoḥana son of Makoutha's lands in Maḥoza bordered on those of Babatha's family.<sup>6</sup> He was then a resident of Maḥoza. He is mentioned in eight of the documents from the Babatha archive — not in all of them as a witness. As a witness he signed *P. Yadin* 8, 9, 14, 16 and 20, of which only 14 and 16 are Babatha's own documents. He may appear already in 110 CE in *P. Yadin* 5, a document of deposit, in which Joseph, the uncle of Babatha's first husband, acknowledges money and goods held in his possession on behalf of Jesus son of Jesus, his nephew, some ten years before the latter married Babatha.<sup>7</sup> In frg. b, col. 1, his name is restored in a highly damaged passage together with 'the money mentioned above' (τῶ [π]ρο[γ]εγρα[μμένῳ] ἀγρῶν[ί]ω). Yoḥana son of Makoutha is thus found involved in some financial transaction in Maḥoza long before Babatha involved him in her own legal battles, presumably when she was still a child.<sup>8</sup>

Aside from Babatha's own two documents (*P. Yadin* 14 and 16 of 125 and 127 respectively), Yoḥana son of Makoutha also witnessed *P. Yadin* 20 of 130 CE, a renunciation of claims belonging to Babatha's stepdaughter. However, the first documents Yoḥana son of Makoutha witnessed in the Babatha archive are *P. Yadin* 8 and 9. *P. Yadin* 8 is a sale of a donkey from 122 CE, written in the Aramaic script, in which none of the parties to the

<sup>5</sup> Cf. T. Ilan, 'Yoḥana bar Makoutha the Nabataean and Yahawist Names of Non-Jews', in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Jewish Onomastics* (in press).

<sup>6</sup> In this document he is called יוחנא ברת מכותא, i.e. Yoḥana daughter of Makoutha, which is probably a scribal error; see Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield and A. Yardeni, 'A Deed of Gift in Aramaic Found in Naḥal Ḥever: Papyrus Yadin 7', *Eretz Israel* 25, 1996, 396 (Hebrew).

<sup>7</sup> Ca. 120 CE, cf. H.M. Cotton and J.C. Greenfield, 'Babatha's Property and the Law of Succession in the Babatha Archive', *ZPE* 104, 1994, 217-8.

<sup>8</sup> See Lewis, *Documents*, 22.

transaction is familiar to us from the Babatha archive; thus we do not know how it came to be deposited with the other documents. The same is true of *P.Yadin* 9, a renunciation of claims, also from 122 CE, written in the Nabataean script, perhaps on behalf of the buyer in *P.Yadin* 8. Yoḥana son of Makoutha, however, signed both documents, and Dr. Ada Yardeni suggests that he is also the scribe of both deeds as well as of *P.Yadin* 6 from 119 CE, signed, as we have seen before, by Joseph son of Ḥananiah. Yoḥana son of Makoutha was then not merely a professional witness but also a capable scribe, versed in both Aramaic and Nabataean script.

Finally in *P.Yadin* 22 of 130 Yoḥana son of Makoutha serves as Babatha's subscriber and guardian (ἐπίτροπος αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπογράφουτος in Greek, אדונה in Aramaic). Women were expected to appear in a Roman court accompanied by a male guardian. Hence we can assume that those documents in which Babatha is accompanied by a male guardian were intended for a Roman court of law.<sup>9</sup> This male guardian is not necessarily her husband. In *P.Yadin* 14 and 15 of 125 and *P.Yadin* 16 of 127, her guardian is Judah son of 'Ele'azar Khthousion, who may or may not have become her husband by then. However, in *P.Yadin* 17, written in February 128 CE, Babatha is lending money to Judah son of 'Ele'azar, described here as her husband, but she is represented by another guardian, Jacob son of Jesus (יעקוב ישוע). The reason for this is surely not that a husband was precluded from serving as his wife's guardian (for the husbands in the documents very often do serve in this capacity), but rather that in *P.Yadin* 17 husband and wife are involved in a legal transaction.<sup>10</sup> By the time *P.Yadin* 22 was written (130 CE), Judah son of 'Ele'azar was already dead, and Yoḥana son of Makoutha stepped in as her guardian, but not for long, as is evident from *P.Yadin* 27 composed in August 132 CE, in which a man by the name of Babeli son of Menaḥem (בבלי בר מנחם) served as her guardian. It should not come as a surprise that Babatha engages the services of the Nabataean, Yoḥana son of Makoutha, for this purpose,<sup>11</sup> since in *P.Yadin* 25 she uses Maras son of Abdalgos of Petra (Μαρας Ἀβ[δ]αλγους Πιτραῖος), another Nabataean, as her guardian.

3. *Shamoua' son of Menaḥem*: Shamoua' son of Menaḥem (שמוע בר מנחם) is yet another neighbour of Babatha's family, mentioned in *P.Yadin* 7, who serves as a witness to one of her documents, namely *P.Yadin* 14 of 125 CE

<sup>9</sup> H.M. Cotton, 'The Guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of a Woman in the Documents from the Judaean Desert', *ZPE* 118, 1997, 267-73.

<sup>10</sup> See Cotton (previous note), 271.

<sup>11</sup> Assuming of course that I am right in maintaining that he was a Nabataean, see above, text to n. 5.

(where he signs together with Yoḥana son of Makoutha). However, he appears also in the role of the ‘guarantor and surety’ (ἐνγγυίου καὶ ἀναδόχου) of Simon son of Jesus (שמעון בר ישוע), the buyer in *P.Yadin* 21 of 130, and adds a subscription in Aramaic to the document. This document is the buyer’s declaration to the same transaction recorded also in *P.Yadin* 22, which is the seller’s (Babatha’s) declaration. At first sight he seems to be fulfilling functions parallel to those fulfilled by Yoḥana son of Makoutha in *P.Yadin* 22. The symmetry, however, is completely superficial, for while Yoḥana bar Makoutha has but a formal role in the transaction, Shamoua’ son of Menahem’s role is very real: he and his property are liable if the buyer fails to keep the terms of the contract.

Several other witnesses also put their signatures to two or more documents (see Table 1 below). As we have seen, some of the witnessed documents are Babatha’s personal documents; others belong to members of her family, her husbands and her stepdaughter; two (*P.Yadin*’8 and 9) cannot be shown to belong to either; and one belongs to the archive of Salome Komaise (*P.Hever* 64). And yet the same witnesses, in different combinations, show up in all these documents.

### Who, then, were these witnesses?

I suggest that the repeated appearance of these witnesses both in Babatha’s and in other people’s documents indicates that they served in a professional capacity. The village of Maḥoza was inhabited by a population of landowners, some of whom were illiterate. This is explicitly stated for Babatha (*P.Yadin* 15). And that she was not the only one is evident from other documents from the Judaean Desert.<sup>12</sup> However, for legal transactions to run smoothly in Maḥoza it was necessary for literate (and perhaps also multilingual) persons to serve as witnesses, as guardians, as scribes and translators, and even as subscribers who ‘lend their hand’ to the illiterates.<sup>13</sup> At least some if not most of the people attested as witnesses, guardians, scribes and subscribers were professionals and must have been paid for the services they rendered. In contemporary illiterate societies we can still watch such

<sup>12</sup> See H.M. Cotton, ‘Subscriptions and Signatures in the Papyri from the Judaean Desert: The XEIPOXPHTHC’, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 25, 1996, 29-40.

<sup>13</sup> On the *cheirochrestes* (the one who lends his hand), see Cotton (previous note).

professionals practising their skills at the gates of courthouses and other official state institutions.<sup>14</sup>

## II. The Bar Kokhba Revolt

Under Roman rule the witnesses seem to have enjoyed prosperity. Many legal documents were composed and much legal bickering was going on in Maḥoza all the time to keep them busy. Some time after the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt, the documents in the Babatha archive dry up: *P. Yadin 27* of August 132 is the last one. The Babatha archive and that of Salome Komaïse finished up in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Ḥever, probably towards the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. It has been assumed that Babatha and her late husband's second wife, Miriam daughter of Ba'ayan, found refuge there together with Miriam's brother, the commander of Ein Gedi, Jonathan son of Ba'ayan (יהונתן בר בעיין), whose documents were also found in the cave.<sup>15</sup> What happened to the rest of the Jewish population of Maḥoza? It seems to me that something can be gathered about its fate from what befell the witnesses — most of whom, as we may recall, were Jews, as indicated by their names.

In Table 1 there are five persons whose names and patronyms appear both in the documents from Maḥoza in Arabia and in documents dated to the years of the Bar Kokhba revolt from Judaea. I turn now to the latter.

1. *P. Ḥever 13*<sup>16</sup> was written in 134 or 135 CE, probably in Ein Gedi, since Shelamzion, the woman on whose behalf the document was written, is explicitly described as a resident of Ein Gedi (מן עינגדה), and the second witness to this deed is none other than Masabala son of Simon (משבלה בן שמעון), who is identified in other papyri from the Naḥal Ḥever Cave of Letters as

<sup>14</sup> I have seen such persons sitting with old typewriters at the gate of the American consulate in East Jerusalem helping illiterate people, or those incapable of writing English, fill in their application forms in return for a fee.

<sup>15</sup> Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba: Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*, Jerusalem 1971, 233-4.

<sup>16</sup> This papyrus is the subject of much controversy which does not concern us here: see T. Ilan, 'Notes and Observation on a Newly Published Divorce Bill from the Judaean Desert', *HTR* 89, 1996, 195-202; H.M. Cotton and E. Qimron, 'XHev/Se ar 13 of 134 or 135 CE: A Wife's Renunciation of Claims', *JJS* 49, 1998, 108-18; A. Schremer, 'Divorce in Papyrus Se'elim 13 Once Again: A Reply to Tal Ilan', *HTR* 91, 1998, 193-202; J. A. Fitzmyer, 'The So-Called Aramaic Divorce Text from Wadi Seiyâl', *Eretz Israel* 26, 1999, 16\*-22\*; D.I. Brewer, 'Jewish Women Divorcing their Husbands in Early Judaism: The Background to Papyrus Seelim 13', *HTR* 92, 1999, 349-57.

co-commander together with Jonathan son of Ba'ayan in Ein Gedi.<sup>17</sup> But I am interested here in the subscriber to *P.Hever* 13,<sup>18</sup> Mattat son of Simon. Can we be sure that the subscriber of 134 or 135 in Ein Gedi is to be identified with his homonym who witnessed *P.Yadin* 26 of 9 July 131 in Maḥoza?

A larger problem opens up here. The names and patronyms of the witnesses to the documents from before and during the Bar Kokhba Revolt are among the ten most popular male names of Hellenistic Roman Palestine.<sup>19</sup> Table 2 shows how many times each combination of name and patronym attested in the documents we are discussing is recorded in our sources for the period between 300 BCE and 200 CE. It demonstrates that each of these combinations is indeed recorded elsewhere — most of them more than once. Thus, theoretically, the occurrence of the same names both in Arabia and later in documents from Judaea at the time of the Bar Kokhba could be merely a coincidence.

However, in the case of Mattat son of Simon this is no coincidence: the handwriting both in *P.Yadin* 26 and in *P.Hever* 13 is pronounced by the editor of the latter document (and the foremost expert on the Semitic hands in the documents from the Judaeen Desert), Dr. Ada Yardeni, to be the same. In fact Mattat son of Simon not only signed for Shelamzion, on whose behalf the document was written, but was the scribe of the entire document.<sup>20</sup> The same man then witnessed *P.Yadin* 26 in Maḥoza in the Roman province of Arabia in 131 CE, before the Bar Kokhba revolt, and a few years later is found in Ein Gedi in Judaea, at that time under Bar Kokhba's rule, both writing and subscribing *P.Hever* 13, on behalf of a Shelamzion daughter of Joseph.

2. *P.Hever* 8a. 'Ele'azar son of Mattat and 'Ele'azar son of Simon witnessed *P.Yadin* 23 for Babatha in Maḥoza on 17 November 130. Both are found some five years later as witnesses to *P.Hever* 8a, a deed of sale of 135 CE, written in Kfar Baru, in the Peraea, north of the Dead Sea, which although in Transjordan belonged to the province of Judaea.<sup>21</sup> The third witness in *P.Hever* 8a, Judah son of Judah, signed *P.Yadin* 19, a deed of gift written for Shelamzion by her father, Judah son of 'Ele'azar, Babatha's

---

<sup>17</sup> Yadin, *Bar Kokhba*, 124.

<sup>18</sup> See Cotton (n. 12), 40.

<sup>19</sup> The statistical information here and in Table 2 is taken from my forthcoming book: *A Lexicon of Names used by Jews in Palestine Between 330 BCE and 200 CE*, Tübingen.

<sup>20</sup> See Yardeni in Cotton and Yardeni, 70.

<sup>21</sup> See M. Broshi and E. Qimron, 'A House Sale Deed from Kefar Baru from the Time of Bar Kokhba', *IEJ* 36, 1986, 207.



second husband, in 128 CE (*P.Yadin* 19). He may also have witnessed *P.Yadin* 26 of 131, mentioned earlier.<sup>22</sup>

3. *P.Ḥever* 49: This document was written in 133 in an unknown place. However, since the document is dated 'year two of the redemption of Israel by Shim'on son of Kosibah', we must be in Judaea. A certain Judah son of Judah Sarta lends a small sum of money to Joseph son of Ḥananiah. Is this the same Joseph son of Ḥananiah, the witness to no fewer than eight documents in Maḥoza? A comparison of the signatures does not exclude this possibility. Furthermore, another witness on this document may be Judah son of Judah, who also signed *P.Ḥever* 8a in Kfar Baru and *P.Yadin* 19 (and 26?).

To conclude: we do not know what exactly happened to the Jews of Maḥoza during the Bar Kokhba revolt, nor to Maḥoza itself for that matter.<sup>23</sup> Two facts stand out clearly and, I hope, uncontested. First, it was not only Babatha and Salome (and their families) who left Maḥoza for Judaea, as implied by the presence of their archives in the Cave of Letters in Naḥal Ḥever; other Jews must have left as well. Five of them are found now in Judaea. Secondly, the Jews who chose or were compelled to leave Maḥoza and seek refuge (or salvation) in Judaea did not give up their occupation as dispensers of legal services.<sup>24</sup> For them it was business as usual.

Jerusalem

<sup>22</sup> Neither in this case nor in the following one was Dr. Ada Yardeni ready to vouch for the identity of the signatures, but she emphasized that it cannot be ruled out.

<sup>23</sup> See recently W. Eck, 'The Bar Kokhba Revolt: The Roman Point of View', *JRS* 89, 1999, 84-6.

<sup>24</sup> One witness seems to have left Maḥoza for Ein Gedi long before the revolt. Simon son of Simon is named in a list of witnesses, whose signatures are not preserved, in the fragmentary *P.Yadin* 5 of 2 June 110 CE, written in Maḥoza. We find his signature in Greek letters some 14 years later in *P.Yadin* 11 of 6 May 124 written in Ein Gedi. Both documents were found in the leather purse which contained the Babatha archive. However, the first document (*P.Yadin* 5) belonged to Babatha's first husband, whereas the second (*P.Yadin* 11) belonged to Babatha's second husband. The combination שמעון בן שמעון is very rare at the time. It is attested once only between 300 BCE and 200 CE (*P.Murabba'at* 30): שמעון בר סימי Simon son of Simai (Simai is a hypocoristic form of Simon). It may therefore be the same man plying his trade as a witness in both locations and not merely a coincidence.



**TABLE 1**  
**Witnesses who sign more than one document in the Babatha archive**

Archive:	<i>P.Yadin</i>																			<i>P.Hever</i>				
Internal division:	Pre-Babatha						Babatha archive													SK	Bar Kokhba			
Document no.:	5	6	7	8	9	11	10	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	26	64	49	8a	13		
Date:	110	119	120	122	122	124	-	125	125	127	128	128	128	130	130	130	130	131	129	133	135	135		
Witnesses / Location:	Maḥoza						EG	Maḥoza														?	KB	EG
Yohana son of Makoutha	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Joseph son of Ḥananiah	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-		
Eliezer son of Ḥilqiah	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-		
Judah son of Simon	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-		
'Ele'azar son of Simon	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	-		
Shamoua' son of Menahem	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Thoma son of Simon	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Simon son of Simon	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Jesus son of Jesus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Judah son of Judah	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b> ?	-	<b>X</b> ?	<b>X</b>	-		
Thaddaios son of Thaddaios	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Joseph son of Menahem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-		
Yohanan son of Menahem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-		
'Ele'azar son of Mattat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	-	-	<b>X</b>	-		
Mattat son of Simon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>X</b>	-	-	-	<b>X</b>		

Pre-Babatha – Papyri from the Babatha archive that were not written for or on behalf of Babatha.

EG – Ein Gedi

KB – Kfar Baru

SK – Salome Komaïse archive

**Boldface** – documents where the person appears in a capacity other than witness.

TABLE 2  
**Frequency of combination of witnesses' names attested before and during the Bar Kokhba revolt**

Witness	Other documentation of name combination			
	1.	2.	3.	4.
Joseph son of Hananiah	יוסי בן חנניה – Rabbinic Literature <sup>1</sup>	יהוסף בר חנניה – Ossuary <sup>2</sup>	יהוסף בר חנניה – Ostrakon, Gezer <sup>3</sup>	_____
'Ele'azar son of Simon	אלעזר בר שמעון – Ossuary <sup>4</sup>	Ἐλεάριος Σίμωνος – Papyrus <sup>5</sup>	אלעזר בר שמעון – Papyrus <sup>6</sup>	_____
Judah son of Judah	Ἰούδας Ἰούδου – Josephus <sup>7</sup>	Ἰούδα Ἰούδου – Ossuary <sup>8</sup>	יהודה בר יהודה – Papyrus <sup>9</sup>	יהודה בן יהודה סרטא – Papyrus <sup>10</sup>
'Ele'azar son of Mattat	אלעזר בן מתיה – Rabbinic Literature <sup>11</sup>	_____	_____	_____
Mattat son of Simon	Ματθαῖος Σίμωνος – Apocrypha <sup>12</sup>	מתתיה בר שמעון – Papyrus <sup>13</sup>	_____	_____

<sup>1</sup> *Tosefta Arakhin* 5:9.

<sup>2</sup> L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*, Jerusalem 1994, no. 893.

<sup>3</sup> J. Rosenbaum and J. D. Seger, 'Three Unpublished Ostraca from Gezer', *BASOR* 264, 1986, 56.

<sup>4</sup> H. Misgav, 'The Hebrew and Aramaic Inscriptions on Ossuaries from the End of the Second Temple Period', Unpublished MA Thesis, Jerusalem 1991, 66 (Hebrew).

<sup>5</sup> *DJD* II, no. 115 (124 CE).

<sup>6</sup> See 4Q348 in Cotton and Yardeni, 301-2.

<sup>7</sup> *BJ* 5.534.

<sup>8</sup> J.B. Frey, *CII* II, no. 1283.

<sup>9</sup> *P. Murabba'at* 29.

<sup>10</sup> Cotton and Yardeni, no. 49. It is no surprise to find more examples of Judah son of Judah than other combinations.

<sup>11</sup> *Mishnah Yebamot* 10:3.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Maccabees 16:14.

<sup>13</sup> 4Q348 in Cotton and Yardeni, 301.