ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SHIPS OF *KZD/RY* IN THE ERASED CUSTOMS ACCOUNT FROM ELEPHANTINE*

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THE Aramaic text from Elephantine known as the Words of Aḥiqar was written over a multicolumn, erased text known as the Customs Account; it was deciphered by Ada Yardeni and published in full in 1993.[1] The deciphering of this text, which has been dated to year 11 of Xerxes I—475 B.C.E.[2] or, alternatively, to Artaxerxes I—454 B.C.E.,[3] reveals a succession of Egyptian months that enables us to follow the order of the papyrus sheets and to establish the number of missing columns.[4] The text records the dates (day and month) and customs duties collected at the arrival and departure of Ionian and Phoenician ships and given to the Achaemenid royal treasury during one ten-month sailing season (approximately from March to December). The information from the Customs Account concerning maritime trade includes the types of ships sailing to and from Egypt and the kinds of goods they carried as well as information about the system of duty collection and the royal practice of accounting in Achaemenid Egypt in the early Persian period.[5]

Four types of ships are mentioned in the account. Two types are large Ionian ships; nineteen are related to *spynh rbh* (large ships), and seventeen are related to another type of large ship with the enigmatic designation *ʾswt kḥmwš spynh rbh*; most of them are identified by the name of their Greek (*iwny*) captains (owners?). The other two types are Phoenician ships; three are related to *dwgy qnd/rtˁ* (large boats), and an additional three are related to *dwgy qnd/rtšyry* (small boats), which are apparently types of ships called *spynt kzd/ry* (ships of *kzd/r*). Each ship had its own specific cargo and had to pay specific duties: either the *mndtʾ*, which apparently amounted to one-fifth of the goods imported, which was paid by the Ionian ships, or the tithe, *mˁšrʾ*, which was paid by the Phoenician ships. Taxes were collected (*gby*) from each ship and "turned (over)" (*ˁbyd*) to the royal treasury (*byt mlkʾ*).

This article proposes identifying the term *kzd/ry*, which appears in papyrus sheet FV3, 25—//////—ספינ(ו)ת כֹזדְָרֹי—"ships of *kzd/ry* 6," as a toponym, namely, the Persian-period site of Tell Ghazza (Arabic)/Tel Yaˁoz (Hebrew), which has been the subject of several recent

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[1] B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3, *Literature, Accounts, Lists* (Jerusalem, 1993); for the Words of Aḥiqar, see §C1.1; for the Customs Account, see §C3.7.

[2] Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3, pp. xx and 23.
[3] P. Briant and R. Descat, "Un registre douanier de la satrapie d'Égypte à l'époque achéménide," in N. Grimal and B. Menu, eds., *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, Bibliothèque d'étude 121 (Cairo, 1998), p. 61.
[4] All in all thirty papyrus sheets are published, and their estimated original total number is forty-six.
[5] A. Yardeni, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy in an Erased Customs Account from 475 B.C.E. on the Aḥiqar Scroll from Elephantine," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 293 (1994): 67–78.

studies.[6] The site is located on the southern border of the Rishon LeZion dunes, just to the north of the bend of the Wâdī Rubin (Arabic)/Naḥal Sorek (Hebrew) stream, some 1.5 km east of the Mediterranean shoreline (New Israel Grid 174/650; Old Israel Grid 124/150) (see fig. 1).

Although the Customs Account has been the subject of several publications, only a few have dealt with the meaning of the term *kzd/ry*. Ada Yardeni, for example, wrote:

Their [the ships'] national designation is also either missing or illegible and their origin is suggested by the Sidonian wine and cedar wood they carried (. . . the word *kzd/ry*, the reading and meaning of which is uncertain, may refer to the Phoenician ships).[7]

In reviewing Porten and Yardeni's 1993 work, E. Lipiński wrote:

[The] six ships mentioned . . . are called *spynt kzd/ry* (FV3, 25), but the reading *spynt ʿzry* seems also possible. In this case *ʿzry* could be a Phoenician proper name, the more so because these ships carry Sidonian wine and cedar wood.[8]

It is only in P. Briant and R. Descat's commentary on the Customs Account that we find a more convincing explanation for the term in question:

L'ethnique des six bateaux appelés phéniciens par les éditeurs pose des problèmes non moins délicats. L'une des possibilités—considérée comme linguistiquement acceptable par Javier Texidor—est de lire l'ethnique *kzry* comme «gézeréen», de la cité de Gazer/Gezer en Judée. Le *gzr* biblique . . . est transcrit *qsr* dans le liste de Thoutmosis III. . . . C'est une forme qui *peut* correspondre au *kzr* du papyrus.[9]

The identification of the term with biblical Gezer was subsequently refuted by Briant and Descat because of the location of the site some 20 km away from the seacoast and the site's status and poor archaeological remains in Persian times.[10] Alternatively, Briant and Descat suggested that the term *kzr* may correspond to pseudo-Scylax's Ἄδαρος πόλις Σιδωνίων,[11] and Strabo's Gadaris.[12] The identification of *kzr* with Adaros is problematic from both the linguistic and epigraphical points of view[13] and with Strabo's Gadaris, mentioned in the contexts of discussing Iopph (Joppa/Jaffa) and its agricultural hinterland and the coastal towns of the southern Shephelah, is misleading.[14] Strabo, for lack of

[6] M. Fischer, I. Roll, and O. Tal, "Persian and Hellenistic Remains at Tel Yaʿoz," *Tel Aviv* 35 (2008): 123–63; O. Segal, R. Kletter, and I. Ziffer, "A Persian-Period Building from Tel Yaʿoz (Tell Ghaza)," *ʿAtiqot* 52 (2006): 1*–24* (Hebrew; English Summary, p. 203); I. Ziffer, R. Kletter, and O. Segal, "Drinking Vessels (Rhyta) from Tel Yaʿoz," *ʿAtiqot* 52 (2006): 25*–37* (Hebrew; English Summary, pp. 203–4).

[7] Yardeni, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy," p. 70.

[8] E. Lipiński, "Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 25 (1994): 65.

[9] Briant and Descat, "Un registre douanier de la satrapie d'Égypte," p. 63.

[10] Ibid., pp. 63–64.

[11] K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), p. 198.

[12] *Geography* 16.2.29; A. Meineke, ed., *Strabonis*

geographica (Leipzig, 1866–77).

[13] Cf., for example, M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 10–11 and E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127/Studia Phoenicia 18 (Leuven, 2004), pp. 316–20 for the reading Ἄραδος. Lipiński has shown that Galling's reading Ἄδαρος, which he identified with Βουκόλων πόλις of Strabo and placed at ʿAtlit, is questionable. Accordingly, Lipiński suggests that the toponym Ἄραδος is based on the Phoenician or Aramaic root *ḥrd*, confirmed by the Latin names of ʿAtlit (Petra Incisa, Lapis Incisus, and Districtum) referring to the cleft in the *kurkar* (fossilized dune sandstone) coastal ridge that opens the way to the site (ibid.).

[14] "In the interval one comes to Gadaris, which the Judeans appropriated to themselves; and then to Azotos and Ascalon." *Geography* 16.2.29 (ed. Meineke).
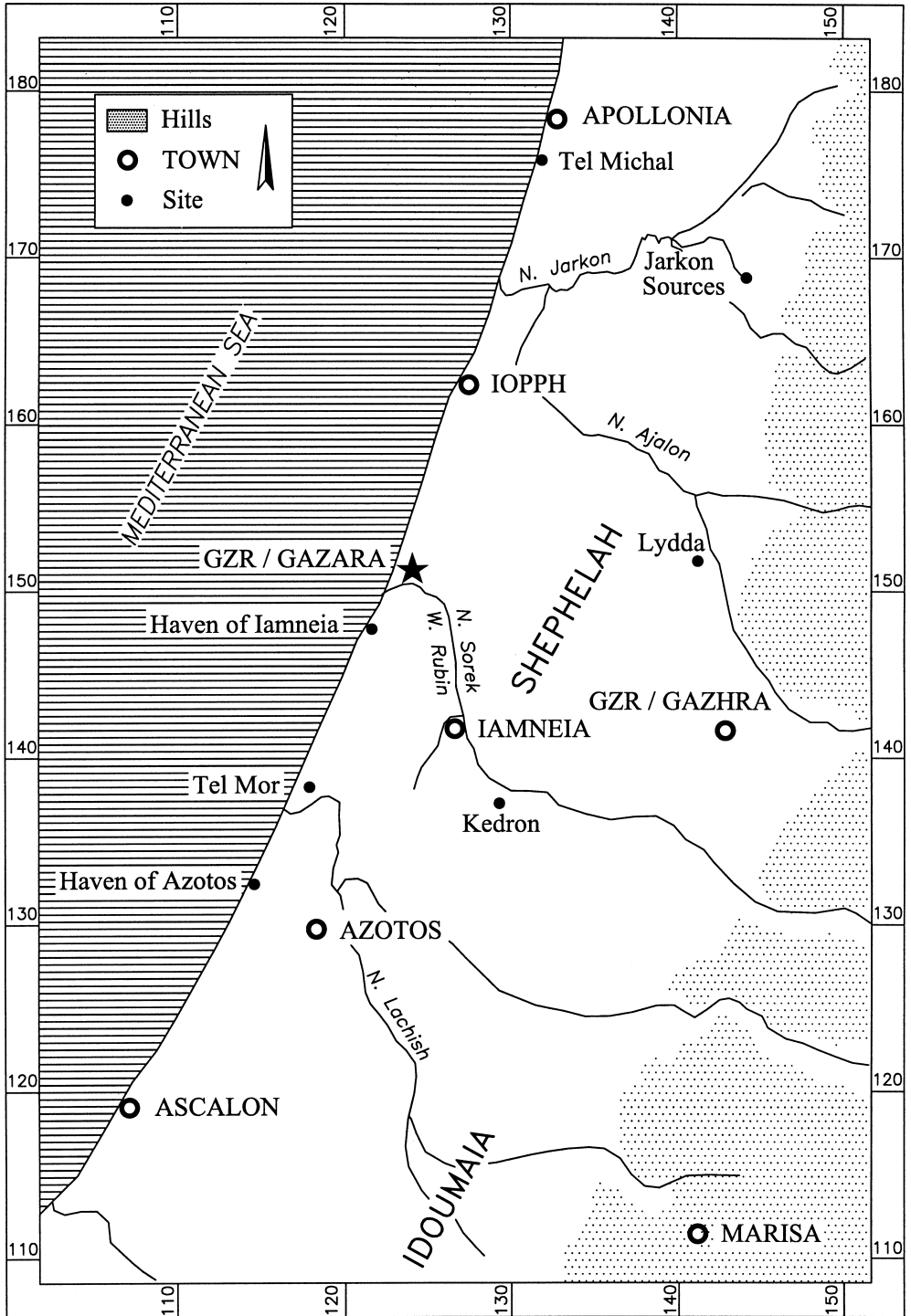
FIG. 1.

current knowledge, used the erroneous form "Gadaris" for the place called "Gazara" con-
quered by Simon the Hasmonean.[15] Moreover, Strabo confuses Gadaris and Gadara of the
Decapolis in the same paragraph, identifying Gadaris as the birthplace of four famous
Greek philosophers who were actually born in Gadara.

Given the fact that *kzr* and *gzr* are assimilated (since -*k*- and -*g*- are both guttural), the
geographical name Gazara (Γάζαρα) in Hellenistic times may be the key to our under-
standing of *kzd/ry* in the Customs Account.[16] The suffix -*y*- in *kzry* is apparently gentilic.
From a linguistic point of view, Greek Gazara is Semitic Gazar, the suffix -*a*- being
clearly Greek, and it is attested in other adaptations of Semitic place-names in the Helle-
nistic Near East (see, for example, Dor/Dora, Gezer/Gazera, Gadar/Gadara, and Geresh/
Gerasa).[17] The earliest reference to Hellenistic Gazara is found in 1 Macc. 9:50–52: In
161 b.c.e. Bacchides, the commander of the Syrian army, attempted to restore Seleucid
rule over Judah and Palestine (in the context of the Maccabean revolt) by means of estab-
lishing and manning a number of fortresses in key topographical positions that controlled
the main roads to Jerusalem, including Beth-Zur and Gazara.[18] These fortresses were built in
towns with Jewish populations and were thus almost certainly perceived by Bacchides as
potential focal points of unrest. The accepted view is to identify the Gazara of Bacchides
with Tel Gezer, although the text gives no reliable geographical details for its location. It
is more reasonable to place Gazara, including Bacchides' fortress, at Tell Ghazza as will
be shown below.[19] This site-name appears on early twentieth-century mandatory maps of

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[15] For example, 1 Macc. 13:43–48; W. Kappler, ed.,
Maccabaeorum libri I–IV, Septuaginta IX/I (Göttingen,
1936). On this, see M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors
on Jews and Judaism,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1974), p. 293.

[16] Not to be confused with the geographical name
Gazera (Γάζηρα), which appears in the context of two
of the military campaigns waged by Judas Macca-
baeus against the Seleucid army: *a*) In events follow-
ing Judas's great victory in the battle of Emmaus in
165 b.c.e., when the Jewish warriors pursued the
Seleucid army: "as far as Gazera and the plains of
Idoumaia, to Azotos and Yamneia" (1 Macc. 4:15 [ed.
Kappler]); and *b*) Judas Maccabaeus's victory over
Nicanor in 161 b.c.e. in the battle of Adasa, when the
Jewish warriors "pursued them a day's journey, from
Adasa unto Gazera" (1 Macc. 7:45 [ed. Kappler]).

[17] On this phenomenon and additional examples,
see Y. Elitzur, *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land:
Preservation and History* (Jerusalem and Winona Lake,
Indiana, 2004), p. 338.

[18] 1 Macc. 9:50–52 (ed. Kappler).

[19] Tell Ghazza was officially declared an antiquities
site only in 1933, when it was included in the booklet
of appendixes to the British mandatory schedule of his-
torical sites and monuments (*Government of Palestine:
Additions to the Provisional Schedule of Historical Sites
and Monuments* [Jerusalem, 1933], p. 22). The fact that
it was covered for centuries with a high sand dune in
an area of a series of dunes that could not be distin-
guished from one another prevented its identification as
an archaeological site by travelers who passed nearby.

The identification of Tell Ghazza (and not Tel Gezer
as generally agreed upon) with Gazara of 1 Maccabees
was proposed by I. Roll, in "Gazara: A Coastal Town
of the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean Periods in the Land
of Israel," in *Abstracts of the Eighth Archaeological
Congress in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1981), p. 8 (Hebrew);
idem, "Bacchides' Fortifications and the Arteries of
Traffic to Jerusalem in the Hellenistic Period," *Eretz-
Israel* 25 (1996): 511 (Hebrew; English Summary,
pp. 107*–8*). A detailed historical-archaeological ar-
gument for this identification is to be found in Fischer,
Roll, and Tal, "Persian and Hellenistic Remains at Tel
Yaʿoz," pp. 152–55. It should be emphasized, however,
that H. Reland was the first to differentiate Gazara
"on the borders of Azotos" of the Hasmonean period
and the Gezer mentioned in the Bible and by Eusebius
on the basis of the written sources alone; see H. Reland,
Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata (Utrecht,
1714), pp. 778–80, s.v. Gadara and p. 809, s.v. Gezer.
With the publication of the (first) Gezer boundary in-
scription found near the site by C. Clermont-Ganneau,
who assumed that not only could the place be identified
as biblical Gezer but also as Hasmonean Gazara; see
his *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the
Years 1873–1874,* vol. 1 (London, 1896–99), pp. 224–
75 and the publication of the results of R. A. S.
Macalister's excavations of Tel Gezer in the early
twentieth century in his *The Excavation of Gezer
1902–1905 and 1907–1909,* 3 vols. (London, 1911–
12). Gazara, for the most part, became synonomous
with Tel Gezer in subsequent publications. It is note-

Palestine, and the place-name Ghazza was based on the way the name was pronounced by the locals, which preserved an earlier vocal tradition. It should be stressed that Tell Ghazza is located in the area of greater Yavneh (Iamneia), which at the time was populated by Jews. Evidence of this can be seen in the story of the punitive raid of Judas Maccabaeus against the polytheistic population of Yavneh and its port because it constituted a threat to the Jews of the area.[20] The geographical name Gaza[ra] also appears in 1 Macc. 13:43–48, in connection with the siege Simon the Hasmonean imposed on the town in 142 B.C.E.[21] Gazara is mentioned again in the context of military events occurring in Judah four years later, in 138 B.C.E., while Simon still ruled, when Antiochos Sidetes sent his friend Athenobios to demand the return of three towns belonging to his kingdom: Iopph, Gazara, and the Akra (in Jerusalem)—a demand that was rejected.[22] The identification of Gazara with Tell Ghazza (and not, as is customarily accepted, at Tel Gezer) is more logical geographically from a Hasmonean perspective because in that location the site created a corridor allowing Jews access to the Mediterranean, and it cut off Seleucid territorial contiguity with the southern coastal plain and with Egypt. Gazara is mentioned once more in 1 Macc. 16:19–21 in the context of an unsuccessful murder attempt on John Hyrcanos.[23]

From an archaeological perspective, the site's fifth-century occupation is clearly connected to royal administration. M. Dothan, who was the first to conduct a comprehensive survey of the site and its surroundings, concluded that during the Persian and Hellenistic

worthy that the toponym Tell Ghazza may form a *Nachbenennung* of Gaza as one of the dominant sites in the region of the southern coastal plain; however, the assimilation of the geographical name Ghazza with Gazara may also suggest that the site maintained its ancient name, as can also be deduced from the archaeological evidence. The absence of the suffix -*r*- in the Arabic place-name (that is, Tell Ghazza and not Tell Ghazzar) can be compared to such other linguistic phenomena; for example, Arabic al-Ǧīb preserved the toponym Gibeon (biblical) or Gabaon (classical); the Arabic al-Midye preserved the toponym Modi'in (Apocrypha); and the Arabic ʿĀqer preserved the toponym ʿAqqaron (biblical Ekron); on this, see Y. Elitzur, *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land*, esp. pp. 336–37.

[20] 2 Macc. 12:8–9 (ed. Kappler). See M. Fischer, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, vol. 2, *The Jaffa-Jerusalem Roads* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 284–88.

[21] 1 Macc. 13:43–48 (ed. Kappler). See, in this connection, B. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus, "On the Jews": Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 21 (Berkeley, 1996), pp. 123–29, though identified with Tel Gezer. The conquest of Gazara is mentioned in two more paragraphs, in 1 Macc. 14:7 and 34 (ed. Kappler), which sum up the activities of Simon. In both cases the place-name is spelled Gazara. Therefore, there is no doubt that in the text quoted above (1 Macc. 13:43 [ed. Kappler]), the name should not be Gaza but Gazara. Moreover, 1 Macc. 14:34 (ed. Kappler) gives a hint of prime geographical significance with regard to Gazara's location. It notes that Simon

"fortified Iopph, which is by the sea, and Gazara, which is on the borders of Azotos, where the enemy formerly dwelt. He settled Jews there, and provided them with whatever was necessary for their restoration there." At some point Simon transferred command of Gazara to his son John Hyrcanus, as 1 Macc. 13:53 (ed. Kappler) describes it: "And Simon saw that John his son had reached manhood, so he made him commander of all the forces, and he dwelt in Gazara."

[22] 1 Macc. 15:28–35 (ed. Kappler).

[23] 1 Macc. 16:19–21 (ed. Kappler). See A. Kasher, *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Hellenistic Cities during the Second Temple Period (332 BCE–70 CE)*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 21 (Tübingen, 1990), pp. 111–14, though here identified with Tel Gezer. It should be noted that Josephus Flavius also documents the events mentioned above (i.e., *Jewish Antiquities* 12.7.4 [308]; 10.5 [410]; 13.1.3 [15]; 6.7 [215]; 7.3–4 [225–29]; see B. Niese, ed., *Flavii Josephi Opera* [Berlin, 1888–95]). In the above-mentioned passages of Josephus, where the town under discussion is mentioned, only one version of its name appears: Gazara. This name, however, appears also in conjunction with Judas Maccabaeus's battle of Emmaus, as opposed to the name in 1 Macc. 4:15 (ed. Kappler), where it is cited as Gazera. The form Gazara also appears when Josephus specifically mentions biblical Gezer, for example, in *Jewish Antiquities* 7.12.2 [301] and 8.6.1 [151] (ed. Niese).

periods Tell Ghazza was the chief site of the Wâdī Rubin region.[24] In the limited excavations carried out at the site in 1981 by Tel Aviv University (TAU), headed by I. Roll, it became clear that the mound had served as an acropolis for a larger settlement that extended to its south as far as the northern bank of Wâdī Rubin and the springs there. At the summit of Tell Ghazza, foundations were found of a monumental structure decorated in the Greek (Doric) style and dated to the second century B.C.E. On the site's northeastern slopes, the eastern part of an open-courtyard-type dwelling was unearthed, with walls built in the Phoenician pilaster style. This building, which had been exposed earlier by antiquities robbers, revealed a limited number of finds; notable among these are Phoenician carinated-shoulder storage jars, Attic glazed ware, and an incised glass seal in the Greco-Persian style. The meager number of finds does not allow us to establish a precise chronological range for the building but, rather, only a general date somewhere in the fifth or fourth centuries B.C.E.[25] A fifth-century B.C.E. date seems more likely. A rescue dig was carried out in 1998 by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) on the site's southwestern slopes. It revealed the walls of a structure similar in building technique, plan, and orientation to that discovered in the 1981 excavations and, based on the presence of Attic ware, could be dated to the fifth century B.C.E.[26] Notable among its finds were Phoenician carinated-shoulder storage jars, Attic glazed ware, and clay rhyta, including an almost complete anthropomorphic rhyton (identified as the Egyptian deity Amon-Ra), which, on the basis of petrographic analysis, was manufactured in Phoenicia, albeit with Achaemenid-style morphology and Egyptian-style iconography.[27] In light of the fact that the two structures excavated by TAU and the IAA are located on opposite slopes of the mound; are contemporaneous; and evince a similar building technique, plan, and orientation, the fifth-century B.C.E. site must have been quite a large settlement, covering at least 1.5 hectares and, given the ceramic distribution, may have been even larger.

Another indication of the site's administrative nature is the distribution of the pottery. The IAA excavators concluded that the Phoenician carinated-shoulder jar is the predominant type of jar (and apparently the predominant ceramic find) found during the excavations.[28] These jars have been the subject of a recent study, which aimed at investigating the level of centralization and modes of production and distribution in Persian-period southern Phoenicia.[29] The jars' petrographic and chemical analyses suggest that they were

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[24] M. Dothan, "An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Rubin River," *Israel Exploration Journal* 2 (1952): 112. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s the site suffered damage after it became a military firing range and a quarry and experienced increasing illegal excavations. Many remarkable finds were discovered in the course of these operations, however, among them Phoenician inscriptions (now in the hands of private collectors) and administrative-oriented, Persian-period finds such as Philistian coins and weights. See A. Kindler, "The Greco-Phoenician Coins Struck in Palestine in the Time of the Persian Empire," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 1 (1963): 2–6; H. Gitler and O. Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC: A Study of the Earliest Coins of Palestine*, Collezioni Numismatiche 6 (Milan and New York, 2006), pp. 49–51; and E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.* (Warminster, England and Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 216–27, fig. 364.

[25] Fischer, Roll, and Tal, "Persian and Hellenistic Remains at Tel Yaʿoz," pp. 129–34 and 148–52.

[26] Segal, Kletter, and Ziffer," A Persian-Period Building from Tel Yaʿoz," p. 20*.

[27] Ziffer, Kletter, and Segal, "Drinking Vessels (Rhyta) from Tel Yaʿoz."

[28] Segal, Kletter, and Ziffer, "A Persian-Period Building from Tel Yaʿoz," p. 8*.

[29] E. A. Bettles, *Phoenician Amphora Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: A Multi-Disciplinary Investigation into Carinated-Shoulder Amphorae of the Persian Period (539–332 BC)*, BAR International Series 1183 (Oxford, 2003).

produced in Phoenicia proper, in Sarepta;[30] but workshops in the area of either Sidon or Tyre cannot be rejected as production sites altogether because of their similar geographical and soil conditions. Bettles justifiably linked the Sidonian wine of the Customs Account to the Phoenician carinated-shoulder jars, though she rejected their origin in Sidon[31] on the basis that "Sidon/ian" was also used as a generic term for "Phoenicia/n."[32] In fact, all documented Phoenician carinated-shoulder jars recovered from Tell Ghazza can be dated to the fifth century B.C.E., corresponding to Bettles's Types A1 and A2.[33] The dozens of Phoenician jars discovered during the excavations of the site, their petrographic analysis pointing to an origin in the Lebanese coast,[34] and the site's location next to a wide river bank some 1.5 km from the Mediterranean all make Tell Ghazza a probable center of distribution.

As stated above, the Phoenician ships mentioned in the Customs Account were divided between large- and small-type ships, that is, three *dwgy qnd/rt^c* and three *dwgy qnd/rtšyry*. The ships carried Sidonian wine (*ḥmr ṣydnyn*) that is most probably defined by royal Achaemenid (or royal Sidonian?) years—year 10 in the large ships (*t^c*) and year 11 in the smaller ones (*tšyry*).[35] It may be assumed that the larger ships, carrying the older wine (year 10), arrived at the same time as the smaller ships, carrying the younger wine (year 11), with both appearing on the same Customs Account, because of a lag due to the time required to load a full cargo onto the larger ships (with the storage jars normally placed in the bottom of ships), their probable longer sailing time, and the fact that the six documented Phoenician ships sailed only during the months of October through December. Apart from wine, the Phoenician ships carried in their cargo metals (iron, bronze, and tin), wood (for various uses), wool (two types that are apparently named after their places of origin, *kpr ṣ^c* and *kpr [·]bn*),[36] and clay (*ṭyn šmwš*—of Samian origin[37] and apparently used in the local ceramics industry).[38] The ships' owners were evidently Sidonian, although only

[30] Ibid., pp. 224–26.

[31] Obviously, an actual Sidonian origin does not agree with the petrographic and chemical analysis Bettles carried out on the Phoenician carinated jars, as Sarepta is the only identified manufacturing center among its five assumed such centers.

[32] Ibid., pp. 253–54. For more on this subject, see I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism: A Literary Analysis*, JSOT Supplement Series 303/Copenhagen International Seminar 7 (Sheffield, 2000), pp. 218–22.

[33] Bettles, *Phoenician Amphora Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant*, pp. 104–9.

[34] A. Gorzalczany, "Petrographic Analysis of the Persian-Period Ceramic Assemblage from Tel Ya'oz," *'Atiqot* 52 (2006): 40*–42*, Group 4 (Neogine marl) (Hebrew; English Summary, p. 205).

[35] Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3, §C3.7, for year 10: Papyrus sheets [FR1, 11]; FR2, 9, 16; FR3, 10; [FV1, 7, 19]; FV2, 3, 10; FV3, 5; [GR1, 13]; GR3, 19; [GR4, 2, 12, 16]; GV2, 7; [KR4, 15]; for Year 11: Papyrus sheets [FR1, 12]; FR2, 5, 10, 17; FR3, 11; [FV1, 8, 23]; FV2, 4, 11; FV3, 6; GR2, 24; GR3, 3, 8; GV2, 8; [JR3, 16, 21]; JV1, 22. From an archaeological point of view we have hardly any evidence of fifth-century B.C.E. Phoe-

nician storage jars in Palestine that are marked by year; cf., for example, B. Delavault and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions phéniciennes de Palestine," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 7 (1979): 1–39 and passim. But the meaning of such storage jars does not have to be physical (i.e., inking the jars).

[36] Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3, §C3.7: Papyrus sheets DV1, 11–12; DV2, 11; [FR1, 17]; FR2, 22; [FV1, 9]; FV2, 12; FV3, 8; GV2, 15–16; [JR3, 4, 10, 22].

[37] Ibid., §C3.7: Papyrus sheets DV1, 15; DV2, 16; [FR1, 18]; FR2, 23; [FR3, 18]; GR2, 25; GR3, 4, 12; GV2, 19.

[38] E. Lipiński, "Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt," p. 66, suggests that the term *ṭyn šmwš* refers to "potter's clay" or, more precisely, "clay for tableware," based on correlation to the Jewish Aramaic term *šimmūš*, "service." From a technical point of view, such an argument is problematic because Persian-period table-vessel clay does not normally differ from that of storage vessels and lamps. It is logical to assume that the term *ṭyn šmwš* is the Aramaic translation of γῆς Σαμίας of the Zenon papyri (P. Cairo Zenon 1, 59012, col. 2); see X. Durand, *Des grecs en Palestine au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ: le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon*

one name was preserved, *šm[···]n* (EV1, 2), and its ethnic identity is open to speculation.[39] The diverse character of the ships' cargo suggests that they were loaded in a harbor of a centralized administrative nature, where goods of various origins were collected. Given the location of Tell Ghazza on the royal coastal trunk route, which extended along the Palestinian coast and beyond,[40] and the finds discovered at the site, its centralized administrative nature is apparent.[41]

In summary, the Customs Account tells us about maritime trade in a certain year in the fifth century B.C.E., either 475 or 454, during which time Egypt was a province of the Achaemenid Empire. Tell Ghazza's lack of reliable archaeological evidence for occupation during the fourth century B.C.E. cannot be taken as a mere coincidence. In fact, from the archaeological evidence we know that the site flourished again only in the second century B.C.E. This is not to say that during the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. the site was totally abandoned, but it does lessen its status in imperial terms. We can infer that both the size of the settlement and its administrative activities were reduced during these two centuries.

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de Caunos (261–252), Cahiers de la Revue biblique 38 (Paris, 1997), p. 120. In this respect it should be emphasized that according to the archaeological evidence, during the Persian (and early Hellenistic) periods Samian amphorae are the most common clay storage-vessel imports found in the Eastern Mediterranean; see, for example, I. K. Whitbread, *Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study*, The British School at Athens, Fitch Laboratory Occasional Paper 4 (Exeter, 1995), pp. 122–33. Thus trade in *ṭyn šmwš* raises a question as to whether the Eastern Mediterranean Samian amphorae were indeed produced in Samos or locally made with imported Samian clay.

[39] E. Lipiński, "Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt," p. 63, reads the name *Šm[p]rwn* = Greek Συμφέρων, but a Semitic name cannot be rejected altogether.

[40] On this, see my article, "Some Remarks on the Coastal Plain of Palestine under Achaemenid Rule—An Archaeological Synopsis," *Persika* 6 (2005): 71–74.

[41] Interestingly, the cargo of the outgoing Phoenician ships is not indicated. On the other hand, the thirty-six Greek ships carried natron (*ntrʾ*) on their return, for which they paid duties in silver. Natron, which is native to Egypt, was probably extracted from Wâdī Natrūn (west of the Nile Delta) and was the main exported raw material; see Yardeni, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy," Table 2. Yardeni, ibid., p. 72, suggests that the natron that was extracted from soda-beds in Egypt was used for various purposes such as dyeing and preserving. Since other raw materials can be used in both of these industries, one should consider the possibility that the main consumer of this raw material was the core-formed and cast/sagged glass industry of the time. Glass vessels and objects experienced a kind of revolution in their availability in the early days of Achaemenid rule. The reasons for this may well be the increased availability of glass; an artificial raw material composed of natron, lime, and silica; and/or improved maritime and land-trade networking. On this period, from a glass-production industry perspective, see, for example, D. Grose, *The Toledo Museum of Art: Early Ancient Glass: Core-Formed, Rod-Formed and Cast Vessels and Objects from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Roman Empire, 1600 B.C. to A.D. 50* (New York, 1989), pp. 80–81 and 109–15.