53-60

OSTRAKA FROM THE COLLECTION OF NAPHTALI LEWIS

The eight ostraka published here were acquired by Naphtali Lewis in Egypt in early 1935, when he was a postdoctoral fellow at the American Academy in Rome and enjoying a period of residence at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.[1] He published two of them in E. BOSWINKEL — B.A. VAN GRONINGEN — P.W. PESTMAN (eds.), *Antidoron Martino David* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava XVII, Leiden, 1968) as P. L. Bat. XVII 6. For the others, as far as we know, he never proceeded beyond the rough transcripts on various scraps of waste paper that survive for some of them. The existence of the collection was made known to us by Lewis's daughter, Judith Lewis Herman, in September, 2006, when Roger Bagnall and James Keenan took part in a memorial gathering in Boston, and Dr. Herman very kindly turned the collection over to us. The ostraka have now been given to the Columbia University Libraries and form part of the Papyrus Collection.[2] We hope that the rediscovery of this small collection will please Klaas Worp, ever on the lookout for such small groups of texts, and be a suitable contribution to a festive volume for another Dutch scholar. Lewis assigned no numbers to these texts. Similarly, he recorded the place and date of acquisition only for some of them. It seems safe to assume that all of them come, like those for which he left indications either in print or in his transcripts, from purchases in Luxor and Aswan.

53. A Christian School Exercise

O. Col. inv. 3628 = P. L. Bat. XVII 6, no. II   IV A.D.
H. 10 x W. 14.5 cm   Purchased in Luxor

Purchased in Luxor, January 1935. This triangular ostrakon of red clay is broken on the sides and bottom, but the first preserved line may have been the first line of the text. The ink mark that is visible near the top right corner (and which is shown in Lewis's publication), in fact, does not seem to be part of a letter but continues on the right edge. Similar but smaller ink blots are visible elsewhere. The sherd contains a school exercise, a list of disyllabic words in three columns, respectively words in κ, λ, and μ. It is likely that this inexperienced student copied (or adapted) them from a model. Although the second column starts with the name Luke, the words chosen occur both in the Old and New Testament and

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[1] A biographical notice by R.S. BAGNALL appeared in *BASP* 43 (2006), pp. 5-8.

[2] Columbia ostrakon inventory numbers are given for the texts. Their APIS numbers are identical, and digital images can be found at http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html by searching the APIS number. We are grateful to our colleagues in the Columbia papyrological seminar for many helpful suggestions over the various meetings at which we have discussed some of these texts.

in Christian texts in general. Many such lists of words have resurfaced from the sands of Egypt, cf. R. CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta, 1996), pp. 42-43 and 196-203.[3]

The initial letters of the words in the first column are not preserved, but they were certainly κ since the exercise followed an alphabetical order. The various columns are separated by vertical lines. The line that divides the second and third sets of words is short and includes only the words that are presented in the last column and not the blank space above them, which still needed to be filled. The student who compiled this exercise did not finish it and wrote the lines of separation as he added the various sets. This observation is confirmed by the appearance of the line between the first two columns, which is far from uniform.

It is impossible to ascertain how large the ostrakon was originally. Lists of words can be quite extensive, particularly when they are teachers' models (see, e.g., O. Claud. II 415), but since the hand is that of a beginner, it is likely that he/she wrote down only a few sets. This hand shows letters of various sizes, some corrections and insertions, an uncertain alignment, and a few characters retraced. Even though the writing sample is small, the hand may be defined as an 'alphabetic hand', which could not be trusted to write a longer text (CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, p. 112). A palaeographical evaluation is the only basis for dating this ostrakon. As usual, the hand does not present such distinctive characteristics but a date to the fourth century would seem appropriate and a suitable comparison might be another list assigned to that period (CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, no. 112).

The text also points to an exercise of an elementary character. Lists of words that originated in school environments are of two kinds. Some were organized by subject and served to increase vocabulary and to be an aid to memory. Others, which were divided into syllables and presented sets of equal numbers of syllables, were supposed to teach reading and writing. The list in this ostrakon belongs in part to both types. The words are not chosen randomly but cover basically one area, with the prevalence of Christian terms, yet they consist only of disyllables with in addition some syllabic separation by spaces. The sets of the second column are divided into syllables when the student had enough space at his disposal. In the first two words no separation was possible and the letters are crammed together. It is likely that the ostrakon did not provide enough space on the right, so that the student had to write the name Λουκας with crooked letters.

Christian school exercises are difficult to identify because their content most often does not differ much from that of other school exercises. In a few cases, a particularly clumsy copy of the *Psalms* or the presence of crosses or *Chrisms* at the beginning of a passage from classical authors allows one to posit that these exercises were written in Christian milieus (see, e.g., CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, nos. 303 and 310). Very rarely do lists of words include terms from the Scriptures, and when they do these are part of compos-

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[3] This list is of an entirely different nature from the last list published, P. Monts. Roca I, where the words (common Greek words plus some poetic and technical terms) correspond to the entries of a tachygraphic commentary.

ite lists that also contain personal names and classical references. Thus on a tablet and on an ostrakon that date to the seventh and eighth centuries, a few Biblical names are mixed together with others of various kinds (CRIBIORE, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, nos. 124 and 127). Our ostrakon, however, not only dates to the late Roman period but also presents words that could have been taken entirely from the Scriptures.
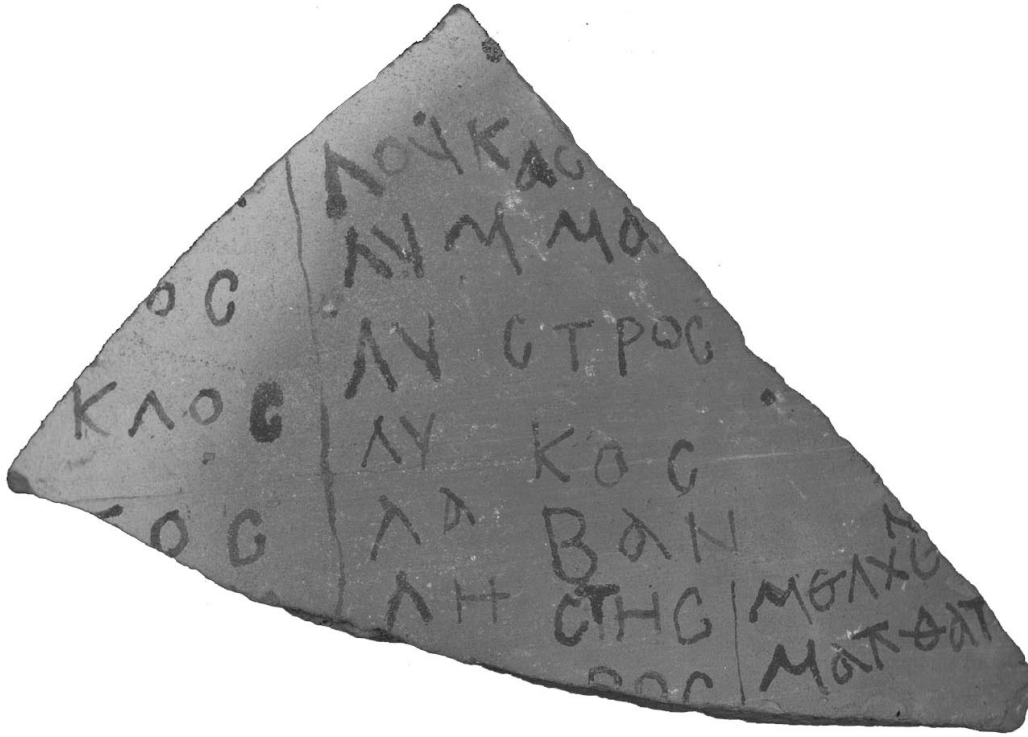
[**53**, 95%]

Column i	Column ii	Column iii
] .	Λουκας	
]ος	λυμμα	
]κλος	λυ στρος	
	λυ κος	
5]τος	Λα βαν	λ
] .	λη στης	Μελχε
	]ρος	Ματθατ

Column i

3   Probably to be restored (with Lewis) as κύκλος, which occurs very frequently in the *Septuaginta*, e.g. in *Genesis*.

5   Only part of the crossbar of τ is visible so that it cannot be positively ruled out that the letter in question was γ. Among disyllabic words beginning in κ, κράτος may be the most likely due to its heavy presence in both Scriptures, but other words such as κῆτος 'sea monster' might have been there. It is also worth noting that we have no instance of *pi* in this hand; although it is a less likely reading than *tau* or *gamma*, it may not be excluded, in which case (e.g.) καρπός might be considered.

Column ii

1   Λουκας as always in the New Testament and in many ecclesiastical writers.

2   The word λυμμα, as it is spelled, does not appear anywhere. If the student made a mistake only in gemination (GIGNAC, *Grammar* I, pp. 155-156) he might have meant to write λῦμα, a poetic and relatively rare term with the meaning 'refuse' or 'moral defilement', which was used by Christian writers such as Origen. A list of words at the primary level, however, was supposed to cover all those starting with the same consonant followed by vowels in turn. In this column only ο, α, η appear and in addition three words start with λυ. Thus it is likely that the student made a mistake of phonetic spelling and wrote υ instead of another vowel that did not appear in his sequence or that at least was present only once (GIGNAC, *Grammar* I, pp. 262-267; 293-294). The word λεῖμμα 'remnant, remains' occurs once in the New and twice in the Old Testament and in later writers such as Origen. If the student wrote υ for ω, he might have referred to the word λῶμα 'the border of a robe'. This term occurs seven times in the Old Testament, all in *Exodus* (e.g., 28.33.1) where most of the time it appears together with κύκλος (incidentally the word written in the first column) to describe the ornamented hem of an undergarment. Finally another possibility (that adopted by Lewis) is that λυμμα was written in place of λῆμμα, which appears quite often in the *Septuaginta* with the meaning 'burden'.

3   The term λυστρος is also problematic. In the New Testament and in several Christian writers two names of places occur: τὰ Λύστρα (always in the dative Λύστροις) and ἡ Λύστρα. It is possible that the student made up a nominative masculine singular to fit with the rest.

4   This word occurs in both Scriptures.

5   Laban is the father-in-law of Jacob in *Genesis*.

6   Λῃστής 'robber' appears in both Scriptures. The *tau* has been squeezed in between *sigma* and *eta* but only slightly above line level.

7   The partially preserved letter is likely to be ρ rather than β. The word in question might have been λῆρος, that is, 'trash or trifle' as in Luke 24.11.2. As he did above with λυ, the student may have repeated another set starting with λη.

Column iii

5   Only what appears to be a *lambda* is visible in this line. The student, who probably worked from a model, started to copy the second syllable of a word that began with μ (e.g. μύλος 'millstone', a term occurring in both Scriptures).

6   In Luke 3.24 Μελχί was the grandfather of the Ματθάτ in the following line. Lewis read and restored Μελχε[σέδεκ, but a polysyllabic word cannot be included in a list of disyllables. It is better to posit a phonetic mistake.

7   Two Ματθάτ are found in Luke. One was a son of Levi, Luke 3.29, and the other, who was more prominent, was son of a Levi, in the genealogy of Christ, Luke 3.24. He was the father of Heli, who was Mary's father. The first *tau* has an extra leg to the right; was it corrected from *lambda*?

54. Letter

O. Col. inv. 3633   I A.D.
H. 10.4 x W. 8.6 cm   Purchased in Luxor

Purchased in Luxor, 31 January 1935. Broken at left and perhaps below. About half of this letter appears to be missing at left, and we are not able to reconstruct any continuous sense. What survives is largely concentrated on matters connected with shipping, presumably on the Nile. A sailor is mentioned in lines 3 and 7, a boat in line 6, and passengers in lines 8 and 9.

[54]
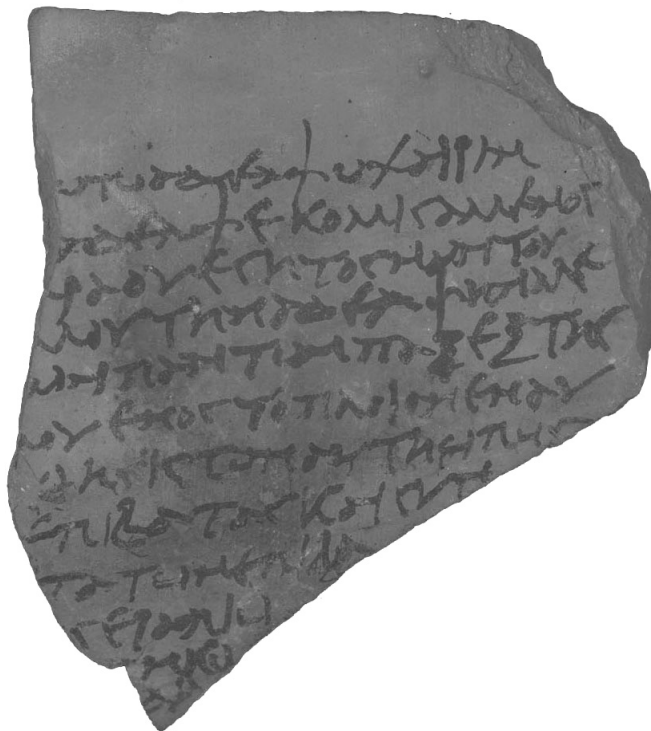
[± 13   ]ῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίριν.
[καλῶς ποιήσεις,] ἀδελφέ, κομισάμενος
[± 12   π]αρὰ Οὐεσῆτος ναύτου
[± 13   ] μου τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀλε-
5   [ξάνδραν ? ± 6   ]ων πάντων παρὲξ τῆς
[± 11 ?ἄλ]λου ἑνός. τὸ πλοῖον ἐν αὐ-
[τ-   ± 10   ] . θησις τῷ ναύτῃ εἰτὼς
[± 13   ] ἐπιβάτας καὶ σὺν
[± 12   μ]ετὰ τῶν ἐπιβα-
10 [τῶν   ± 11   ] Σεραπιω-
[ν-   ± 14   ] . . κ . [
[± 15   ]δια[

5 παρεξ, ρ ex ξ   7 εἰδώς

3   ναυτου: Our doubts about the reading stem from some difficulty between *nu* and *alpha*,
      perhaps only a matter of excessive space left between the letters, but probably a remade
      letter which we read as *alpha*. We have not found the name Οὐεσῆς elsewhere in the
      papyri or inscriptions. It looks as if it could be a rendering of a Latin name beginning in
      V-, but we have not found Veses or anything like it in searching Latin inscriptions either.

4   Perhaps at the start λλ instead of μ.

6   One can imagine either ἐναυ‖[λωσ- or ἐν αὐ‖[τ- here; not enough syntax survives to be
   decisive between these, but the latter seems more likely.

55. Letter

O. Col. inv. 3631   I A.D.
H. 8.5 x W. 6.3 cm   Purchased in Luxor

Purchased in Luxor, 21 January 1935. Broken at left. This ostrakon belongs, in all like-
lihood, to the same dossier of texts concerning a *praesidium* at a place usually spelled Ἇφις
as do a number of other texts acquired only in the 1970s. (The Florida collection was
claimed to have been acquired earlier, but that statement is not verifiable and could be
deliberately false — although the Lewis ostrakon shows that such texts were on the market
as early as the 1930s.) These have most recently been collected and discussed by G.
NACHTERGAEL in O. Hombert 39-41 introd., *La collection Marcel Hombert* II. *Nouveaux
documents grecs d'Égypte et addenda au Tome I* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 32, Bruxelles,
2003), and more briefly in H. CUVIGNY et al., *La route de Myos Hormos* I (Cairo, 2003),
pp. 220-222. The location of Ap(h)is has been much debated, along with whether all of the

mentions of such a place-name in the ostraka actually refer to the same place. The fact that the Lewis ostrakon is known to have been purchased in Luxor may give some support to the view that a station in the Theban area, probably on the West Bank, is at stake, rather than one of the sites farther south that were identified (by the sellers) as the supposed sources of other ostraka in the group when they were purchased (Latopolis, Contrapollinis Magna). We have not identified any of the individuals mentioned in other texts.
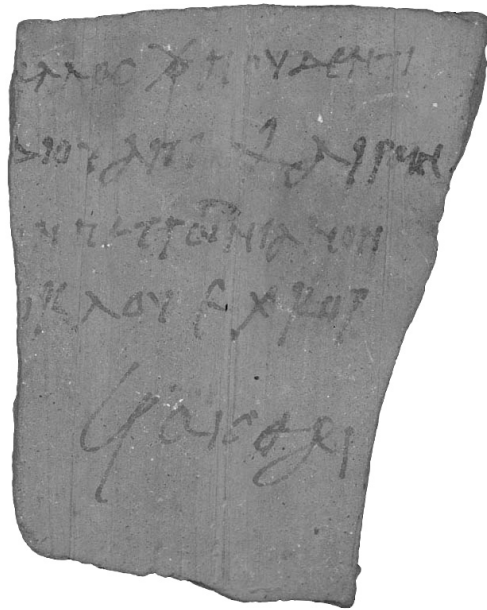
[**55**]

[± 15   ]ελλος (ἑκατόνταρχος) Πούδεντι
[κουράτορι πραισί]διου Ἀπι χαίρειν.
[± 15   ]ον Πετρωνιανὸν
[± 13   Πρ]όκλου ἐχκορ
5   [± 15   ] *vacat* ἔρωσθαι.

1 ρχ ostr.   5 ἔρρωσθε

'- - - ellus, centurion, to Pudens, curator of the garrison of Apis, greetings. - - - Petronianus - - - Proculus - - - farewell.'

1   Γέμ]ελλος would be possible, preceded by a nomen.

2   Normally the place name is declined in the genitive as Ἄφεως.

4   What the last five letters mean is unclear. The hand of the letter is highly Latinate, with
       many serifs, and possibly we should take εχ as a slip in transliterating *ex*. We could then
       take κορ- as the start of a variant spelling of *cohors*; but this is usually written with *chi* in
       Greek.

5   This word is probably written by the same person, but in a less careful manner, as often
       with final greetings.

56. List of day watchmen

O. Col. inv. 3634 = P. L. Bat. XVII 6, no. I (SB X 10284)   II A.D. (reign of Hadrian?)
H. 10.7 x W. 10.7 cm   From the West Bank at Thebes

Purchased in Luxor, January, 1935. Complete. This text belongs to a group recently dis-
cussed in O. Heid. 397-401, introduction, where it is included in the list of previously
known texts as P. L. Bat. XVII 6. Including the Heidelberg texts, ten such lists are now
known. As is pointed out by Cowey in the introduction to the Heidelberg examples, there
are six men listed for a month wherever the text is complete enough to let us determine the
matter. He notes that all of the others seem to belong to the second century, probably to its
first half, and possibly all to the reign of Hadrian. The hand of the present ostrakon is
similar to that of O. Heid. 397. As in the others, again, this one certainly comes from the
West Bank at Thebes, and Cowey has suggested that all may come from Memnoneia.

[**56**, 75%]

ἡμεροφύλ(ακες) Τῦβι

Πλήνιος Ψενεντ̣ήριος μη(τρὸς) Σενπαχνούμ(ιος)

Τιθοήους Ἀμμωνίου μη(τρὸς) Θαήσιο(ς) ἰατρ(ός)

Παναμέως ἀπὸ Περὶ Θήβ(ας)

5 Πμενχῆς Πμενχή(ους) Παρελήκιος

Πμενχῆς ἀπὸ Περὶ Θήβ(ας)

(δεκ.) Πλήνιος Ψανσνῶ(τος) μη(τρὸς) Σενιέρακος

(γίνονται) ϛ

3 ϊατρϚ ostr. 7 ῑ, σενϊερακος ostr.

'Day guards for Tybi
Plenios son of Psenenteris and Senpachnoumis
Tithoes son of Ammonios and Thaesis, doctor
Panameus from the Peri Thebas (nome).
Pmenches son of Pmenches, grandson of Parelekis.
Pmenches from the Peri Thebas (nome).
(dekanos) Plenios son of Psansnos and Senhierax.
Total, 6.'

2 Lewis read the second name as Ψενεσοτήριος, which appears only in O. Wilck. II 1456.

3 Lewis read the first name as Θιωβο . . , on which he did not comment, and the end of the line as Θανοϊατρῆ(τος), of which he said that it was "compounded of familiar parts". The readings are all the same impossible, ignoring above all the sign of abbreviation after Θαησιο.

4 Παναμεῦς Lewis, but *omega* is clear.

5 Παρελῆκις is attested in O. Wilck. II 1196 (unknown provenance) and O. Stras. 534, where it is the patronymic of Pmenches, quite possibly the father of the man here. The latter text is also a list of *hemerophylakes*, from Mesore of the 10th year, for which Viereck suggests Elephantine as a provenance. In O. Deissm. 80, however, the provenance is definitely Theban. O. Berl. 73 is without provenance. Πλυνχῆς Πλυνχῆ(τος) Παρεχά̣τ̣ο̣υ̣ Lewis.

6 Πλυνχῆς Lewis.

57. Memorandum?

O. Col. inv. 3630   I-II? A.D.
H. 5.5 x W. 5.3 cm   Provenance not stated

Provenance not stated; presumably purchased in Luxor or Aswan. Complete? Although the letters are for the most part readable, the overall sense of this text remains unclear to us. Above all, we do not know how to interpret line 1.

[**57**]
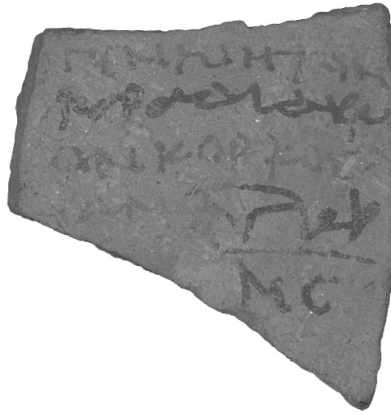
γυμνιητον
παρὰ Δίδυμ-
ον Κορκουλ
αμ λι( ) γ̄ κυ( )

5   μ̄ς̄

1   It is entirely plausible to take the last three letters of the line as the definite article τόν, in which case we might think of an imperative preceding it.

2-3   If we assumed that there was loss at right, one would be tempted to restore the name Didymos in the genitive, but we think it more likely that the accusative, with the last two letters in line 3, is what was written. Whether that is a mistake for genitive we cannot say in the absence of a clearer understanding of the context.

3   The name Korkoulos is attested in several texts: BGU XV 2547, 1 (215), P. Oxy. XIV 1745, 19 (early third cent.), and SB I 5124, 368 (193; abbreviated after *lambda*). There is no sign of abbreviation here, but the *lambda* is on the edge of the sherd. It does not seem to us possible to read the letters at the start of line 4 as a concluding -ον. It is possible that the name was written without the Greek termination. We take it to be the patronymic of Didymos.

4   The first two letters are fairly clear under magnification; we see no sign of abbreviation. If they are not the ending of a name in the previous line (cf. previous note), we do not know what to make of them. Perhaps ἄμ(α)? The following *lambda* is relatively clear, but the vertical stroke under it is badly effaced. Nonetheless it looks more like the subscript *iota* found in the abbreviation of λί(τρα) than like anything else. That measure is

(4)   relatively rare in the early Roman centuries, but not unknown. A form of λίθος is also conceivable. The reading at the end of the line is rather clear, without any sign of abbreviation. We do not know which of the possible words with this beginning to restore, especially given the numeral 46 in the last line.

58. Account

O. Col. inv. 3632   II A.D.
H. 8.5 x W. 7.5 cm   Purchased in Aswan

Purchased in Aswan, 28 January 1935. Broken at right. The loss of part of this account at the top, and more at the right, deprives us of a clear idea of what it concerned. It was a money account, as we can see from the total of 158 dr., 3 ob., in the last line. It seems to have been composed mainly of names, probably grouped; if we understand line 5 correctly, it closes a listing of 6 stonecutters, probably grouped into *dekaniai*, if the reading of line 4 is accepted.
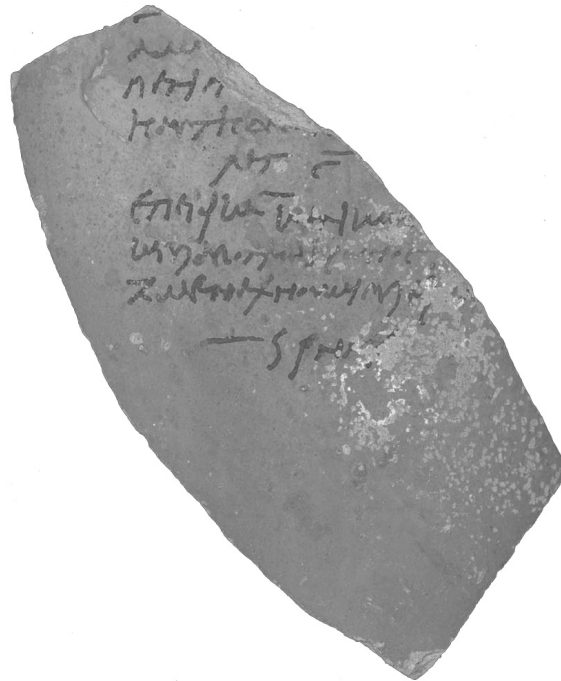
[58]

－ － － － － － －
    (γίνονται) [
    Ἀμμ[
    Πετιλλ[

　　　ἡ αὐτὴ δεκαν[ία
5　　　　　　λάτ(ομοι) ϛ [
　　Ἐπεὶφ καˉ κατίκων [
　　καὶ ὑπ(ὲρ) Ἀπολλων(ίου) Ἥρωνος
　　Ζμενεχνοῦμις ὑπ(ὲρ) εξ[.] . [
　　　　　　(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ρνη (τριωβ.)

6 κατοίκων

　　3　　This is presumably the Latin name Petillius (sometimes spelled with one l). Although this is rare in Egypt, there is an example in SB XXII 15652 (A.D. 32).

　　5　　Lewis variously thought of λαγ, λεγ, and λογ. Under magnification, it is clear that *omicron* is not possible, and that the tail of *alpha* is short, being marked with a dimple that indicates the division between that letter and the beginning of the cross-stroke of the *tau* (rather than *gamma*).

　　8　　The second letter is probably *xi*, thus perhaps ἐξαγοντ- in some form. Lewis read ἐρ-[γ]α̣[τῶν], but the top of the second letter seems to rise too high to be the top of *rho*.

59. Account

O. Col. inv. 3635　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　II A.D.
H. 8 x W. 8.2 cm　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Purchased in Aswan

Purchased in Aswan, 28 January 1935. Broken at top, upper right, and below. The nature of this account is not clear, and the numbers are not preceded by any indication of unit to show if we are dealing with money, commodities, or objects.

　　　　－ － － － － － － －
　　　　. . . . Ἀπολ]λῶτο[ς
　　　· Πετεσαρ̣α̣ς Γερμα̣[νοῦ .]
　　　· Πανεχῆμις Ἡρακλίδ[ου .]
　　　· Ἀλέξα<ν>δρος Ἡρακλίδ(ου) β
5　　　　[[Α . . . . β]]
　　　Ἀμμώνις Σωκρά(τους) β
　　　Ἰούλις Κρῆκος β
　　　Πόρις δὶς Ἀμμω(νίου) β
　　　[. . . .]ις Σερῆνος β
10　　[. . . . . .] Ὀρσενοῦφις β
　　　[. . . . . . Ο]ὐαλέρις β̣
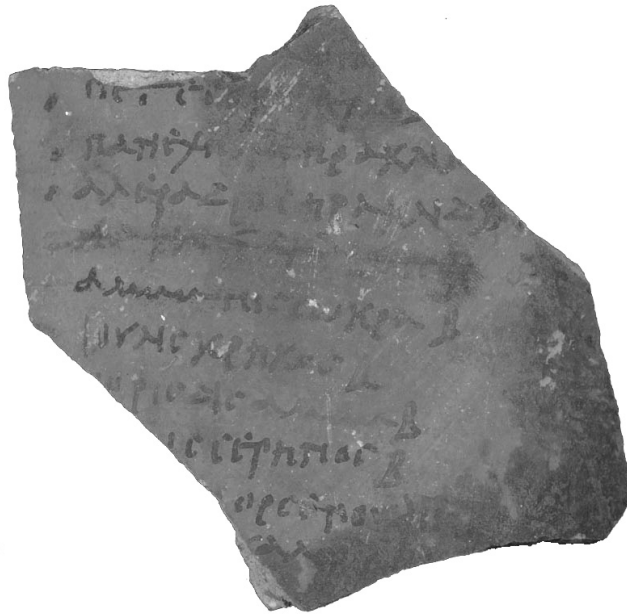
[**59**]

In the right margin are the remains of three lines of writing, written with the sherd turned 90 degrees counterclockwise. They are heavily discolored and only scattered letters can be made out.

3   Lewis read Πανεχημις, but only half of the supposed *mu* appears to be present. Neither that nor any possibility we have considered yields a known name.

8   It is rare to find δίς written in full to mean 'son of the same', i.e., an individual homonymous with his father. More typically we find the numeral β, or else the common expression ὁμοίως, typically abbreviated to *omicron* with a supralinear line.

9   Perhaps restore Ἰούλ]ις.

60. Receipt?

O. Col. inv. 3629   I-II A.D.
H. 4 x W. 3.1 cm   Provenance unknown

Provenance unknown; presumably purchased in Luxor or Aswan. Broken at left and below. Although the handwriting is a typical cursive of the early Roman period, we have been unable to recognize with any confidence a familiar formula here, and our confidence in the readings is not strong.

[**60**]

```
        ]ις Ἀτιεμιέω(ς) [
        ] διέγρα(ψεν) βορ . [
        ] . ο(  ) Ψενετειο(υς) [
        ]ννηθ(  )  ε . [
   5    ] γ (ἔτους) (δραχμ- ) . [
        ] . [
        _   _   _   _   _   _   _
```

5   Two consecutive sinusoidal curves, the first longer than the second.

6   Perhaps a *mu*.

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