XI.—Greek Ostraca from Egypt

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In November, 1933, Mr. T. C. Skeat, the well-known English palaeographer and papyrologist, purchased at Luxor a small lot of ostraca which he selected with his customary expertness "out of a large boxful containing several hundreds, nearly all broken or illegible." In the winter of 1948, Mr. Skeat very generously decided to make a gift of these ostraca to the University of Michigan and accordingly sent them to Professor A. E. R. Boak, by whom they were delivered on March 27 of the same year to our Museum of Archaeology. Through the courtesy of Dr. E. E. Peterson, director of the Museum, I was entrusted with their publication.

When the ostraca were received at the University, there appeared to be seventeen of them, but in the course of my study this number has been reduced to sixteen by the identification of two fragments as parts of a single ostracon (No. 14). Although the entire group was purchased at Luxor, not all of them were produced at ancient Thebes or even in Upper Egypt. No. 1 was brought to Luxor from Kôm Ushîm (Karanis), which lies in the north of the Fayûm east of Birket el Kurûn (Lake Moeris); No. 2, probably from the extreme west of the same district, very possibly from Kasr el Banât (Euhemeria). Nos. 6 and 8–10 come from Thebes itself, and there are reasons for assigning the same provenience with great probability also to Nos. 7 and 11. When these are accounted for, eight ostraca remain which do not betray their origin. Since they were acquired by Mr. Skeat at Thebes, and Thebes has from the first been a prolific source of ostraca, they may provisionally be associated with that site. It is a shame that greater definiteness on this point is unobtainable, inasmuch as the only non-documentary pieces are in this group: a fragment of lyric poetry (No. 13) and three Christian hymns (Nos. 14–16).

In my study of Mr. Skeat's ostraca I was greatly assisted by the incisive but always gentle criticism of my good friend, Dr. E. R. Smothers, S.J. The edition has profited throughout from his invariably just feeling for Greek usage and idiom. His specific con-

tributions to the text of the hymns are noted in their place. To my
colleague, Professor R. A. Pack, I am indebted for the use of an
unpublished list of Christian hymns which he generously placed at
my disposal. Professors Alexander Turyn and O. M. Pearl were
kind enough to criticize my text of No. 13, and their suggestions
have been incorporated in the edition.

1. A Transportation Receipt

Taxes and rents payable in grain were collected at the threshing-
floors of the villages and carried in sacks to the local granaries.
There the grain was stored, sometimes for as much as a year or
even two, until it could be forwarded on donkeys and canal boats
to convenient Nile ports for transshipment to Alexandria. The
Fayûm, from which come all the transportation receipts that have
survived, was served by the harbors of Kerkê in the Memphite
nome to the north and Leukogion in the Heracleopolite nome to the
south. Donkey caravans were kept moving all year long between
the village granaries and the river ports, but their activity was
accelerated with the beginning of the harvest in the spring and the
collection of revenues in kind through the spring and summer
months. In the autumn the river would retreat from the crest
of the flood toward its normal level, and there was always the need
to get as much of the crop as possible to the harbor granaries before
the Nile became too shallow to accommodate the larger cargo boats.

Contributors of grain who owned donkeys were permitted to
use them for transportation from granary to harbor; others could
pay the hire of "public" donkeys. The latter were supplied by
the guilds of donkey-drivers, whose members were obliged to main-
tain three donkeys for public service — the so-called τριωνία. The
"public" donkeys and their drivers were moved around the country,
from one nome into another, and especially into the Fayûm, so
that their numbers could be adjusted to seasonal and sectional needs.

Ostr. Skeat 1, although purchased at Luxor, came from Karanis
in the Fayûm. It mentions the crop of the 15th year of Diocletian,
i.e. 298/299 A.D., but was probably issued in the following year,
299/300 A.D. Several hundred transportation receipts, most of
them written in the late third or early fourth century, have been
found at Karanis: *Ostr. Mich.* 1.360–562; 2.857–931 (cf. *TAPA* 71
[1940] 650; *CP* 39 [1944] 32, 37; *Berytus* 8, fasc. 2 [1944] 88–90).

Literature: *PTebt.* 3.703.70–87 (see commentary for bibliography); *POxy.* 18.2182 (cf. *CW* 37 [1943–44] 7 ff.); Frisk, *Bankakten* 1, introd.; *PCol.* 2.1, introd. to rectos 4 (p. 103 for bibliography) and 5; *Ostr. Brüss.-Berl.*, pp. 161 ff. (with bibliography); *Ostr. Fay. Jouguet* (*BIAOr* 2 [1902] 91 ff.); *Ostr. Oslo.* 17–21, commentary; F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig 1917) 116 ff.; A. Calderini, *Thesauroi* (*Studi della scuola papirologica* 4, 1926) 102 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1926) 624 f.; A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* (*Econ. Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. T. Frank, 2, 1936) 403 f.; N. Hohlwein, *Le Blé d'Égypte* (*Études de papyrologie* 4, 1938) 99 ff.; E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport im griech.-röm. Aegypten* (Hamburg 1939) 7–10, 17–20.

Ostr. Skeat 1: Karanis, 299/300(?) A.D.

> [θ]ησ(αυροῦ) Καρ(ανίδος) γενή(ματος) ιε (ἔτους) να[..]
> δι(ὰ) ᾿Ακῆς Αὐνῆ ὀν(   )
> ᾿Αβὸκ Μέλλας ὄνον
> ἕνα, (γίνεται) ὄν(ος) α.

1. [θ]ησ(αυροῦ): there is no mark of abbreviation, and so [κώμ]ης is not impossible; cf. *Ostr. Mich.* 1.468. The expressions θησαυροῦ and ἐν θησαυρῷ are used without distinction of meaning in the transportation receipts (Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 41). *Ostr. Mich.* 1.541 employs ἀπὸ θησαυροῦ.

γενή(ματος): the full phrase, as used in a few transportation receipts which follow a somewhat different formula, is ὑπὲρ γενήματος (*Ostr. Mich.* 1.503, 504; 2.923).

να[..]: probably a place name, e.g. Ναρμ(ούθεως), for διὰ κτηνῶν Ναρμούθεως, as Δίννεως is used for διὰ κτηνῶν Δίννεως in *Ostr. Mich.* 2.889, 890. *Ostr. Fay. Jouguet*, p. 93: "διὰ κτηνῶν peut être supprimé."

2. Akes, son of Aunes, is presumably the driver by whom the donkey was delivered at the harbor. He has not appeared previously in the Karanis receipts.

᾿Ακῆς: nom. for gen., as frequently in ostracon texts. Αὐνῆ: an example of the "short" genitive so characteristic of vulgar Greek. See Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 49.

ὀν(   ): since Akes is doubtless a donkey-driver, ὀν(ηλάτου) would be appropriate, and this word is found repeatedly in the transportation receipts. On the other hand, ὀν(όματος) followed by the name of the contributor is also common.

3. Abok, son of Melas, is known from a contemporary papyrus (*PMich.* 6.376.3) and several ostraca (*Ostr. Mich.* 1.596, 626; 2.944).

Μέλλας = Μέλας, nom. for gen.; see remark on ᾿Ακῆς (line 2). The name is so spelled also in *Ostr. Mich.* 1.626.

ὄνον: the absence of a verb is usual, although not universal, in these receipts (Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, pp. 53–54). A donkey normally carried one sack, or three artabas, and ὄνος is regularly used in the transportation receipts as a measure, equivalent to 1 sack = 3 artabas (*ibid.*, p. 50; cf. Youtie, *CP* 39 [1944] 31).

2. An Order to the Secretary of a
Donkey-Drivers' Guild

This text conforms to a Fayûm type which is represented among published ostraca by *Ostr. Fay.* 14–17 and *Ostr. Mey.* 81. The coincidence of formulae is supplemented by the fact that they were all written in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, with four of them dated to the year — *Ostr. Fay.* 14 in 1 A.D., *Ostr. Mey.* 81 in 23 A.D., *Ostr. Skeat* 2 most probably in 27/28 A.D., *Ostr. Fay.* 17 in 35 A.D. Since the group of ostraca published by Grenfell and Hunt as *Ostr. Fay.* 14–17 was found at Euhemeria on the western edge of the Fayûm, there is always the possibility that *Ostr. Mey.* 81 and *Ostr. Skeat* 2 were also recovered from the ruins of that village.

Each of these texts is addressed to a secretary of a donkey-drivers' guild, who is instructed to entrust to a person named in the order a specified number of donkeys with a specified load. Each order further designates a private granary, presumably as the place of delivery. Meyer, in commenting on *Ostr. Mey.* 81, relates these ostraca to the transportation of government grain (see above, p. 100), but the orders mention only private granaries and are, for that reason, much more likely to concern deliveries made by the guilds in the regular course of private business. Private granaries play no part in the transportation receipts, which acknowledge deliveries of grain from village granaries to the harbors (cf. Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 41).

Another aspect of a secretary's activity on behalf of a donkey-drivers' guild may be observed in *PFay.* 18b, which is an order to a sitologos to disburse four artabas of wheat in payment of φόρετρον. See the editors' introduction.

Ostr. Skeat 2: Fayûm, 27/28(?) A.D.

> Ἡρᾶτι γρ(αμματεῖ). μέρισον Πετε-
> σούχ(ῳ) Μαρσι(σούχου) Κορνηρίου
> Ἀτικοῦ ὑ(πὸ) (πυρὸν) ὄνους δεκα-
> δύο θη(σαυροῦ) Πετεσούχ(ου). (ἔτους) ιδ
> 5   [Τιβερίο]υ̣ Καίσαρος.

1. γρ(αμματεῖ): thus also in *Ostr. Mey.* 81, but more fully γρ(αμματεῖ) κτη(νοτρόφων) in *Ostr. Fay.* 14 and 15, as noted by Meyer, p. 202, n. 1.

1–2. Πετεσούχ(ῳ) Μαρσι(σούχου): what has been read as doubtful *iota* may be only a mark of abbreviation; it links *sigma* with the following *kappa*. In *Sammelbuch* 1.5232.12–13, a Petesouchos, son of Marsi-

souchos, witnesses (παρών) a deed of sale executed by a priest from Soknopaiou Nesos in 11/12 A.D. at Psinachis in the Themistes division (cf. *PTebt.* 2.400.24, and p. 412). The name Marsisouchos was especially popular at Tebtunis in the extreme south of the Fayûm, but it is found also at Soknopaiou Nesos north of the Lake (*PRyl.* 2.326) and at Theadelphia, which was situated, like Psinachis, in the western or Themistes division (*POslo.* 2, p. 71; *PMerton* 8). The name Petesouchos was one of the most common throughout the Fayûm, and both names reflect the dominance of the crocodile-god Souchos (Sobk) in the nome (cf. *POslo.* 2, p. 73, n. 2; E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 [1947] 182 f., with bibliography in notes 5 and 6).

2–3. Κορνηρίου ᾽Ατικοῦ = Κορνηλίου ᾽Αττικοῦ, Lat. *Corneli Attici.* Since the text is not later than 27/28 A.D. (cf. note to line 5), it is of some interest that the grandfather of Petesouchos was a Roman citizen, probably of Greek origin. Less than sixty years had elapsed since the beginning of the Roman occupation, so that Cornelius Atticus must have settled in Egypt, possibly first at Alexandria, subsequently in the Fayûm, shortly after the conquest. Cf. W. Schubart, *APF* 5 (1913) 41, 115; V. Martin, *Mélanges Glotz* 2 (1932) 552 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Storia econ. e soc. dell' Impero Romano* (Florence 1933) 337, n. 42. The names of Cornelius' son and grandson imply that he married an Egyptian woman in spite of the disadvantages attached to such a situation (*BGU* 5, pt. 2, 50–53).

3. ὑ(πὸ) (πυρὸν) ὄνους: i.e. "donkeys loaded with wheat." The preposition takes either acc. or gen. in this idiom (U. Wilcken, *Hermes* 28 [1893] 163, n. 1). To the references given by Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griech. Papyrusurkunden*, s.v. ὑπό, add *Ostr. Mich.* 1.356 (cf. *AJP* 63 [1942] 73 f.). On the Egyptian origin of the construction see A. Erman, *Hermes* 28 (1893) 479 f. For the value of ὄνος as a measure see above, p. 101, n. 3.

4. θη(σαυροῦ) Πετεσούχ(ου): the same construction is employed in *Ostr. Fay.* 14–16 as well as in *Ostr. Mey.* 81, where the editor restored εἰς without sufficient reason. *Ostr. Fay.* 17 does have <ε>ἰς θησαυρόν, but the equivalence of θησαυροῦ and ἐν θησαυρῷ in the transportation receipts (see above, p. 101, n. 1) and the well-known tendency to confuse ἐν and εἰς suggest that no difference of meaning is intended (cf. *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 41). The secretary Heras, to whom *Ostr. Skeat* 2 is addressed, is to make delivery of the donkeys and the wheat at the granary of Petesouchos. In *Ostr. Fay.* 14–17, as in *Ostr. Skeat* 2, the granaries belong to private persons; in *Ostr. Mey.* 81 the granary belongs to a temple (see Calderini, *op. cit.* [above, p. 101] 41–45).

5. The hand can be assigned to the early first century A.D., and since Petesouchos has a Roman grandfather, internal evidence favors Τιβερίου Καίσαρος as in *Ostr. Fay.* 17, against Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος (Augustus). See the note to lines 2–3. The ostracon can be placed with almost complete certainty in the year 27/28. After the imperial name there is a blank letter-space, then a rectangular mass of ink, but no sign of writing.

3. An Account of Payments in Kind

This ostracon, of which the top is broken away, bears a text of the early first century A.D. consisting largely of abbreviations, symbols, and numerals. The payments are expressed in γόμοι or loads, a measure used frequently for chaff, but found also with other products, e.g. wheat, hay, dates, anise, and wood. Since the payment recorded in line 7 follows immediately on a statement of areas, and chaff assessments are known to have been based on the aroura, the account may very well be concerned with collections of chaff. And if I have correctly interpreted line 5, the entire account is probably devoted to dues collected from the priestly corporation of a temple.

Literature: J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte* (*MIAOr* 41, 1918) 352 ff.; S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (*Princeton Studies in Papyrology*, ed. A. C. Johnson, 2, 1938) 25; Préaux, *Ostr. Wilbour*, p. 97; *PCair. Boak* 23 (*Études de papyrologie* 5 [1939] 96); Youtie, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 449 and n. 45 (for further bibliography).

Ostr. Skeat 3: early 1st cent. A.D.

— — — — — — — — — — — —
$$]\ldots$$

γό(μοι) γ (ἥμισυ) (τέταρτον),

(ὧν) γό(μοι) γ, λο(ιπὸν) γό(μου) (ἥμισυ) (τέταρτον),

ὧν π( ) γό(μου) (τρίτον) (τετρακαιεικοστόν),

5 (καὶ) ι λιμέσαι (ἀρούρης) (τέταρτον)

(καὶ) (ἥμισυ), (ἀρουρῶν) α (τέταρτον) καὶ κ (τέταρτον),

γό(μους) ϛ—,

γ(ίνονται) γό(μοι) ι (τετρακαιεικοστόν).

2. The indention shows that this line was preceded by a statement of areas. Note the arrangement of lines 5–7.

The metrological content of the γόμος is variable, and the ostracon provides no clue whatever to the size of the γόμος that it uses. If the suggestion which I make in the note to line 4 is the right one, the γόμοι were transported by boat. The word is often used for a ship's cargo, but it also serves to designate burdens carried on wagons or by camels and donkeys. Cf. Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.754 and n. 4, 755 and n. 1; Meyer, *Gr. Texte*, pp. 89 f.; *PRyl.* 2.148.20 f.

2–4. The total amount due is 3¾ loads, of which 3 have been delivered, leaving an obligation of ¾ load. Of this, in turn, ⅜ load is charged to π( ).

4. π( ): above π is a curved mark of abbreviation, which could be a compressed λ. This would justify πλ(οίου), and the line would then

record a payment of *naulon*. See *Ostr. Tait*, p. 72, No. 54 (150 A.D.), where a payment in wheat is made ὑπὲρ πλοίου; cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* (above, p. 101) 572; Hombert and Préaux, *Chronique d'Égypte* 30 (1940) 295.

5. ἱ λιμέσαι = οἱ λεμῖσαι = οἱ λεμεῖσαι, a priestly title which has occurred elsewhere only in the genitive: λεμείσα (*PTebt.* 1.122.1, generally accented λεμεῖσα, cf. *Berichtigungsl.* 1.425) and λεμύσου (*Sammelbuch* 1.1007; cf. editor's note *ad loc.*). The office is called πενταφυλίας λεμησία in a Yale papyrus from Bacchias published by Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 217.53; cf. πρεσβύτεροι πενταφυλίας and ἡγούμενοι πενταφυλίας (W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenist. Ägypten* 1 [Leipzig-Berlin 1905] 47 f.).

5–7. The payment of 7 loads registered in line 7 covers two parcels of land in each of two plots, as described in lines 5–6: ¼ ar. + ½ ar., 1¼ ar. + 20¼ ar.

8. The total payment of 10 1/24 loads comprises 7 loads (line 7) + 3 loads (line 3) + 1/24 load (in the upper portion of the text now lost).

4. AN ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS IN KIND

The names that occupy lines 1–4 of the ostracon are not sufficiently characteristic to fix the locality from which it comes. The date is furnished by lines 6–7.

Ostr. Skeat 4: 281/282 A.D.

        Πετεχῶνσει
        Ἀραῦς (ἀρτάβας) ε
        Φάις (ἀρτάβην) α
        Θαρμοῦς (τέταρτον)
  5 ταῦτα πάντα
        ἐν(τὸς) ἑβδόμου ἔτους
        Πρόβου Σεβαστοῦ.

        ạ

3. Φάις = Φάεις = Πάις; cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922).

4. Θαρμοῦς = Θερμοῦς, like Θαρμοῦθις = Θερμοῦθις; cf. Preisigke, *op. cit.*

5. ταῦτα πάντα summarizes the preceding entries.

6. ἐν(τός): Ostr. εν. Also possible in ἐν with the genitive instead of the dative. This confusion of cases is not infrequent in late Greek. See J. Humbert, *La Disparition du datif en grec* (*Collection Linguistique* 33 [Paris 1930]) 168–178.

8. If the reading is correct, the numeral may mark this ostracon as the first of a series. For similar problems in the interpretation of numerals see *Ostr. Mich.* 3.1013.8, note; 1049.2, note; *POxy.* 17.2147.5, note; *CP* 39 (1944) 29, n. 13.

5. An Account of Payments in Money

This text is a private account of the fourth or fifth century written on a rather large piece of ribbed pottery (8.5 × 13 cm.). The hand is very clear, with almost no linking of letters. The phonetic spellings are all normal, but their number is excessive. The amounts expended are expressed in "myriads," a term characteristic of the late inflation. See G. Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft im römischen Reich des vierten Jahrh. n. Chr.* (Helsingfors, 1932) chap. 3 and 4.

Ostr. Skeat 5: 4th or 5th cent. A.D.

$$\tau o\nu \ \dot{a}\rho\tau\omega\kappa\omega\text{-}$$
$$\pi o\nu \qquad \mu\nu(\rho\iota\dot{a}\delta\epsilon s) \ \overline{\chi\lambda}$$
$$\tau o\nu \ \ddot{a}\lambda\omega\nu$$
$$\mu\nu(\rho\iota\dot{a}\delta\epsilon s) \ \overline{o\epsilon}$$
5 $\kappa\nu\iota(\delta\iota o\upsilon) \ a \ \mu\nu(\rho\iota\dot{a}\delta\epsilon s) \ \overline{\omega\bar{\nu\epsilon}}$
$$\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \ \delta\iota\pi\lambda o\nu \ \dot{\iota}s \ \tau\omega$$
$$\kappa\lambda\iota\beta a\nu\hat{\iota}o\nu \ \tau\grave{o} \ \lambda\upsilon\text{-}$$
$$\pi\dot{a}\delta\iota\nu \qquad \mu\nu(\rho\iota\dot{a}\delta\epsilon s) \ \overline{\rho\epsilon}$$

1–2. Read $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \ \dot{a}\rho\tau o\kappa\dot{o}\pi\omega\nu$. On $\mu\nu\rho\iota\dot{a}\delta\epsilon s$ of denarii see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (*Princeton Studies in Papyrology* 5, 1944) 125 f.

3. Read $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \ \ddot{a}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$.

5. $\kappa\nu\iota(\delta\iota o\upsilon) \ a$: Ostr. $\kappa\nu\iota a$. The same abbreviation is used in *Ostr. Mich.* 1.147, 248. On the $\kappa\nu\iota\delta\iota o\nu$ as a wine measure and on prices of wine, see L. Casson, "Wine Measures and Prices in Byzantine Egypt," *TAPA* 70 (1939) 1 ff.

$\overline{\omega\bar{\nu\epsilon}}$: there is an additional short horizontal bar immediately over *omega*.

6–7. Read $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\hat{\omega}\nu \ \epsilon\iota s \ \tau\grave{o} \ \kappa\lambda\iota\beta a\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}o\nu \ (= \kappa\rho\iota\beta a\nu\epsilon\hat{\iota}o\nu)$. On the *diploun* see Casson, *op. cit.* 5 f.

7–8. Read $\lambda o\iota\pi\dot{a}\delta\iota o\nu$.

6. A Receipt for Payment in Kind

This receipt was issued at Thebes in June or July, 157 A.D., to Phaminis the younger, a son of Phatres, for wheat delivered to the metropolitan granary as rent or tax on arable land. Many similar texts from Thebes have been published in the ostracon editions.

Literature: Préaux, *Ostr. Wilbour*, pp. 83 ff.; Wallace, *op. cit.* (above, p. 104) chap. 2–4; N. Hohlwein, *op. cit.* (above, p. 101) 80 ff.

Ostr. Skeat 6: Thebes, June/July, 157 A.D.

[με(μέτρηται)] εἰς θησ(αυρὸν) μητροπ(όλεως)
[γενήμ(ατος)] κ̲ (ἔτους) ᾿Αντωνίνου
[Καίσαρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου ᾿Επεὶφ
[. — ὀνό](ματος) Φαμί(νιος) νεω(τέρου) Φατρή(ους)
5 [ὑπ(ὲρ)   ]᾽(πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) τρίτον, (γίνεται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) (τρίτον).
    ]ρα̣ σ(εσ)η(μείωμαι) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) (τρίτον).

5. The name of a Theban quarter is lost in the lacuna.
6. The first letter of the verb is written over an erasure.

7. A RECEIPT FOR SALT TAX

The hand that wrote this text used a characteristically early script, and the ostracon may be assigned without hesitation to the first half of the third century B.C. The date recorded in the text, Thoth 27 in the 25th year, refers to the reign of Philadelphus, and with the help of the tables compiled by Skeat (*Mizraim* 6, 1937) it may be equated with November 22, 261 B.C. All the receipts for the salt tax hitherto published fall within the third century, before the reign of Epiphanes (cf. Tait's remarks on *Ostr. Tait*, p. 4, No. 24; Préaux, *Ostr. Wilbour*, p. 16).

The formula used in this receipt is very old. It is found on what is "probably the earliest extant Greek ostracon from Egypt" (*Ostr. Tait*, p. 1, No. 1), which was issued on November 21, 274 B.C. See Tait's brief commentary *ad loc.* for its occurrence in other receipts of the third century B.C. Since Skeat purchased his ostracon at Luxor, and the formula is attested for Thebes (Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.60 f.; cf. *Ostr. Tait*, p. 1, introductory note), it may reasonably be assumed that the ostracon was picked up in that locality. Nevertheless, the same formula occurs in two receipts for payment of the salt tax at Elephantine in 250 B.C. (*BGU* 6.1328, 1329). If Skeat's ostracon is by some chance not from Thebes, it comes at any rate, like all other receipts of the same kind, from Upper Egypt.

So far as may be inferred from the evidence of papyri and ostraca — evidence which is by no means uniform or clear, the salt tax was imposed as a personal assessment on all the inhabitants of the country, apart from a few privileged categories, like teachers, gymnastic trainers, and victors in certain games. Liability to the tax was established in declarations which listed the members of a household. Women were subject to a lower rate than men, and

slaves to half the normal rates.   It is probable that 4 and 4½ obols
were customary payments for men, 1½ obols for women (cf. *PTebt.*
3.880, introd.).   The new receipt fits into this pattern with a pay-
ment of 4½ obols.

Literature: Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.141 ff.; Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, pp. 1 ff.;
Préaux, *Ostr. Wilbour*, pp. 15 ff.; eadem, *L'Économie royale des Lagides*
(Brussels, 1939) 250 ff.

Ostr. Skeat 7: Thebes(?), Nov. 22, 261 B.C.

<div align="center">

(ἔτους) κε Θῶυτ κϛ̄

ἔχει Ἑκαταῖος

παρὰ Ποὲρ Παπτ-

αῦ ἁλικῶν

5   (τετρώβολον) (ἡμιωβέλιον).

</div>

2. Hecataeus is not among the collectors of the salt tax listed by
Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, pp. 2 f.

3–4. Ποὲρ Παπταῦ: these are Egyptian names; cf. F. Preisigke,
Namenbuch (Heidelberg, 1922) s.vv. Πγῆρις, of which Πουέρ is a variant,
and Παπτᾶϊς. As Amundsen, *op. cit.*, p. 2, observes for the ostracon
receipts, "The tax payers are Egyptians [with one exception], the [tax]
farmers seem all to be Greek, judging by their names."

5. The sign for ½ obol is faint but sure.   On 4½ obols as a rate of
the salt tax see Amundsen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

8–10. RECEIPTS FOR POLL TAX AND BATH TAX

These are acknowledgments issued at Thebes in the late first
and early second century A.D., by banks acting as collecting agencies
for the government at Alexandria.   Nos. 8 and 10 were given to
Kametis, son of Horos and grandson of Psenminis, No. 9 to Isidoros,
son of Senmaus, for 10 drachmas paid as poll tax, 1 drachma 1½ obols
as bath tax, and the customary supplementary charge.   The total
payment is not stated on the ostraca but is known from other texts
to have been 12 drachmas.   The poll tax is paid in full, but a second
instalment of 4½ obols for the bath tax would be paid subsequently
along with the dike tax.   These rates are normal for Thebes, and
specifically for the North Market Quarter and Charax, which are
mentioned in these receipts.

Literature: Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.238; Wallace, *op. cit.* (above, p. 104)
129 f., 156 f.; Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, pp. 24 f.; Préaux, *Ostr. Wilbour*,
pp. 28 ff., 37 f., 40 ff.; eadem, "La Taxe des bains dans l'Égypte romaine,"
Chronique d'Égypte 17 (1934) 128–131; eadem, *L'Économie royale*, pp.
380 ff.; H. I. Bell, "The *Constitutio Antoniniana* and the Egyptian Poll-

Tax," *JRS* 37 (1947) 17–23; V. Tcherikover, *"Syntaxis* and *Laographia,"* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 4 (1950) 179–207.

Ostr. Skeat 8: Thebes, 90/91 A.D.

διαγεγρά(φηκεν) Καμῆτις Ὥρο(υ) το(ῦ) Ψ[ενμίνιος]
ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) Ἀγο(ρᾶς) Βο(ρρᾶ) ḷ [(ἔτους) δρα]χ̲(μὰς) δέκα,
βα(λανευτικοῦ) α (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον), [(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ)
ια (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), κα(ὶ προσδιαγραφόμενα)].
3		(ἔτους) ι Δομιττ̣ι̣α[νοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου [

1. διαγεγρά(φηκεν): on the prevalence of the perfect tense in receipts of the first century see Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.91, 94; cf. *Ostr. Wilbour*, p. 33; *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 22.
3. Month and day are lost at the end of the line. The ostracon may have a remnant of a signature below line 3, but if so, it is faded beyond recognition.

Ostr. Skeat 9: Thebes, 95 A.D.

διέγρ(αψεν) Ἰσίδωρος Σενμαῦ(τος)
ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) Χά(ρακος) ιδ (ἔτους) δέκα, βα(λανευτικοῦ)
α (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ια (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), κ(αὶ) προ(σδια-
γράφόμενα). (ἔτους) ιδ Δομιτιανοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου Παῦνι λι̅γ̅.
5		Σω( ) σ(εσημείωμαι).

1. Σενμαῦ(τος): this name is doubtless the same as Σενμααῦς, a woman's name in Wilcken, *Ostr.* 126.2 (corrected *ibid.*, p. 431). Since his descent is traced from his mother, Isidoros may be assumed to be ἀπάτωρ.
4. The date is July 7, if we use Wilcken's explanation of the double date (Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1.815; cf. *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 26): Παῦνι λι̅γ̅ = Ἐπεὶφ ι̅γ̅ εἰς ἀρίθμησιν Παῦνι. For an alternative explanation see *PCol.* 2, pp. 52 f.: the receipt would be issued on Pauni 30 (June 24) for a payment made on Pauni 13 (June 7).

Ostr. Skeat 10: Thebes, 101 A.D.

δια(γεγράφηκεν) Καμῆτις Ὥρου Ψενμίνι(ος)
ὑπ(ὲρ) λαο(γραφίας) Ἀγο(ρᾶς) Βο(ρρᾶ) δ (ἔτους) (δραχμὰς) ι, βα(λα-
νευτικοῦ) α (ὀβολὸν) (ἡμιωβέλιον),
(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ια (ὀβολὸς) (ἡμιωβέλιον), κα(ὶ προσδιαγραφόμε-
να). (ἔτους) δ Τραιανοῦ
4		τοῦ κυρίου Φα(μενὼ)θ λι̅θ̅. Α.( )

4. The date is March 26 or April 14. These alternatives rest on divergent views of the double date. See the note to *Ostr. Skeat* 9.4.

11. AN ORDER TO A *Curator Praesidii*

A substantial piece of the ostracon has been lost from the right side, leaving an almost straight edge from top to bottom, and a triangular piece is gone from the lower left corner. The text is possibly complete at the bottom although another break has carried off the lower halves of the last three letters. The handwriting belongs to the third century.

Since the ostracon was purchased at Luxor, it may very well have come from the site of the Roman camp at Thebes (Lesquier, *op. cit.* [above, p. 104] 409 f.). Its text is an order from Claudius Germanus, presumably a military commander, to his *curator praesidii*, i.e. the administrative chief of the garrison. The latter is instructed to "release" a certain Julius, who is described as *eques* and *protector praefecti*. Since the title *protector* probably came into use for the first time in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus (C. W. Keyes, *The Rise of the Equites* [Princeton 1915] 40), the order was issued at some time in the latter half of the third century.

The key word of the order, ἀπόλυσον, suggests comparison with the situation depicted in *POxy.* 10.1271. The prefect of Egypt is there requested to instruct the *procurator Phari* to allow a Roman woman of Side to leave Alexandria by sea: ἀξιῶ γράψαι σε τῷ ἐπι-τρόπῳ τῆς Φάρου ἀπολῦσαί με κατὰ τὸ ἔθος. The prefect's Latin sub-scription, addressed to the *procurator*, transforms this request into a valid permit or pass. Similarly, the ostracon might be called a soldier's pass, which permits him to leave the camp.

Ostr. Skeat 11: Thebes(?), 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D.   Plate I(a).

Κλαύδιος Γερμ[ανὸς]
κουράτορι πρεσιδ[ίου χ(αίρειν).]
ἀπόλυσον Ἰούλι[ον
[ἱπ]πέα (καὶ) πρ[ωτήκτο-]
5   [ρα ἐ]πάρχου [

1. Claudius Germanus does not appear in the lists of soldiers com-piled by L. R. Dean, *Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions* (Prince-ton 1916) 197, and Lesquier, *op. cit.* (above, p. 104) 527.

2. The *curator praesidii* is not recorded by A. Von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (Bonn 1908) 269. His functions were doubtless similar to those of a *praefectus castrorum*, a "Platzkom-mandant," charged with the maintenance of the camp (cf. Keyes, *op. cit.* 26). In our text he appears indeed to be immediately subordinate to the military commander. Von Domaszewski (*ibid.*) lists the title *a cura*

praesidis, but the inscription from which it is cited (*CIL* 12.5878) has only *a curis*.

3. A cognomen is lost at the end of the line.

4–5. The restoration of these lines is modelled on *CIL* 13.7535a (cf. editor's note *ad loc.*): *eq(ues) leg(ionis) XXII prot(ector) pr[aef(ecti)]* or *prot(ector) p(raefecti) p(raetorio)*; cf. 6.3238: *protect(or) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio)*. On the *protectores* see Mommsen, *Ephem. Epig.* 5 (1884) 121 ff. (esp. 126); H. Grégoire, *BCH* 31 (1907) 38 ff.; Keyes, *op. cit.* 39 f.; R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte* (Berlin, 1920) 13 ff., 138 ff.

5. There is a blank space sufficient for one letter between *v* and the right edge of the ostracon. The text of the order may have ended at this point.

12. A LETTER

The writing on this ostracon is in a large clear hand. Errors of spelling and, perhaps, of syntax obscure the meaning of the text, and two lines are faded and illegible. The ostracon appears to have suffered no physical damage. Margins are clearly visible both to the left and to the right of the text, from line 1 to line 4.

Ostr. Skeat 12: late 2nd/early 3rd cent. A.D.

$$\Pi\tau o\lambda\epsilon\mu a\hat{\iota}os$$
$$\pi\rho o\phi\upsilon\tau o\upsilon s$$
$$\check{\epsilon}\gamma\rho a\psi as$$
$$\underline{\tau}\hat{\eta}\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota$$
5   [   ]
$$\underline{\tau}\hat{\eta}s\ \lambda o\eta\sigma$$
$$[.]..[.].[..]$$

1. Perhaps for Πτολεμαίῳ.

2. Possibly for Προφήτου. This name is applied to a person in Wilcken, *Ostr.* 1164, to a place in *PFay.* 111; cf. the οὐσία Προφητιανή to which attention is called by J. G. Winter (*Life and Letters in the Papyri* [Ann Arbor 1933] 74, n. 1) in a comment on the Fayûm papyrus. On the other hand, if the spelling of the ostracon were correct, πρόφυτος would be a new compound formed like ἔμφυτος and σύμφυτος, which are known to the papyri. An accusative, however, which would not be the object of the verb immediately following it, is strange in this position.

5. This line preserves innumerable minute spots of ink but nothing that even remotely resembles the shape of a letter.

6. E.g. <ἀ>λόης or <χ>λόης. Line 7 will not support ἀλοήσεως. There is a slight possibility that λοησ was corrected from or to λογισ.

13. A LYRIC FRAGMENT

This ostracon is broken at the top, and a considerable portion of the text is lost on the left side. A blank space of about 6 cm.

stands at the end of the last line, and a margin of about 1.5 cm. below it. The text is written in a characteristic hand; the first and second centuries A.D. present the full range of possibility for dating it.

The amount of text which is preserved, especially after line 5, is distressingly meager, and the content of the fragment cannot be established in detail. The action does come into focus for a moment in lines 3–5: Dionysus is addressing his Bacchantes. In lines 6–7 we see Pan with his reed-pipe in the retinue of Dionysus. In line 10, if my reading is sound, the Bacchantes may be expressing with πρόσταξον their submission to the god's will.

The use of Ληναῖαι for the followers of Dionysus marks the fragment as a piece of late composition.

Ostr. Skeat 13: late 1st or early 2nd cent. A.D.

— — — — — — —

$$
\begin{array}{rl}
 &]ϲηιϲ\ οὖϲα \\
 &].ω\ παύϲαϲθε \\
 &]\ ἐμῇ\ κενώϲω\ τελετῇ \\
 &].ιου\ Ληναῖαι\ ὠκυ- \\
5 &]..\ μὴ\ φίϲηϲθ'\ ἔτι\ γ'\ ὦ\ γυ- \\
 &]θιοειτε\ τὸν\ Πᾶνα \\
 &]ν^η\ ϲυρίζων \\
 &]μοιϲι\ ἀϲκῷν \\
 &].βω\ δὲ\ παρὼν \\
10 &]ον\ τρ[όϲτ]αξον \\
 &].οϲι
\end{array}
$$

2. παύϲαϲθε: this may be an imperative, as it looks to be (for other verbs in 2nd pers. pl. see notes to 5 and 6), but the lack of context leaves other possibilities: παύϲαϲθαι (ε = αι), or even παύϲαϲ θε-.

3. κενώϲω: the fragmentary state of the text conceals the pertinence of the verb. One conjecture, among many that are possible, is inspired by Eur. *Bacch.* 35 f. (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 45.42–51): "with my rite I shall empty [the city of its womenfolk.]" This is, however, a pure guess with no support from the context, and κενώϲω may be a misspelling of καινώϲω.

4. The letter on the left edge of the ostracon is *omicron* or *rho*.

Ληναῖαι: this form must be preferred to Λῆναι αἰ for metrical reasons (Turyn).

5. φίϲηϲθ' = φείϲηϲθε. An alternative but intrinsically less probable reading is the fut. opt. φίϲοιϲθ'.

γυ-: probably γυ[ναῖκεϲ, but again the lack of sufficient context leaves the interpretation open. One might think also of ὠγύ[γιον.

6.]θιοειτε: Dr. Pearl suggests that this be corrected to θροεῖτε.

8. The spacing of the letters on the ostracon does indeed suggest]μοις ἰάσκῳν, but ἰάσκειν is attested only in Hesychius as a synonym of ἄγειν.

11. The remnant on the left edge is a horizontal line, perhaps part of *gamma* or *tau*.

14–16. CHRISTIAN HYMNS

These ostraca are much damaged. Nos. 14 and 16 are broken on all sides; No. 15 appears to be intact at the top but has sustained losses on the other three sides. Furthermore, No. 14 consists of two fragments, which fortunately effect a perfect juncture in lines 3 and 4 of the text. In view of their condition, Nos. 14 and 15 are presented in a twofold edition. For each of them a diplomatic transcription is given, and this is followed by an interpretative reconstruction. The latter is purely illustrative and does not pretend to establish the actual words of the hymn. This disclaimer is the more necessary inasmuch as the fragmentary state of these texts prevents the recovery of their metrical scheme. The sole purpose of the reconstruction is to suggest a possible development of the theme as this is inferred from the broken lines, and it is best regarded as a part of the commentary. In No. 16 the one or two words preserved in most of the lines do not permit this kind of elaboration, and consequently a single text is given with normal word-division but without accents and breathings. The reader may thus have an unobstructed view of the scribe's own punctuation, some portion of which is clearly musical notation.

No. 14 has the last two lines of a strophe in honor of Christ and the first five lines of a theotokion. No. 15 celebrates the preaching of John the Baptist. The content of No. 16 is extremely difficult to fix, but it appears at least to be devoted entirely to Christ.

Ostr. Skeat 14: 6th or 7th cent.

— — — — — — — —

]....[

αγιω[.] ο̅θ̅σ̅

].ντϛοα λιαστρι ημεραν̲[

]ω̲ν χειρο γραφον τω ν̲ [

]εωδωκ/ χαιρεωθεω[.].[.]φ.[

5   ] ε[..]χαιρεεσφρα[

]ια τουϋι [

]μ ενου ε[

— — — — — — — —

2. The remnant of a letter on the left edge of the ostracon may belong either to an *omicron* or to an *upsilon*.

4. After θεω, the first visible remnant is badly faded but clearly suggests *iota*, *rho*, or *phi*. The remnant on the right edge of the ostracon would suit, almost equally well, *alpha*, *epsilon*, *omicron*, or *omega*.

Interpretative Reconstruction, lines 2 ff.

].νται.   ἄγιο[s] ὁ θ(εὸ)s ὁ <ἀπ> αλί <ψ> αs τριημέρ <ῳ> ἀ<u>ν</u>[αστάσει]
[τὸ καθ' ἡμ]<u>ῶ</u>ν χειρόγραφον τῶν [ἁμαρτιῶν].
[χαῖρε ὦ θ]εωδωκ(ε), χαῖρε ὦ θεω[τ]ρ[ό]φ<u>ε</u> [
           ]ε[. .] χαῖρε ἐσφρα[γισμένη]
                     ]ια τοῦ υἱ[οῦ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ]
[μήτηρ τοῦ σεσαρκω]μένου ἐ[κ σοῦ

2.].νται: the double curve as a cursive writing of αι is well known to readers of papyri. Cf. E. M. Thompson, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912) 82.

2–3. The reconstruction is modelled on Hippolytus (ed. Bonwetsch and Achelis, *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller d. ersten drei Jahrh.* 1 [1897] 268.14 f.): ἀπαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. This is Hippolytus' version of Paul's words in *Col.* 2.14: ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν. Cf. the *Akathistos* hymn (W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* [Leipzig, 1871] 147.269): σχίσας τὸ χειρόγραφον. For a brief but instructive philological commentary on χειρόγραφον see J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London 1905–29) s.v.

With τριημέρ <ῳ> ἀ<u>ν</u>[αστάσει] compare Hippolytus in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 10.789A: τριήμερον ἀνάστασιν. Christ's resurrection on the third day is, as we might expect, a common theme in the hymns. It will suffice to cite one example among many: W. E. Crum and H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* 2 (New York 1926) 312.592B.23, ψυχὰς γὰρ τὰς καθ' ἄδου ῥυσάμενος ἀνέστη τριήμερος.

4. θ]εωδωκ(ε) = prob. θεοτόκε. R. Reitzenstein (*Zwei religionsge-schichtliche Fragen* [Strassburg 1901] 125 f.) argues for θεοδωκοs = θεοδόκοs = θεοδόχοs in a hymn on a Strassburg ostracon; but this is rejected on reasonable grounds by E. G. Turner, who equates θεοδόκοs with θεοτόκοs in *PAberd.* 4. S. Eustratiades ('Η Θεοτόκοs ἐν τῇ ὑμνογραφίᾳ [Paris 1930] 26 f.) cites only one example of θεοδόκοs, two of θεοδόχοs, but he marks θεοτόκοs as too frequent to illustrate in full.

θεω[τ]ρ[ό]φ<u>ε</u> = θεοτρόφε: suggested by Dr. E. R. Smothers, S.J. Cf. Anastasii Sinaitae in Hexaemeron lib. XII (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 89.1053B): θεοτόκον καὶ θεοδόχον καὶ θεοτρόφον. Eustratiades, *op. cit.* 27, cites no example of θεοτρόφοs from the hymns.

5. Cf. Christ and Paranikas, *op. cit.* 208.101, μήτραν . . . ὑπερφυῶς κύουσαν ἐσφραγισμένην; 247.1, βίβλον ἔμψυχον ἐσφραγισμένην σε πνεύματι; G. Cammelli, *Romane il Melode: Inni* (Florence 1930) 90.48 f., τὴν

παρθενίας δὲ ἀκμὴν ἐσφραγισμένην; Eustratiades, *op. cit.* 23, ἐσφραγισμένη τῇ παρθενίᾳ and ἐσφραγισμένη τῇ ἀγνείᾳ καὶ παρθενίᾳ φυλαττομένη μήτηρ.

6.]ια: possible restorations are numerous, e.g., ἀγία, μακαρία, Μαρία, παρθενίᾳ (cf. note to line 5, ad fin.).

6–7. The incarnation is naturally a favorite theme in the hymns. Cf. Ch. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* 2 (Graffin-Nau, *Patr. Or.* 18, 1924) 211 (= 435) 5.1 f., τοῦ σαρκωθέντος ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου; W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (London, 1902) 3.517.4 f., σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου; 4.Ad.39.8 f., σαρκωθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἀνυμφεύτου μητρός; *PRyl.* 1.7.18, σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου τῆς ἀπειρογάμου; Christ and Paranikas, *op. cit.* 158.28, ἡ θεὸν σαρκωθέντα κυήσασα; 158.31, ὁ ἐκ παρθένου σαρκωθείς; 166.27, ἐκ παρθένου σαρκωθέντι ἀσπόρως.

Ostr. Skeat 15: 6th or 7th cent.

```
                    ]εντουειω αννου δευα[
                    ]ω παναγιωπνι ψαλ[
                    .]τα.οιαεκυριξεν το ον[
                    ]αφθαρσιασ ω σψαλ[
            5       ]ϋμνησ.[
                    ].[
```

— — — — — — — —

3. The third letter of the line looks like *gamma*, but there is reason to believe that it was intended for *nu*. See the reconstruction below.

5. The remnant of a letter at the end of the line is faded and vague; it would fit well with *epsilon*, *omicron*, or *omega*.

Interpretative Reconstruction, lines 1–5

```
        [δεῦτε ψάλωμ]εν.  τοῦ Εἰωάννου δ' εὐα[γγελιζομέ-]
        [νου τὰ ἔργα τ]ῷ παναγίῳ πν(εύματ)ι ψάλ[ωμεν.  τὸ βάπ-]
        [τισμα τῆς με]τανοία <s>  ἐκύριξεν το ον[όματι τοῦ]
        [κ(υρίο)υ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ τῆς] ἀφθαρσίας.  ὡς ψάλ[λοντες
    5                  ἀν]υμνήσω[μεν
```

1. For comparable examples of δεῦτε in Christian hymns see Christ and Paranikas, *op. cit.* 258.

Εἰωάννου = Ἰωάννου.

For ευα[it is tempting to suggest εὐαγγελιστοῦ, but a mention of John the Evangelist is hard to reconcile with the content of line 3, which is naturally referred to John the Baptist. With εὐαγγελιζομένου used of the latter compare *Ev. Luc.* 3.18: εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν. My reconstruction of the passage assumes the intransitive use of the verb, which is commonplace.

2–3. Cf. *Ev. Marc.* 1.4 = *Ev. Luc.* 3.3: κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας.

3. μέ]τανοία<s> : with the loss of final *sigma* compare Crum and Evelyn White, *op. cit.* (above, p. 114) 132, No. 601, lines 5 f.: βάπτισμα μετανοία<s>.

ἐκύριξεν = ἐκήρυξεν: cf. *loc. cit.*, ἐγύρυζεν = ἐκήρυξεν; Wessely, *op. cit.* (above, p. 115) 214 = 438 ἐκύρισεν, 215 = 439 κυρίξας.

το = τῷ.

3–4. Cf. *Act. Ap.* 19.4: Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας, τῷ λαῷ λέγων εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

4. Cf. *Ep. Rom.* 1.23, τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ ; 2 *Ep. Ti.* 1.10, Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον, φωτίσαντος δὲ ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

4–5. Cf. Christ and Paranikas, *op. cit.* (above, p. 114) 147.271: ψάλλοντες . . . ἀνυμνοῦμεν.

Ostr. Skeat 16: 6th or 7th cent.   Plate I(b).

].ηνατο μ^γι.[
] ε φυμιας τ[
Ιησ]ους Χ(ριστος) κ(υριος) οʹθ(εο)ς αυ̇[
πα]λαιων̇⁺ ·ἐπιχε[ας
5   ει]ς ορθοτητα̂ κατ[
].[

On lection signs and musical notation see E. Wellesz, *History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1949) chap. 10.

1. The remnant of a letter on the left edge of the ostracon probably belongs to ρ, possibly to φ. With the abbreviation composed of μ and γ cf. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie* 2 (Leipzig 1913) 348, s.vv. μεγάλου, μεγαλύνομεν. In a Christian hymn it also suggests μονογενής.

2. Read εὐφημίας. Between ε and φ is a blank space quite sufficient for υ, but not the least trace of ink is visible.
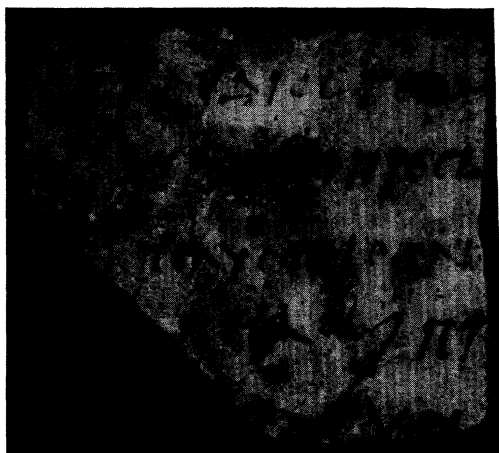
3. The writing at the beginning of the line is very hard to interpret. If the scribe wrote ιησου, then corrected the case by inserting *sigma* close up to the back of *upsilon*, the result would be very much like the writing on the ostracon.

The *nomina sacra* are written thus: χκ οθσ. The use of single-letter abbreviations and the omission of the bar that is expected over θσ, point to an unpracticed hand.
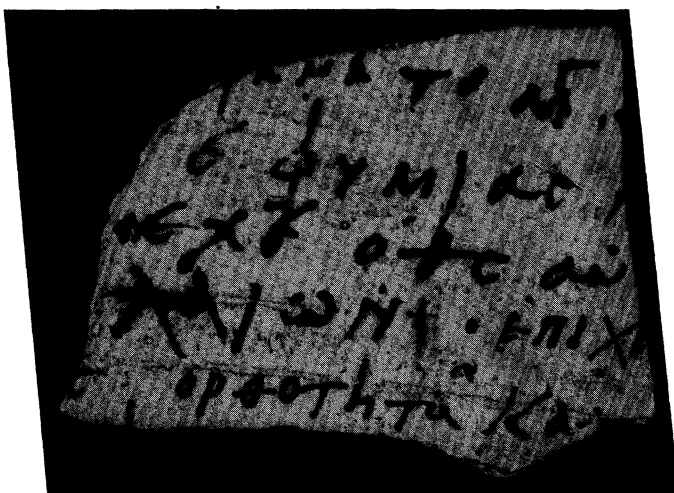
4. πα]λαιων: proposed by Dr. E. R. Smothers, S.J.

επιχε[ας: cf. *Ep. Tit.* 3.5 f., πνεύματος ἀγίου οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς πλουσίως διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

6. The remnant suggests η or φ.

a

b