

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

51

Nicholas de Lange

Greek Jewish Texts
from the Cairo Genizah



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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by

Nicholas de Lange



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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Preface

The Cairo Genizah texts brought together and published, mostly for the first time, in this volume share two common characteristics: they are all written in Hebrew characters and in a mixture of Hebrew and Greek language. These two characteristics serve to define the cultural setting in which they originate: they were produced by Jews who spoke Greek. Moreover, they were produced in a milieu which valued the Hebrew language, and used it as the focus of the educational system. Beyond this it is hard to generalise. Only one of the texts (no. **1**) is dated and located geographically: it was written in western Asia Minor in the year 1022. The other texts cannot be dated accurately, though we may venture to assert on general grounds that they are unlikely to date from much before the tenth century or after the twelfth (in other words, the 'classical period' of the Genizah). Their geographical origin seem to be varied: we encounter place names in Egypt (nos **2–3**) and the Greek Archipelago (no. **4**).

The types of writing represented are also varied. I have grouped similar types of text together: first some personal documents and letters (nos **1–4**); then fragments of the Passover ritual (nos **5–8**); biblical literature (translation, glosses, scholia and commentary, nos **9–15**); and finally a rabbinic glossary (no. **16**). These classes are not to be taken as defining the writings or the interests of Greek-speaking Jews in the Middle Ages, but are rather the result of the criteria used for making the selection. It is only natural that a collection of bilingual texts will include a certain number of glossaries, and the use of Greek glosses is a marked feature of Byzantine biblical commentaries. As far as liturgical texts are concerned, the presence of vernacular rubrics in the Passover *Haggadah* is unremarkable; so far no Greek rubrics have been found in other types of prayer book. No doubt there are other Genizah fragments from a similar background which happen to be entirely in Hebrew. Perhaps the publication of this collection will make it possible to define some criteria by which they may be identified.

It has not been my aim to make an exhaustive collection of Genizah fragments containing Greek words. I have deliberately ruled out, as being outside the scope of this volume, texts written in Greek characters, and also the many texts where the Greek words may be described as 'fossilised', for example copies of rabbinic texts, magical texts, and medical texts, which do not issue directly from a Greek-speaking environment and are not addressed specifically to Greek-speaking readers. Another straightforward omission concerned obviously late fragments, including those from printed books (such as the polyglot Pentateuch printed at Constantinople in 1547). One or two very minor fragments have also been left out. A more delicate decision related to Genizah fragments that have already been published. In general it seemed that to republish them here would serve little purpose. I made an exception in the case of three fragments (nos **9, 10, and 14**) that I had previously published myself, and which I now have the opportunity

to present in a more satisfactory and definitive form. I also decided, after some hesitation, to republish the well-known Mastaura *Ketubba* (no. **1**): its status as the only dated and localised document from a medieval Greek-speaking milieu makes it a valuable addition to the collection, and its republication has enabled me to make some minor improvements to the text and, more importantly, to the explanation of some of the Greek words. Two other fragments which might have qualified are omitted: they are both in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York. One, a badly damaged paper fragment, classmark ENA NS 50.9, has been recently published by S. Pines and S. Shaked in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem/Leyden, 1986), 307–18. I have argued, against the editors, that it is a fragment of an anti-Christian polemical work ('A Fragment of Byzantine Anti-Christian Polemic', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41 (1990), 92–100). The other, from the Schechter collection, consists of nine leaves, and contains part of a commentary on a hymn by the early Byzantine hymnographer Kalir, together with the beginning of the commentary on Ruth attributed to the Thessalonican rabbi Tobias son of Eliezer. The hymn commentary was published by Louis Ginzberg in *Genizah Studies in memory of Dr Solomon Schechter I* (Philadelphia, 1928), 246–297. I also decided to exclude a Cambridge fragment, T-S 8H.22.4, which appears to contain, among other items, a hymn with a Greek refrain, because too little survives to allow of a reasonable reconstruction.

Turning now from the principles of selection to the editions themselves, my primary aim throughout has been to publish an accurate transcription of the text, together with an English translation. I have made very few attempts to edit the texts, although occasional obvious mistakes are indicated in the notes, and I have supplied large amounts of missing text in the case of the Passover *Haggadoth*, where the exercise is a straightforward one. My principal aim in the commentaries is to indicate uncertain readings and to discuss the Greek words. Very often, alas, there is little of any use that can be said about these, owing to the poor state of preservation of the manuscripts, the difficulty of reading the words, particularly when the vowels are omitted, and the unsatisfactory state of the lexicography of medieval vernacular Greek. In the case of the biblical texts I have sometimes drawn attention to parallels with ancient translations, particularly the so-called 'kaige' versions and Aquila. This is a subject that deserves more comprehensive attention than I could give it here. Another subject that deserves fuller study is the influence of spoken Greek on the Hebrew language of these texts. I have pointed to a few examples, particularly in the long exegetical text (no. **15**), but there is a good deal more that might be said. I have tried to write in a way that will make these texts accessible both to Hebraists with not much Greek and to Hellenists with not much Hebrew: this explains why I have often been led to state the obvious.

I have not attempted to provide a very full palaeographical or codicological commentary, for various reasons, not least of which is my own inadequacy in these areas. The photographs will, I trust, enable readers to find some of the answers to their own palaeographical questions, as well as making possible the identification of further fragments from the same manuscripts or the same scribes. The texts vary considerably in the matter of legibility. Some present few or no problems; others (and notably nos. **4** and **15**) are very difficult indeed in places. I have done my best with the means available to me, but it may be possible

Preface

to squeeze more out of these texts with the help of more advanced technology. Where dimensions are given, the first figure refers to the height, the second to the width.

It is my hope that the publication of these texts in their present form will stimulate further research and reflection on the history and civilization of what is most conveniently called Byzantine Jewry (although it is evident from these texts that some Greek-speaking Jews lived outside the frontiers of the Byzantine empire). The texts given here shed an interesting light not only on their linguistic habits (including an attachment to the Greek Bible, and to a tradition of translation going back to the early Roman period), but also on their religious practice, their occupations and varied aspects of daily life (ranging from architecture and metalworking to quail-hunting). At the same time the texts are of great interest for the study of the Greek language in the Middle Ages. There is a shortage of vernacular Greek texts that endows these fragments with particular value, but even greater interest attaches to that fact that they use a non-Greek alphabet, and therefore convey the pronunciation. It is my impression that many of the words and some of the forms are otherwise unattested, at least at this date. I hope that the publication of the texts will make some contribution to the history of the Greek language.

In the course of nearly twenty years' work I have naturally incurred many debts. I should like to record here with gratitude the early encouragement I received in my study of these Genizah fragments and more generally in the study of Byzantine Judaism from the late Arnaldo Momigliano and the late Stavros Papastavrou, and also from Chimen Abramsky, John Emerton, and Evelyne Patlagean. I have also benefited from conversations and correspondence with Malachi Beit-Arié, Averil Cameron, G. Drettas, Michèle Dukan, Daniel Frank, Norman Golb, Anna Muthesius, Judith Olszowy, the late Alexander Scheiber, Shaul Shaked, Colette Sirat, and Paul Speck. I am grateful to my Cambridge colleagues David Holton, William Horbury, Joyce Reynolds, and to members and former members of the staff of the Taylor-Schechter Cairo Genizah Research Unit at the University Library (notably its director, Stefan C. Reif, Paul Fenton, Simon Hopkins, Geoffrey Khan and Amittai Spitzer). I am particularly grateful to those who have brought to my notice fragments that might otherwise have escaped my attention.

For permission to publish the manuscripts I must thank the Syndics of Cambridge University Library, Westminster College Library, Cambridge, The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, and the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. I am grateful to Tyrwhitt's Hebrew Fund and the Hort Memorial Fund for help with defraying the cost of photography and typing. For help with the typing of the Hebrew/Greek text I am particularly grateful to Rikk Watts, of the Bible College of Victoria. His technical competence and positive outlook enabled me to overcome what might have otherwise proved to be an insuperable obstacle. I think it proper also to note here with gratitude the special contribution of a friend who has insisted on anonymity.

Finally, I offer my warm thanks to Peter Schäfer, for encouraging me in this work, for accepting the book for publication, and for waiting patiently for me to complete it.

Nicholas de Lange

ת"ר"ש'ל"ב'ע
Cambridge
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Abbreviations

Journals

<i>BJGS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>

Works referred to in abbreviated form

Ankori, <i>Karaites</i>	Zvi Ankori, <i>Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970–1100</i> . New York/Jerusalem, 1959.
Barthélemy, <i>Devanciers</i>	D. Barthélemy, <i>Les Devanciers d'Aquila (Vetus Testamentum Supplements, 10)</i> . Leyden, 1963.
Bowman, <i>Jews of Byzantium</i>	Steven B. Bowman, <i>The Jews of Byzantium 1204–1453</i> . University of Alabama, 1985.
Goitein, <i>Mediterranean Society</i>	S.D. Goitein, <i>A Mediterranean Society</i> , 5 vols. Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1967–88.
Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν	Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης. Athens, 1933–.
Krauss	S. Krauss, <i>Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum</i> , 2 vols. Berlin, 1898–99.
Kriaras	E. Kriaras, <i>Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100–1669</i> . Thessaloniki, 1968–.
Lampe	G.W.H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> . Oxford, 1961.
Mann, <i>Jews in Egypt</i>	J. Mann, <i>The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs</i> , 2 vols. London, 1920–22.
Sokoloff, <i>Dictionary</i>	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period</i> . Ramat Gan, 1990.
Sophocles	E.A. Sophocles, <i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> . New York, 1900.
Starr, <i>Jews</i>	J. Starr, <i>The Jews in the Byzantine Empire</i> . Athens, 1939.

Editorial conventions

[]	Lacuna in manuscript
()	Text illegible or damaged
°	Reading uncertain
-	

1. A Marriage Settlement

Drawn up in a mixture of Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, this marriage deed (*ketubbah*) records the marriage of Namer son of Elkanah to Evdokia daughter of Caleb and the property settled on the bride. The place is given as Mastaura (a small town in Lydia in Asia Minor), and the date corresponds to Friday the 9th of March, 1022.

The standard legal formulae concerning the marriage and settlement are given in Aramaic (*recto*, ll. 3–13; *verso*, ll. 1–9). The date is given in Hebrew, as are the particulars of the bride's dowry and gifts. The signatures of the members of the court are also in Hebrew. Greek is used only sporadically, to identify or describe objects and in a concluding legal formula.

Mordechai Akiva Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine, A Cairo Geniza Study* (2 vols, Tel Aviv/New York, 1980–81), I.43f., has argued that this document is drawn up essentially according to 'Babylonian' practice, with very few elements of 'Palestinian' type. Very few Byzantine Jewish marriage deeds are known. Jacob Mann thought that T-S 16.375 was 'no doubt drawn up in Byzantium' (*Jews in Egypt*, II.96 n.2), but this is disputed by Friedman, II.364, who argues that it was probably written in Tyre, c. 1089–99. Another document, T-S 12.659, was written in [...] *ni Mitropolis*, identified by N. Golb as Constantinople: see Friedman, II.81. Friedman does not rule out this identification, even though the bride and bridegroom have Arabic names. Like our text it is written on a long, narrow strip of parchment and has an illustration of a menorah. The date, according to Friedman, is either 927/8 or 1027/8. (At the earlier of these dates the presence of Arab Jews in Constantinople is less likely.) Another deed written on a parchment of this shape is T-S 24.30 (place and date missing; there is a dowry list, resembling that in our text but drawn up in Arabic): Friedman, II.70ff. Finally, we should mention the marriage deed from Antinoopolis in Egypt dated in November 417 (P. Col. Inv. 5853, published by Colette Sirat et al., *La Ketouba de Cologne, un contrat de mariage juif à Antinoopolis* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 12), Opladen, 1968). This document also contains a dowry list in which various items are named in Greek. (The consular date is also given in Greek.)

T-S 16.374

Parchment. Height 30 cm., width 10.5 cm. (max.). Scored. The parchment is of somewhat irregular shape, which has imposed some constraints on the scribe. The text continues on the verso, presumably for want of space. (This practice is envisaged in the Mishnah, *Gittin* 9:7; cf. Tosefta *Gittin* 7:10.) A scriptural motto arranged around a drawing of a seven-branched lampstand

recto

- 1 On Friday, fourth of the month Nisan in year
 2 4782 of the Creation of the World, by the reckoning
 3 current in the city of Mastaura near the river
 4 Maiandros, Namer son of Elkanah came and declared to Evdokia
 5 daughter of Caleb: Be my wife according to the law of Moses and
 Israel, and I shall serve,
 6 cherish, maintain and support you in the manner of Jewish men
 7 who faithfully serve and cherish their wives. I shall give you your
mohar
 8 as a virgin, a fully valid claim against my property, namely 200 zuz in
 silver,
 9 making 8 1/3 dinars, as required by the Law.
 10 I undertake to provide your food, clothing and upkeep and to consort
 with you sexually
 11 according to the way of the world. Evdokia consented to be
 12 his wife. This is the dowry that Evdokia the bride brought
 13 from the house of her father Mar Caleb to that of Namer her husband:
 14 a pair of gold earrings with a fine gold necklace, weight 6 shekels;

recto

- 1 Literally 'on the sixth day of the week of the month of Nisan on four days
 therein'. For the form of date where the day of the month follows the name of the
 month, a biblical style which is a distinctive feature of 'Palestinian'-style marriage
 deeds, cf. Friedman, I.102. To marry on Friday was unusual (there is even some
 doubt in rabbinic law whether it is permissible): see Friedman, I.99 n.6. The first
 part of Nisan (before Passover), on the other hand, was a popular time of the year
 to be married: *ibid.*, I.102.
- 2 $\square\text{ד'ינ}\text{ר}$: Mann mistakenly reads $\square\text{ד'ינ}\text{ר}$. The Era of the Creation (calculated from
 3761/60 BC) is the preferred era in 'Palestinian' marriage deeds (see Friedman,
 I.104). Byzantine Jews also used the era from the destruction of the temple
 (*ibid.*). The formula immediately following ('by the reckoning current...') is
 commonly used in Babylonian documents and normally designates the Seleucid
 era, which is the dating recommended by the Babylonian legal authorities.
- 3f. Mastaura is accurately described as being 'near' the river Maeander, not 'on' it.
 As Reinach (p.20 n.2) points out, it is actually on a tributary of it named
 Chrysaoras in a Greek source. For an account of the site and a concise survey of
 its history see H. Bames and M. Whittow, 'Mastaura Kalesi: A Preliminary Report',
Anatolian Studies 43 (1993) 117–135 and plates. It is usual in such documents to
 identify a place by reference to a river or other source of water. We have no other
 reference to a Jewish community in Mastaura. (Mann mistakenly read the name in
 another Genizah document of the eleventh century, T-S 16.251, see *Jews in Egypt*,
 II.92: Ankori, *Karaites*, 112, pointed out that the reading is doubtful, and Norman
 Golb, in *BJGS* 1 (Autumn 1987) 7, showed the correct reading to be Marathia).
 Ankori (*Karaites*, 112, 116) stresses that it is one of a number of inland towns of
 commercial or military importance that attracted Jewish immigration at this time.
 On patterns of Jewish settlement in medieval Anatolia see S. Vryonis, *The Decline
 of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the
 Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley etc., 1971), 52.

recto

1 בשישי בשבת לירח ניסן בארבעה ימים בו בשנת ארבעת
 2 אלפים ושבע מאות ושנים ושנים לברית עולם למינין
 3 דירגילנא לממנא ביה במדינת מסטורא הסמוכה לינהר
 4 מיאנדרוס איך בא נמר בר אלקנה ואמר לזאת אבדוקיאה
 5 בת כלב הוי לי לאנתי כדת משה וישראל ואנא איפלח
 6 ואוקיר ואפרנס ואסובר יחיכי כהילכת גוברין יהודאין
 7 דפלחין ומוקרין ית נשיהון בקושטא ויהיבנא לך מוהר
 8 בתוליכי אחיד וקיים עליי מן נכסיי כסף זוזי מאתן
 9 דאינן חמני דינרין ותילתא דיחזיין ליכי מדאורייתא
 10 ומוזנייכי וכיסוחייכי וסיפוקייכי עלי ומיעל עלייכי
 11 כאורחא דארעא וצביאת אבדוקיאה דא והות ליה
 12 לאינתי ודן נדונייא דהגעלת אבדוקיאה הכלה
 13 מביח אביה מ כלב לבית נמר בעלה:
 14 זוג עגילים שלוהב עם חולי כחם משקלם ששה שקלים

-
- 4 This is the earliest attestation of the name Namer (corresponding perhaps to Greek Pardoleon). The evidence for the name is collected by Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*, 249, who concludes: 'Namer is clearly a common Romaniote name, and may even be restricted to that general area'. Elkanah is a relatively common name among Jews in Byzantium in the fifteenth century: its occurrence here may indicate an older tradition. Evdokia, a name well attested among Greek Christians, was also used by Jews, as we can see from no. 3 below and from a document dated 1252 (see Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, I.52f.; cf. Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*, 223f.).
- 5 The name Caleb is well attested in Byzantium from the 13th century on, but is very uncommon elsewhere. Again, this text seems to testify to a long-established local tradition.
'I shall serve...': This conforms to a Babylonian formula found in a Gaonic responsum. See Friedman, I.177f.
- 7 'I shall give...': This is a Babylonian, not a Palestinian, formula: Friedman, I.243f.
mohar: a technical term denoting a payment made by the bridegroom. The word is used in a variety of ways; here it has its strict sense of the minimum payment laid down by law, viz 200 zuz for a virgin (for other brides the *mohar* is only 100 zuz). See M.A. Friedman, 'Mohar Payments in the Geniza Documents', *PAAJR* 43 (1976) 15–47, esp. 26. Friedman points out, *ibid.*, 28f., that the formula is to be understood as a potential obligation, not as an actual gift. My translation follows his interpretation.
- 8 'fully valid': see Friedman, 'Mohar Payments', 29f.
- 9 Literally 'from the Torah', a reference to the Biblical origin of the *mohar*. The formula is a Babylonian one: see Friedman, *Jewish Marriage*, I.248ff. On the figure of 200 zuz fixed as the *mohar* of a virgin see Friedman, I.251ff. The equivalent value of 8 1/3 gold dinars is found in a number of marriage deeds of 'Palestinian' type: see Friedman, I.254f.
- 10f. For this formula cf. Friedman, I.178.
- 11 Marriage was not valid without the bride's consent: Friedman, I.179.

- 15 a small cauldron (κακκάβιν) (valued) at 1 gold piece; and a cooking pot
(of the type known as) λεβέτιν, at 1 gold piece; a wash-basin (λακάνιν), a
small
16 pot of medium size and a copper spoon, at 1 gold piece; a veil with
17 silver clasp, at 2 gold pieces; a rug and a bedspread (ἀνάπλιν), at 1 gold
piece;
18 two women's dresses, at 1 gold piece; a double-faced dress of red
cotton (βαμπακερόν)
19 and a white dress, at 1 gold piece; a ?palm's-breadth (χειροπάλαμον)
woman's scarf,
20 at 2 gold pieces; two more, at 2 gold pieces;
21 a woman's dress, a bag (σακούλ) for the bath, and small tablecloth
(μεσάλιν), at 1 gold piece;

-
- 15 κακκάβιν is well attested in demotic Greek in the sense of a cooking pot or
cauldron (Kriaras, 7.228: it occurs several times in this sense in the Constantinople
Pentateuch of 1547). ('Cauldron', Mann, Starr; 'petit chaudron', Reinach, taking
it as a diminutive.)
zahub – 'gold piece', equivalent to 'dinar' (line 9) or to the Byzantine solidus:
there was little difference in value between the two coins (Reinach).
qumqum occurs twice in this line, and the first time it is pointed, as though it were a
non-Hebrew word. In this form it is, however, already naturalised in Hebrew. It
derives from Greek κούκουμα or κούκουμος, which itself comes from the Latin
cucuma. (Krauss, s.v., suggests that the Latin word may in fact be of Semitic
origin.) Various forms of the word are attested in medieval demotic Greek texts:
κούκουμος, κουκούμιν, κουκουμάρι (see Kriaras), all meaning a large pot for
boiling water or cooking. Why is the word pointed? There was no necessity to
resort to pointing to avoid an ambiguity. Perhaps the scribe was uncertain whether
the word was a Hebrew or Greek one. Cf. *saqul* (line 21), which is also pointed,
although like *qumqum* it is given without its Greek ending. It too is a Greek word
which may be ultimately of Semitic origin. It is interesting that another
apocopated Greek word, *sudar* (line 19), is not pointed: this word is not
uncommon in the rabbinic literature, and so is treated as a Hebrew word.
λεβέτιν: From ancient λέβης, 'cauldron'. The form λεβέτιν belongs to the
demotic language (see Kriaras). Interestingly it occurs in one manuscript of a
prodromic poem where two other manuscripts read κακκάβιν (see D.-C. Hesselung
and H. Pernot, eds, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Verhandelingen der
Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks
11, Amsterdam, 1910), 52, and cf. H. Eideneier (ed.), *Ptochoprodromos* (Cologne,
1991)). Perhaps there was not much difference in practice between the two
objects. On all these everyday utensils see P. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος και
Πολιτισμός*, vol. II/2 (Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes 13, Athens, 1948),
99f.
λακάνιν: The word is unpointed, either because its pronunciation is
unproblematical or because it is already accepted as a loan-word in Hebrew
(Krauss, s.v. לַקָּאָן, cf. Sokoloff, *Dictionary*, 286f.) Mann apparently takes it as a
plural Aramaic word, of Greek origin, meaning 'bottles'. Better taken as Greek
λακάνιν or λεκάνιν, 'bowl' or 'basin' (cf. Kriaras, s.v. λεκάνη). The equivalent
Arabic term, *lqn*, is found in a dowry list in T-S 24.30: Friedman, II.77.
16 On Byzantine spoons cf. Koukoules, op. cit., 102.
17 הַכֹּחֶלֶט: a rug, according to Mann, who quotes Judges 4:18. 'But "cloak" is the
post-Biblical sense, and the context, apart from metal ware, deals almost
exclusively with wearing apparel' (Starr). The immediate context, however, is

□

- 15 כפבין בזהוב אִ וְקוּמְקוּם לְבָשִׁין בזהוב אִ לְקִינִין וְקוּמְקוּ
 16 קָטָן בְּנוּנִי וְכַף שֶׁל נַחוּשָׁה בזהוב אִ צַעֲיָה עִם חֶפְסוֹ
 17 קָשֶׁר שֶׁלְכֶסֶף בִּבְ זְהוּבִים סְמִיכָה וְאַנְפְּלִין בזהוב אִ
 18 בְּגָדֵי נָשִׁים שְׁנָיִם בזהוב אִ וּבְגַד כְּפֹל כְּבָקִירֹן אָדוּם
 19 וּבְגַד לְבָן בזהוב אִ סוּדָר נָשִׁים כִּל כִּירוּפְלָמוֹן
 20 בְּשָׁנִים זְהוּבִים וְאַחֲרָיִם שְׁנָיִם בְּשָׁנִים זְהוּבִים
 21 בְּגַד נָשִׁים וְסָקוּל שֶׁלְמַרְחָץ וּמְשָׁלִין קָטָן בזהוב אִ

- bedspreads. In fact rugs were also used as bed-covers (cf. Koukoules, op. cit., 74). *ἀνάπλιον*: a rarely-attested word for an everyday object. See also no. 15, fragment i *recto*, line 223. Koukoules, *ibid.*: 'to judge by present-day usage, they were woven woollen bedspreads without fringes'. Cf. *Ἱστορικὸν Λεξικόν*, II.110.
- 18 'double-faced': cf. line 30. The meaning is unclear. Reinach translates by *doublé*, 'lined'. Starr has 'double-coat'. The most likely explanation is a 'double-faced weave'. Dr Anna Muthesius has kindly supplied the following comments: This is a weave with either a warp or a weft in two series, one of which appears on the face, the other on the reverse of the textile. Thus, two different pattern weave effects appear on a single cloth. See *Vocabulary of Technical Terms* (Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens, Lyon, 1964), 13, under 'double-faced' weave. As the cloth is relatively inexpensive, it is more likely that a 'double-faced weave' is intended than a heavier, costlier 'double cloth'. For 'double cloth', also called 'double weave', see *Vocabulary*, 14. This is defined as a 'weave which produces two textiles simultaneously one above the other'.
- βαμπακερόν*: I have written *μπ* to represent the sound of the Hebrew *b* (without *rafe*). The usual spelling is *βαμβακερόν*. On the use of cotton for clothes see Koukoules, op. cit., 22; on red colour, *ibid.*, 37.
- 19 Mann read the seventh word as *kyly*, which gives rise to an adventurous footnote by Reinach (p.129). In fact the scribe began writing the next word but, after writing *kyl*, realised he had made a mistake, and crossed the letters out. *χειροπάλαμον* is otherwise unattested. Mann's suggestion, *χειρόπλουμον* (also unattested and supposedly meaning 'hand-embroidered'), is an unlikely formation, and would have to be spelt with a *w* after the *l*. It is accepted by Reinach, with reservations: he wonders what alternative form of embroidery was available at the time.
- 21 *σακούλ*: seems to be a shortened form of *σακ(κ)ούλιον*, a small handbag. (Cf. Koukoules, op. cit., 54, who mentions it as a bag that may be attached to a belt.) See no. 15, fragment i *recto*, line 239. For Reinach, the semitised form (cf. *sudar*) denotes an old borrowing, even though the word is not found in Talmud or Midrash. The objects needed for the bath, *τὰ λουτρικά*, were so indispensable for a Byzantine woman that they are commonly specified in Greek dowry agreements (Koukoules, op. cit., 446–8; cf. P. Col. Inv. 5853 line 16, *בְּאַלְמָרִין*.) It is perhaps surprising that they are not itemised in this agreement.
- μεσάλιν*: The forms *μεσάλι* and *μισάλιν* are attested in Greek texts (Kriaras, s.v. *μενσάλιον*). The dot in the *l* indicates doubling of the consonant, which is surprising. The same phenomenon occurs in line 26, and several times in no. 16. The explanation is presumably that it reflects the current pronunciation.

- 22 two (?) (χαγιέες?) and a fine woollen belt, at a gold piece; a (?)
(ἀνατρίχιν?)
23 and three handkerchiefs, at half a gold piece. As a wedding gift
24 Namer the bridegroom gave Evdokia the bride a gilded bracelet
25 of 10 1/2 shekels; another of silver,
26 at 2 gold pieces; two armbands (ἀγκωνοβράχεια), at 2 gold pieces,
making
27 18 (eighteen) shekels; a woollen belt, at half a gold piece;
28 a pair of gold earrings with triple pendants (τριβολᾶτα) and a gold ring,
making
29 three shekels. The bride's mother gave to Evdokia
30 her daughter a double-faced red dress of silk (κουκουλάρικον), at one
and a half gold pieces.
31 The sum total, including her own possessions, her wedding gifts, the
mohar,
32 and the addition to her *ketubba*, makes thirty-five and one-third gold
pieces.
33 The bride's mother also gave
34 her daughter the lower storey, and its exit and entrance are to the east,
close to
35 the river; but half of the well shall belong to her brother Caleb and he,
36 Caleb, shall have the right to enter by the eastern gate to do
37 whatever he may need to do at the well.
38 *Mercy and truth have met together; righteousness and peace have
kissed each other.*

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- 22 I am at a loss to explain χαγιέες. Mann, Reinach and Starr all agree in reading
βαίεις, deriving the word from βῆις, a palm. They explain it as 'fans'. Palm-
shaped fans are represented pictorially, but the linguistic usage is not otherwise
recorded, and the first letter appears to be a *k*, not a *b*.
ἀνατρίχιν: or possibly ἐντρίχιν (the word is unpointed). Neither word is attested,
and the meaning can only be surmised. Mann mistakenly writes ἐντριχον
(which has at least the merit of being attested elsewhere, albeit very rarely, in the
meaning 'wig'). Reinach understands it as a diminutive of this ('postiche'). He
wonders whether it was a matter of fashion or religious observance. Perhaps the
word means either a hairbrush or some kind of head-covering.
23f. The bridegroom's gift is a voluntary addition to the basic *mohar*, known formally
as *iosefet*. Unlike the *mohar*, it is an actual gift to the bride.
26 ἀγκωνοβράχεια: I have ignored the doubling of the *l* (cf. line 21 above), as the
word, although not itself otherwise attested, is clearly derived from βραχίελα.
28 τριβολᾶτα: 'with triple pendants' (Starr), based on Reinach's explanation: Greek
τριβολος, any three-pointed object, passes into Latin as *tribulus*, with the adjective
tribulatus or *tribolatus*. This adjective then comes back into Greek as
τριβουλᾶτος. The word is not attested elsewhere.

- 22 כִּי־אִישׁ ב' וְאִזּוֹר צִמֵּר יִפֶּה בּוֹהוֹב' וְאִנְטֵרִיכִין
 23 וְשִׁלְשָׁה מִטְפָּחוֹת יָדִים בַּחֲצֵי זֶהוּ וְקִידֵשׁ
 24 זֶה נִמְר הַחֲתָן לְזוֹ אֲבֵרוֹקִיָּאָה הַכֹּלָה בְּצִמִּיד מוֹזֶהָב
 25 בַּעַל שְׁקָלִים עֶשְׂרֵה וְחִצֵּי שְׁקָל וְאֶחָד שֶׁלְכֶסֶף
 26 בֶּב זֶהוּ אֲנִקְוֹנֶבְרֶכִיקָא ב' בֶּב זֶהוּ בַעֲלִי
 27 שְׁקָלִים י'ח שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשֶׂר וְאִזּוֹר צִמֵּר בַּחֲצֵי זֶהוּ
 28 זֶוּג עֵיגִלִּי זֶהָב טְרִיבֹלְטָא וְטַבַּעַת שֶׁל זֶהָב בַּעֲלִי
 29 שְׁקָלִים שִׁלְשָׁה וְעוֹד נַחְנָה אִמָּה שֶׁלְכֹלָה לְאֲבֵרוֹקִיָּאָה
 30 בַּתָּה בְּגַד כְּפֹל אֲדוּם קֶקֶוֹלֵרִיקוֹן בּוֹהוֹב וְחִצֵּי
 31 וְעֵלָה סָכוּם כּוֹלָם עִם נַכְסִיָּה וְקִידוּשִׁיָּה וּמוֹהֲרִיָּה
 32 וְעִם תּוֹסַפֵּת כְּתוּבָתָהּ זֶהוּבִים שְׁלִשִׁים וְחֲמִשָּׁה וְשִׁלִּישׁ
 33 וְקִיבֵל עֲלָיו נִמְר הַחֲתָן דֵּן וְעוֹד נַחְנָה אִמָּה שֶׁלְכֹלָה
 34 לְבַתָּה הַבֵּית הַתְּחֻתוֹן וּמוֹצָאוֹ וּמוֹבָאוֹ יִהְיֶה בְּמוֹרַח סְמוּךְ
 35 לְנֶהָר וְחֲצִיָּה שֶׁל בְּאֵר יִהְיֶה לְאֲחִיָּה כֹּלֵב וִיְהִיָּה לוֹ
 36 רְשׁוּת לְכֹלֵב שִׁיכְנֵס מִן הַשַּׁעַר הַמּוֹרַחִית לַעֲשׂוֹת
 37 בְּבֵאֵר כֹּל צִרְכּוֹ
 38 חֶסֶד וְאַמֶּת נִפְגְּשׁוּ צַדִּק וְשִׁלּוּם נִשְׁקוּ

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- 30 *κουκουλάρικον*: unpointed, but the word does not seem to be in doubt. The scribe originally wrote an *l* instead of the second *k*. Mann (followed by Reinach and Starr) takes it as being *κουκουλλάρικον*, which Sophocles, s.v., explains as 'a garment furnished with a *κουκούλλιον*' (Latin *cucullus*, a hood). Sophocles refers to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Caerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, II.45, where the edition he cites (J.J. Reiskius, Bonn, 1829; also available in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 112.1252) actually reads *ἱμάτια κουκουλάρικα* (with one *l*). A few lines later in this text, however, we have *τούβλια κουκουλάρικα* for a type of leggings, which very reasonably puzzled the editor. Koukoules (op. cit., p.25 n.1) explains the term as meaning 'made from second-grade silk', which seems to suit all the contexts excellently. (There were no less than twelve grades of silk on the Eastern Mediterranean market: see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, I.222, 454f.)
- 33 The scribe began to write the sentence that begins the verso: the dots indicate a deletion.
- 34 'storey': or 'house'. 'Close to the river': on the significance of this information see Barnes and Whittow, 'Mastaura Kalesi' (see above on 3f.), 131.
- 35 'half of the well': the same expression 'half a well' is found in a marriage deed from Ramla, probably written in 1064: Friedman, II.150.
- 38 Psalm 85:11. The seven-branched lampstand (menorah) was well established by this time as a Jewish emblem or symbol; on the other hand pictorial decorations are rare in marriage deeds at this early date (Friedman, I.96).

verso

- 1 Namer the bridegroom accepted responsibility for this marriage
 settlement
 2 for himself and his heirs after him, to be secured by
 3 the choicest of his possessions under heaven, indoors
 4 or out, whether landed or movable property, even down to
 5 the coat on his shoulders; it is not to have the effect of an *asmakhta* or
 6 a legal formality, but is subject to the full rigour of all the enactments
 7 of the rabbis. We have received from the bridegroom Namer
 ?assurances concerning every detail
 8 and matter of what is written and itemised on the other side
 9 of this document in due and appropriate form (?).
 10 Valid and effective. *AQOLUTOS*.
 11 [signed] Judah son of the late Nabon; Moses son of the late Leon;
 12 Shelahia son of the late Joseph;
 13 Moses son of the late Rabbi Shabbetai.

verso

- 10 *AQOLUTOS*: Both the transcription of the Greek word and the translation are problematical. Although clearly a Greek term, it has so far only been found in Hebrew or Aramaic documents. Mann transcribes it ἀκωλύτως, ἀκώλυτος, and translates it 'unhindered'. He is followed by Reinach and Starr. Earlier, David Kaufmann had suggested a derivation from ἀκολούθω, meaning 'in good order' (*MGWJ* 41 (1897) 220); this interpretation is accepted by E.S. Rosenthal, *Peraqim* 1 (1967/8) 198f. Moshe Gil, *JNES* 32 (1973) 318–20, surveys the various explanations that have been offered, and brings together a number of medieval examples. With the exception of our text, it is always written with a *th*, not a *t*, which would tend to support the transcription ἀκολούθως. How should it be understood? For Gil, a particularly telling instance is a Tyrian *ketubbah* datable to the early 11th century with the formula *aqolithos ha-niyyaroth*, which may mean '[certified as] in accordance with the [attached] papers'. Gil relates this to the earlier custom of accompanying a copy of a deed by a statement attesting to its accuracy and authenticity. Later the attestation forms part of the copy, as is the case in our text. The formula *aqolithos* would then be a fossilised remainder of a fuller expression specifying (as in the example from Tyre) with what the copy is in conformity. Friedman, 1.479f., is critical of Gil's argument: he expresses a preference for Kaufmann's view, while not ruling out Mann's explanation.

verso

1	וקיבל עליו נמר החתן אחריות כתובתא דא
2	עלוהי ועל ירחוהי בתריה לפריעה מן שפר
3	ארג נכסין דאית ליה תחות שמייא בביחא
4	ובברא מן מקרקעי וממטלטלי ואפילו מן
5	גלימא דעל כחפיה דלא כאסמכתא ז'ל'א
6	כסופסא דישטרי אלא כחומר כל תקנתא
7	דרבנן וקנינא מן נמר החתן דנא בכל פיתגמי
8	ועיניני אילן דכתבין ומפרשין מאחורי
9	שטר דנא במנא דכשר למקנייא ביה
10	שריר וקיים אקול'יטוס'
	סמ
11	יהודה בן נבון נבע משה בן לאון נע
	סח
12	שלחיה בן יוסף נע
13	משה בירבי שבתי ישיעם

-
- 11 The name Judah is accompanied by two abbreviations: (above) *swm*, (below) *swt*. Mann suggests they may attest to his qualification as a scribe of (respectively) *mezuzot* and *tefillin*. Other abbreviations indicate that the fathers of the signatories are deceased. For the name Leon cf. Elia ben Caleb ben Leon, writer of a letter from Benhe in Egypt in the 1140s (T-S 10J.9.14; translation in Starr, *Jews*, 220). He writes in Hebrew and is probably a Byzantine. Cf. Bowman, *Jews of Byzantium*, 62n., 80, 133.
- 13 ישיעם: Mann explains this as short for *משכבו על יטח שלום יטח*, 'may he come (to) peace (and) rest upon his resting-place'.

and ornamented with curlicues has been inserted in the blank space at the bottom of the recto.

Brown ink. The writing is somewhat irregular and the lines are of uneven length. There is very little punctuation. Pointing is applied to Greek words, but not consistently. Dots are placed over letters used as numerals; in *recto* line 33 they are used to indicate a deletion. Elsewhere letters to be deleted are ruled through.

First published by Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, II.94–6. French translation and commentary by Théodore Reinach, 'Un Contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgaroctone', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger I* (Paris, 1924), 118–32. English translation with short commentary in Starr, *Jews*, 187–190. Illustrated in Solomon A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*, Pt II (London, 1954–57), no. 288.

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