

PAPYRI AND OSTRAKA FROM QUSEIR AL-QADIM

PREFACE

When, a decade ago, Janet Johnson and Donald Whitcomb invited me to sign on as the person for Greek and Latin documents for the Quseir expedition, neither they nor I knew whether the excavation they planned would turn into the Dura-Europos of the 1970's or (as is so often the case) baffle all expectations by turning up hardly any written material. As it turned out, the reality was somewhere in the middle. Quseir produced a remarkable variety of written materials, but the Greek and Latin texts occupy only a secondary place among them. (The Arabic material from Mamluk levels is far more extensive.) Nonetheless, they have their points of interest, both in themselves and as part of the overall body of finds from the site. All of those known to me are included in this volume, however unpromising, both because they may help to illuminate other aspects of the record even by their existence and because with excavation reports one ought not allow oneself the papyrologist's favorite excuse, that someone working on the collection later will publish the smaller fragments. For the same reason, and because access to the originals will be difficult for most readers, I have included plates of all of the texts, even where the photographs are less than ideal. On the other hand, I have offered a far less full introduction to the site and the finds than I might, because of the availability of the two exemplary and full preliminary reports from the first two seasons (with that of the third forthcoming). The eventual final report will be still more comprehensive.

The present edition, like a chair with uneven legs, rests on somewhat wobbly underpinnings. After the first season, the excavators provided me with field photographs of most of the inscribed objects from that season. These were mostly of mediocre quality, but in the main allowed me to

determine what sort of text I was dealing with and in some cases allowed a provisional transcription. I visited the site of Quseir in March, 1980, shortly after the end of the second season of excavation, proceeding then to Cairo to work on the originals. Because the division of antiquities from the second season was then underway, my access to those texts was very limited and my time with the finds in general somewhat curtailed. Again I worked from field photographs from the second season and eventually the third, visiting Cairo again in March, 1984 to work in the Egyptian Museum. On this occasion I was able to work at more leisure and complete my transcriptions of most of the texts. Subsequently, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen photographed all of the texts which could be located in the course of a mission of the International Photographic Archive of Papyri in January, 1986. My acquaintance with individual items thus rests on a basis ranging from (at best) two photographs and two sessions with the original to (at worst) only the field photograph; for a number of objects have not been able to be found on one or more of these visits by me and by Bülow-Jacobsen. Those not found on any occasion lack J. (= Journal d'entrée) numbers and exact dimensions (though approximate dimensions can be determined from the scale in the photographs).

Despite the difficulties which will be evident from the above, the task of editing these documents has been a rewarding one, and it remains to thank those who have made it possible. First, of course, I owe to the excavators, Janet Johnson and Donald Whitcomb, not only their original invitation but many kindnesses along the way, including my memorable visit to the site on the Red Sea in 1980. Secondly, both visits to Egypt were made possible by grants from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society; without this assistance there would have been no publication. Thirdly, for the provision of facilities for study in the Cairo Museum, I am grateful to the Director, Dr. Mohammed Saleh, and his staff. Fourthly, Klaas Worp read the penultimate draft and improved it at many points. And finally, I owe to the kindness and expert work of Adam Bülow-Jacobsen not only the excellent photographs of most of the objects but also some work of conservation at the time of the mission's visit to Cairo.

INTRODUCTION

1. Quseir and its Environment

The papyri, ostraka, jar fragments, inscription, and wooden tag published here come from excavations on the site of Quseir al-Qadim carried out by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1978, 1980, and 1982.¹ The excavated site lies on the Red Sea coast of Egypt eight km. north of the modern town of Quseir. It yielded remains of the early Roman period and of the Mamluk period (thirteenth century); from the Islamic occupation there was a particularly large assemblage of finds in perishable materials. The Roman port was known as Leukos Limen, "White Harbor," a name which turns up in some of our written documents. In both periods the port owed its existence to the existence of a trade route from the Nile Valley to the Red Sea port and through it to the coast of Africa, Arabia, and India. In Roman times the Nile terminus for this route was at Coptos, which was also the terminus of the route to Berenike, the much more important port located further south on the coast. The route to Leukos Limen passed through the Wadi Hammamat via about twelve way-stations.

The survey of the region undertaken by the excavators² showed that Quseir had no agricultural hinterland; there is no regular supply of water capable of supporting food production of any sort. The region was described by the survey as "hyperarid," with a mean annual rainfall of only 4 mm. The nearest source of sweet drinking water is 20 km. or more distant, and as a result we must envisage Quseir (like virtually all Eastern Desert activity in antiquity and modern times alike) as being supported by constant shipments of all sorts of supplies from the Nile valley towns. This logistical support finds a reflection in some of our texts.

¹The results of the first two seasons are published in *Quseir al-Qadim 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo 1979) and *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report* (American Research Center in Egypt, Reports 7, Malibu 1982), both by Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson; a similar preliminary report for 1982 is in preparation.

²*Quseir 1978* 256-352, by Martha Prickett, with extensive illustration.

2. The Evidence of the Documents

1. *Time and Place.* Given the brevity, unofficial character and poor preservation of most of these texts, we are fortunate to have several indications of date. In 4, we have a regnal date to year 32 of Caesar, i.e. Augustus, and in 10 another regnal date to a year between 31 and 39 of Augustus, is found. Indications of a somewhat later date occur in 22, where a formula that must belong to Claudius or Nero was being practiced (but is very fragmentarily preserved). In 26, we have a tax receipt dated to a year of Domitian (81-96). The occurrence of Tiberius and Claudius, apparently as personal names, in 76, points to a date no earlier than the reign of Tiberius. Similarly, in 18 Iulius appears as a nomen three times, Tiberius once; Ulpus also appears once, probably indicating a Trajanic or later date for the list. A range from the start of the first century to the first decades of the second is thus demonstrable. Nothing points to any later date. The palaeographic character of the undatable documents is certainly consonant with an approximate range of the first century and a quarter of our era.³ The excavators suggest that the date of abandonment of the Roman settlement may have been the early third century,⁴ but nothing in the textual material points beyond the early second. It is interesting that another of the most readily datable bodies of evidence, the terra sigillata ware, also points to the first century, with nothing after A.D. 100 and most from the first half of the first century.⁵

Two texts apparently include references to Leukos Limen: in 18 the address reads *Seren[o c]jura[(tori)] Le[uci Limenis]*. It is hard to see how else *Le* could be taken except as part of the place name completing the title. And in 54 we find *Λευκ* on a fragment of a pot, perhaps indicating the destination of the vessel.

2. *Language.* The Greek and Latin documents presented here form only a part of the corpus of written material from the excavations at Quseir. The first season produced a Demotic ostrakon, a Himyaritic inscription on a sherd, and Nabatean inscriptions in the region.⁶ It also

³The first of the ostraka recently discovered at Mons Claudianus to be published (H. Cuvigny-G. Wagner, *ZPE* 62 [1986] 63-73) are described by their editors as of the first to second century.

⁴*Quseir* 1980, 9.

⁵*Quseir* 1980, 64-65.

⁶*Quseir* 1978, 244-45.

produced, as was reported later, graffiti in Tamil.⁷ The 76 publication numbers of the present edition include three Latin papyri (18-20), three Latin ostraka (44-46), and perhaps one Latin inscription on a jar fragment (66). Otherwise we have twenty Greek papyrus fragments, twenty-two Greek ostraka, and twenty-five Greek dipinti and fragments of jars with inscriptions. In addition there is one wooden tag and one group of fragments of inscription on mica (probably representing three original inscriptions), all in Greek. Latin thus makes up about ten percent of the corpus of Greek and Latin texts. The same ratio is found in the Florida ostraka, and no doubt in both cases we have at least a general reflection of the limited but real role of Latin in the administration of the Roman army in Egypt.

3. *The Army.* Five of these texts give us some information about the military presence at Leukos Limen. In 1, we seem to have a list of soldiers absent from the garrison on each day from the 19th to 30th (with some lacunae) of a month. Their numbers range from two to twenty-five, and the fact that they tend to be away contiguous days lends support to the notion that they were detached from the main garrison for temporary activity elsewhere. On the 18th and 19th, with twenty-five men away, the garrison was at its low point for the period (we have no idea what its total strength was, but if it could be lacking twenty-five, it is hard to imagine that it was smaller than 50-100). On the 20th, however, there are only ten men away, and three of them are back the next day. On the 23rd, one more has returned, and on the 24th all but two are back; these two remain away throughout the period and had no doubt been sent on some longer errand. From 16 we may perhaps be able to infer that the commander of the garrison was called *curator praesidii*, the holder of a *cura*, a position of limited duration rather than a rank.⁸ The curator Serenus is the addressee of 18, in Latin, and the term appears again in Greek in 25.

A loftier position, a *χiliάρχος*, appears as the writer of 24. (Whether it was addressed to someone at Quseir or brought there by the addressee, we do not know, but we may assume that the writer was not in the port.) The term is the Greek rendering of tribune,⁹ who may be the commander of a *cohors miliaria* or a subordinate commander in a legion. I do not know which one is more likely here.

⁷*Quseir* 1980, 264-65.

⁸See *O. Florida*, p. 24 for a discussion of this position.

⁹Cf. some remarks of J.F. Gilliam about the term and its abbreviation in *BASP* 13 (1976) 57.

The eleven names fully or partially preserved in 18 have a strongly Roman cast; they include a number of names rarely if at all found in Egypt and then in a Roman context, such as Aleius, Attius, Aberus, Clementinus, and Pontius; Severus is not common at this early date, either. No name on the list, in fact, is particularly characteristic of the onomastics of Roman Egypt. The reverse is true in 1, where 25 percent of the names are Roman, 50 percent Greek, 20 percent Egyptian, and one name is Semitic. There, we have an assemblage of names which bespeaks an Egyptian population at least in part, and in which Romanization of nomenclature is a tinge. It is quite possible that the Latin names (in a list written in Latin) come from a legionary detachment, those in Greek with a Graeco-Egyptian cast from an auxiliary unit; but this is speculation.

4. Conditions of Life. I have alluded already to the precariousness of an existence in a place like Quseir, where both food and water, along with almost all consumer goods, must come from a distance, mostly from the Nile Valley, about 180 km. distant. Even in their current state, our documents refer almost entirely to the natural preoccupations of people in such places. What we have preserved at Quseir, of course, probably in the main comes from elsewhere, though the account of camels, nine entries of one camel each (7), was perhaps maintained locally. But the preoccupations of one port or of a desert station did not vary too much. The act of writing or sending, letters or goods, is mentioned in several letters (27, 31, 38), and one text (3) speaks of καταβῆναι, descending, probably from the desert toward the Nile Valley. Quseir, of course, was a port for the trade (and for travel) to the South and East, and it seems likely that the fragments of inscriptions on mica (76) are ex voto dedications to gods (Sabazios is the only one a mention of whom has survived) for safe return from travel.

Various commodities are mentioned: wine (24, not to mention the numerous fragments of amphoras with inscriptions); grain (44, frumentum); pease, beans, vinegar, and pepper (28); pitch (21); perhaps apples (2; but the word is broken and could be camels). Naturally, under such conditions things might not work out well, and there is one mention of λιμός, hunger or famine (27), which has happened to the writer.

There is only mention of a slave, that of a military man in 1.31.

3. Notes on Editorial Conventions

Each text is given, wherever it is known, its accession number in the Cairo Museum, prefixed by *J.* (for Journal d'entrée). Below that is provided the field number, in the form of *Q* (for Quseir) followed by the last two digits of the excavation season, then *RN* (registration number) followed by a number. In some cases, the Journal d'entrée number includes multiple pieces, in which case the field number may help to distinguish items. In dimensions, breadth is given first, then height. All writing on papyri is in the direction of the fibers unless otherwise indicated.

1-20. PAPYRI

1. Roster of Soldiers Absent

J.97273 Frag. a: 19.2 x 25.4 cm. (Plate 1)
Q82-RN 1151 Frag. b: 11.0 x 7.0 cm.

Back blank

These two fragments come from a list of men's names, arranged by days of the month with a total at the end of each day's section. Fragment (a) preserves the entries for the 18th to 21st and 23rd to 30th. No dates are preserved on fragment (b). The part of fragment (a) lost at the left had evidently contained a list of 25 names under some day, and the entries for the 18th and 19th simply say "the same 25 men." On the 20th, ten names are listed; the entry for the 21st is broken but contained at least seven names; that for the 22nd is lost; the 23rd has six names, the 24th, four; and from there to the end of the month, the same two men are listed.

The names listed, and the dates for which their names are listed, are as follows:

	20	21	23	24	25-30
Apollonios s. Psenminis	x				
Apollo s. Heron	x	x	x		
Enouphis s. Pakoibis	x	x	x		
Ision s. Numerius	x	x	x	x	x
Lucius s. Iason	x	x	x	x	x
Nemonios s. Mammogaios	x	x			
Quintus (s.?) Alexandros	x	x	x		
Sarapion s. Theon	x				
Saturninus s. Akontios	x	x	x		
Tithoes s. Paniskos	x				

In addition, a slave of Ision is listed on the 24th, and there is a fragmentary name on the same day which I have not succeeded in reading.

A slightly Romanized cast is given to the list by the presence of two praenomina (Lucius, Quintus), one nomen (Nemonius), one praenomen or cognomen (Numerius can be either), and one Latin cognomen (Saturninus), along with ten Greek, four Egyptian, and one Semitic (Mammogaios) names: a 'Roman' element of 25 per cent in the nomenclature. The mix rather resembles what one finds in the military context of the Florida ostraka (see *O. Florida*, introd.), and given the source of the papyrus it seems a reasonable inference that the list is military in origin. In fact, it is hard to see what other possibility exists.

A list which contained anywhere from 2 to 25 soldiers' names must surely be a list of those absent from, not those present in, the garrison of Leukos Limen, which can hardly have been held for a week by two men. Evidently a sizable party was away at the start of the period covered by the papyrus but returned in the next few days. We do not, of course, know the overall size of the garrison.

Fragment (b) has only the ends of a few lines; they seem to add to our list two sons of Kronios and someone named Harpochras, as well as an [?Apollo]nius son of Peteminis. Both fragments are complete at top and have a right margin; both are broken at left and below.

Fragment (a)
Column i

	[ι]η	οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες κ̄
	[ιθ]	οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες κ̄
	κ̄	Νεμώνιος Μάμμογαίου
4		Ἰσίων Νομερίου
		Κοῦντος Ἀλέξανδρος
		Σα[τορ]νίου Ἀκουτίου
		Λούκιος Ἰάσωνος
8		Ἀπολλῶς Ἡρωνος
		Ἐνούφης Πα[κοί]βως
		Τιθοῆς [Π]ανίσκου
		Σαραπίων Θεώνος
12		[Ἀπολ]λάνιος(ς) Ψεμμίως
		(γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) ι
	κᾱ	Ἰσίων] Νομερίου
		Κοῦντος Ἀλέξαν[δρος]

16 Σατορνύνο(ς) Ἀκοντί[ο]υ
 Λούκιος Ἰάσωνος
 Ἀπολλῶς Ἡρωνος
 20 [Ἐν]οῦφης [Π]ακοίβωος
 [Νεμώνιος Μ]αμμογαίου
 [.] . . . [

Column ii

κγ Ἰσίων Νεμερίου .[
 Κούντος Ἀλέξανδρο(ς)
 24 Λούκιος Ἰάσωνος
 Σατορνύνο(ς) Ἀκοντίου
 Ἀπολλῶς Ἡρωνος
 28 Ἐνοῦφης Πακοίβωος
 (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) ς
 κδ Λούκιος Ἰάσο[νος]
 Ἰσίων Νομερί[ου]
 καὶ παῖ[ς] Ἰσ[τ]ίωνος
 32 .αι .[.]
 [(γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) δ]
 κε Ἰσίων Νομερίου
 Λ[ο]ύκιος Ἰάσωνος
 36 (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) β
 κς Ἰσίων Νομερίου
 Λούκιος Ἰάσωνος
 (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) β
 40 κς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδ(ρες) β
 κη οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδ(ρες) β]
 κθ οἱ αὐτοὶ [ἄνδ(ρες) β]
 λ οἱ αὐτ[οὶ] ἄνδ(ρες) β]
 44 . . . [

Fragment (b)

]νιο(ς) Πετεμίνεος
] Κρονίου
]. Κρονίου
 4] (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) γ
]. καὶ Ἀρποχρᾶ(ς)
] (γίνονται) ἄνδ(ρες) δ

b.4-6 If lines 1-3 list three names, as seems likely, line 4 is a total for these. Line 5 seems to list two names (ὁ καὶ cannot be read), but the total in line 6 is only one higher. Perhaps οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνδ(ρες)] γ καὶ Ἀρποχρᾶς? The two horizontal strokes preserved would be compatible with gamma with supralinear stroke.

2. Private Letter

J.97273

5.0 x 18.7 cm.

(Plate 2)

Q82-RN 1124

Back blank

This letter is complete at top and bottom, but broken at both sides cleanly along folds. Another vertical fold has produced a rent down the middle, but no text is lost. If sender's and addressee's names are lost at left, probably two panels are lost with them and another dozen letters, and a similar amount may be lost at right. The contents largely seem to concern the usual requests and greetings, but not enough is preserved to allow any connected sense to be discerned.

[ὁ/ἡ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνα] τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ μ[ου e.g.
πλεῖστα]

[χαίρειν· τὸ προσκύν[ημά σου
ποιῶ]

[παρὰ]ωμα ση. [

4 [προ]σκυνήσω τούτ[

[κ]αμήλων ὀλίγων [

[ζεύ]γη κε, ἄρτων με[

8 []τα εἰς βαλανάριον [

[]ριν καινὸν ἄπολ[

[]ωσαντος οὕτως [

[]ιναν γένηται [

[ζ]εύγη εἰς ἄσπ[αζ--

12 [δ]τι δώσεις δὲ αὐ[τ-

[]ε ἄχρι [.] `π' ἄλιν .[

[]φόρον καὶ ἐλπίδ[

16 []σὺν τέκνοις καὶ .[

[]τάτην σου καὶ τῇ[ν

[]πάντες ἄσπ[αζ[

vacat 1.5 cm.

[(2 H.)] ἔρρωσο μ[ου
γλυκύτατε]

7 βαλανάριον 9]ωσαντος (?)

2 On the proskynema formula, see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3-208, and H. C. Youtie, *ICS* 3 (1978) 90-99 = *Script. Posteriores* I 36-45; F. Farid, *Actes XV Congr. Int. de Pap.* IV 141-47. Since the name of the god before whom the proskynema was made is not preserved, we cannot deduce anything about the place of writing.

4 Either τούτ[ων or τούτ[ους.

6 Either με[γάλων or με[λάνων is possible.

16 Restore γλυκυ]τάτην or φιλ]τάτην.

3. Private Letter

J.93660a
Q78-RN 591a

9.7 x 8.5 cm.

(Plate 3)

Back blank

The papyrus is preserved except in the left middle and upper right, but many small holes and other damage to the surface cost us continuous sense. The writing is across the fibers.

] (2 H.)

] (1 H.) .. ωνις Ἐπιμάχῳ νεωτ[έρῳ]

] πλεῖστα χαίρειν· [vacat ?]

4 [τὸ προσκύνη]μά σου ποιῶ παρὰ τῷ [θεῷ]

]..ασθης καὶ σὺ [.]

εἰ] ἔχεις τι πέμψε εἰς δαπάνην]

] .. αν .. πάντως εἰ μὴ θεα[. . .]

8 [. μη]

] .. τι ἔνεκεν τῆς δαπάνης]

ἕως [.] καταβῆναι οἱ παρ' ἡ-
μῶν. γραφον.

6 πέμψαι

4 For the proskynema formula see 2.2 n.

10 καταβῆναι is the normal verb for travel down the Nile or down from the desert to the river valley.

4. Private Letter

J.97273
Q82-RN 1103

5.3 x 10.8 cm.
(Plate 2)

A.D. 2/3

Back blank

Complete at foot and right, perhaps also at top.

4 [πάλιν καλῶ σε
[]σσας ἔκοψε ..
[].....ρχω
[]....ποι.α σου τήν
[] ἀσπάζομαι ὅλας ..
[ἔρρ]ωσο. (ἔτους) λβ Καί[σ]α[ρ]ος

4 There is just a trace of the letter after iota.

5. Private Letter

J.97293 7.7 x 3.7 cm. (Plate 2)
Q82-RN 1109

Complete only at left. On the back, four lines of another text, perhaps an account.

4 π...[.].[.].
ἀσπάζεται σε Βαβί
δὲ ἀσπάζου πάντας
οὕτως οὖν με ἔχαρι...
θ[....]...[...].

6. Private Letter

J.97273 6.5 x 3.5 cm. (Plate 4)
Q82-RN 1128

Back blank

4] μου [
προσκύνη]μά σου [
] περ[α] [
]υ σου. [
]χωκί[ρ]
τέ]κνον μου [
].[.]πέζης [
8].συπ[α]..ασε τῆς θυ[γατρός]

2 For the proskynema formula, see 2.2 n.

8 The field photograph shows the left part of this line bent over to the right and hardly readable, and the papyrus was not found for photography by Bülow-Jacobsen. My reading is based on the original, but I cannot suggest what words were written.

7. Account of Camels

J.97273 8.7 x 12.5 cm. (Plate 5)
Q82-RN 1121

Back blank

This papyrus is broken at left and bottom, and perhaps also at the top. Four vertical creases divide the papyrus into five panels about 1.8 cm. wide each. The left part of the surface is badly abraded and in part shredded. I have therefore not been able to make out much except that this is an account of camels, whether received or dispatched I cannot say. For camel use in Egypt see Bagnall, *BASP* 22 (1985) 1-6.

(1 H.)]......()
(2 H.)] κόμηλ(ος) ᾱ

4] Ἡρακ() κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
 Πακ]οιβ() κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]αγα()
] Ἡρωνι κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]..
 8]. κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]φ.. κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]...[.]...του
]Παμφι... Ἡρατ() κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
 12] ἱ ...
]. κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]. .. κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ
]. ..
 16]. φα κάμηλ(ος) ᾱ]

4 Πακοῖβις occurs as a patronymic in 1. It is not possible to say here if it is name or patronymic. There does not appear to be any other plausible restoration.

11 Some form of Πάμφιλος, but the end is unclear, and there is a raised letter which may be an abbreviation.

16 There is no mark of abbreviation, and I do not know if we have the remnants of a name or of some other word.

8. Fragment

J.97273 2.5 x 3.9 cm. (Plate 4)
 Q82-RN 1110

Back blank

Across the fibers.

3 αρ.[
 ραυ[
 βα[

9. Fragment

J.93660 (c) 5.3 x 3.1 cm. (Plate 6)
 Q78-RN 591(c)

Back blank

Remnants of six lines.

3]δωμι σ[
 4]δελφο[
 5]ρος ..[

10. Fragments

J.93626 b-c (a) 7.2 x 4.9 cm. (Plate 4)
 Q78-RN 54 b-c (b) 2.0 x 3.3 cm.

Back blank

Two fragments of the same text, of interest for the date in fragment (a) to a regnal year of Augustus between 31 (1/2 and 39 (9/10).

(a)

] εγραμα
]. . (ἐτους) λ[.] Καίσαρος Φαῶφι ζ

(b)

].[
]. εν[
 vacat 1.5 cm.
 Φα]ῶφι ζ

11. Fragment

J.93626d
Q78-RN 54d

1.6 x 2.0 cm.

(Plate 6)

Back blank

]ληι
]ων

12. Fragment

J.93660b
Q78-RN 591b

4.9 x 4.4 cm.

(Plate 6)

Back blank

Complete left and bottom; many holes.

..[
...[
...[...].[
4 γροφον. [

13. Fragment

J.97273
Q82-RN 1157

10.0 x 1.0 cm.

(Plate 6)

Back blank

Traces

]επα έγωι αὐτὸς δεμ.[

14. Fragment

J.97273
Q82-RN 1153

1.6 x 2.7 cm.

Back blank

ων [
επι[
.[

15. Fragment

J.93626e
Q78-RN 54e

1.4 x 2.0 cm.

Back blank

4

]..-].[
]..α[
].δυ[
].-[

8

Ulpius .rarinus
 Severus Aberus
 Anth. .[. .][
 Decmus [. .]. [
 Tiberis Ela[
 12 [[Iulius [. .]
 [traces]
 -- -- -- --

Back: ↑ Seren[o c]ura[(tori)] Le[uci Limenis]

1 What *agmo* can be, and what the relationship of line 1 to the list of names in the nominative is, I cannot tell. The reading of the line seems easy enough.

4 For Iulius Antoninus, attested in A.D. 85 and 126, see *O.Florida*, p.16. There is no reason to think that the various occurrences involve the same man. The use of Antoninus has no connection in these instances with the emperors who later bore the name.

10 This may be Dec(i)mus either directly or via a Latinization of the Greek Δέκιμος which is found in the papyri (itself no doubt reflecting the way Greeks of Egypt heard Decimus). If a second name were present, we might be able to say which.

19. Fragment

J.93626a
 Q78-RN 54a

8.8 x 4.5 cm.

(Plate 8)

Back blank

]mus
]o'supra es
 -- -- -- --

20. Fragment

J.97273
 Q82-RN 1119

3.5 x 2.5 cm.

Back blank

V Idus [
 oa.[
 .[

21. Fragment

J.97273
 Q82-RN 1159

4.9 x 6.8 cm.

(Plate 9)

Back blank

['A]λέξαν[δρ--
].ολ. . .[
]ποσορμ.[
 4] καὶ πίσης [
 -- -- -- --

22. Fragment of Date

J.97273
Q82-RN 1158+1160

4.7 x 8.1 cm.

41-68
(Plate 10)

Back blank

We appear to have three copies of pretty much the same text here, presumably from a scribe's practice exercises; cf. *MPER* n.s. XV, pp.10-11 on such practice.

 Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος Φ[α]ρ[μοῦθι
] Αὐτοκράτορος Φα[ρμοῦθι
]κοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος [

3 Claudius and Nero were apparently the only emperors to have a date formula which fits here. We must seemingly restore [Τιβερίου/-Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος (see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus* [Brussels 1964] 30-32, 34-35).

23. Fragment of Letter

J.97273
Q82-RN 1154

3.8 x 3.7 cm.

(Plate 10)

Back blank

]
]κως εὐ.
]ως συμ[
].ε. ἐρρ[

4

24-48. OSTRAKA

24. Letter from a Tribune

J.93670
Q78-RN 655

8.5 x 10.2 cm.

(Plate 10)

Back blank

This ostrakon appears to have two brief notes, and despite the small amount of text lost, many things remain unclear. The repeated greeting, in a seven-line text, is peculiar. The case of the recipient's apparent patronymic is wrong. There seems to be an unusual orthographic peculiarity in the verb. The measure is modified by an adjective which I cannot find elsewhere. The lower text yields no sense to me. In short, this is rather of a conundrum.

The first four lines are a simple order to send three kolophonia, written by a tribune. A tribune was presumably the commander of a *cohors miliaria* (cf. *BASP* 12 [1975] 137 for another Upper Egyptian example). He gives only a Greek name, although he must have been a Roman citizen.

Κόμαρος χιλ(ίαρχος)
 Βήκει 'Αρυώθης
 ἄπες μασσανδάνια
 κολοφόνεια γ.
 Κόμαρος χιλ(ίαρχος) Βήκ[ει]
 [. . .]ρεσενουφι[
 [. . .]βις Ψενουσ[φι-?]

1 Komaros (the name means "strawberry-tree," or the evergreen arbutus) occurs in *NB* and *Onomasticon* only four times: *P.Oxy.* VII 1055 recto (prob. 209/10), a ἱππεύς; *SB* V 7808, an ἀρχιερεύς mentioned on a

a deceased landowner. Nor is it common in Rome, where Solin can cite only one example (*Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* [Berlin 1982] II 1093: a slave).

2 Unless I have misunderstood the text, read 'Αρυάθου.

3 ἄπες = (presumably) ἄφες, though such intervocalic interchange is not common, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 93. What *μασσαυδάνια* means, I have no notion. An alternative reading, *μασσαλιδάνια*, also yields nothing known, though it sounds as if it might be connected with Massalia. There seem to be marks above the *ια* at the end. Just conceivably these could be traces of a lost *χα(ίρων)* in line 2, but I am not sure that anything has broken off here.

6 Perhaps an orthographical variant of 'Ορσενουφίς in some case.

25. Official Letter

Not seen
Q82-RN 124

Dimensions unknown

(Plate 10)

This ostrakon has not been able to be found in the Cairo Museum, and I am therefore dependent on the field photograph printed here. The sherd is broken at left and bottom, and probably also at right; the left part is seriously faded. It is a letter to or from a curator, probably the curator of Leukos Limen, for whom see 18 above. Except that (as usual) there is a request (line 3), we can make out only that a sum of 16 drachmas is mentioned (line 8).

4 κο]υρέτωρ []
[] χαίριν· []
σπού]δαςον μοι []
[] . . . δης ψ. []
[] ολ. . . ν ειδ []
[] . . . γὰρ ου. []
[]μη. []
8 [] . . . καὶ (δραχμὰς) ἰς []
[] ἐκ τοῦ δι. []
[] ονμ []

26. Receipt

J.97266

6.0 x 8.2 cm.

(Plate 11)

Q82-RN 151

The sherd is complete at top, bottom, and right, but the loss at left is substantial. The entirety has been crossed out with multiple x's. I have found the hand very difficult, and in the absence of parallels the overall shape of the text is only barely visible.

[] ...ιτιανού Πα-
[] παρ]έλαβ(ον) παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ λό-
[] γου [] κφραος λόγου εν
4 [] .ρ ε. . . δραχ(μ) δύο· ἔτους
[] Δ]ομιτιανού Σεβασ(του)
[] (2 H.)] 'Ανίκητος
[] παρ]ει]ληφα
8 [] Φαρ]μοῦθι δ
[] (1 H.)]. σου παρ]έλαβ(ον) Μαρ() Διδυ()
[] Φαρ]μοῦθι δ

1 This is not Domitian's name; I suppose it is the collector's patronymic.

6-8 These lines are written with a blunt pen by a less skilled writer. Probably the month and day were written in line 6 before Aniketos' signature began.

9 Perhaps Markos Didymos, but the syntax at this point is not evident.

J.93621
Q78-RN 23

7.3 x 9.1 cm.

(Plate 11)

[.] καλῶς ποιήσεις]
 Ἑρμερῶς Φαύστ[ω (e.g.) πλεῖστα χαί-]
 ριν· ἐρωτῶ σε κα[εὐ-]
 4 ψυχῆσαι. γίνωσκε [γεγον-]
 ἔναι μοι λιμόν. Δεμ[--- ἦλθεν ἐπι-]
 στολᾶς ἔχοντα καὶ
 λέγων πάντα καλ[ῶς
 8 γίνωσκε Ἀλέξαν[δρου
 φλογίν. ὀψομαί σε .[
 ν καὶ ὁποδός εἰς π.[
 μαν ὦν δὲ ἐπὶ χρ[
 12 τος ἦ Ἀταλός εἰ[

9 φλογίον

1 This line was written last.

2 The name is Ἑρμερῶς, as not only the handful of papyrological examples but numerous Roman inscriptions show (Solin I 52-53).

4 The word break might lead one to doubt γεγονέναι, but line 10 at least shows similar disregard for syllabication, and it must at least represent the sense.

5 I take it that λέγων in line 7 is part of the same construction as ἔχοντα in 6, all referring to a subject and verb in line 5. For λιμός in the desert context, cf. *O.Florida* 7 (with *Bull. épigr.* 1977, 572).

7 LSJ cite φλογίον ("little flame") only from Longinus.

28. Private Letter

J.93632
Q78-RN 132

16.0 x 7.6 cm.

(Plate 11)

The ostrakon, though complete, is faded in the center, and the writer has a tendency to let his pen run dry. Among the objects discussed are pease, beans, vinegar, cabbage, and pepper.

Μάξιμος .πα.ρο. ωι τῷ ὀδελφῷ χα(ί)ρειν·
 συγγνός ἦ ὅτι θων σημεῖον κομίσαι
 παρὰ Σαβίνου τοῖς η. οἴνου κράμβης

. ας

4 τρίς καὶ μάτιν πίσου καὶ φακοῦ μάτιν
 καὶ ἵπον τὸ καηπεμον περὶ τοῦ ὄξου[ς],
 καὶ ἐὼν χρέαν ἔχης. ἔρωσ(ο).
 περὶ τοῦ πιπεριδίου μὴ ἐπιλάθου.

2 συγγνούς 3 α at end corr. and blotted; κεράμιον

4 μάτιον 5 εἶπον 6 χρέαν, ἔρωσ(ο)

1 I cannot suggest any possible readings of the addressee's name.

2 On σημεῖον in papyrus letters (a token of recognition), see H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam 1973) 963-75 = *ZPE* 6 (1970) 105-16.

3 κράμβη is cabbage. Its junction with wine here suggests a compound like οἶνόςκρεον, and we may have to do with cabbage preserved in vinegar. But I have not found the compound οἶνοκράμβη attested elsewhere.

29. Letter

J.94934
Q80-RN 87

7.0 x 5.5 cm.

(Plate 12)

--- --
].ι ποισαί [
].ες μοι ὅτι αι
].ις οἶν ποιήσω
 4 σ]υντηρήσις

(-)ἀ]γαγὴν ἕως καὶ
].[.]υτα καὶ τὸ φι-
].σω. [

4 συντηρήσεις?

30. Letter

Not seen
 Q82-RN 149

Dimensions unknown

(Plate 12)

4

[. . .]ι σε δε.[
 [. . .]υ καὶ δι
 β[.]λουκ[
 ἐξελθὼν [
 εἶπέ μοι .[
 ψον μοι [
 καὶ οὐκ [

5-6 Presumably [πέμ]ψον μοι (given the next line, [γρά]ψον seems less likely).

7 καὶ οὐκ [ἀμελήσεις]? (If the οὐκ is not the writer's error for μή, the polite future is indicated.) But obviously there are other possibilities.

31. Letter

J.93666a
 Q78-RN 643a

4.2 x 5.4 cm.

(Plate 12)

Q78-RN 643a

4

]νις
]ακου
]ων Γαίου
] τριάκοντα
 π]έμψις ἄλλα
]εμ
] traces

5 πέμψεις

2 φακοῦ?

32. Uncertain Text

J.94939
 Q80-RN 93

5.7 x 10.0 cm.

(Plate 12)

The surface of this sherd is badly spotted, apparently from the effects of salt. One diagonal line from top left to lower right runs across the text.

4

8

traces
]. πέντε . . . [
 ἐ]πτακογδοη. [
].α) εἴκοσι. [
] καὶ κρεικ. [
]. μῆ. [
].μας καὶ φακ[οῦ
][.] ε. . . φη. [
]ςL αικς ζ [

3 This seems most likely to be an abbreviated form of ἐπτακαιογδοήκοντα, perhaps by abbreviation of καί to kappa; the abundance of spots on the surface prevent one from attributing an abbreviating function to any of the marks in the vicinity. But cf. line 5, note.

5 One supposes κρ(ιθῆς) εἴκο[σι, but there is no mark of abbreviation.

9 One wonders if this can be αἱ κ(αθαφαί) as in Theban tax receipts, but the sense is not obvious here.

33. Fragment

J.93619
Q78-RN 21

5.0 x 7.5 cm.

(Plate 13)

4

δ]μ(οίως) [
] ὁμο(ίως) γ [
] ὁμο(ίως) .[
] ὁμο(ίως) .[
] ὁμο(ίως) [
]

34. Name

J.94941
Q80-RN 95

7.6 x 6.9 cm.

(Plate 13)

Ψευδοσίρις
Πετρωίου

35. Fragment

J.93668
Q78-RN 648

3.5 x 7.2 cm.

(Plate 13)

4

κατα[
ἐπτα[
σι..[
δο..[
δα[
ἐπτ[

36. Fragment

J.93665
Q78-RN 642

6.2 x 6.1 cm.

(Plate 13)

4

]...ν.[
]..ρης
] Λουκρήτις Σαβνο()
]..ι Τιθοῆς
].....Κότυς
]... Ψευδοσίρις(ς)

3 It is not clear if this is a cognomen, hence nominative, or patronymic, hence genitive.

37. Fragment

J.93647
Q78-RN 381

6.0 x 5.8 cm.

(Plate 14)

Six lines, with the left side very effaced. Only scattered traces are readable except in line 1:

]η κυρία

38. Fragment of a Letter

J.93629
Q78-RN 81

4.1 x 3.4 cm. (Plate 14)

4
]ιραν[
]υίων[
Γε]μέλλας[
]εὔρης[
κ]αὶ ἀγόρασον[

39. Fragment

Not seen
Q82-RN 123

4.8 x 5.2 cm. (Plate 14)

4
].....
]......
]....
Φαρμ]οῦθι κϚ

40. Fragment

J.93664
Q78-SR 3845

4.9 x 7.2 cm. (Plate 14)

Seven lines, none of which I have been able to read.

41. Fragment

J.93649 (?)
Q78-RN 383

Dimensions unknown (Plate 15)

Twelve lines, unread.

42. Fragment

J.94942
Q80-RN 96

5.0 x 3.0 cm. (Plate 14)

-- -- -- --
]ματ .[

43. Fragment

J.94940
Q80-RN 94

4.0 x 8.0 cm. (Plate 15)

]κχα[
]χαρκου[

1 The last letter looks like γ or π.

2 Perhaps for χαλκοῦ?

44. Memorandum?

J.97267
Q82-RN 155

5.8 x 4.2 cm.

(Plate 15)

Athyr . . . [
frumentum h[

45. Fragment

J.93662
Q78-RN 637

7.1 x 8.0 cm.

(Plate 15)

The left half of the ostrakon is blank.

4 . . . [
ait [
sim[
a[
muos [
ait

5 This is in all probability a reference to Myos Hormos, the major port some 150 km. to the north of Leukos Limen, and the terminus of the road from Qena. Cf. *O.Florida*, pp.34-35.

46. Fragment

J.97269
Q82-RN 198

5.0 x 5.0 cm.

(Plate 16)

4

]. .[
].um. .[
]. concam [
]. morum [
].meis et.[
].s vacat ? [

47. Fragment

J.93639
Q78-RN 119

6.2 x 5.0 cm.

(Plate 16)

ισωτυχη
ειτραια

48. Fragment

J.93671
Q78-RN 665

13.3 x 9.5 cm.

(Plate 16)

Two lines at the right of a sherd.

.[. .]. . .[
βασιλ.[

49-74. DIPINTI AND INSCRIPTIONS ON POTTERY FRAGMENTS

The distinction of items in this section from those in the preceding is not always completely obvious, but the present section is intended to include writing, written in paint or in ink or incised, which appears to have been put on the pot as such, rather than written on a sherd chosen to be writing material.

49. Fragment

J.93663 10.5 x 9.3 cm. (Plate 17)
Q78-RN 639

Two large letters at the left of a sherd which is otherwise blank.

] κς

50. Dipinto

J.93638 8.0 x 8.4 cm. (Plate 17)
Q78-RN 197

Faded dipinto in large letters.

βο .
.....

51. Fragment

Not seen ca 7.2 x 9.2 cm. (Plate 17)
Q82-RN 169

A rough sherd.

--- -- -- --
]. . . . [
]. . ok . [
]ρου ψ. . [
]

52. Fragment

J.93617 Dimensions unknown (Plate 17)
Q78-RN 7

Small sherd with two letters.

A H

53. Monogram

J.93622 11.2 x 12.1 cm. (Plate 18)
Q78-RN 27

Monogram on right part of convex side of large sherd.



Inscribed in red on the concave side, five letters.

54. Pot Markings

J.93633
Q78-RN 135

8.1 x 10.4 cm.

(Plate 19)

Fragment of a vessel. The upper line is presumably an abbreviation of Λευκ(ός) Λιμήν; the second line could be a numeral (2,700), but it could also be something quite different.

Λευκ()

β ψ

55. Fragment

J.93634
Q78-RN 144

6.1 x 8.4 cm.

(Plate 19)

Sherd, broken at left.

]ρ̄

Instead of omicron one could read delta.

56. Fragment

J.93637
Q78-RN 195

15.2 x 10.2 cm.

(Plate 20)

Fragment of a pot, with a band of painted decoration. Above it is written:

χρ) δωS

57. Fragment

J.93640
Q78-RN 233

13.4 x 11.5 cm.

(Plate 20)

A carinated fragment with an incised inscription.

]ρμο[

58. Fragment

J.93651
Q78-RN 417

3.0 x 4.4 cm.

(Plate 19)

A sherd with a drawn rectangle, in the center of which is

ο π

59. Fragment

J.94930
Q80-RN 82

18.0 x 8.2 cm.

(Plate 21)

At left: a large Φ

At right: Πετεδου[

The dotted delta could also be a lambda.

60. Fragment

J.94931
Q80-RN 83 19.0 x 15.3 cm. (Plate 21)

A large fragment of a pot with two monographs scratched on it.

(a) χ

(b) $\overline{\chi}$ (= $\pi\alpha\lambda$?)

61. Fragment

J.94933 4.2 x 6.0 cm. (Plate 22)
Q80-RN 86

Fragment of a vessel with two letters along a break. It is unclear whether to interpret as

---- o x
 χo or χ or o or ox ----

62. Fragment

J.94935 13.5 cm. high (Plate 22)
Q80-RN 88

Jar handle. On the outside is written

ν
 ς

63. Fragment

J.94936 17.0 x 12.6 cm. (Plate 22)
Q80-RN 89

Jar fragment with dipinto below carination. The letters may be read uncertainly as

N Γ

64. Fragment

J.94937 6.8 x 8.7 cm. (Plate 22)
Q80-RN 90

Jar fragment.

$\Sigma\alpha\beta\epsilon[\nu-?$

65. Fragment

Not found Dimensions unknown
Q80-RN ?

Lettering in red paint.

] $\iota\delta\kappa$

66. Fragment

J.94982
Q80-RN 616

22.0 x 27.5 cm.

(Plate 23)

Large jar fragment with vertical lines. In red paint:

]ocio

If this is Latin, perhaps *socio*. It is not, however, certain that it is not Greek.

Above this, in thin black ink:

ac . su . . . s . . [

67. Fragment

J.94981
Q80-RN 615

12.0 x 11.9 cm.

(Plate 24)

In the upper right part of a sherd, badly faded:

ωστ
νη

68. Identity Mark

Not found
Q80-RN 358

Dimensions unknown

Jug with inscription.

ΠΑΤ

69. Monogram

J.94950
Q80-RN 105

8.0 x 11.0 cm.

(Plate 24)

Carinated jar fragment. Above the carination:

 (= ΠΑ?)

70. Dipinto

J.94949
Q80-RN 104

7.8 x 5.5 cm.

Red paint.

Α

71. Monograms

J.94948
Q80-RN 103

ca 21.0 x 16.0 cm.

(Plate 25)

Large fragment of a pot with two monographs above the carination, in red paint.

(a)  (= ΑΧΕ ?)(b)  (= ΠΑ ?)

72. Name

J.94946
Q80-RN 101

ca 22.0 x 12.0 cm.

(Plate 25)

Ostrakon from jar neck.

Πῶμις

There are also some ink traces lower on the sherd which I cannot read.

73. Fragment

J.94945
Q80-RN 99

6.5 x 5.8 cm.

(Plate 26)

].θ[

74. Fragment

J.94944
Q80-RN 98

7.0 x 6.5 cm.

(Plate 26)

Large lettering.

]υπου[

75-76. MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

75. Tag

J.97268
Q82-RN 160

5.5 x 3.8 cm.

(Plate 26)

Back blank

A wooden tag, broken at left roughly diagonally. The grain, from the orientation of the writing, runs from upper left to lower right, as does the break. I can make little out of the contents; the remains of line 3 suggest it is a mummy label.

].αραβυ()
].ευ^αΩρος
].κζ

2 The first letter is shaped like the right part of a mu, a lambda, etc.

3 A low horizontal stroke projecting from the break may be part of the sign for ἐτῶν (L).

76. Inscriptions

J.93590+93614
Q78-KN 652

Dimensions unavailable

(Plate 27)

Eight fragments of mica inscription were found in the first season of excavation, but no more in any subsequent one. Of these, three combined to form one larger fragment, two into a second fragment; and two more are trivial in character. We thus have three fragments of substance. From the field photographs it appears that the letters are written in ink, but that the soft surface of the mica allowed the pen to scratch the surface

to some extent. I have not seen the originals. Superficially, fragments (a) and (b) appear to be closely similar, and the appearance of Τιβερ in (a) and Κλαυδ[in (b) makes it attractive to suppose that they are part of a single text, a supposition which is strengthened by the fact that the line after that in which Τιβερ appears toward the right side of (a) contains at the left the letters ος, which could form the termination of the name broken off in (b). This hypothesis did not, however, lead me to any acceptable reconstruction of the text, and indeed seemed to pose considerable obstacles. The smallness of each fragment makes a comparison of letter forms very difficult, for they share rather few letters, and those not very diagnostic (alpha, delta, epsilon, nu, omicron); the nus are different, and the hands overall make a somewhat different impression on me. Fragment (c) is manifestly in a different, less angular, hand.

Fragment (a) is a dedication on behalf of the safety of the dedicant; fragment (b) may be another example of this genre but is less clear. Fragment (c) is apparently a dedication to the god Sabazios.

Fragment (a)

4 [ὑπὲρ σ]ωτηρίας ε-
[.....]αρθ.
[....] Τιβερ[ι].
[....]ος διε[...]
[....]ωι επι[...]
[.....]νου[.....]

1 It appears that the upper right edge of the inscription is preserved. The letter transcribed as epsilon is not made as neatly as the epsilons in lines 3, 4, and 5, but it does not seem readable as a theta, comparing that in line 2 (and theta would yield a strange line division). Perhaps restore ἐ[αυτοῦ].

2 The letter at the end is probably an epsilon. It is difficult to see what the word can be except something formed on παρθεν-; not enough of the context survives to help.

3 It is difficult to reconcile the traces and spacing at the end with any possible reading, but as they are very exiguous, certainty is impossible. A nominative seems most likely.

- 4 There is a dot above the line after sigma.
6 The last letter is a vertical stroke stroke of which only the top half is preserved.

Fragment (b)

4 -- -- -- -- --
.ο[
νοπ[
Κλαυδ[
ωμεν[
παζ[
κυυ[

1 The first letter looks most like a upsilon of letters otherwise preserved in this text (cf. line 3), but a phi is also possible and perhaps even preferable (no other example).

2 Before the break, the lower left part of a diagonal stroke (alpha, lambda).

4-6 The lower left corner of the inscription, which is partly preserved here, seems to have been marked by a L-shaped border which runs along the left side of these lines and under line 6.

4 Perhaps [σωιζ]|ωμεν., though the syllabic division is wrong.

6 Perhaps a reference to a hunting expedition.

Fragment (c)

4 -- -- -- -- --
].[.] .[
]νεθη[
].ζηνω[
] Σαβοζι[
].ιζομε[
].αιου[
vacat
].[

Index

I: Chronology

A. Emperors and Years

Augustus

(ἔτους) λβ Καί[σ]α[ρ]ος (= A.D. 2/3): 4.6

(ἔτους) λ[.] Καίσαρος (= A.D. 1/2-9/10): 10a.2

Claudius or Nero

Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορος 22.1

Αὐτοκράτορος 22.2

ἰκοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος 22.3

Domitian

ἔτους -- Διομυτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ 26.5

B. Months and Days

Φαῶφι

ζ 10a.2, b.3

Athyr

44.1

Φαρμοῦθι

22.1,2

δ

26.8,10

κθ

39.4

Unknown month:

ιη

1.1

ιθ

[1.2]

κ

1.3

κα

[1.14]

1 The first letter is a descender (phi?), the second perhaps lambda.

2 Probably ἀνέθηκ[εν].

4 This must be the Thraco-Phrygian god Sabazios. So far as I know, there are no previous attestations of Sabazios in Egypt (none listed in H. Schaefer's article in *RE* 1A, 1540-51), but his cult was widespread in the Mediterranean port cities both east and west and is known in Africa: see C. Picard, "Sabazios, Dieu thraco-phrygien: expansion et aspects nouveaux de son culte," *Rev.arch.* (1961) 2, 129-76 at 150-51. More recent bibliography can be found in G. Sotgiu, *Per la diffusione del culto di Sabazio: Testimonianze della Sardegna* (EPRO 86, Leiden 1980) 18 n.33. An inscription from Delos is studied by C. Vatin, *BCH* 91 (1967) 447-50.

5 Probably σ]ωιζομε[ν].

6 Of the first letter there survives a vertical stroke, perhaps iota or the right vertical of mu (? Πτολε]μαίου?).

κγ	1.22
κδ	1.29
κε	1.34
κς	1.37
κζ	1.40
κη	1.41
κθ	1.42
λ	1.43

V Idus	20.1
--------	------

II. Names of Persons

Ἀκόντιος f. Σατορινίνος	1.6,16,25
Ἀλέξανδρος	21.1; 27.8
Ἀλέξανδρος see also Κουίντος	
Ἀνίκητος	26.6
Ἀπολλώνιος s. Ψεμμῖνις	1.12
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