Personal Names in the *Wadi ed-Daliyeh* Papyri[1]

József Zsengellér (Budapest)

On the pages of JSJ there appeared an article by D.R. Schwarz[2], which gave a very critical view of the "Cross school's" opinion about the *Wadi ed-Daliyeh* papyri.[3] These documents however have a very significant role in the correct presentation of the line of the governors of Samaria and of the high priests of Jerusalem.[4] Following the present writer there are some other important pieces of information to be gained from the papyri.

Unfortunately until this day only two papyri were published by Cross.[5] But one of his students wrote his doctoral dissertation about the papyri.[6] This non-published dissertation gives us some impressions as to the nature of the texts in question. Gropp has tried to present the first nine papyri as fully as possible.

These slave conveyances do not only inform us about the practice of slave sales in the city of Samaria, but also about personal names used in Samaria. The names are not as well-known as that of the bulla on the SP.5: San]ballat, but they are names from the mid-fourth century Samaria. After the examination of the names of these documents we can draw some conclusions as to the socio-religious aspect of the population of Samaria, which can help us to understand the history and the historical evolution of the Samaritans in a better way than before the said texts were found.

The nine slave-conveyances contain 37 names. They pertain to five different *"functions"*: slaves, sellers, buyers, witnesses and representatives of the official administration. Also two kings are named: Artaxerxes (III. 359-338 BC.) and Darius (III. 336-330 BC.). On the basis of the mentioning of these two kings three papyri

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[1]   This study is part of a dissertation project taken place on the University Utrecht.

[2]   D.R. Schwarz, 1990, "On Some Papyri and Josephus' Sources and Chronology for the Persian Period" *JSJ* 21, pp. 175-199.

[3]   Schwartz, p. 199: "The role of the Wadi Daliyeh material is perhaps not as crucial as many have claimed, but it is nevertheless very valuable: it gives us additional confidence in our understanding of how Josephus came to err. For this we must be grateful. But we should not, it seems, in light of present evidence, go any further, to do so would amount to taking in the bathwater with the baby."

[4]   F.M. Cross, 1975, "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration", *JBL* 94, pp. 4-18, in a corrected version: *Interpretation* 29 (1975) pp. 187-201.

[5]   F.M. Cross, 1974, "The Papyri and their Historical Implications" in: *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh*, ed: P.W. Lapp and N.L. Lapp, AASOR 41, pp. 17-29; idem, 1988, "A Report on the Samaria Papyri", *VTS* 40 Congress Vol. Jerusalem, pp. 17-26.

The recent publication of the microfiche edition of the Papyri in that of the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. E. Tov, 1993) provides further material to complete some other documents found at *Wadi ed-Daliyeh*. But in the present state of these fragments no further names are identifiable.

[6]   D.M. Gropp, 1986, *The Samaria Papyri from Wadi ed-Daliyeh* The Slave Sales, – Doctoral Thesis to the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. – Harvard University, Cambridge Mass. (unpublished, photocopy).

can be accurately dated: SP.1. – 335 BC., SP.2. – 351 BC. and SP.7 – 354 BC. The parallel appearance of some names makes it possible to date the other documents to about the same period (mid-fourth century BC.).[7]
The personal names according to their occurances in the documents:[8]

SP.1.	d]ryhwś	(K)	—	Darius (III., Codomanus)
	hnnyh br byd ʾl	(S)	—	Hananyah son of Beyadʾel
	yhwhnn br š ʾlh	(Sl)	—	Yehohanan son of Seʾelah
	yhwnr br lnry	(B)	—	Yehonur son of Laneri
SP.2.	ʾbyʿdyn	(B)	—	ʾAbiʿadin
	… br yqym	(W)	—	… son of Yaqim
	yhwʿzr br bśn[	(W)	—	Yehoʿezer son of BSN[
	qwśnhr	(S)	—	Qosnahar
	ʾrthšśś	(K)	—	ʾArtaxerxes (III., Ochus)
SP.3.	yqym br …	(S)	—	Yaqim son of …
	yhwʿnny br ʿzryh	(Sl)	—	Yehoʿanani son of ʿArarya
	yhwpdyny br dlyh	(B)	—	Yehopadani son of Delayah
	ʿry br dlyh	(B)	—	ʿAri son of Delayah
SP.4.	nhmyh	(Sl)	—	Nehemyah
	yhwnwr br lnry	(B)	—	Yehonur son of Laneri
SP.5.	ntyrʾ br yhwpdny	(B)	—	Yatira son of Yehopadani
	dlhʾl whny	(S)	—	Delahʾl and Hanni
SP.6.	ʾblhy	(B)	—	Abiluhay
SP.7.	ʾrthšśś	(K)	—	ʾArtaxerxes (III., Ochus)
	hnnyh	(?)	—	Hananyah
	ntn	(?)	—	Natan
	y]hwbg[h	(?)	—	Ye]yobag[a
	yhw[	(?)	—	Yeho[
	h]nnyh pht šmryn	(G)	—	Hananyah the governor of Samaria
	śyt[wn śgwʾ	(O)	—	Siyat[on the prefect
SP.8.	mkyhw	(Sl)	—	Mikayahu
	hnn	(Sl)	—	Hanan
	ntyrʾ	(B)	—	Natira
	šlm br lnry	(W)	—	Sallum son of Laneri
	kdyny [..]br ttn	(W)	—	Kidini[son of ..]son of Tattan
	ʾśytwn śgwʾ	(O)	—	ʾIsiyaton the prefect
SP.9.	qwśdkr	(Sl)	—	Qosdakar
	ntyrʾ	(B)	—	Natira
	yhwpdny	(B)	—	Yehopadani
	yhwšp[t	(W)	—	Yehosap[at
	hnnyh pht šmryn	(G)	—	Hananyah the governor of Samaria
	ʾśytwn śgwʾ	(O)	—	ʾIsiyaton the prefect

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[7] SP.1,4; SP.2 independent; SP.3,5,7,8,9; SP.6 is the only one, which could not be dated.
[8] The abbreviations refer to the role of the name in the contracts. K = king, S = seller, Sl = slave, B = buyer, W = witness, G = governor, O = official, ? = dubious.

Beside of the two kings there are 34 persons mentioned in the 34 lines, but some occur twice. In spite of this repetition and because of the practice of the combination of a personal name with the father's name 34 names can be found among the complex personal names. The persons and their names can be examined as to their functions as follows: slaves, sellers, buyers, witnesses and the court officials.

Slaves:[9]   1. *yhwhnn br š'lh*
               2. *yhwᵉnny br ʿzryh*
               3. *nhmyh*
               4. *mkyhw*
               5. *hnn*
               6. *qwśdkr*

The first two names contain the prefixed theophorous element *yhw-*. N2, N3 and N4 have this element in final position. It is interesting that the final position of this element is usually *-yh* in the post exilic period[10] but here a *-yhw* form occurs, too.[11] N4 also poses another problem, the spelling of the name. It could be derived from *mykyhw* (who is like Yahweh) which is the name of an Ephraimite in Jud. 17,1.4; but further he is called *mykh* (17,5ff.; 18,2ff.).[12] Both forms occur in the Elephantine Papyri as well. The other possibility is that it derives from the name *mky* (Num. 13,15 and in Elephantine)[13] with the ending *-yhw*. N6 is a problematical name. The first element seems to contain the Edomite deity Qaus[14]. The unclear second element *-dkr* could be connected with the Aramaic form of the noun *zkr* (male)[15]. Further the elements of N1-6 are well known and clearly Hebrew.

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[9] Further in the references on the place of a name see N1-34.

[10] Cf. M. Noth, 1928, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung,* BWANT III 10, pp. 104-105. A. Cowley, 1923, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth century BC,* pp. 13-14. M.H. Silverman, 1967, *Jewish Personal Names in the Elephantine Documents,* Brandies Univerity Ph.D. Thesis pp. 126-131.

[11] There is some other evidence from this period about the use of the *yhw* ending; see F.M. Cross, 1969, "Judean Stamps", *EI* 9, pp. 24-26; cf. also M.D. Coogan, 1976, *West Semite Personal names in the Murasu Documents,* HSM 7, p. 53.

[12] Cf. Noth, 1928, pp. 107, n. 4.; J.D. Fowler, 1988, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew,* JSOT Supplement Series 49, Sheffield, pp. 128, 152.

[13] Cowley, 1923, p. 1, No 1 line 11: *spnyh br mky*, he also notes on p. 3 that "line 11. *mky* only here (and in Num. 13¹⁵)"; Noth, 1928, p. 232, interprets as an abbreviation of *mkyr*; see also F.L. Benz, 1972, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions,* Studia Pohl 8, Rome, pp. 342-343.

[14] About this deity see T.C. Vriezen, 1965, "The Edomitic Deity Qaus", *OTS* XIV, pp. 330-353; cf. also F.M. Cross, 1969, "Papyri of the Fourth Century BC. from Daliyeh", in: *New Directions in Biblical Archeology,* ed. D.N. Freedman and J.C. Greenfield, Garden City, p. 47; Cross, 1988, p. 23.

[15] An independent form of the name element *zkr* is the name of Zakir the king of Hamath, cf. his inscription in J.C.L. Gibson, 1982, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, III. Phoenician Inscriptions,* Oxford, Claredon Press, pp. 6-17, and on Pl. 1 fig. B line 17; R. Hestrin – M. Dayagi-Mendels, 1978, *Seals from the Time of the First Temple,* Jerusalem, Israel Museum, No. 93 on p. 114: *lklklyhw (bn) zkr.* The name is the short form of the theophoric Zakaryahu, which is well known from the Bible, but also appeared on Phoenician seals and inscriptions, cf. Benz, 1972, pp.

Sellers: 7. *ḥnnyh br byd ʾl*
          8. *qwšnhr*
          9. *yqym br*
          10. *dlh ʾl*
          11. *ḥny*

N7 contains the theophorous elements *-yh* and *-ʾl*. The later occurs in N10 as well. *byd ʾl* is described as an Ammonite[16] name, of which the short Hebrew form is *bdʾl*[17]. The first part of N8 contains the name of the Edomite deity Qaus.[18] The second part of the name is not clear enough. It could be the verb *nhr* (to blow).[19] As a name-element it appears in the form *nhry* in 2.Sam. 23,37 and 1.Chron. 11,39.[20] The root of N11 is very common in West Semitic names of any period but in this case it is a derived noun *ḥinn*, occuring in the Murašu documents as *ḥinni*.[21] The other closer form *ḥnny* is found in Elephantine as well as in the Bible many times, but they are derived from the verb *ḥnn*. The further elements of N7-11 are well known and clear.

Buyers: 12. *yhwnwr br lnry*
         13. *ʾbyᶜdyn*
         14. *yhwpdny br dlyh*
         15. *ʾbylhy*
         16. *ʾry br dlyh*
         17. *ntyrʾ br yhwpdny*
         18. *yhwpdny*
         19. *ntyrʾ*

305-306. This word (*dkr* equivalent to the Hebrew verb *zkr* – to remember) occurs in the name *Si-ʾ-da-ki-ir*, cf. K.L. Tallqvist, 1966², *Assyrian Personal Names,* Hildesheim, G. Olms, p. 194. It was also used in Palmyrene names J.K. Stark, 1971, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions,* Oxford, p. 83; cf. also Fowler, 1988, pp. 220, 269.

[16] *byd ʾl* is a quite frequent Ammonite name. It occurs: in the Nimrud ostracon, which was determined by J. Naveh as an Ammonite name-list (1980 "The ostracon from Nimrud: An Ammonite Name-List" *MAARAV* 2/2, pp. 163-171, esp. p. 167; cf. J.B. Segal, 1957, "An Aramaic Ostracon from Nimrud", *Iraq* 19, pp. 139-145) in four seals: 1. *lbyd ʾl* [ʾ]*bd pd ʾl* (CIS II.76 cf. F.M. Cross, 1974, "Leaves from an Epigraphist's Notebook", *CBQ* 36, pp. 493-494; Vattioni, 1978, No. 403) 2. *lbyd ʾl bn tmk ʾl* (cf. Vattioni, 1969, No. 17) 3. *lhn ʾ bn byd ʾl* (N. Avigad, 1977, "New Moabite and Ammonite Seals at the Israel Museum", *EI* 13, p. 109, No. 4; Hestrin-Dayagi, 1979, p. 137, No. 112) 4. *lbyd ʾl bn ʾlmg* (Avigad, 1977, pp. 109-110, No. 5; Hestrin-Dayagi, 1979, p. 138, No. 113) and in an Aramaic inscription (P. Bordreuil, 1973, *Semitica* 23, pp. 95-102).

[17] See *bd ʾl* in Vattioni, 1978, No. 400. In Ezra 10,35 *bdyh* occurs. It corresponds with *bdyhw* in a seal (Vattioni, 1978, No. 393) and with *bdyw* in the Samaria Ostracon No. 58:1 (A. Lemaire, 1977, *Inscriptions Hebraïques, I. Le Ostraca,* Paris, Le Edition du Cerf, p. 37); cf. also Fowler, 1988, pp. 116-117.

[18] Cf. note 14.

[19] This verb appears in Jer. 6,29. It could also be found as adjective in Jer. 8,16 and as a noun in Job 39,20.

[20] Noth, 1928, p. 228, n. 4 connects it with the arabic *nihrun*.

[21] Coogan, 1976, p. 74.

N18 is equal to N14 and N19 to N17. These names are also found in SP.8 and SP.9 in the same forms and same functions. Therefore there is no reason to count them twice[22]. The persons mentioned may have been father and son. Except N13, N15 and N19 the names contain the *yhw-* or *-yh* theophorous elements. The father's name of N12 is difficult to explain. The second half of the name, which also occurs in the Elephantine papyri, could be the short form of the personal name *neriyah* (My light is Yahweh).[23] But then how to interpret the *l-* of the first half? More probably it originated from the Aramaic root *nur* (light) which occurs in the Murašu documents[24]. There the name means "my light" and exists only together with theophorous elements. Following this connection and the same evidence from Elephantine[25] Ugarit[26] and Palmyrene[27] the "*l*" could be the remnant of the name of the deity *ʾl*[28]. In that case the name would have sounded like *ʾlnry* – ʾElnuri (ʾEl is my light).[29] N13 begins with the theoporous element *ʾb*.[30] The second half of the name is an independent form of a common male name, but in this construction with *ʾaby* it is applied to a female one.[31] N15 begins with the same element as N13. The second element does not occur anywhere as a part of a personal name[32]. It can be derived from *lwh* (board, table) as Gropp proposes: ʾAbiluhay[33] or in singular ʾAbiluhi. It is also possible to think of a derivation from the noun *lhy* (face, jawbone). The latter seems to be the better solution. A more complicated interpretation is also conceivable, if there are three elements in the name. *ʾby, ʾl, hy*. *ʾbyʿl* (Abiʾel) is the grandfather of Saul. A "mighty man" of David's army is also named Abiʾel in 2. Chron. 11,32. *ʾl* appears in the same apocope form as in N12 and

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22 So the above mentioned 34 names are after all only 31, not counting twice the governor's name either.

23 As Noth, 1928, p. 167 suggests. But cf. the long row of *nryhw* with their references in J.H. Tigay, 1986, *You Shall Have No Other Gods,* Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions, HSS 31, p. 58.

24 Cf. Coogan, 1976, p. 77-78.

25 There are *byt ʾlnwry, hddnwry* and *šmšnwry*.

26 There exist *nuranu* and *nuri^dmalik*; cf. F. Gröndahl, 1967, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit,* Studia Pohl 1, Rome, pp. 165-166.

27 There could be found *blnwry* and *ʿtnwry*. Stark, 1971, No. 99, 108.

28 This apocope form of *ʾl* was used on an Edomite ostracon ca. in the late 7th early 6th century. I. Beit-Arieh – B. Cresson, 1985, "An Edomite Ostracon from Horvat ʿUza", *Tel Aviv* 12, pp. 96-101. They gave two translations of the name in the first line: *ʾmr lmlk. ʾmr lblbl* – "(thus) said Lumalak (or <E>limelek): Say to Blbl!" Here the ʾalef was elided for phonetic reasons; cf. op.cit., p. 97; The same phenomenon is known in a later period form the name *ʾlʿzr* (Elʿazar), which became *l ʿzr* (Lazar); cf. Fitzmeyer, 1978, p. 274. A56 line 1 (Inscription of the Eshtemoaʿ Synagogue).

29 *ʾlnr* was found three times in the Nimrud ostracon: Convex side Col. II N. 7-8, concave side No. 12; see Segal, 1957, p. 140, and Naveh, 1980, p. 164 and 168.

30 As Noth, 1928, p. 69 claims, "Als Subject sind aber *ʾb* und *ʾh* ohne Zweifel theophore Elemente". See further his analysis on pp. 69-75.

31 Cf. Gropp, 1986, p. 102; Cross, 1988, p. 23.

32 Benz, 1972, p. 338, defines it as a frequent element in Arabic names. Following this possibility the name could be *Abi ʾl Hay* which means "The father of Hay".

33 Gropp, 1986, pp. 101-102.

followed by the verbal form *hy*. In this case the name means "My father 'El is living[34]. N19 is a pure Aramaic name. The rest of the components of the buyers' names are evident.

Witnesses: 20. ... *br yqym*
21. *yhw'zr br bśn*[..
22. *šlm br lnry*
23. *kdyny* [*br...*] *br ttn*
24. *yhwšpt*

Two of these names contain the theophorous element *yhw-* as a prefix. The father's name of N21 is partly missing, but even the extant half of it is uncertain. The closest parallel are two names form the Bible – *bśwdyh* in Neh. 3,6; *bśy* in Ezra 2,49 and Neh. 7,5 – but they cannot be used in a satisfactory way to ascertain the meaning of the name[35]. Certainly it is not a Hebrew or Aramaic name, and we are not in the position to determine its provenance. N23 is a clear Assyrian name. *kidinnu* means servant, cultic servant. The father's name is broken, but the grandfather's name one remained – *ttn*. Perhaps this is a shorter form of *ttny* known as the name of the Persian governor of the province Abar Nahara in the book of Ezra. Maybe it is a Persian name.

There are some names of SP.7. which cannot be classified as slaves, buyers, sellers or witnesses because of the fragmentary form of the document.

25. *hnnyh*
26. *ntn*
27. *yhwbgh*
28. *yhw*[

All of them are clear and three of them contain the theophorous element *yhw-* or *-yh*. According to their own information the papyri were written "in Samaria the citadel which is in Samaria the province"[36] Because of the official terminology, they are also representative of the royal administration of Samaria. The only governor mentioned is *hnnyh pht šmryn* (N29).[37] He is the son of Sanballat II. and had a yahwistic name as had his grandfather, Delayah. This fact urged Cross and many others to suggest a theory about a yahwistic, or almost pure Samaritan Samaria since mid-fifth century BC. The other person or persons mentioned here are (N30) *śytwn*

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[34] For *hy* as a verbal element see *°byhy bt ynhm* in Aharoni, 1975, p. 190, No. 39 line 11; cf. the analysis of Fowler, 1988, p. 146.
[35] Cf. Noth, 1928, pp. 152-153.
[36] *bšmryn byrt° zy bšmryn mdynt°* - after Gropp, 1986, p. 1. First line of the SP.1.
[37] SP.7, line 17; SP.9, line 14, in: Gropp, 1986, pp. 105-106, 123-125.

*śgw*ᵓ[38] and (N31) ᵓ*śytwn śgw*ᵓ[39]. It is not clear whether these names refer to two different persons but it is evident that the names are not Hebrew or Aramaic[40].

Not considering the affiliation, the names with *yhw* preform are very common. It occurs nine times in the 34 cases. This is more than 25%. In all cases the names contain a Hebrew or Aramaic second element. There are four names with the ending form -*yh,* one with -*yhw* and two with ᵓ*l.* ᵓ*l* occurs one as a prefix, too. The name of the god Qaus can be found in two alleged Edomite names. There are also some other foreign Assyrian-Babylonian and Persian names. By regarding these documents as a cross-cut of the society of Samaria, we can conclude that about 80% of the mid-fourth century BC. inhabitants of the city had Hebrew and Aramaic names. 60% of this group bore yahwistic ones.

When the affiliation is also taken into consideration, among the six slaves 4 bear yahwistic names. The fifth has a simple Hebrew and the sixth an Edomite name. There is one yahwistic and one Edomite name among the sellers. Five out of the eight buyers are yahwistic. Of the five witnesses two bear yahwistic names, but here non-westsemitic names and an unclear one can be found, too. the prefects also have non-westsemtic names. The governor is well known.

After this short examination of the data of the slave conveyances from wadi ed-Daliyeh, it is possible to develop further ideas about the socio-history of Samaria until the end of the fourth century BC. The statement of Dexinger about the population structure of Samaria[41] is more exact than earlier theories about an almost pure and uniform "Samaritan" or "proto-Samaritan" Samaria. But the evidence of the names of the papyri indicates at least three groups among the inhabitants of the city which could be proved by other sources as well. We can regard these groups not only as the inhabitants of the capital, but also as the elementary groups of the population of the country.

a) The lowest and, at the same time, the largest part of the society is formed by the *remnant of Israel,* yahwistic in the pre-exilic and northern sense of the word. They are the proto-Samaritans in the classification of Dexinger and of course the best nominees to become the later Samaritans. But this stratum also could have included some non-yahwistic components.

b) On the basis of Ezra 4,1-3, we can also identify a group which derives its origin from the deportation of Esarhaddon, consequently ethnically foreign in origin, but religiously belonging to the new yahwistic environment. This group probably contains the descendants of those mentioned in the episode of 2. Kgs 17,25-28, and they separated themselves from the other deportees who continued their native religious practice. In view of the Samaria Papyri, they can be considered as

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[38] SP.7, line 14; Gropp, 1986, p. 105-106.

[39] SP.9, line 15; Gropp, 1986, pp. 123-125.

[40] It is possible to suppose that the second element of the name could be the Phoenician *ytn* 'to give'; cf. Benz, 1972, p. 328; Fowler, 1988, p. 196. But what to do with the *ś* or ᵓ*ś* of the first part?

[41] "The Jewish population of the North, from which the Samaritans later developed, should be called 'proto-Samaritans' from Ezra's time on. The Gentile inhabitants of Samaria, on the other hand, should be called 'Samarians' "; F. Dexinger, 1981, "Limits of Tolerance in Judaism: The Samaritan Example", in: *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition,* ed. E.P. Sander, p. 92.

belonging mostly to the middle-class. There is another yahwistic group, among the upper class which was originally gentile, but was converted to the yahweh religion, but did not really mix with the native yahwists.[42]

c) The top of the hierarchy, the political elite, consists of the descendants of the Assyrian deportees.[43] At the beginning of the Persian period they probably practised a totally pagan or syncretistic cult, but among them, too, Yahwism spread gradually. This holds true especially for the capital Samaria. They are the Samarians in Dexingers' categories.

These three different elements have built up the society of Samaria until the end of the fourth century BC. and determined the further history of the city as well.[44]

Abstract:

On the basis of the nine as far reconstructed slave conveyances of the *Wadi ed-Daliyeh* Papyri it is possible to examine the personal names from the early fourth century Samaria. These personal names from the cross-cut of the society of Samaria which is divided concerning the religion of the inhabitants. The main body of the population is yahwistic. After the persecution of Alexander the Great the native inhabitants of the city who survived started a new life in Shechem and became the basic element of the Samaritan community.

Address of the author:
Drs. J. Zsengellér, Ráday u 28, H-1092 Budapest, Hungary

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[42] Cf. Ezra 4,1-3; Most of the scholars identify the *adversaries of Judah and Benjamin* with the residents of the province Samerina as a whole, or simply with the Samaritans. This approach, which also frequently equates the *adversaries* and the *'am ha'ares*, is too plain to the situation of Ezra 3-4. Following Ezra 4,1-3 such a group could be distinguished, which derives its origin from the time of the deportation of Esarhaddon. Considering its ethnical origin it is foreign, but religiously it already belongs to the new surrounding, i.e. yahwist. In a forthcoming dissertation the present writer discusses the whole problem of Ezra 3-5, and of the inhabitants of the province Samerina.

[43] A. Alt, 1953, "Die Rolle Samarias bei der Entstehung des Judentums", *Kleine Schriften* II, pp. 318-319; Ezra 4,10-11; 2. Kings 17,24.

[44] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Israel Ephal who drew my attention to the dissertation of D. Gropp, and urged me to write about the papyri, to dr. M. Dijkstra and Prof. dr. A.S. van der Woude who read the drafts of the article and made some helpful suggestions and corrections. This study was made possible by the Doron Foundation (Switzerland – Israel) and the Stipendium Bernardinum (The Netherlands).