



Greek and Latin Documents from 'Abu Sha'ar, 1992-1993

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Greek and Latin Documents from 'Abu Sha'ar, 1992-1993 (Plates 22-33)

The excavations conducted by the University of Delaware at 'Abu Sha'ar on the Red Sea coast from 1987 to 1993 produced a variety of texts in Greek and Latin.¹ Those from the 1990 and 1991 seasons are published by us in *JARCE* 31 (1994) 157-66; they included Latin inscriptions, a Greek inscription, a Greek papyrus, and a Greek ostrakon. The Latin inscriptions and, probably, the Greek ostrakon come from the early fourth century of our era, when a substantial fort (ca 77.5 by 64 m) was built by a Roman military unit.² The other texts come from the fifth-sixth century, when the enclosure and buildings were reoccupied and the main building turned into a church. The excavator, Steven Sidebotham, has suggested³ that this was a Christian center of pilgrimage, in connection with a cult of a martyr or saint; adult male human remains were in fact found in a small structure west of the church apse.

The texts of the 1992-1993 seasons, though not numerous, contribute significantly to filling out the picture of the site provided by archaeology and the texts from the earlier seasons. We present here the most important of the documents from those seasons; some more fragmentary items are, as with the earlier seasons, reserved for the final report.⁴ We present them in

¹For 1987 fieldwork, see S. E. Sidebotham, "Fieldwork on the Red Sea Coast: The 1987 Season," *JARCE* 26 (1989) 127-66; for 1990-1991, see *idem*, "Preliminary Report on the 1990-1991 Seasons of Fieldwork at 'Abu Sha'ar (Red Sea Coast)," *JARCE* 31 (1994) 157-66; for 1992, see *idem*, "University of Delaware Archaeological Project at 'Abu Sha'ar: The 1992 Season," *NARCE* 161/162 (Summer/Spring [sic] 1993) 1-9, with bibliography on 8 nn. 1-4; for 1993, see *idem*, "University of Delaware Fieldwork in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, 1993," *DOP* 1994.

²It is possible that an installation existed on this site before 309-311, from which years the Latin inscription dates, but deep probes at various points in the excavation turned up no sign of any such earlier occupation.

³In the *NARCE* article cited in n. 1.

⁴Sheridan has seen the originals of all of the documents published here except Greek inscriptions nos. 3-5, for which we depend on field photographs and drawings. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1965, 441, quote sympathetically C. B. Welles from *Excavations at Nessana I* (London 1962) 131: "The physical preservation of the texts was often poor. Many of them were cut or scratched or painted on chalk, many were fragmentary; many were hard to read. Photographic records were difficult to make and unsatisfactory, and one can copy intelligibly only what he can himself understand." All of these conditions obtained also in the present case.

The excavation and Sheridan's travel were funded by the University of Delaware and Dumbarton Oaks; further funding was provided by the faculty development fund of St. Joseph's University and the Dunning Fund of the Department of History, Columbia University. Sheridan's work in 'Abu Sha'ar, Hurghada, and Denderah benefited from the assistance of Sami Ahmed Fahmy and Nagah Hussein, inspectors at 'Abu Sha'ar, and the

two groups. First are the texts from 'Abu Sha'ar itself, all of which are fifth century or later. Second are several ostraka found at Bir 'Abu Sha'ar, where a *hydreuma* was built about 5.5 km from 'Abu Sha'ar itself. These are probably of the early second century and lead us to see this site as connected with the Via Hadriana, which passed near it.

A. Documents from 'Abu Sha'ar

1. Greek inscription on an amphora (Plate 22)

On the shoulder piece (height, 12.4 cm) of an amphora (AS93-15-33) found in the baths outside the walls of the fort was a three-line inscription in ink:

χμγ
κροκν
μαρτ()

On another fragment of the same amphora (virtually all of which was preserved), higher on the rim (AS93-15-34) χμγ was written once again, with traces of at least one more letter under it. The hand is not particularly distinctive but may roughly be assigned to the fifth-sixth centuries.

The bibliography about χμγ is very extensive,⁵ and this jar does not help to resolve the longstanding controversy about its meaning or meanings (for it is by no means certain that all who employed it had the same meaning in mind).⁶ The use of χμγ has not as yet been shown by dated examples to antedate the second quarter of the fifth century, although instances from texts assigned to the fourth century by their editors are not uncommon. Although use at the head of papyrus documents is preponderant among surviving documents, it also occurs in other contexts; for grave stelae with it, see, e.g., *SEG* 30.1740 (Esna) and *I.Theb.Sy.* 238 (Syene). A number of examples of ΧΜΓ on the necks and shoulders of amphorai or jars appeared

staff of the Qena inspectorate. Versions of this paper have been given at Columbia University, the University of Helsinki, and the University of Warsaw; we are indebted to the audiences on those occasions, as well as to Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, Philip Mayerson, and Klaas Worp for helpful suggestions and comments.

⁵See G. Robinson, *TTXH* 1 (1986) 175-77; *New Docs.* 2/1977 (1982) 177-80.

⁶It is most commonly taken to stand for Χ(ριστός) Μ(αρία) Γ(έννα) or some grammatical variant with the same sense, but Robinson (previous note) provides arguments in support of A. Gostoli's suggestion (*StudPap* 22 [1983] 9-14) of Χ(ριστός) Μ(άρτυς) Γ(ένηται) (or, again, some variant of this with the same sense).

in the excavations of the Athenian Agora.⁷ These are dated by context and pottery style to a range from the 4th-5th century to the late 6th century. Other examples on pottery, again on the necks and shoulders, have been found in excavations from Alexandria and from Naqloun.⁸

The laconic character of the remainder of the text will probably prevent full understanding of the writer's intentions, but the remains are not without interest. *κροκν* may represent either a truncated version of *κροκός* or a simple phonetic interchange for *κρόκη*; the latter is perhaps more likely. Both terms usually refer to wool, more specifically to the nap of woollen cloth. This seems an odd word to find on an amphora. One might prefer *κρόκος*, saffron, but the termination is hard to reconcile with that; it is not attractive to see *κροκν* as an error for *κρόκου*. There is, actually, one possible attestation of wool in a Gaza storage-jar in *P.Iand.* VI 103.8, although the reading is not entirely certain, and these jars were in fact used for a wide variety of products.⁹

Still more interesting is *μαρτ*. This can only be some form from *μάρτυς* and its related vocabulary. The tau may be slightly raised to indicate abbreviation. Given the likelihood that a Christian cult was maintained on the site, we are inclined to resolve *μαρτ(υρίου)*, "of the martyrion" (on the assumption that it is a possessive attached to *κρόκη*). Though this is clearly speculative, we have not been able to find a plausible explanation based on any other expansion.¹⁰ References to *martyria* in inscriptions are not uncommon.¹¹ Nothing has so far emerged to show the identity of the martyr whose shrine this would appear to be, but epigraphical references to *martyria* often take for granted that the reader would know this.¹²

⁷Mabel Lang, *Athenian Agora XXI, Graffiti and Dipinti* (Princeton 1976) 87-88, esp. J2, J3, J7, J8, and J10-12. In J3 there is a second line (only a pi preserved). J8 has a curious XΘΓ, which Lang takes to show an alternative formula with *θεός* in place of *Μαρία*, but the reading does not look entirely secure on the plate.

⁸We are indebted to Adam Łukaszewicz and Tomasz Derda for information about these.

⁹See P. Mayerson, *IEJ* 42 (1992) 78-80 = *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens: Papers on the Near East in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem 1994) 349-51, arguing that many types of storage jars were used for a wide variety of products both liquid and dry.

¹⁰*Μάρτ(υρος)*, "of the martyr," would have the same effective sense, although personalizing more than seems likely.

¹¹See, e.g., *Bull.épigr.* 1948, 11; 1962, 318; 1971, 690; 1977, 531. For Palestine, see Y. E. Meimaris, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine (Μελετήματα 2)*, Athens 1986) 145.

¹²Cf. previous note, and see also the *martyrion* at Urima north of Seleukeia/Zeugma in J. Wagner, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma* (TAVO Beitr. B.10, Wiesbaden 1976) 111.

2-5. Greek inscriptions on stone

2. (Plates 23-24) A damaged inscription found in 1993 in a balk of trench AS-92-W, in the large building in the SW corner of the fort (called "Administrative Building/Commandant's Quarters (?)" by the excavator). Photography was difficult, and our text in part depends on Sheridan's field drawing. 44.5 x 26.5 cm.

† ἐγὼ Ἀνδρέας [
 ἰνδικοπλεύσ[της]
 ἦλθον ὧδε . . [
 4 Παῦν[ι .] ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ᾗ † [

I, Andreas, traveller to India, came here . . . Pauni -, 9th indiction.

This brief inscription records the visit of one Andreas. It is remarkable for the occurrence of *ἰνδικοπλεύστης*, otherwise recorded in the TLG only from Olympiodoros, *Commentary on Aristotle's Meteora* (81.26 and 163.3), where it is used as a common noun referring to those who sail to "India."¹³ By this is no doubt meant, at this date, sailing down the Red Sea coast to Ethiopia.¹⁴ The word is best known, however, as part of the usual means of reference to the sixth-century traveller Kosmas, who certainly visited East Africa and copied there the famous Adoulis inscription (*OGIS* 54). It is, of course, hardly surprising that a place of pilgrimage on the Red Sea should have been visited by someone who travelled further south on that sea. If the term had, as we imagine, the technical sense of someone who travelled on the Ethiopian routes regularly for business, it might suggest that 'Abu Sha'ar was of some commercial significance still in the sixth century, as it had been in the fourth (this is clearly indicated by the Latin inscriptions found in 1990).

3. (Plates 25-26) A white gypsum block from the western impost block of the arch at the north gate of the fort, 65-70 cm long, 54 cm wide, and 26

¹³LSJ cites the word only from the *Corpus Glossariorum*, where it is an erroneous reading for *ἰνδικοπλάστης*.

¹⁴See Philip Mayerson, "A Confusion of Indias: Asian India and African India in the Byzantine Sources," *JAOS* 113 (1993) 169-74, esp. 174 (= *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens* [above, n. 9] 361-66): "The likelihood is . . . that commercial intercourse between Clysma and other ports on Roman territory and 'India' went no further than Ethiopia or south Arabia."

cm thick. There are some scratched-in graffiti that will be discussed in the final report, but a larger inscription reads

+ εἷς θεὸς μόνος Χ(ριστός)
[.]

A palm leaf is added to the right. The nomen sacrum is written in the customary fashion \overline{XC} , but it is notable that it is written in much smaller characters, evidently as an afterthought. The erasure of the second line and the addition of XC may well be linked, with "Christ" a replacement for some other filling out of the phrase originally inscribed. We have not been able to read the remains of strokes visible through the chiseling out of line 2.

Inscriptions with εἷς θεός, "One God" or "God is One," are very common in Syria/Palestine and Egypt and the subject of an extensive bibliography.¹⁵ The statement εἷς θεός is to be seen as an acclamation, with "one" a superlative description of the god rather than in itself as a monotheistic claim.¹⁶ Its use on buildings may have an apotropaic character. Most such inscriptions, in keeping with their character of praise of the deity, continue with ὁ βοηθῶν τὸν δεῖνα, "who helps so-and-so," but there are many variants. A number of them add μόνος in some fashion or other, as did the original form of line 1 of our inscription, but almost all of these are from Syria, not from Egypt.¹⁷ Equally striking, a significant group of the Syrian inscriptions (and one from Egypt) add a phrase concerning Christ (e.g., ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ), though almost always with a καί between εἷς θεός and the Christ phrase,¹⁸ thus giving "One God and His Christ." The closest parallel to the final form of our inscription appears to be one from the Gaulanitis cited by Peterson (28 no. 72), ε(ῖ)ς θεὸς Χρ(ιστός), though even that lacks the μόνος. Although we have thus not yet found a precise parallel, the characteristics of this version appear to be distinctively Syrian or Palestinian, not Egyptian.¹⁹

¹⁵Basic is E. Peterson, *Εἷς Θεός* (Göttingen 1926).

¹⁶Cf. H. S. Versnel, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion I: Ter Unus* (Leiden 1990) 19 and 235.

¹⁷See Peterson (above, n. 15) 300 for a summary of formulas. He gives no example from Egypt (list, p. 301). Add L. Di Segni in *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries. Essays Virgilio C. Corbo*, ed. G. Bottini et al. (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Coll. Maior 36, Jerusalem 1990) 345 = *SEG* XL 1502-1503, on which see also Di Segni's remarks in *Scripta Classica Israelitica* 13 (1994) 100. Cf. also Meimaris (above, n. 11) 28-29 and A. Lajtar, *Cd'E* 67 (1992) 332-34, with an isopsephism for the phrase in an inscription from the Wadi Haggag.

¹⁸See again Peterson's roster, 300-01.

¹⁹For Palestinian examples see also Leah Di Segni, *Scripta Classica Israelitica* 13 (1994) 94-115, who argues (with some reason) that many examples are Samaritan rather than Jewish, but who is tendentiously and less successfully at pains to deny the Christian character of as many as possible.

4. (Plates 27-28) Also in white gypsum, inside the voussoirs of the arch at the north gate, was a large cross with one rather faintly written inscription that will be discussed in the final report inside it, and another distributed to the left, right, and bottom of the cross. The latter reads as follows:

δεωμε σου κε ω θς τον πα
 τερον ημον αβρααμ και ισα
 ακ και ιακοβ και παντων τον αγι
 4 ων και τες αγιας θεωτοκου
 ματριας η αγια τριας ελε
 εσ[ο]ν
 τον αμαρ[τολ]ον και α
 8 χριον δουλον [.]ο. ελευ
 σινον κε ιυ χε

A normalized version runs as follows:

δέομαί σου κ(ύρι)ε ὦ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν πα-
 τέρων ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσα-
 4 ἀκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγί-
 ων καὶ τῆς ἀγίας θεοτόκου
 Μαρίας. ἡ ἀγία τριάς ἐλέ-
 ησ[ο]ν
 τὸν ἀμαρ[τωλ]ὸν καὶ ἄ-
 8 χρειον δούλόν [σ]ου. ἐλέη-
 σον κ(ύρι)ε Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ.

I beseech you, O Lord God of our fathers Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and of all the saints and of the holy godbearer Mary. Holy Trinity, have mercy on a sinner and your worthless servant. Have mercy, Lord Jesus Christ.

We know of no exact parallel for this prayer, though elements of it occur widely in Christian epigraphy. The use of *δέομαι* is reminiscent of amulets, for example *SEG* 30.1794, an amulet similarly invoking Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In general, the invocation of this trio of patriarchs is commonplace in the liturgy of the eastern church, especially in the funerary liturgy, but in inscriptions it appears to be distinctively (though not exclu-

sively) Egyptian and Nubian.²⁰ Closest to the use here is perhaps *Mon.Epiphani.* 697, κ(ύρι)[ε] θ(εδ)ς 'Αβ[ρ]ααμ (καί) 'Ισαακ (καί) 'Ιακωβ κα[ὶ εὐχαὶ τῶν ἀγίων] πατέρων (with *Mon.Epiphani.* 696 supporting the restorations). In these the "fathers" are distinguished from the three Biblical patriarchs, whereas in our inscription they are identified, as they are in some liturgical texts and other inscriptions.²¹ There are also a few parallels from Syria and Palestine.²² Various formulations of reference to the Virgin Mary are found, but a more normal order is ἀγία Μαρία ἡ θεοτόκος.²³

It is not impossible to restore τῶν ἀμαρ[τιῶν ἡμ]ῶν in line 7, "our sins" rather than "sinners." But it may be a bit long for the space and is certainly infelicitous in breaking parallel structure. Moreover, references to the writer as a sinner or sinners abound in the Coptic and Greek graffiti from the Monastery of Epiphanius. Cf. also Wagner, *Oasis*, 64 no. 3. The alpha of ἀχρείων is only partially preserved but does not seem very doubtful. For the phrase "worthless slaves" (ἄχρειοι δούλοι) see Luke 17:10.²⁴ It is impossible to say with certainty, given the fluctuation of the writer's use of omicron and omega and the variability in the use of cases with these verbs in inscriptions of the period, whether accusative singular (as we print it) or genitive plural is meant. The singular δέομαι has led us to choose the accusative singular.

One final problem lies in lines 8-9, where we suppose ελευσινον to be intended for ἐλέησον. The ending is, however, troubling. One might, alternatively, imagine an adjective ἐλεήσινον, equivalent to ἐλεεινόν ("pitiable") and modifying "your slave" earlier. Such an adjective is not as far as we can see attested, and this hypothesis would moreover leave the concluding κ(ύρι)ε 'Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)έ without any obvious function. For these reasons we have somewhat uneasily adopted the understanding given above.

5. (Plate 29). Gypsum block G₁ from north gate facade, left side. Could not be successfully photographed; our text rests on a field drawing. 33 x 20.5 cm.

²⁰The characteristic Nubian prayer formula ἐν κόλποις 'Αβρααμ κτλ. occurs in (e.g.) Lefebvre, *Inscr.gr.* 611, 625, 626, 641 etc.

²¹See *DACL* I 1523-42, in connection with the rest of the soul in the bosom of Abraham (we owe the reference to Adam Łajtar).

²²Cf. Meimaris (above, n. 11) 87-88.

²³See Y. Meimaris in *Actes du Xe Congr. Int. d'Arch. Chrétienne* (Thessaloniki 1984) II 334-37, from Tel Pheiran (cf. *Bull.épigr.* 1987, 531). The miswriting ματριας is probably a proleptic confusion for τριάς later in the same line.

²⁴It is perhaps worth nothing that if the alpha were rejected, one could read instead χρείων, meaning "poor," as an equivalent to the common use in the Epiphanius texts of ἐλάχιστος (and ταλαίπωρος in the Coptic graffiti) to emphasize the humility of God's servants.

Η θ(εδ)ς . .[. .]. . . .
 τοῦ δούλ[ο]υ αὐτοῦ
 Ἄθανασί[ο]ν Ἡρώνα
 4].ιακε

This inscription occurs in the midst of other scratches on the stone, and distinguishing on the drawing what is part of the inscription and what not is by no means simple. The eta at the start of line 1, if correctly drawn, appears to be of the same size and placement as the rest of the inscription, but we cannot see what it could be, given that *θεός* is in the nominative (sigma is damaged but can hardly be anything else).²⁵ A verb may have stood in the rest of line 1, but if so it should govern the genitive (unless this is an error, as occurs very frequently in Christian inscriptions). The most likely possibility is *μιμνήσκω*, commonly found in the imperative *μνήσθητι*, "Remember!" Also possible is *ἐλέησον*, "Have mercy on," most commonly with the accusative but sometimes with the genitive.²⁶ Given the third-person reference in line 2, however, we cannot be certain that the writer intended the second-person imperative. The scratchy traces of this spot cannot in any event control any proposal. Alternatively, if *θεός* belongs to something preceding, a noun could have stood in line 1. In line 4, the drawing shows a slight scratch over the epsilon, and the surface over kappa is damaged. It is possible, therefore, that we should read *κ(ύρι)ε*.

B. Ostraka from Bir 'Abu Sha'ar

The four following ostraka, one Latin and three Greek, were found at the *hydreuma* mentioned above. In our judgment the Greek are to be dated palaeographically to the first half of the second century, and most probably to the period of Trajan and Hadrian, like most of the material from Mons Claudianus, which they very much resemble in contents as well.²⁷ The Latin also appears to us to be in a second-century hand.

²⁵James G. Keenan suggests ἦ, "verily," which makes good sense but for which we cannot offer a parallel in inscriptions of this sort.

²⁶Cf. L. Di Segni, in *Christian Archaeology* (above, n. 17) 384 for an example where the case fluctuates between genitive and accusative within a single inscription. Many of those who produced these inscriptions had only a tenuous hold on the finer points of syntax and morphology.

²⁷The same date is probable for the Mons Porphyrites ostraka published by J. P. Roth and J. A. Sheridan in *BASP* 29 (1992) 117-26, as Jean Bingen has pointed out to us.

6. Latin ostrakon
(Plate 30)

BAS93-15-21. 7.8 x 6.3 cm. Broken at left and right.

] Lūcio fratri suo salut[em
]etevolocone cum [
]. scio frater cuam[
 4] m̄eum vale stoma.[
] tua purgamenta [
] audebas cunçtar[
].m heic comilito . . . [
 8 o]pto te bene valer[e

Despite the normal epistolary courtesies, even the broken remains of this letter suggest that the writer was not at all happy with the recipient. *Tua purgamenta*, line 5, "your filth," is followed by "you dared to delay."

There is a problem of interpretation and word division in line 2. One possibility is *Jetevo loco ne cum* [, but we have not identified a possible understanding of the first word.] *et suo loco* has also been suggested to us, but the *s* does not seem to us possible. It is perhaps not excluded to read *Jeteno* at the start.

The reading in line 4 is another difficulty; virtually every possibility for continuing *stoma* requires a *c*, and what survives here looks like the left extremities of chi, not at all like a *c*. It is, of course, possible to imagine that a bilingual writer used a chi instead of *ch* at this point, but we refrain from printing such a reading at the edge of a lacuna. The spelling *heic* (line 7) points to *hic* with long *i*, "here," not to short *i* and "this comrade."

7-9. Greek ostraka

These three ostraka, which came from a single deposit, are all addressed to Niger, whom we imagine to be the same in all three cases. The first two are written by Constans and in the same hand, the third by a man whose name we uneasily read as Psasteinos.

7. (Plate 31) BAS93-15-12. Letter of Constans to Niger. Complete. 10.1 x 9 cm. Same hand as no. 8.

Κώνστας Νίγερι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
 χ(αίρειν):
 ἐρωτῶ σε ἀδελφε πέμψον

- 4 μοι διὰ τῶν ὄναρίων
 τὴν ψίαθον, ἐπὶ λείαν
 χειμάζομαι, καὶ τοὺς
 σάκκους τοὺς δύο
 8 οὗς ἔχει Λούκις.

5 ἐπεὶ λίαν 8 Λούκιος

Constans to Niger his brother, greeting. I ask you, brother, send me through the little donkeys the basket, since I am terribly annoyed, and (send) the two sacks which Lucius has.

1 Constans, the writer of this and the following ostrakon, bears a name common in Latin inscriptions of the first three centuries, mainly in Danubian regions,²⁸ but apparently unknown until now in papyri and ostraka from Egypt. (Adam Bülow-Jacobsen kindly informs us that none occurs in the Mons Claudianus ostraka.) Niger, common in early Roman Egypt, disappears from the documentation after the Constitutio Antoniniana. We do not know if its loss of popularity has anything to do with *damnatio memoriae* for Pescennius Niger.

8. (Plate 32) BAS93-15-22+29. Letter of Constans to Niger. Broken at right. 8.3 x 8.5 cm. Same hand as no. 7.

- Κώνστας Νίγερι τῶι [ἀδελφῶι χ(αίρειν)']
 ἔγραψα Πουβλίωι [
 4 .π..σει τὸν ἀπὸ σοῦ [
 μιωτῶν καὶ τῶν κο.[
 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσει[ς
 vacat ἐρρῶσθαί σε [εὔχομαι
 αση ἐπὶ Λούκιιν *vacat* [
 8 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἅμα τῶν [
 ἀπόλυσον ἐπὶ ἀναγκαιῶι[
 ἐστίν.

7 Λούκιος 9 ἐπεὶ

Constans to Niger his brother, greeting. I wrote to Publius . . . please . . . I pray for your health. . . . the letter together with the . . . release because . . . necessary.

²⁸See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Soc.Scient.Fenn., Comment.Hum.Lit. 36.2, Helsinki 1965) 258. Despite Constantine's giving it to one of his sons, it did not become popular for private persons in the fourth century.

3 The use of ἀπόλυσον in 9 makes ἀπολύσει here enticing, but we do not believe that space is adequate nor the traces conforming.

7 We have not succeeded in identifying αση at the start of the line. The blank after Λούκιν suggests that this ends one note, so that line 8 begins the postscript.

9. (Plate 33) BAS93-15-6+11+4. Complete. 10.9 x 9.8 cm.

Ψαιστεῖνος Νίγερει
 τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ πλειίστῳ χα(ίρειν)·
 4 πρὸ πάντων εὐχομαι σε ὑγιένιν
 καὶ προκόπτειν· καλῶς ποιήσεις
 ἄδελφε δοὺς Πετρωνίῳ τὰς (δραχμὰς) β
 ἐπὶ οἶδες ὅτι αὐτῷ προστέτικα
 8 ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ αὐτά. ἔπεμψα δέ σοι
 καὶ διὰ Πετρωνίου στατή-
 ραν κενὸν ὃν οὐκ ἔλαβαν
 ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀλλάξῃς. μὴ
 12 οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσεις ἄδελ-
 φε. ἐρρώσ[θαί] σε εὐχομ[αί]
 [καὶ ?] προκόπτειν.

3 ὑγιαίνειν 4, 11 ποιήσεις 6 ἐπεὶ 9 καινὸν

Psaisteinos to Niger his most esteemed, many greetings. Before all I pray that you are healthy and faring well. Please, brother, give Petronius the 2 dr., since you know that I paid them to him from my own funds. I sent you a new stater also through Petronius, which they did not receive, so that you may relieve him. Do not neglect this, brother. I pray for your health and well-being.

1 Psaisteinos occurs in no source or repertory we have consulted. The reader instinctively will suppose Φαυστεινος, the well-known Faustinus. We do not, however, think the first letter can be phi (cf. the very different shape in line 12), nor the third an upsilon, much as we would like them to be. Ψάις is of course a well-known Egyptian name, but we cannot amputate τεινος and set it up comfortably as a second name. Greek does have an adjective ψαιστός, "ground," often used to refer to a cake of ground barley (ψαιστόν, sometimes in the diminutive ψαιστίον), but construction of a Latin name out of it is peculiar.

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22. Greek inscription on amphora, AS93-15-33 (no. 1), photograph
23. Greek inscription from AS92-W (no. 2), drawing
24. Greek inscription from AS92-W (no. 2), photograph
25. Greek inscription (no. 3), photograph
26. Greek inscription (no. 3), drawing
27. Greek inscription (no. 4), photograph
28. Greek inscription (no. 4), drawing
29. Greek inscription (no. 5), drawing
30. Latin ostrakon BAS93-15-21 (no. 6), photograph
31. Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-12 (no. 7), photograph
32. Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-22+29 (no. 8), photograph
33. Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-6+11+4 (no. 9), photograph

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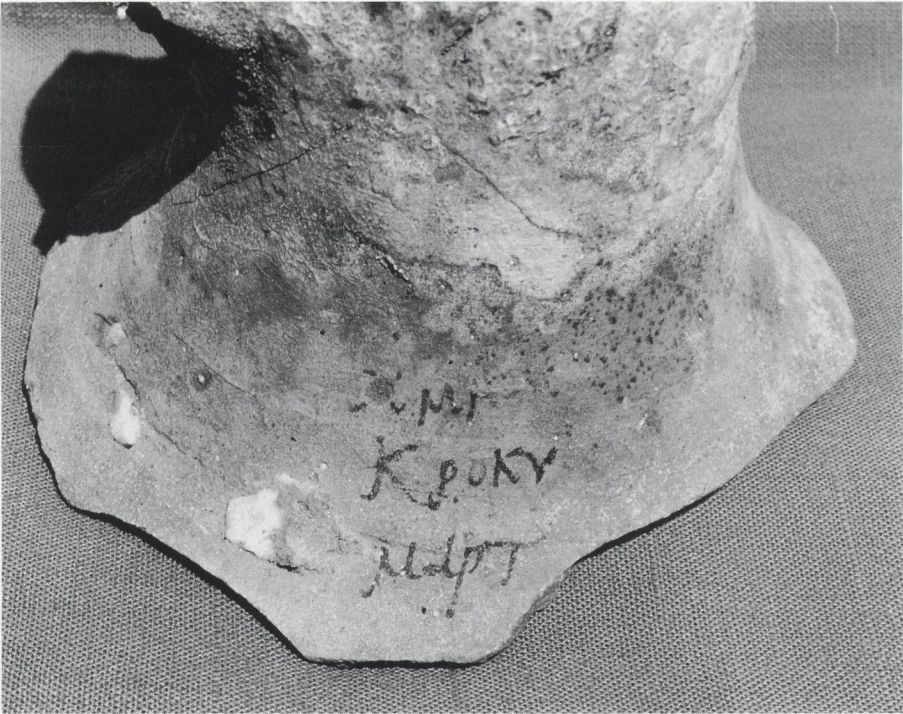
Jennifer A. Sheridan (22, 24, 29-33)

Christine Dijkstra (26, 27, 28)

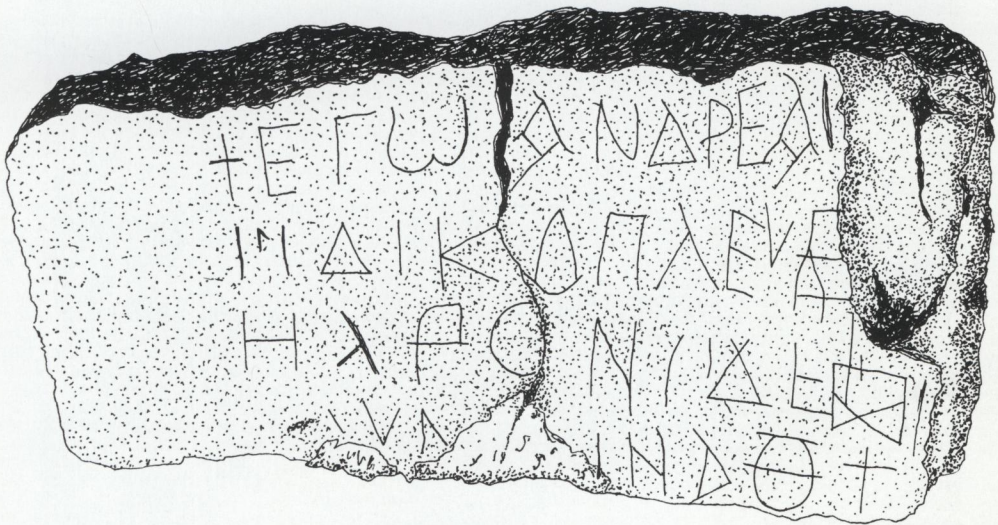
Scott McRobert (23; from field drawing by Jennifer A. Sheridan)

Columbia University
St. Joseph's University

Roger S. Bagnall
Jennifer A. Sheridan



Greek inscription on amphora, AS93-15-33 (no. 1), photograph



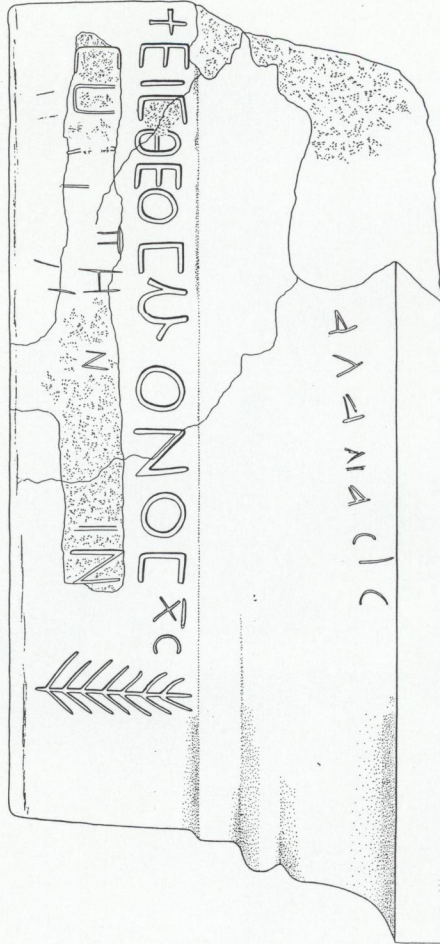
Greek inscription from AS92-W (no. 2), drawing



Greek inscription from AS92-W (no. 2), photograph



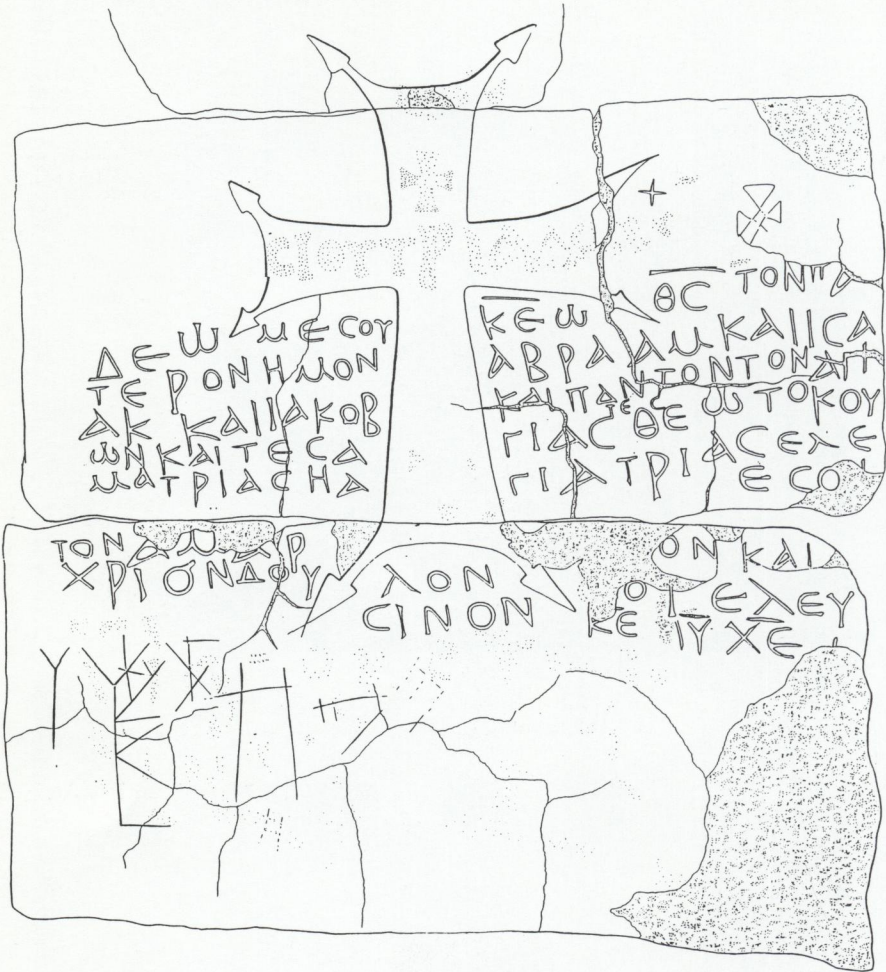
Greek inscription (no. 3), photograph



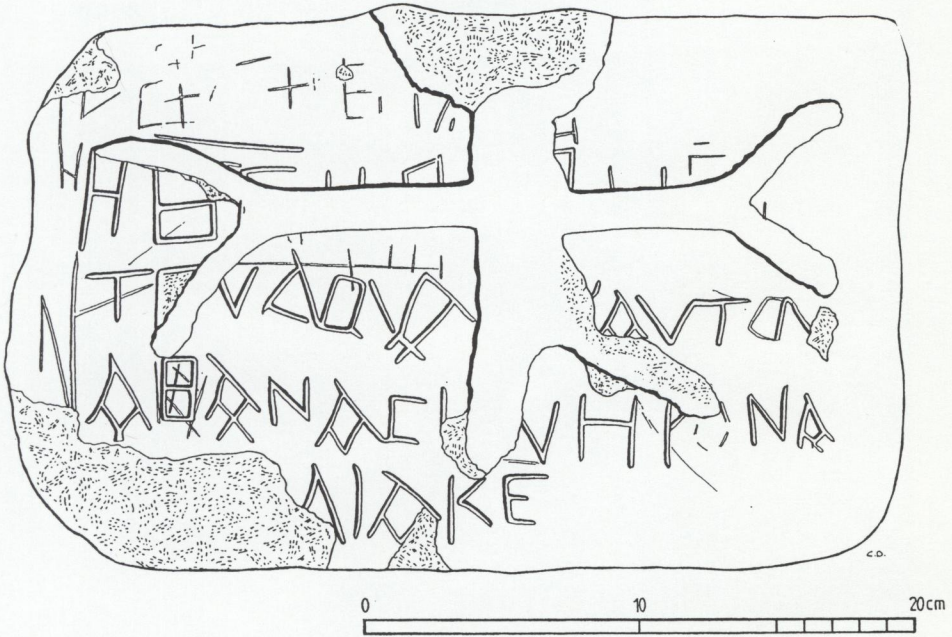
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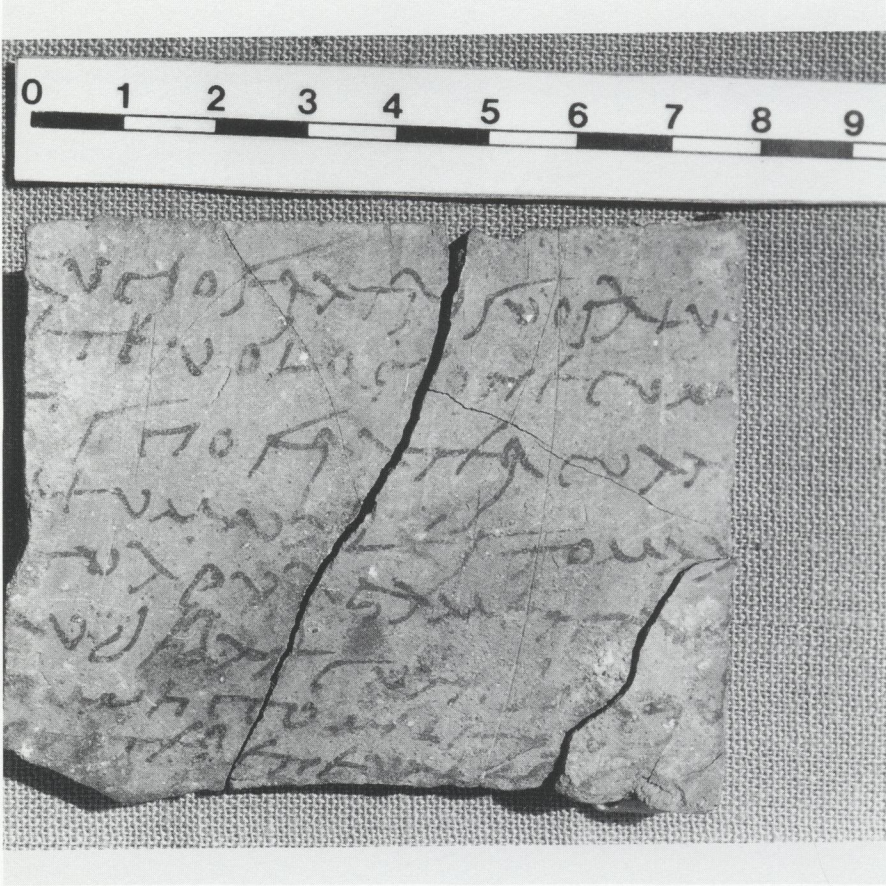
Greek inscription (no. 4), photograph



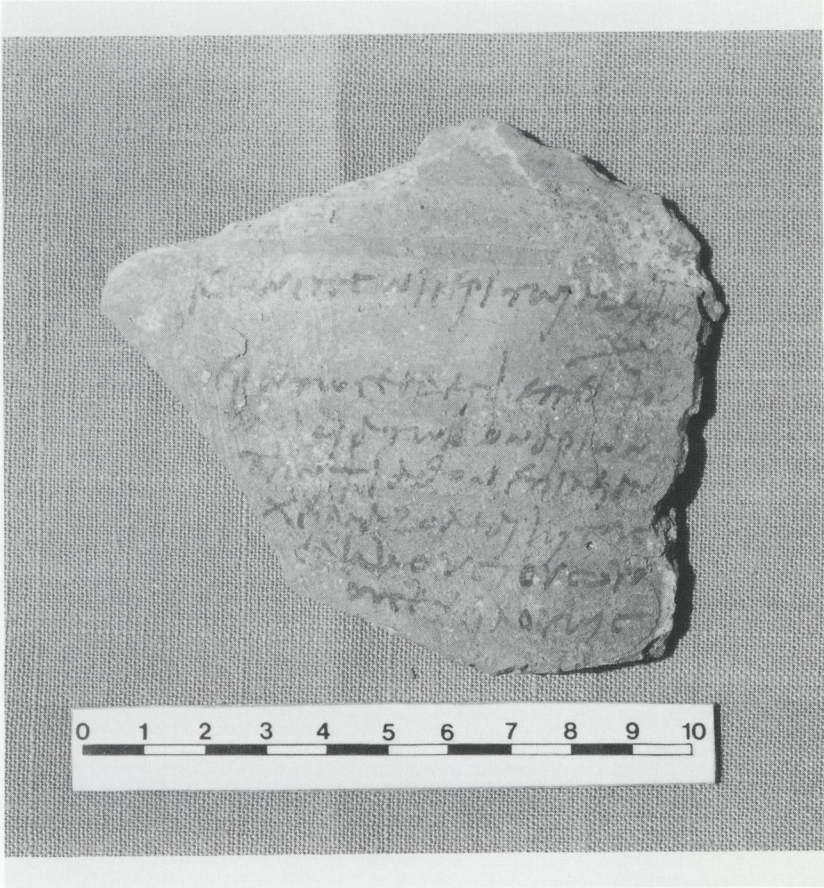
Greek inscription (no. 4), drawing



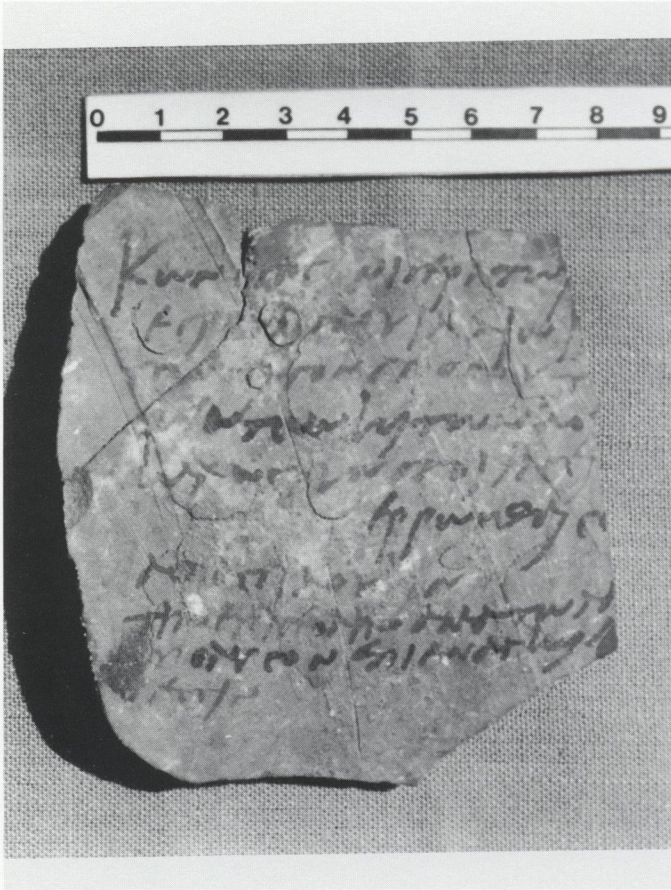
Greek inscription AS93-15-33 (no. 5), drawing



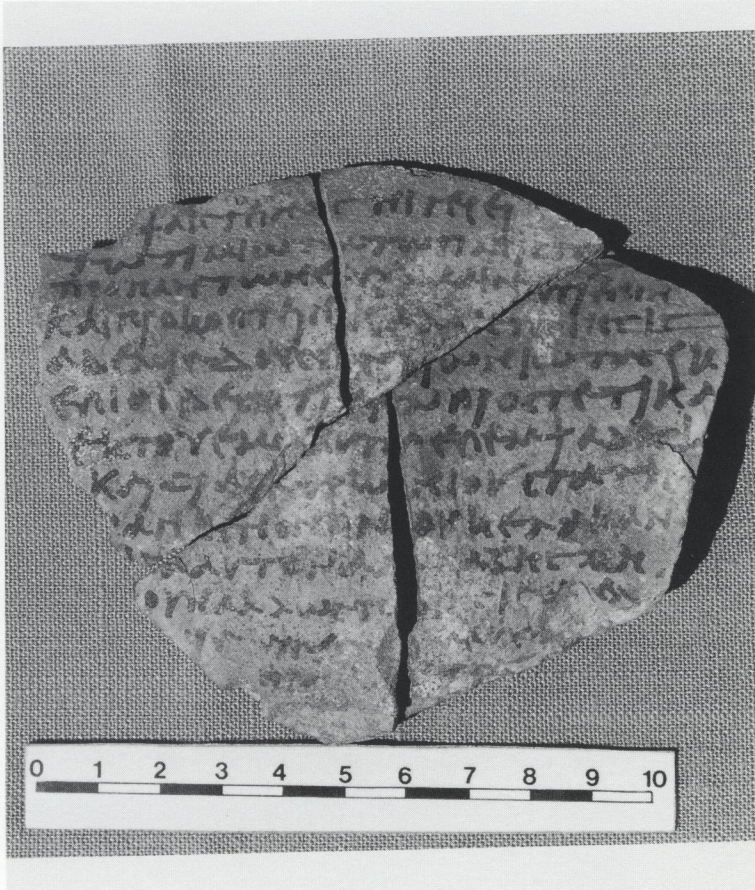
Latin ostrakon BAS93-15-21 (no. 6), photograph



Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-12 (no. 7), photograph



Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-22+29 (no. 8), photograph



Greek ostrakon BAS93-15-6+11+4 (no. 9), photograph