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DEPARTMENT OF PAPYROLOGY



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Keywords: Ptolemaic, first century BC, grain transport, samples, administration, archives, *naukleros*, *dioiketes*, *sitologos*, *strategos*, *basilikos grammateus*, *apostoloi*, *antapostoloi*, *phylakitai*, ship security guards, shipping, shipowners, corrections.

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*The Arabic text of SPP VIII 1198 and its significance
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Abstract: The paper offers a reading of remnants of the Arabic text of *SPP VIII 1198*. The Greek part of this bilingual document has been known for a long time, but it could not be dated precisely with the indiction date preserved in the text. The dating formula that can be deciphered in the Arabic part allows the reconstruction of the exact dates for this and another tax receipt, *PERF 573* = *SB XVIII 13771*, issued most probably by the same official.

Different tax quotas indicated in the document are discussed as well. Moreover, an effort is made in the article to understand the identity of the issuing official and the document's place of origin. Although it is almost certain that the tax receipt comes from the Egyptian province, it can be hypothesized that it was written originally in the capital city Al-Fuṣṭāṭ. Finally, some general conclusions about the process of the Arabisation of the Egyptian administration are drawn.

Keywords: Greek, Arabic, bilingual documents, early Islamic Egypt, fiscal administration, tax receipt, Herakleopolis Magna, Ihnās.

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Abstract: Following the articles published in *JJP* 47 and 48, further sixty-five ostraca discovered by Tomasz Górecki in the Theban hermitage MMA 1152 are published here. They are labelled 'Exercises', a general designation covering different categories, namely extracts of Psalms and other edifying texts, prayers, lists of word, alphabets, and drawings. They are somehow introducing us to the intellectual and spiritual life in the hermitage.

Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Western Thebes, MMA 1152, exercises, education, piety.

Lucia C. COLELLA

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Due documenti del dossier di Aurelia Demetria alias Ammonia 97

Abstract: In this paper, two documentary texts preserved on P. Vindob. G 13753 are edited. The first one, written on the recto, is a further copy of the

marriage document already known from SB XXVI 16502. The other one, on the verso, is an account of receipts and expenditures. Both texts can be ascribed to the Hermopolitan dossier of Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

Keywords: P. Vindob. G 13753, *P. Vindob. Boswinkel* 5, SB XXVI 16502, marriage document, account, Aurelia Demetria *alias* Ammonia.

Karol KŁODZIŃSKI

An equestrian procurator's 'unequal colleague'?

Reinterpreting the career of the imperial freedman Ulpian Paean 125

Abstract: The role of freedman procurators in Roman administration of the principate period is still unclear. While the division into equestrian and freedman procuratorships is well documented and studied (particularly by H.-G. Pflaum and P.R.C. Weaver), neither the explanation behind it nor adopting the criterion of less important (freedman) or more important (equestrian) procuratorships is entirely convincing. Reducing the work of freedman procurators (having the same titles as *equites*) to merely assisting equestrian procurators (under 'unequal collegiality') can be disputed as well. By re-interpreting the career of the imperial freedman Ulpian Paean and calling upon other careers, the article argues that some imperial freedmen could have held equestrian procuratorships as their superiors.

Keywords: inscriptions, procuratorships, roman government, principate, provincial administration, appointment policy, Roman emperor, imperial freedmen, *equites*.

Grzegorz OCHAŁA

Nubica onomastica miscellanea IV. Notes on and corrections to personal names found in Old Nubian documents from Qasr Ibrim 143

Abstract: The fourth instalment of the 'Nubica onomastica miscellanea' series offers a massive batch of corrections to personal names found in Christian Nubian sources. The anthroponyms discussed in this paper come exclusively from Old Nubian documents discovered at Qasr Ibrim and published by Gerald M. Browne and Giovanni Ruffini. The article includes simple re-readings of anthroponyms on the one hand and more elaborate reinterpretations of whole phrases containing them on the other. Identification with known foreign names and etymologies for many local Nubian names are proposed, greatly contributing to our understanding of medieval Nubian naming practices. Last but not least, many ghost-names are identified and their true meaning is explained.

Keywords: Christian Nubia, Qasr Ibrim, Old Nubian, onomastics, ghost names.

Przemysław PIWOWARCZYK

Microtheologies behind the Biblical amulets: Six case studies 253

Abstract: Recent years witnessed an increasing interest in Christin amulets with Biblical texts. Several catalogues and monographic contributions have been published, facilitating the research on historical and religious aspects of these artefacts. The paper offers a methodological framework, founded mainly on the concept of semiophore formulated by Krzysztof Pomian, as well as six case studies, which show how the analysis of material and textual aspects of a scriptural amulet might reveal theological ideas, more or less consciously shared by its producers and users.

Keywords: magic, Biblical amulets, scriptural amulets, texts of ritual power.

Angelina TROIANO

Sul Fragmentum Riccardi e la Lex Aelia Sentia in TH² 89 281

Abstract: In the recent *secunda cura* of the *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Giuseppe Camodeca has completely rebuilt the dossier TH² 8911 about the acquisition of the Roman citizenship by the *Latinus Iunianus* Venidio Ennico. Thanks to this study, it is currently possible to make further considerations about the procedure described in the *Fragmentum Riccardi* and its relationship with the *lex Aelia Sentia*.

Keywords: *Tabulae Herculanenses*, Roman citizenship, *Lex Aelia Sentia*, *Fragmentum Riccardi*, *anniculi causae* probation.

Jakub URBANIK

Józef inter gentes: On status and law between the centre and periphery 289

Abstract: Following the footsteps of Józef Méléze Modrzejewski and reassessing his law-custom theory, the essay explores the principles of law-application under Roman law. Passages from Ps.-Menander's *Epideictic Treatises* and Gregory the Miracle-Worker's *Eulogy of Origen* are confronted with the selected papyrological evidence of apparent 'conflict of laws' faced by the Roman jurisdiction: the petition of Dionysia (*P. Oxy.* II 237), and a text concerning the testamentary freedom of the Egyptians (*P. Oxy.* XLII 3015), and finally with a fragment of a juridical work attributed to Volusius Maecianus (D. XIV 2.9 *pr.*). In conclusions, a new take of the problem is presented. I suggest the principle ordering the choice of competent law be *lex posterior derogat legi priori*. Thus, after the Roman conquest the old norms remained in force until expressively abrogated by a new Roman precept: be it in a form of a judicial decision (in line of the Roman magistrate-law making), or new imperial legislation.

Keywords: *Constitutio Antoniana*, *consuetudo*, usage, *Reichsrecht*, *Volksrecht*, Menander Rhetor, Dionysia, provincial law, conflict of laws.

Marzena WOJTCZAK

'Legal representation' of monastic communities in late antique papyri 347

Abstract: While focusing on the issues such as spirituality, faith, prayer, and discipline, the late antique literary discourse pays little attention to the engagement of monks in the mundane realities of daily life. The symbolic significance of the total withdrawal from the earthly matters have paved its way into common imagination of the monastic existence. One must, however, remain cautious while attempting to translate monastic writings into the reality of day-to-day life of a monk in Egypt. As shown by numerous papyri, social and economic relations between monks and the surrounding world were not sporadic, but an inevitable element of the monastic movement. The picture of Egyptian monasticism depicts a web of contacts with the 'outside world' and an entanglement of religious landscape in the local economy. In this article, I discuss only one aspect of the much broader issue, that is the existence of 'legal capacity' of monastic communities in late antique Egypt. I address the problem of 'legal representation' of monasteries as outlined in the sources of legal practice. For a lawyer, these observations are all the more stimulating as there has been an ongoing debate whether 'legal persons' as such existed at all in Roman law, and whether we could talk about anything approaching our current understanding of 'legal personality'.

Keywords: monks, monasteries, legal capacity, Late Antiquity, papyri, legal representation, *dikaion*, *diakonia*, Roman law, legal practice, Justinian, Egypt.

Anne Boud'hors

**THE COPTIC OSTRACA
OF THE THEBAN HERMITAGE MMA 1152
3. EXERCISES (O. GURNA GÓRECKI 97–161)**

THE PUBLICATION OF THE COPTIC DOCUMENTATION found by Tomasz Górecki in the hermitage MMA 1152 (Western Thebes) is progressing. After the letters and the legal and economic texts,¹ a third category is offered here,² namely the ostraca gathered under the term 'Exercises'. An elusive category indeed, including many different activities, which probably can be labelled under the general term 'educational'.³ In this context, any classification is problematic, the boundaries being blurry and many ostraca witnessing several kinds of exercises. Nevertheless, I tried to distinguish three sub-categories: first, the ostraca containing quotations of Psalms, then other texts apparently copied for a 'pious' reason

¹ A. BOUD'HORS, 'The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152. 1. Letters (O. Gurna Górecki 1–68)', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 47 (2017), pp. 45–100; EADEM, 'The Coptic ostraca of the Theban hermitage MMA 1152. 2. Legal and economic documents (O. Gurna Górecki 69–96)', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 48 (2018), pp. 53–102.

² Actually, the last category. In an article in preparation for the next issue of the *JJP*, I will include some addenda to the previous series, describe some unidentified texts, and above all try to provide a synthesis.

³ To have an idea of the variety of the texts involved, see *P. Unterricht kopt.*

(a very heterogeneous group, full of doubts about the content and function of the texts), and finally the writing exercises (alphabets, pen trials, and other kinds of training).⁴

The indications concerning the dimensions, the material, and in a few cases the circumstances of the discovery of the ostraca, are from Tomasz Górecki.⁵

97–106. OSTRACA WITH PSALM VERSES

The Psalms are the most widely used Biblical text in Coptic documentary texts. What we group under the term 'ostraca with Psalm verses' includes different kinds of uses: extracts from Psalms copied for the purpose of memorization and meditation, or as writing practice; compositions of Psalm verses, made up of verses from several Psalms and based on different principles of choice (keywords, themes, etc.) that are not always identified; and, finally, magic texts.⁶ A recent census of all these ostraca shows that they are numerous (almost two hundred), especially coming from the Theban region, but often without their place of discovery being known.⁷ The pieces found in the hermitage MMA 1152 have the advantage of benefiting from an archaeological context. Their number is surprisingly large, in comparison with those found in the hermitage of the monk Frange (the single truly 'psalmic' ostrakon is *O. Frange* 33, in Greek), but more in

⁴ I am indebted to Alain Delattre for suggestions and comments on a first draft of this article, and, above all, for the brilliant identification of 108, a new attestation of the reply of Jesus to the king Abgar, for which I am especially grateful.

⁵ Thanks to a table he sent me a few months before his death. I am grateful to Julia Górecka, who was kind enough to explain me the details written in Polish.

⁶ See A. DELATTRE, 'Ostraca des Musées de Berlin portant des extraits des Psaumes en copte', [in:] V. LEPPER (ed.), *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, Berlin 2012, pp. 387–398.

⁷ See A. DELATTRE, 'Between education and religion: Quotations and compositions of Psalms verses in the Theban area', [in:] A. MARAVELA & Á. T. MIHÁLYKÓ (eds.), *New Perspectives on Religion, Education, and Culture at Christian Western Thebes (VI–VIII)*, Oslo forthcoming.

accordance with the ten ostraca of this kind coming from the monastery of Epiphanius (*P. Mon. Epiph.* 10–16, 18–20). Here we have quotations of Psalms (97–102) as well as compositions of Psalm verses (103–106), the identification of the latter two remaining somewhat uncertain.⁸

97. Psalm 1:1

Inv. no. C.O. 169

6.7 × 7.3 cm

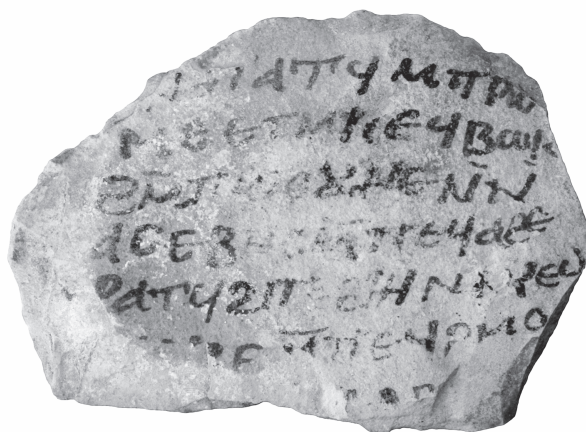
Limestone

Careful bilinear writing, slightly sloping to the right, with letters well separated. The μ has three strokes, the horizontal bar of the τ has vertical appendices at each end. The superlinear stroke is used sporadically. The ostrakon probably contained all of verse 1, but nothing more.

4 $\eta\alpha\iota\delta\tau\gamma\ \mu\pi\rho\omega-$
 $\mu\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\beta\omega\kappa$
 $\gamma\bar{\mu}\ \pi\omega\sigma\chi\eta\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}-$
 $\lambda\sigma\epsilon\beta\eta\varsigma\ \mu\pi\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon-$
 $\rho\alpha\tau\gamma\ \gamma\iota\ \tau\epsilon\gamma\eta\eta\ \eta\eta\rho\epsilon\gamma-$
 $[p]\ \eta\phi\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\pi\epsilon\gamma\gamma\mu\phi-$
 $[\sigma\ \gamma\iota\ \tau]\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon[\Delta\rho\alpha]$
 $[\eta\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma]$

2. $\epsilon\tau\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma$: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \mu\pi\gamma$ Budge II

4. $\mu\pi\epsilon\gamma$: $\epsilon\mu\pi\gamma$ Budge



*Blessed is the man who has not
 walked in the counsel of the ungodly,
 (and) has not stood in the way of
 sinners, and has not sat in the seat
 of evil men.*

⁸ Translations are taken from <<http://epelorient.free.fr>> (version of 2004), the old-English forms being replaced by modern ones.

98. Psalm 1:1a and exercises

Inv. no. C.O. 172

11.2 × 10.4 cm

Limestone

The text of the Psalm stops before the end of verse 1 and is followed by the beginning of an alphabet, perhaps by the same hand. The writing is of the same kind as that of 97, a little more straight. Another hand traced some letters on the left side (in italics in the edition). On the other side, there is a series of crosses of type Ⲡ (which is usually found at the head of documents), followed by the end of the alphabet (letters of Egyptian origin), then a line of Ⲑ, and a few letters.⁹

Recto

ⲛⲁⲓⲁ[ⲧⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲱ-]
 ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲃⲱⲕ]
 [ⲉ]ⲙ ⲡⲱⲟ[ⲭⲛⲉ ⲛⲛ-]
 4 [ⲁⲉ]ⲃⲛⲥ ⲙ[ⲡⲉⲥ-]
 [ⲁⲉ]ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲥ ⲉⲓ [ⲧⲉⲉⲓⲛ]
 ⲛⲛⲡⲉⲥⲣ ⲛ[ⲟⲃⲉ]
 ⲙⲛ ⲁ ⲃ ⲅ ⲁ ⲉ [?]
 8 ⲛⲟⲟⲱ

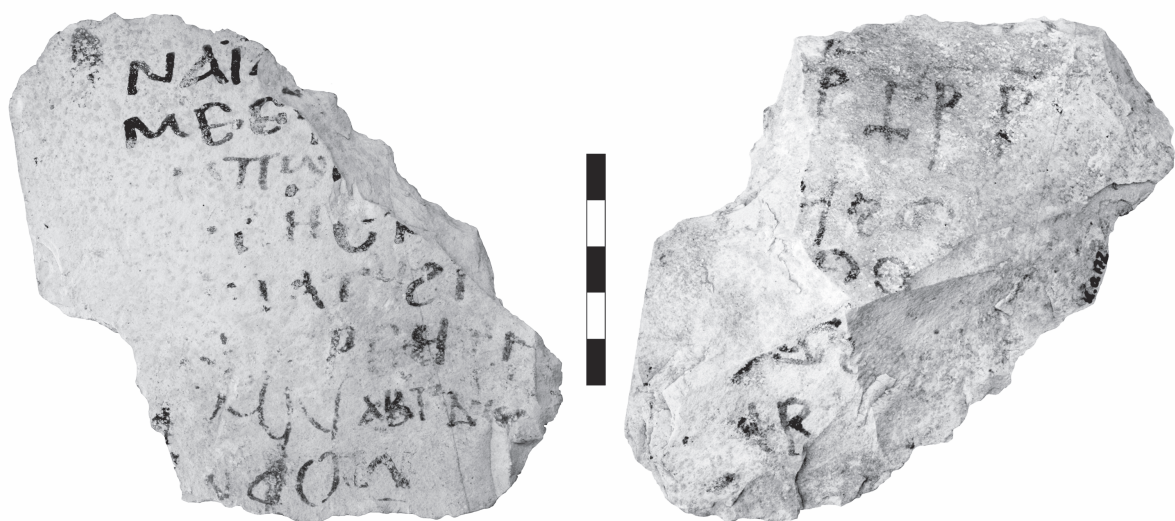
Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and has not stood in the way of sinners ...

2. For the order of the Egyptian letters of the alphabet, see the introduction to the alphabets (138–148) below.

Verso

[?]Ⲡ Ⲡ Ⲡ Ⲡ
 [ⲱ] ⲥ ⲉ ⲉ ⲁ [?]

⁹ Psalm quotations followed by alphabets or writing exercises are not unusual: see G. SCHENKE, 'Zwei Schultexte der Bodleian Library in Oxford: Das Gebet eines frommen Sünders, ein Psalmenvers und Fragen zur Reihenfolge des koptischen Alphabets', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 56 (2010), pp. 290–293, esp. 292.



4 [?] θ θ [?]
 [?] . . . [?]
 [?] . ΔΒ [?]
 [?] . [?]

99. Psalm 1:1-2

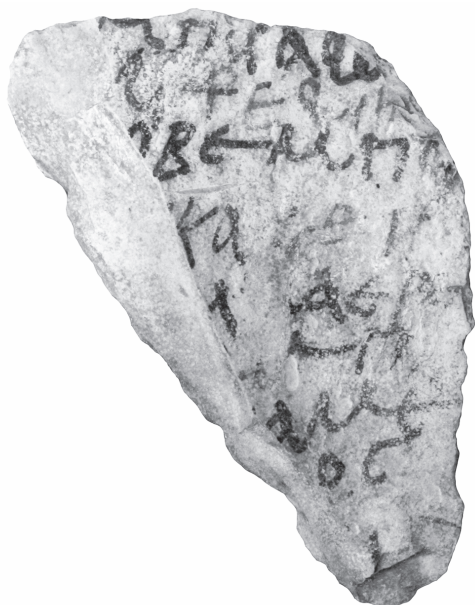
Inv. no. C.O. 178

6.5 × 5 cm

Limestone

The limestone flake is inscribed on both sides. The writing is not very skilful. It features the typical three strokes-μ and recalls that of ostraca 104 and 108. On the back, there are traces of two lines, in a large straight writing.¹⁰

¹⁰ I have no image of the backside, but I saw the ostrakon in November 2010.



Recto

[---] μπαραζε-

[ρατq] zi τεζηη η-

[ηρεqr η]οβε ηπεq-

4 [ζημοοο zi] τκαθετqα

[ηηλοημοο ² α]λλα ερε .[?]

[πεqογωω (ωοοη) ζη ηη]ομοο η-

[ηxοεic αγω q]ηαμε

8 [λετα ηπεqηοη]οο

[ηπεξοο]γ

[ηη τεγω]η †

*[Blessed is the man who has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, (and)]
has not stood in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the seat of evil men.
² But his pleasure is in the law of the Lord, and he will meditate in his law
day and night.*

6. This line is too long and its reading very uncertain; the ostracon does not seem broken on the right, judging by the central bar of the ε (l. 7), which extends as in the end of a line; it may be necessary to assume a variant of the Budge text, with the omission of ωοοη, which does not change the meaning.

9-10. The reconstruction of the text is uncertain.

Verso

ηε[----]

. ωη[---]

100. Psalm 65:10–15 (extracts)

Inv. no. C.O. 292

8.3 × 15.7 cm

Pottery: 'X'¹¹

The writing is regular and slightly sloping; the shape of the μ is close to the minuscule (with the extension of the left leg below the line).¹² The ink has faded a lot. In the upper left part are circled letters. To the right of this circle, the space is empty, except for the traces of a line whose deciphering is hazardous.

Top left, in a circle

[---]PΩΤ

Perhaps $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ PΩΤ, 'the wine-presses', as in the title of Ps. 8:80 and 83?

In the upper space

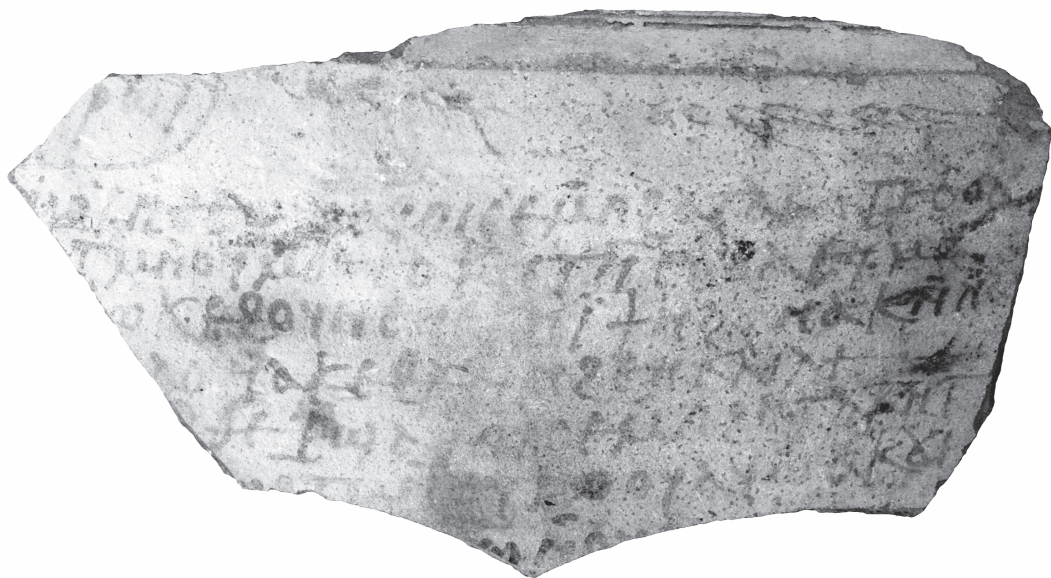
..... δ χ OCΘ ET

	[α KΠICE μ]MOÏ $\bar{\eta}\Theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma\pi\iota\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\alpha\tau$ $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$	65:10b+12b
	[χ ITN OYKΩ ϵ]T $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ OYMOOY $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$	
	[η MTON $\dagger$ NA β]ΩK $\epsilon\chi$ OY $\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\eta\bar{\iota}$ $\dagger$ NA $\dagger$ $\eta\alpha\kappa$ η NA-	65:13a*+13b
4	[ϵ PH τ $\dagger$ NA τ Δ]ΛO $\eta\alpha\kappa$ $\epsilon\chi$ PAI $\eta\chi\epsilon\eta\kappa\lambda\iota\lambda$ $\dagger$	65:15a
	[α KΠICE μ MOI] $\bar{\eta}\Theta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma\pi\iota\epsilon$ $\bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\alpha\tau$ $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau$	65:10b+12b
	[$\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ χ ITN OYK]Ω χ T̄ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ OYMOOY $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\kappa\chi\iota$	
	[c. 17–18] $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ OY . [---]	

1. μ]MOÏ: μ MON Budge | $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau$: $\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$ Budge || 2. $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$: $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau$ Budge || 4. $\kappa\lambda\iota\lambda$: $\omicron\lambda\iota\lambda$ Budge || 5. $\alpha\kappa\eta\tau$: $\alpha\eta\epsilon\iota$ Budge

¹¹ I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation. In his description, Górecki added: 'creamish yellow slip, body diam. 31 cm'. According to him, inv. nos. C.O. 287, 288, and 289 are from the same the fabric, if not the same container. However, their texts could not be identified. In Górecki's table, nos. 271–294 are all from the same 'locus' 31.

¹² This hand is close to that of inv. no. C.O. 290a, a fragment of a letter to be published in the *addenda* of the last article.



^{10b} *You have tried me with fire as silver is tried.* ^{12b} *You brought me through the fire and water; you brought us into a place of refreshment.* ¹³ *I will go into your house (with whole burnt-offerings), I will pay you my vow.* ¹⁵ *I will offer to you whole-burnt sacrifices.*

^{10b} *You have tried me with fire as silver is tried.* ^{12b} *You brought me through the fire and water, and you took ...*

6–7. $\alpha\gamma\omega \alpha\kappa\chi\iota$ does not match anything in this Psalm; given the remains of the next line, could one assume a gloss of verse 12b: $\alpha\gamma\omega \alpha\kappa\chi\iota\lvert[\tau\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\iota\tau\eta \omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\chi\tau] \mu\tilde{\eta} \omicron\gamma\mu[\omicron\omicron\gamma]$?

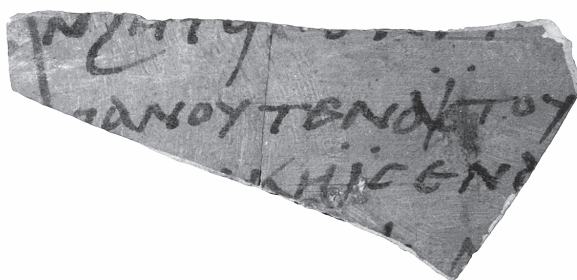
101. Psalm 83:3 (end) – 6 (beginning)

Inv. no. C.O. 007

4 × 7.2 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen

Bilinear and slightly sloping hand. There seems to be a vertical line on the left.



 [---] | ΝΖΗΤΥ ⁴ ΝΕΚΘΥΖ[ΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΛΟΕΙΣ ΝΗΣΟΜ ΠΑΡΡΟ ΔΥΩ]
 [---] | ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ ⁵ ΝΑΪΑΤΟΥ [ΝΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΕΤΟΥΗΖ]
 [--- | ΖΗ Π]ΕΚΗΙ ΣΕΝΑ[ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΥΔ ΕΝΕΖ ΝΕΝΕΖ]
 4 [--- | ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ] † ⁶ Η[ΔΙΑΤΥ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ...]

2. ΝΑΪΑΤΟΥ CORR. ΕΧ ΝΑΤΟΥ

[³ *Yea, the sparrow has found himself a home, and the turtle-dove a nest for herself*], where [*she may lay her young,* ⁴ *even*] your altars, O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God. ⁵ *Blessed are they that dwell in your house: they will praise you ever more. Diapsalma* † ⁶ *Blessed is the man whose help is ...*]

102. Ps. 87:2-3a and pen trials

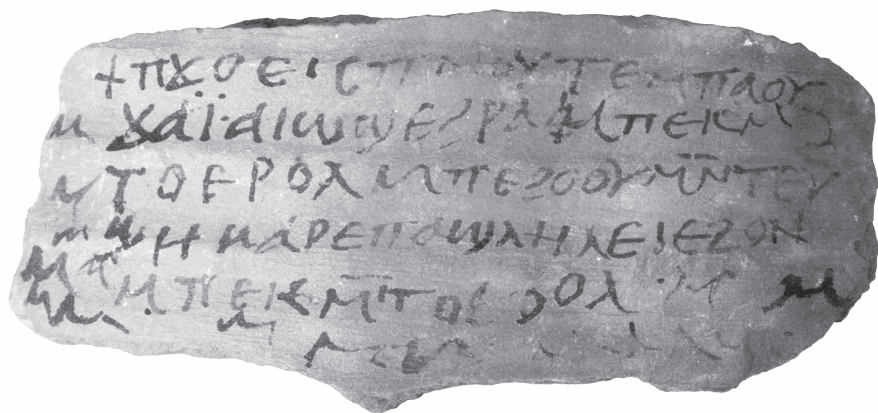
Inv. no. C.O. 306

7.3 × 16.1 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Slightly careless bilinear writing. The drawing of the μ, which is quite fast (three strokes), seems to have caught the attention of the scribe, who has disseminated it in all the available spaces.

† ΠΛΟΕΙΣ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΟΥ-
 ΧΑΪ ΔΙΩΩ ΕΡΡΑΪ ΜΠΕΚΜ-



4 ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΖΟΥ Μῆ ΤΕΥ-
 ΩΗ ³ ΜΑΡΕΠΑΦΛΗΛ ΕΙ ΕΖΟ<Υ>Ν
 ΜΠΕΚῆΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ·

3. ερολ ostr.

² *O Lord God of my salvation, I have cried by day and in the night before you.* ³ *Let my prayer come in before you.*

103. Extracts of Psalms 118 & 104

Inv. no. C.O. 232

13.7 × 14.3 cm

Pottery: imported amphora
 end of 7th c.¹³

This very well-preserved ostracon was one of the previously known pieces coming from the site.¹⁴ The writing is quite skilful, but a bit constrained: the scribe seems to have been trained in writing administrative

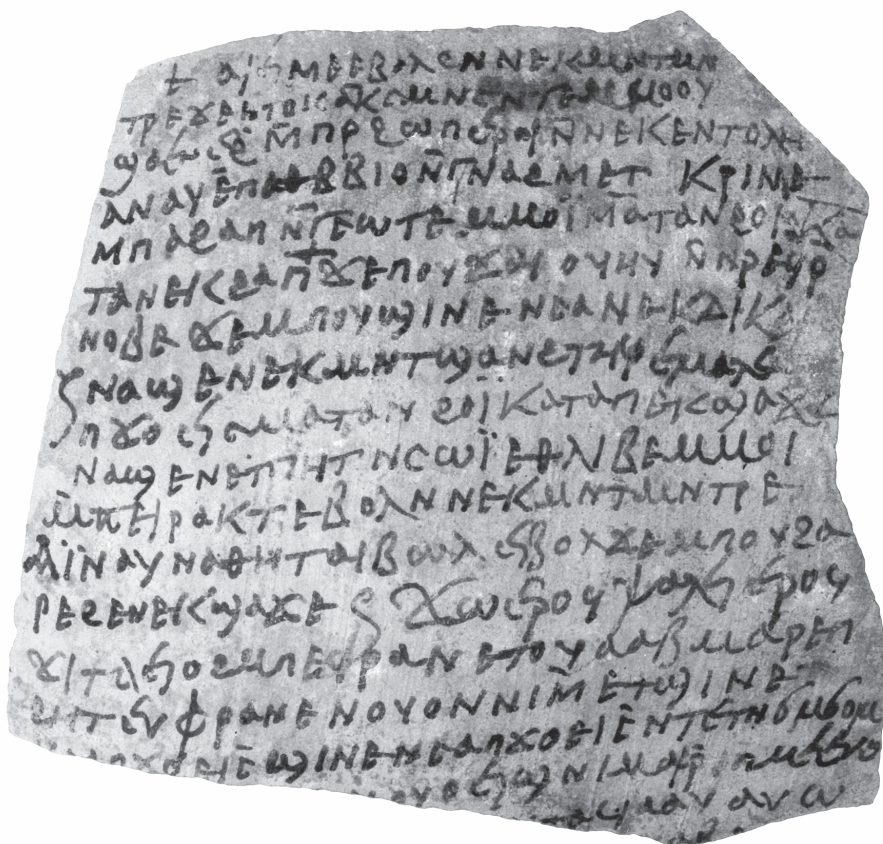
¹³ These pieces of information do not come from Górecki's table, but from the caption of the picture in his report in *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 19 (see next note).

or legal documents, and if he strives for bilinearity and to separate letters well, he sometimes betrays himself by ligatures, especially for ει (also note the quick writing of μεεγε at the end of l. 17). This hesitation is also visible in the two forms of μ (with three or four strokes, and even close to the majuscule in σμσμ in l. 16), as well as in the almost minuscule form of π of μπειρακτ (l. 11). Conversely, note the epigraphic form of λ at the beginning of line 12. Superlinear strokes are rare: some occurrences on monosyllabic vowels, some others as separators at the end of a word (μμ in l. 15, χοεic in l. 16), whereas its occurrence on ακ (l. 2) and κα (l. 5) is less easy to explain. A *paragraphos* in the form of the letter zeta is used at the beginning of line 8, between verses 155 and 156 of Ps. 118, even though there is no jump in the text, as well as in the middle of line 13, to mark the passage from Ps. 118 to Ps. 104.¹⁵

	† αieιμε εβολ ρη νεκμντμν-	118:152
	τρε δε ντοκ ακμν εντε μμοογ	
	ωα ενερ μπρρωπ εροι μνεκεντολη	118:19b
4	αναγ επαθββιο μγναρμετ κρινε	118:153a+154
	μπαρπ μγωτε μμοι ματanhοi κα-	
	τα νεκρπ† δε πογχαl ογηγ μνρεφρ	118:155
	νοβε δε μπογωινε νσα νεκδικαι(ωμα)	
8	ζ ναωε νεκμντωανστηγ εματε	118:156
	πχοεic ματanhοi κατα πεκωαδε	
	ναωε νετπнт нсωi εθλιβε μμοι	118:157
	μπειρακτ εβολ μνεκμντμντρε	
12	λiναγ ναοнт αιβωλ εβολ δε μπογρλ-	118:158
	ρερ ενεκωαδε ζ χω ερωγ ψαλει ερωγ	104:2a
	χι таeio ρμ πεφραν ετογaaв μαρεп-	104:3
	ρηт εγφpane νογон niμ ετωινε	

¹⁴ The ostracon is reproduced in T. GÓRECKI, 'Sheikh Abd el-Gurna hermitage in tomb 1152 and chapel in tomb 1151', *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 19 (2010), fig. 4, at p. 300.

¹⁵ A similar phenomenon was noted by Alain Delattre in O. Brooklyn inv. 37.1866 E, where a *zeta* follows a Psalm quotation (see A. DELATTRE, 'Bemerkungen zu Papyri, no. 518', *Tyche* 19 [2004], pp. 250–260).



- 16 $\eta\varsigma\alpha$ $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\varsigma\alpha$ $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\sigma\mu\omicron\sigma\eta$ 104:4
 [$\omega\iota\eta\epsilon$ $\eta\varsigma\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma$] $\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\eta\eta\mu$ $\alpha\iota\rho$ [[1]] $\pi\eta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ 104:5
 [$\eta\eta\epsilon\omega\pi\eta\eta\epsilon$ c. 8] $\eta\tau\alpha\eta\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$
 [$\eta\gamma\alpha\pi$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\eta$] $\eta\alpha$ $\bar{\eta}\alpha$ [$\beta\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu$] 104:6a
 [$\eta\epsilon\eta\gamma\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda$ -----]

1. $\alpha\iota\epsilon\eta\epsilon$: $\chi\iota\eta$ $\eta\omega\pi\eta\tau\iota$ $\alpha\iota\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ Budge || 6. $\eta\epsilon\gamma\alpha\pi$: $\pi\epsilon\tau$ ^{sic} $\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$ Budge (l. $\pi\epsilon\kappa\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$) |
 $\chi\epsilon$ om. Budge || 13. $\psi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$: $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$ Budge || 14. $\chi\iota$: $\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\chi\iota$ Budge || 15. $\eta\omicron\gamma\omicron\eta$
 $\eta\eta\mu$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\eta\epsilon$: $\eta\eta\epsilon\tau\omega\eta\epsilon$ Budge || 17. $\alpha\iota\rho$ corr. ex $\alpha\pi\iota$: $\alpha\pi\iota$ Budge || 18. $\eta\eta\epsilon\omega\pi\eta\eta\epsilon$
 $\eta\tau\epsilon\eta$ ^{sic} $\alpha\alpha\gamma$ $\eta\epsilon\eta\gamma\mu\eta\epsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\omega$ Budge

^{118:152} *I have known (of old) concerning your testimonies, that you have founded them for ever.* ^{118:19b} *Hide not your commandments from me.* ^{118:153a} *Look upon my affliction, and rescue me.* ^{118:154} *Plead my cause, and ransom me: quicken me according to your judgments.* ^{118:155} *Salvation is far from sinners, for they have not searched out your ordinances.* ^{118:156} *Your mercies, O Lord, are many; quicken me according to your word.* ^{118:157} *Many are they that persecute me and oppress me, but I have not declined from your testimonies. I beheld men acting foolishly, and I pined away; for they kept not your oracles.*
^{104:2a} *Sing to him, sing praises to him!* ^{104:3} *Glory in his holy name! Let the heart of them that seek the Lord rejoice.* ^{104:4} *Seek the Lord, and be strengthened; seek his face continually.* ^{104:5} *Remember [his wonders ...] that he has done, and the judgments of his mouth,* ^{104:6} *seed of A[braham, his servants ...]*

6. The cross above the π of ξαν may indicate the textual error.

18. Here the ostracon had a reading different from that of Budge: perhaps [ηνεϛϛηρε νεϛεβηϛε] ηταϛααϛ.

104. Psalm 144:20–21, title of Psalm 145, Psalm 145:9–10

Inv. no. C.O. 158

16 × 11.5 cm

Limestone¹⁶

Inscribed on both sides. Small bilinear writing.¹⁷ It is impossible to know which side is front and which is back: because of erosion, side (b), which was fully inscribed, has retained traces of only a few lines, the contents of which I cannot identify. The upper edge is also inscribed: it may contain the end of the last verse of Ps. 146, then the first verse of the same Psalm. As for the front, it is worth noting that the two extracts begin with πλϛεϛ ηαεαρεε.

¹⁶ From Gorecki's table: '21.03.2005; tomb, flooring level'.

¹⁷ Which evokes that of inv. no. C.O. 305 (still unpublished).

Side a

- м. [. . .] . . [---]
 144:20 [п]χοεις ναζαρεζ εογο[н ним е-]
 тме ѿмоу аχ<ω> қнақωт[е εβολ]
 4 н̄р̄реqr нове тнроу ²¹ т[αταπρο]
 наχω ѿпесмоу ѿпχοεις мар[εσα-]
 рз ним смоу επεqrαν ετογaa[в]
 ѡа енез аχω ѡа енез енез
 8 [αλλ]ηλογ̃ια πα<α>γγαῖος με zacharias title of 145
 [с—]—с—с—с—с—с
 145:9 [пχοεις] ναζαρεζ επιπρωσнγ-
 [тос аχ]φ қ`н`афωωп ероу м п̄ор-
 [фано]с н̄н тєхнра қнатакo
 12 [нтег̃и]н н̄р̄реqr нове ¹⁰ пχo-
 [εις н]а̄р̄<р>ро ѡа енез еω . .
 [2/3 ε]нез н̄ε̄нез пен-
 [ноу]те н̄ciωн ѡа оу-
 16 [χω]м н̄н оуχωм
 [α]λληλογ̃ια πα<α>г- title of 145 or 147
 γαιωс ме са-
 [х]αριас
 20 ꝥ — ꝥ
 . [. .] . [. .]oc

3. аχ<ω> қнақωте: аχω нақωте Budge || 4. н̄р̄реqr нове: н̄н̄реqr нове Budge ||
 8. ме: н̄н Budge || 9. наζαρεζ: ζαρεζ Budge | επιπρωσнγтос: енеπρoснγтос
 Budge || 10. аχω om. Budge | фωωп: фωп Budge | п̄ор corr. ex ѿнок? ||
 11. қнатакo: нқтакo Budge || 13–14 ѡа енез еω . . [2/3 ε]нез н̄ε̄нез: ѡа енез Budge ||
 14–15. пен[ноу]те н̄ciωн ѡа: πογноуτε ciωн н^{sic}ѡа Budge || 17–19. πα<α>γγαῖωс
 ме са[х]αριас: παγγαῖος нн zacharias Budge

144:20 *The Lord will preserve all that love him: but all sinners he will utterly
 destroy.* 144:21 *My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord, and let all flesh
 bless his holy name for ever and ever.* 145 *Alleluia, (a Psalm) of Aggaeus and
 Zacharias.* 145:9 *The Lord will preserve the strangers, he will relieve the
 orphan and widow, but will utterly remove the way of sinners.* 145:10 *The*

Lord shall reign forever; our God of Sion, to all generations. ^{145 or 147} *Alleluia,*
(a Psalm) of Aggaeus and Zacharias.

1. This line could contain an invocation: $\mu\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \omega\lambda[\eta\lambda] \epsilon\chi[\omega\eta\eta]?$

14–15. The text seems to be wrong here: somehow, the possessive $\rho\omicron\gamma$ - (feminine possessor), sometimes written $\pi\epsilon$ - in Thebes, may have been misinterpreted.

Upper edge

$\eta\epsilon\tau\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon \left[\epsilon\pi\epsilon\varphi\eta\alpha \right] \alpha\lambda$ -
 $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha \varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma \epsilon\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon \eta\alpha\eta\omicron\gamma$
 $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$

105. Psalm 103:12–14

Inv. no. C.O. 293

II.I × II cm

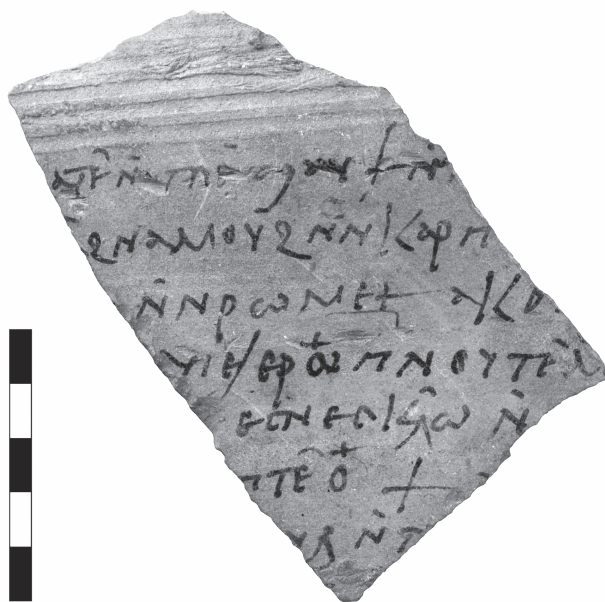
Pottery: 'X'¹⁸

Fragment of unidentified pottery vessel, the upper part of which was streaked and left empty. The hand is quite experienced, and a lot of diacritical marks are used, including a kind of cross on the o or the ω twice (ll. 4 and 6); μ is wide.

At least Ps. 103:12–14 (ll. 1–3) is identifiable; if the verses were complete, the ostrakon was large. What follows is more difficult: perhaps Ps. 64:10 (a–c); the last line could be Ps. 71:15 (with $\eta\omicron\gamma\beta \eta\tau[\alpha\rho\alpha\beta\iota\alpha]$); as the traces of line 6 do not correspond to the beginning of this verse, lines 5–6 must form another quotation, which ends at the cross of line 6, but I could not identify it.

$\left[\begin{array}{l} ^{103:12} \omega\alpha\gamma\omicron\gamma\omega\zeta \epsilon\iota\chi\omega\omicron\gamma \eta\varsigma\iota \eta\zeta\alpha \end{array} \right] \lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon \bar{\eta}[\alpha] \left[\begin{array}{l} \eta\tau\epsilon \omega\alpha\gamma\tau \bar{\eta}\tau \left[\epsilon\gamma\varsigma\mu\eta \right. \\ \left. \eta\tau\mu\eta\tau\epsilon \eta\mu\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha \right] ^{13} \pi\epsilon\tau\tau\omicron \eta\eta\text{--} \end{array} \right]$
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} \tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\eta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\eta \eta\epsilon\varphi\eta\tau\chi\omicron\varsigma\epsilon \pi\kappa \end{array} \right] \delta\zeta \eta\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\eta \eta\kappa\alpha\rho \left[\begin{array}{l} \pi\omicron\varsigma \\ \eta\eta\epsilon\varphi\zeta\beta\eta\gamma\epsilon \end{array} \right] ^{14} \pi\epsilon\tau\tau \omicron\gamma\omega \eta\omicron\gamma\chi\omicron\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma]$

¹⁸ I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation. Górecki added: 'Light red slip; body diam. 28 cm'.



- [ΝΗΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΟΥΟΥΤΟΥΕΤ ΝΤΗΝΤΕΜΕΑ]λ ἡνρωμε †^{64:10} ακϑ[μ
 πωινε μπκαρ ακτρεϑ†ρε]
- 4 [ακ ταϑε ααϑ ηρμμοα] απειρω† πνοϑτε μ[οϑε μμοοϑ]
 [] vac. εςνεσκλω ἡ[]
 [] πτε ο† † .[]
 [] γβ ἡτ[]
 8 [] . .[]
-

^{103:12} By them shall the birds of the sky lodge; they shall utter a voice out of the midst of the rocks. ¹³ He waters the mountains from his chambers; the earth shall be satisfied with the fruit of your works. ¹⁴ He makes grass to grow for the cattle, and green herb for the service of men. ^{64:10} You have visited the earth, and saturated it; you have abundantly enriched it. The river of God is filled with water [--- ^{71:15?} And he shall live, and there shall be given him of the] gold of A[rabia ---]

1. Traces of correction or from a previous text.

106. Psalm 100:2 (?) & 60:8

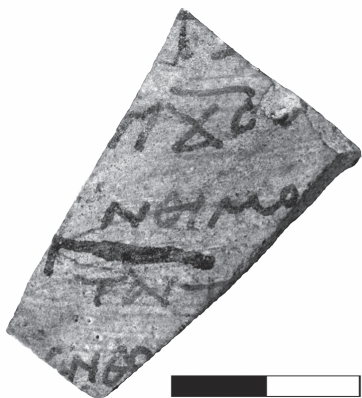
Inv. no. C.O. 008

4 × 3.6 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen?

This fragment is quite similar to 101, but the writing is smaller and less careful. It contains the remains of two Psalm quotations, the first being uncertain (see commentary). The large stroke between lines 3 and 4 could mark the separation between the two quotations. As for the link between them, it is perhaps the expression $\dagger\text{na}\varphi\text{allei}$, which is found at the head of Ps. 100:2 and in Ps. 60:8.

 [?] . [---]
 [?] $\pi\chi(\text{o}\epsilon\iota)\varsigma$. [---]
 [?] neimo [---]
 4 $\tau\alpha\iota \tau[\epsilon \text{ } \theta\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\dagger\text{na}\varphi\text{allei} \text{ } \epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\alpha\text{n} \text{ } \pi\text{no}\gamma\tau\epsilon \text{ } \omega\alpha.] \quad 60:8$
 $\epsilon\text{ne}\zeta [\text{ne}\text{ne}\zeta \text{ } \text{---}]$

2. $\pi\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ ostr.

2-3. The most plausible restitution for line 3 is $\text{neimo}[\text{o}\omega\epsilon]$, 'I walked', of which there are three occurrences in the Psalms: 37:7, 100:2, 118:45; the mention of $\pi\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ (l. 2) is found in 100:2 in what precedes $\text{neimo}\text{o}\omega\epsilon$, namely: $\chi\epsilon \text{ } \epsilon\text{pe} \text{ } \pi\chi\text{o}\epsilon\iota\varsigma \text{ } \pi\text{no}\gamma\tau\epsilon \text{ } \text{nh}\gamma \text{ } \omega\alpha\rho\iota \text{ } \tau\text{na}\gamma$, 'When will the Lord God come to me?'; however, the letter that follows $\pi\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ in the ostrakon does not look like a π .

For the abbreviation $\pi\chi\bar{\varsigma}$ in ostraca containing Psalms, see, for example, C. Heurtel, 'Extracts of Psalms in four ostraca from IFAO', *Chronique d'Égypte* 92 (2017), pp. 181-190, no. 4.

5-6. 'So will I sing to your name, God, for ever and ever'.

107–137. 'PIOUS' TEXTS AND EXERCISES

107. Biblical quotations and exercise of cryptography

This ostrakon, made up of three glued pieces (inv. nos. C.O. 029+077+078), and published in exemplary fashion in 2012 by Tomasz Górecki and Adam Łajtar,¹⁹ is not published again here. The publication is indeed exemplary in many respects (careful editing and interpretation, detailed description of the medium, the writing and the archaeological context, discussion of the function of such an object), which demonstrates the benefit of collaboration between specialists.

The presence of disparate texts on the same ostrakon (quotations in Greek borrowed from the Bible – including several from the Psalms – and from other sources, a cryptographic alphabet and its application in a Coptic example), all in a practiced writing close to that of the Psalter *P. Mon. Epiph.* 578 (known as 'U' in the editions of the Greek Psalter), invites us to recognize an 'educational' activity in the hermitage, which should be better understood in the light of the other exercises of all kinds published here. Moreover, this ostrakon illustrates well the artificial aspect of the distinctions made in this article for practical reasons, but which are probably not so clear in an educational perspective.

108. End of the letter of Jesus to Abgar

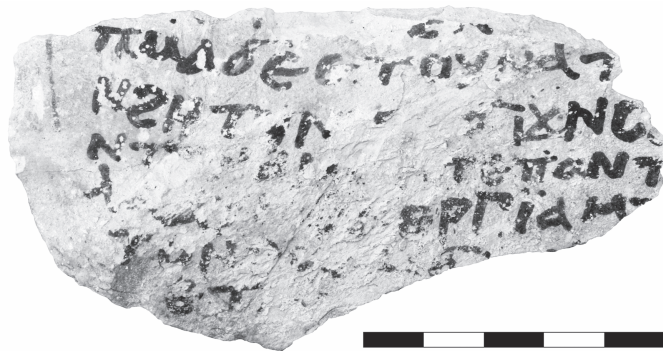
Inv. no. C.O. 310

6.1 × 11.5 cm

Limestone

The writing is straight, quite clumsy, using a thick reed. The identification of the text is due to Alain Delattre: it is the end of the answer of Jesus to the king Abgar, a text very famous in the Christian East and of which many occurrences are known in Coptic, especially as amulet on

¹⁹ T. GÓRECKI & A. ŁAJTAR, 'An ostrakon from the Christian hermitage in MMA 1152', *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 42 (2012), pp. 135–164.



sheets of papyrus or wooden tablets.²⁰ The text is quite similar to the P. Mich. inv. 6213 published in Kevin Sullivan and Terry Wilfong.²¹ For another ostracon containing at least the beginning of the letter, see *O. Saint-Marc* 398. Its abbreviated version is found in *O. Mon. Epiph.* 50.

 [ANOK ΠΕ ΙC ANOK ΠΕΝΤΑQCΔΑΙ ΝΤΙ-]
 ΕΠΙ[C]Τ[ΟΛΗ] ΞΗ [ΤΑCΙΧ]
 ΠΜΑ ΘΕ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΤ[ΩΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ]
 ΝΞΗΤQ ΝΤ[ΕΙ]CΙΧ ΝCΞ[ΔΑΙ ΝΝΕΛΑΔΥ]
 4 ΝΤΥΝΑΜ[ΙC] ΝΤΕ ΠΑΝΤ[ΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟC ΟΥΔΕ]
 ΛΑΔΥ ΝΕΝΕΡΓΙΑ ΜΠ[ΝΑ ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡ-]
 ΤΟΝ ΕΩΘΗ C[ΟΜ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΑ]
 ΕΤΗΜ[ΔΥ ---]

It is I Jesus, who have written this letter (ἐπιστολή) with my hand. As for the place where one will affix this manuscript, no (4) power (δύναμις) of the Adversary (ἀντικείμενος), nor any activity (ἐνεργεία) of unclean (ἀκάθαρτον) spirit (πνεῦμα) will be able to come near that place [---]

²⁰ See the detail of the attestations in M. GEERARD, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout 1992, pp. 67–68. For an updated bibliography on the subject, see R. BÉLANGER SARRAZIN, ‘Les appels au «Jésus guérisseur» dans les formules iatromagiques coptes’, [in:] A. BOUD’HORS, E. GAREL, C. LOUIS, & N. VANTHIEGHEM (eds.), *Études coptes XVI. Dix-huitième journée d’études (Bruxelles, 22–24 juin 2017)*, Paris forthcoming.

²¹ K. P. SULLIVAN & T. G. WILFONG, ‘The Reply of Jesus to King Abgar: A Coptic New Testament apocryphon reconsidered (P. Mich. inv. 6213)’, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 42 (2005), pp. 107–123.

109-118. *Extracts from literary texts?*

Among the texts published below, all very fragmentary, the same hand (also close to that of 106) seems to have copied several ostraca (109-116), whose images, taken at different scales, did not permit confirming joins. Pottery is in each case of the Aswan type. The writing is sloping and more or less regular; note the shape of the κ, whose lower bar starts at half of the upper one, and that of the μ, in three strokes, and often appearing as ‘suspended’.

109. Homiletic or wisdom text?

Inv. no. C.O. 031

7.4 × 8 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen

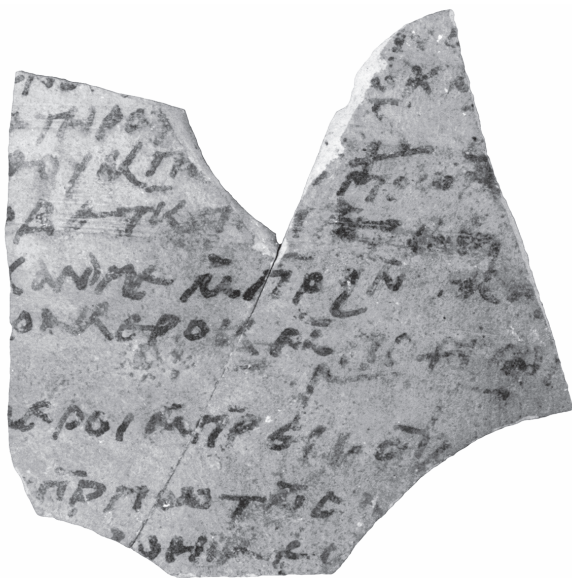
The repeated occurrence of the vetitive μπρ- points to the homiletic or wisdom genre. Separation signs between lines 8 and 9?

 [-----]η . [---]
 [-----]φκ . [---]
 [---] . η . [.] . ς vac. [---]
 4 [---] . τηροϋ [. . .] . † . [---]
 [---] εογκπ . [. .] . πξωβ [---]
 [---] . ветк π . ε ει [---]
 [---] καν . ε μπρξν̄τκ . . [---]
 8 [---] ολκ εροκ μ̄πς . . [---]
 [---] . εροι μ̄πρει ρκ . [---]
 [---] μ̄πρ̄πωτ̄ ν̄σα [---]
 [---] ωη . ε . [---]

7. μ̄πρξν̄τκ: ‘Do not move yourself’.

9. μ̄πρει ρκ: ‘Do not ... yourself’?

10. μ̄πρ̄πωτ̄ ν̄σα: ‘Do not run after’.



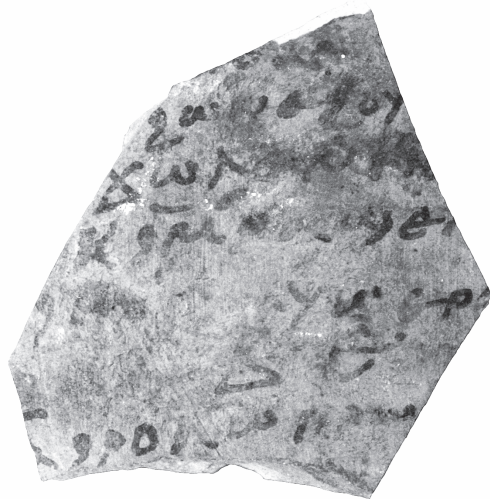
110. Homiletic text?

Inv. no. C.O. 033

6.7 × 6.8 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen

The writing offers similarities with that of 109. The reading remains hazardous, not allowing much beyond the identification of the verb 'to approach' (l. 2), and the expression, typically homiletic, 'Why, o man?' (l. 7).



 [---] . . . ε [---]
 [---] εων εζου[ν ---]
 [---] χωλε μν [---]
 4 [---] κ εμπαδε [---]
 [---] εε . . . αγω ερε[---]
 [---] . . . νε[---]
 [---] αερον ω πρω[με ---]
 8 [---] . [---]

III. Homiletic texts?

Inv. no. C.O. 106

12.6 × 10.1 cm

Pottery: 'X'²²

Two different texts separated by a horizontal line; they are probably from the same hand, but the writing of the second is smaller. The hand resembles that of 109 and 110.²³

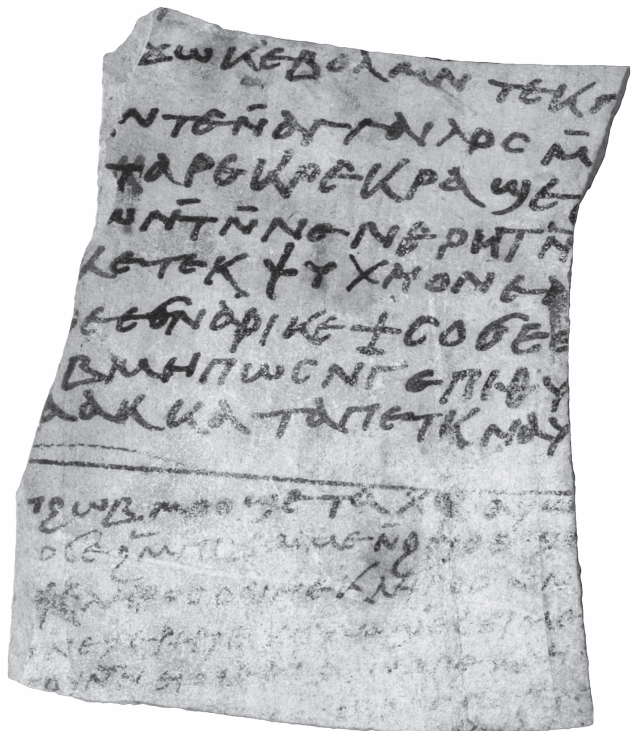
²² I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation.

²³ But also that of *O. Gurna Górecki* 29, which is a letter.

- [---] . [---]
 [---] ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΗ ΤΕΚΠ[---]
 [---] ΝΤΕ ΝΑΓΓΑΙΛΟΣ Μ[---]
 4 [---] ΤΑΡΕΚΡΕΚΡΑΨΕ [---]
 [---] ΦΝΤ̄ ΝΗΝΕΡΗΤ Ν[---]
 [---] ΚΕ ΤΕΚΨΥΧΗ ΟΝ ΕΔ[---]
 [---] ΘΕ ΕΘΝ ΔΡΙΚΕ † ΣΟ ΣΕ Ε[---]
 8 [---] Β ΜΗΠΩΣ ΝΓΕΠΙΘΥΜ[ΕΙ ---]
 [---] ΔΑΚ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΤΚΝΑΥ [---]
-
- [---] ΠΡΩΒ ΜΟΩΕ ΤΑΧΥ ΑΥΩ [---]
 [---] ΟΣΕ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΧΩΜΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΕΩ [---]
 12 [---] ΚΛΗΡΟΣ Ο ΝΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ Ν̄Ν[---]
 [---] ΝΕΥΕΡΗΤ ΕΥΟΥΩ Ε . ΙΜΕ[---]
 [---] ΟῩΝ̄ΝΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΕ . . ΕΙ [---]
traces of 2 lines

4. Τ CORR. ΕΧ Κ?

[---] *achieve(ment) with your*
 [---] *the angels (ἄγγελος) of*
 [---] (4) [---] *so that you turn*
joy [---] of our vows [---]
your soul (ψυχή) again [---] to
find fault. Thus, refrain of [---]
 (8) [---] *lest you desire (ἐπιθυ-*
μείν) [---] according to (κατά)
what you see [---]
 [---] *the matter goes quickly*
(ταχύ) and [---] in the book,
all the more if (?) [---] (12) [---]
clergy/lot [---] clergy/lot of
[---] their vows, wanting [---]
and not (οὐδέ) [---]



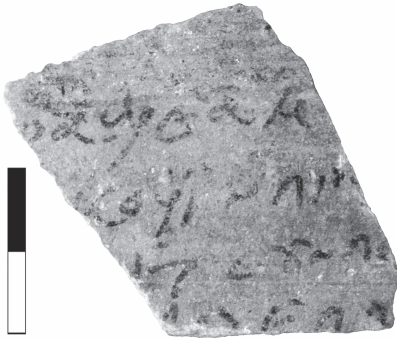
112. Homiletic or wisdom fragment?

Inv. no. C.O. 052

3 × 3,5 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen

Remains of 4 lines. The writing and pottery are of the same kind as 109 and 110, and the vetitive $\mu\pi\rho$ - is readable in line 2, as well as the adjective 'small' just before.



[---] . ἀφθαρ[---]
 [---] κοῦτ' $\mu\pi\rho$. [---]
 [---] . τ' ἐξῆ π . [---]
 4 [---] . . ἐπ . [---]

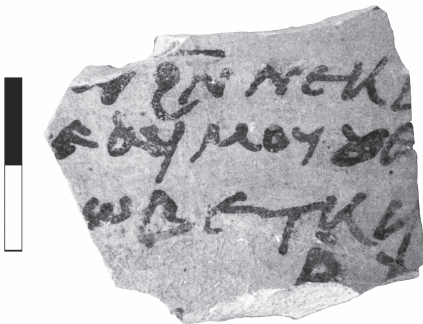
113. Fragment of a literary text?

Inv. no. C.O. 219

3 × 4,5 cm

Pottery: Aswan

The writing is the same as the previous texts.



[-----] . [---]
 [---] . . ἔν' νεκ . [---]
 [---] . εἰς τοῦδε [---]
 4 [---] ὠβελκ[---]
 [---] . [. .] β . [---]

114. Fragment of a literary text?

Inv. no. C.O. 084

2.9 × 2.3 cm

Pottery: Aswan

The writing is slightly different, more regular; a horizontal stroke divides lines 3 and 4.

. [---]
 εροκ [---]
 νιμ [---]
 4 κα. [---]
 [.]. [---]



115. Fragment of a literary text?

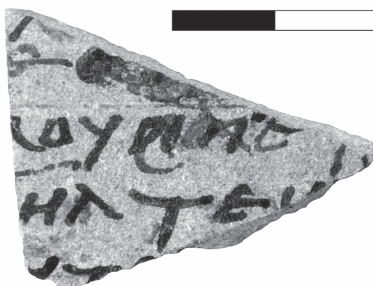
Inv. no. C.O. 235

2.6 × 3.7 cm

Pottery: ?²⁴

The writing is similar to the previous texts. On line 4 there is perhaps the end of the abbreviation of the name Israel (ιι]ἱλ τεϛ[; this juxtaposition is found in Ps. 77:71). Horizontal line of separation between lines 2 and 3? Traces of correction on lines 2 and 3.

 [---]. [---]
 [---]ε. [---]
 [---]λογ ρι πε. [---]
 4 [--- ιι]ἱλ τεϛ[---]
 [---]. τ. [---]



²⁴ No indication in Górecki's table.

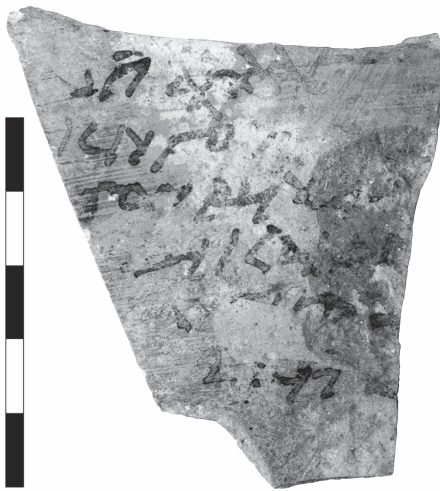
116. Fragment of a literary text?

Inv. no. C.O. 278

6.7 × 6 cm

Pottery: Aswan, with bitumen

The writing is still the same type, but the text is very difficult to decipher, and it seems that there are several layers of text. On line 4, the Greek adjective *δίκαιος*, 'righteous', can be read.



 [---] . πᾶρ . . . [---]
 [---] κ νγο *traces* [---]
 [---] τον εφ . . . [---]
 4 [---] . ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ [---]
 [---] [---]
 [---] [---]

117. Greek fragment

Inv. no. C.O. 056

6.4 × 7.5 cm

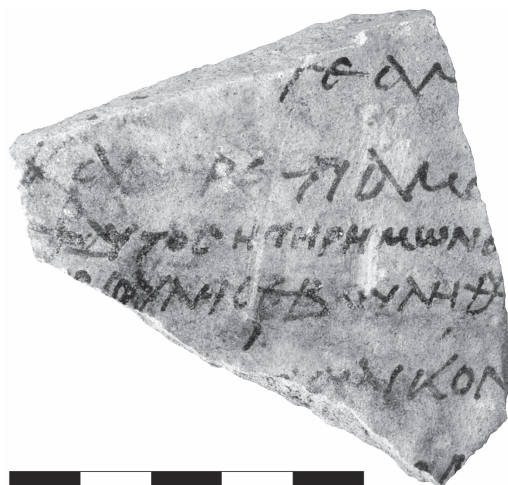
Pottery: pharaonic vessel²⁵

The text is in Greek, at least for lines 3–5. The writing is somewhat reminiscent of 109 and 110. Its size varies, as does the spacing between the lines.

²⁵ In his table, Górecki indicates 'faraon. MT': faraon. = faraon'ski, 'pharaonic'; MT remains obscure.

 [-----]τειαμ[---]
 [---]και..ωρεξεπαμε[---]
 [---]..αυτος ήπηρ ήμων .[---]
 4 [---]..ουλης έβουλήθ[---]
 [---]...λικον[---]
 [---].[---]

3. l. ύπέρ ήμων



118. Fragment of a literary text?

Inv. no. C.O. 038+057

7.7 × 13.6 cm
 5.8 × 11.7 cm

Pottery: frying pan²⁶

The two parts are connected in one point, indicated by | in the transcription. The text is written on the inside; only the ends of lines survive. It is about seeds or sowing (l. 2 and 7) and, if the last three lines are complete, one can understand ‘from/for the one who sowed it’, but it is not a Biblical text.

 [---]χω
 [---]ερος
 [---]οογ
 4 [---]νενε
 [---]ααδ
 [---]γχαω
 [---]γερως

²⁶ In his table, Górecki indicates ‘gosp. NT’: gosp. = gospodarcze, ‘utility (ware)’; NT remains obscure.

- 8 [---]πεγ
 [---]. α
 [---]θαπε
 [---]. εκ|. γα
 12 [---]. ογω
 [?]μπεν
 [?]ταυχο
 [?] *vac.* γ.



119. Prayer?

Inv. no. C.O. 005+006

9.5 × 9.9 cm

Pottery: utility ware²⁷

9.7 × 12.3 cm

End of a text with an ornamental cross at the bottom, perhaps a prayer or a doxology (see the last line, as well as l. 5: '... has overcome, Jesus has ...'). This potsherd with slip and streaks is the same as that of inv. no. C.O. 059 (still unpublished), but the writing of the latter is different and its text could not be identified.



- [---]. ε
 [---]. ΤΕΝΚ[---]
 [---]μ . . . *traces?* [---]
 4 [---]ε . . . [. .]αϗε[---]
 [-----]. . . . ΧΡΟ ΙC Αϗ. [---]
 [-----]. ΠΩϗ ΠΕ Π[---]

6. Perhaps ΠΩϗ ΠΕ Π[ΕΟΥ ΜΗ ΠΑΜΑΖΤΕ], 'To Him glory and power!'

²⁷ In his table, Górecki indicates 'gosp. NT': gosp. = gospodarcze, 'utility (ware)'; NT remains obscure.

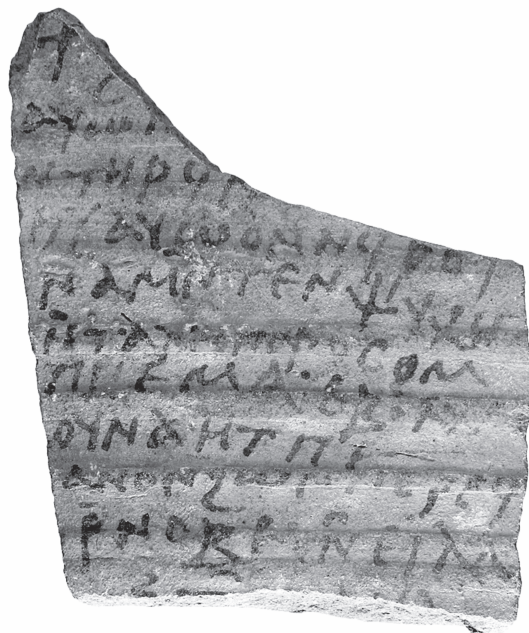
120. Kind of prayer or pious exhortation

Inv. no. C.O. 334 (1)

7.4 × 6.3 cm

Pottery: 'X'²⁸

The writing is bilinear and quite skilled.



† ε[---]
 αγω .[---]
 η τηρε .[---]
 4 ηγ αγω οη ηρη ογ-
 να ηη την ψυχη
 ηταληπορος ημ
 πεμα' εβολ δε
 8 ογναητ πε
 ανον ρων νερεφ-
 ρ νοβε ηειλα
 [.]. [?]

10. ειλα(χιςτος): ελάχιστος?

[---] and [---] the whole [---] (4) ... and also may he have mercy on our miserable (ταλαίπωρος) soul (ψυχή) in the other world, because he is merciful. As for us, very humble sinners ...

8. The formula ογναητ πε can come from the Psalms.

²⁸ I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation.

121. Pious exhortation

Inv. no. C.O. 334 (2)

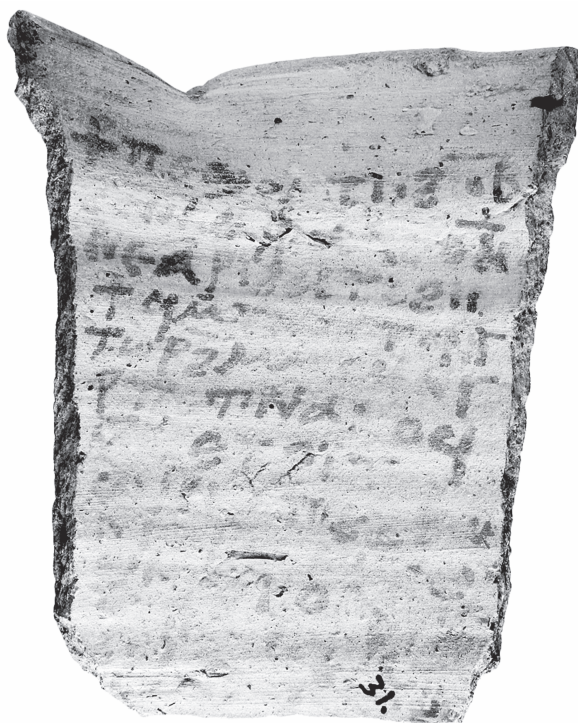
17.5 × 12 cm

Pottery: ?²⁹

Inscribed on the inner side? Bilinear script slightly sloping with well separated letters. The text is freely inspired by chapters 10 and 11 of Deuteronomy and Matt. 22:37-39. It resembles the kind of teaching that can be found in the *Apophthegmata patrum* or similar monastic literature.³⁰ Note the southern form $\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$ in line 3 (for standard Sahidic $\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon$). The reading of line 2 remains very uncertain.

† πεωomτ nεω̄b
 nηη ετρ ᾱγ̄ᾱθoñ
 ne apι λate λη-
 4 τϣ ῃ̄π̄κ̄ξ̄ητ· nγ-
 τωβ̄ε̄ mμοϣ nγ-
 ρ πετ̄nαnoϣ
 ῃ̄π̄ετ̄ρ̄ι
 8 τοϣ̄ωκ̄ πε̄χ̄ . .
 nγ̄ .
 ω̄n̄
traces of 2 lines

5. I. πετ̄nαnoϣ



† *The three things for those doing good are: Fear (4) Him with your heart and pray to Him, and do good to your (8) neighbour [---]*

²⁹ No indication in Górecki's table.

³⁰ I thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

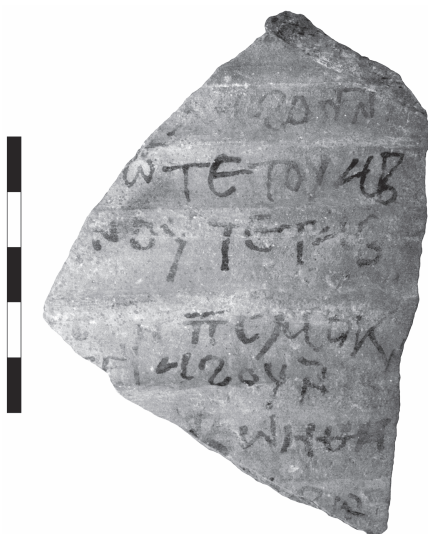
122. Prayer?

Inv. no. C.O. 307

9.5 × 7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Straight and unskilled writing. Recognizable are the adverb εἰς on lines 1 and 5 (with a southern form ἄς), perhaps 'holy father' (l. 2), 'God' (l. 3), 'pray you' (l. 4?), and the Greek verb βοηθεῖν (l. 6).



4

 [---] . ἄς
 [---] ὡτ' ετοῦδ' ἄς
 [---] ἵπνοῦτε τὰς
 [---] ἱερῆς μοῦ
 [---] . εἰ ἄς
 [---] βοῦν
 [---] . ε

123. Visitor's note?

Inv. no. C.O. 043

5.1 × 6.3 cm

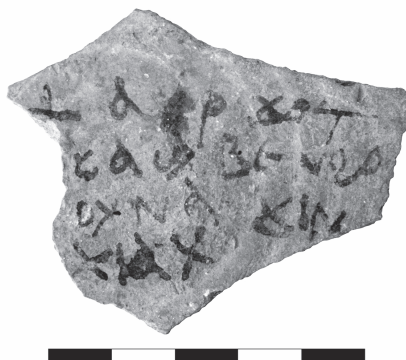
Pottery: kitchen vessel (bottom)³¹

The text, written with a clumsy hand, seems to be complete. What is the purpose of this note? Is this a message left by a visitor? To whom is it addressed? Is it simply a personal reminder? Finally, in line 3, should we read ΝΑΙ or correct Ν<Τ>ΑΙ?

³¹ In his table, Górecki indicates 'gosp. NT': gosp. = gospodarcze, 'utility (ware)'; NT remains obscure.

† ΔΙΡ ΔΟΥΤ
 ΓΑΩΒΕ ΝΩΟ-
 ΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΔΙΝ
 4 ΧΙΑΧ

*I spent twenty-seven days here
 (or: for myself) since Khoiak.*



124. Pious exercise?

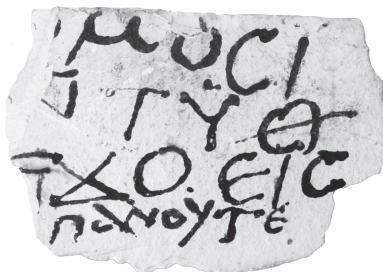
Inv. no. C.O. 027

4.2 × 6 cm

Limestone

Side (a): large round writing in the first three lines, smaller in the fourth; lines 3-4 are reminiscent of the Psalms.

 [---] ΜΟCΙ
 [---] ΝΤΥΘ
 [---] ΠΧΟΕΙC
 4 [---] ΠΑΝΟΥΤΕ



Side (b) contains three superimposed letters: a large φ, the vertical bar of which crosses the central part of the ω which is below, while a Δ is perhaps added in the middle: should we recognize the abbreviated name of the month of Phaophi, or the upper part of the word φωC (cf. *O. Frange* 758), the Δ having been added afterwards to make a counterpart to ω?



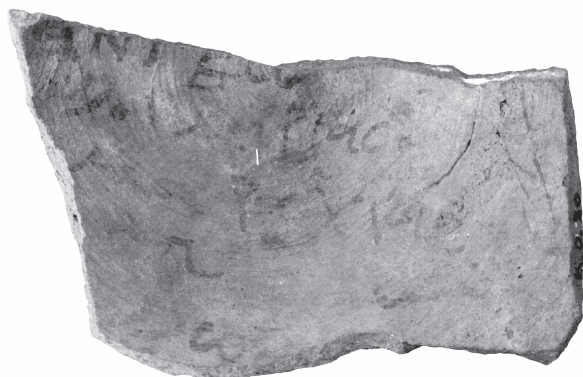
125. Exercise with names of prophets?

Inv. no. C.O. 080

6,5 × 9,5 cm

Pottery: frying pan (bottom)³²

Written on the inner side; same kind of vessel and clumsy writing as 123. We read names of two minor prophets, Zechariah and Malachi. The last line may have contained the Egyptian letters of the Coptic alphabet.



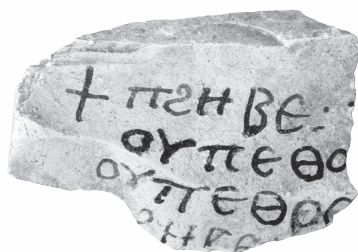
ΘΝΙΕΜ
ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑC
ΜΑΛΑΧΙΑC
4
..
ξϣϣ[---]

126. Maxim?

Inv. no. C.O. 179

3,7 × 5,9 cm

Limestone



† πρηνβε : [---]
ογπεθο[ογ ---]
ογπεθοο[γ ---]
4 [π]ρηνβε

Can we imagine a redoubled maxim with a chiasm: πρηνβε ογπεθοογ πε, ογπεθοογ πε πρηνβε, 'Sadness is an evil, it is an evil sadness'?

³² In his table, Górecki indicates 'gosp. NT': gosp. = gospodarcze, 'utility (ware)'; NT remains obscure.

127. Pious exercise in Greek

Inv. no. C.O. 105

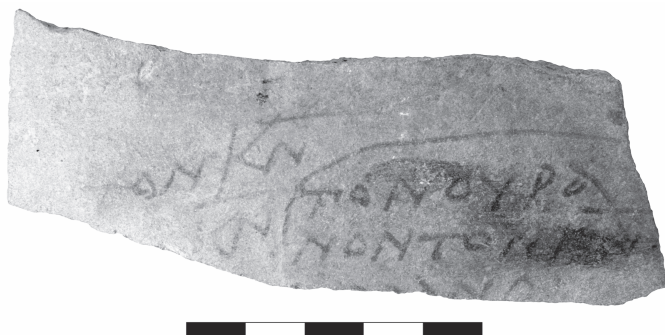
4.1 × 11.3 cm

Pottery: pharaonic vessel³³

Large, slightly sloping and regular writing; exercise with ‘the Lord’ and ‘the heaven’; the right part is separated from the rest by a line.

τὸν κ(ύριον)
 [τὸν] κ(ύριον) τὸν οὐρα-
 νὸν τὸν κ(ύριον)
 4 ...ανο.

1, 2, 3. ΚΝ ostr.



128. Request for prayer?

Inv. no. C.O. 251

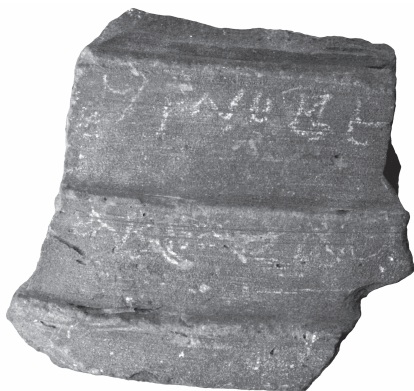
7 × 6.2 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Traces of two incised lines. There was probably an extra line above, the whole constituting a formula like ἀνοκ πρε|qr νοβε | ἀβραζαμ, ‘I am Abraham

³³ In his table, Górecki indicates ‘faraon. MT’: faraon. = faraon̄ski, ‘pharaonic’; MT remains obscure. Same type of pottery as 117, which is also Greek.

the sinner', as is often found in graffiti. It cannot be excluded that the text continued with $\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda \epsilon\chi\omega\iota$, 'pray for me', as in the following ostrakon. The name Abraham is attested twice in the documentation of the hermitage (*O. Gurna Górecki* 47 and 90), but it is a common name.



 $\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda \epsilon\chi\omega\iota$
 $\alpha\beta\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\mu$

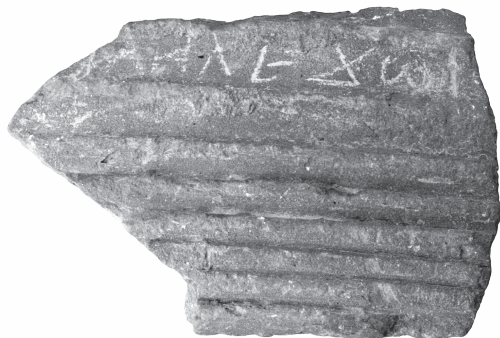
129. Request for prayer

Inv. no. C.O. 190

6 × 8.4 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

One incised line: 'Pray for me!'



 [?] $\alpha\lambda\eta\lambda \epsilon\chi\omega\iota$

130. Pious note?

Inv. no. C.O. 265

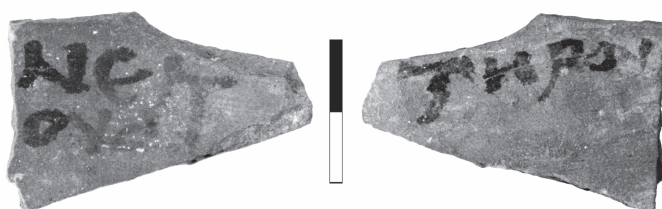
3.1 × 4.5 cm

Pottery: LRA 7

Small fragment inscribed on both sides: 'All saints'?

Side a ΝΕΤ-
 ΟΥΔ<ΔΒ>

Side b ΤΗΡΟΥ

**131. Invocation or decoration exercise?**

Inv. no. C.O. 137

6 × 9.4 cm

Limestone

The name of God, ΠΝΟΥΤΕ, is written in a kind of cartouche. The edges of the letters touch the horizontal lines of the cartouche, much like in a *protokollon*.



132. Graphic play on the word 'cross'

Inv. no. C.O. 304

4 × 6.7 cm

Pottery: 'X'³⁴

Parallel to the light streaks of the pottery, from bottom to top, it is possible to recognize:

1) what seems to be the monogram $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$, with a small ω written between the branches of χ , which also allows us to see, with a little imagination, the combination $\lambda\omega$;

2) a cross † 'pattée', with c at the beginning of the right horizontal arm, oc at its right end, and $\lambda\gamma$ at the bottom of the vertical arm, which produces the Greek word $\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, 'cross';

3) a drawing that is not very legible, which could also contain a monogram.

Perpendicular to the streaks, and with a finer *kalamos*: $\text{†} \theta\epsilon\delta\ \kappa\ . \ . \ [---]$.



133. Exercise with letters and Greek Christian words

Inv. no. C.O. 238

24.8 × 19.4 cm

Limestone

The limestone³⁵ is very heavy; it is indeed like a student slate. Traces of erased letters show that the plate was used several times. The hand is careful and rather straight, with large and well separated letters; note that the μ has three strokes. It seems that there is only one hand, except in two places: the name of $\iota\omega\chi\eta\phi$, written at the bottom of the ostrakon after a *vacat*, could be

³⁴ I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation.

³⁵ Reproduced in GÓRECKI, 'Sheikh Abd el-Gurna hermitage' (cit. n. 14), p. 300, fig. 4. I was not able to obtain the original image.

in a different hand, as well as the sequence of $\mathfrak{u}$ (?) located between lines 7 and 8. Górecki thought that $\mathfrak{u}\omega\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{h}\phi$ could be the teacher's signature,³⁶ but the hand could also be the same (the $\mathfrak{u}$ is quite similar) and Joseph would be the student's name, or the name $\mathfrak{u}\omega\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{h}\phi$ could even be part of the exercise.³⁷

The ostracon involves several kinds of training: drawing round letters (ϵ , ς , $\omicron$) in the first two lines, then between the lines everywhere in the text; tracing $\mathfrak{z}$ (ll. 3–4), a notoriously difficult letter (see *O. Frange* 482 and 483): two parallel horizontal lines have been drawn, to contain the letter in bilinearity; writing words and expressions from the Christian vocabulary: $\mathfrak{i}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\mathfrak{p}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\varsigma$, $\mathfrak{a}\rho\chi\mathfrak{h}$, $\varsigma\omega\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$, $\mathfrak{a}\rho\chi\omega\mathfrak{n}$ (repeated with a mistake: $\mathfrak{a}\rho\kappa\omega\mathfrak{n}$), as well as the proper name $\mathfrak{z}\epsilon\mathfrak{m}\epsilon\omega\mathfrak{n}$ (Simeon, l. 9).

	ϵ	ς	$\omicron$	
	$\mathfrak{p}\epsilon$	ϵ		
	$\mathfrak{z}$	$\mathfrak{z}$	$\mathfrak{a}$	ς
4	$\mathfrak{z}$		$\mathfrak{z}$	$\mathfrak{z}$
	$\mathfrak{i}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\mathfrak{p}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\varsigma$		$\mathfrak{a}\rho\chi\mathfrak{h}$
	$\mathfrak{i}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\mathfrak{p}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\varsigma$		$\varsigma\omega\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}$
	$\mathfrak{i}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\mathfrak{p}\epsilon\bar{\chi}\varsigma$		$\mathfrak{t}\omicron\gamma\phi\mathfrak{i}$
8	$\mathfrak{a}\rho\chi\omega\mathfrak{n}$	$\mathfrak{a}\rho\kappa\omega\mathfrak{n}$	$\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}$	$\mathfrak{z}\epsilon$
	$\mathfrak{z}\epsilon\mathfrak{m}\epsilon\omega\mathfrak{n}$			
	<i>vacat</i>			
	$\mathfrak{u}\omega\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{h}\phi$			

134–136. EPISTOLARY EXERCISES RELATED TO THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL

It is well known that Christian epistolography is partly inspired by the formulae of Paul's epistles. The following three ostraca confirm this, more or less directly.

³⁶ Personal communication on the site in December 2010.

³⁷ One may remember that a certain Joseph probably was living in the hermitage at the time of the monk Frange (1st half of 8th c.; see *O. Gurma Górecki* 11), but this is a common name.

134. Epistolary exercise

Inv. no. C.O. 188

7.6 × 20.6 cm

Limestone

Inscribed on both sides; unfinished letter on one side; pen trials with the name of 'Paul the apostle' on the other one.

Side a

traces ΤΗCΞΑΙ ΤῆΩΙΝΕ ΕΠΕΝCΟΝ ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΥ
 . ἡ πα . ο`ΝΗΚ' . . . ΤΗΡῆ ΠΧΘΕΙC ΕΦΕCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΤῆ
 ΑΡΙ ΠῆΑ ΝΓΤῆΝΝΟΟΥ ΠΑΙΤ ἸΩΒ ΝΗΝ
 4 *traces* . ἡΧΘΟΥῆ ΝΗΝ Ζῆ ΟΥΓῆΠΗ
traces ΝΗ ΑΥΩ ΟΝ Υ
traces . ΠΧΘΕΙC CΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΑΥΩ Νῶ
vacat
 8 . ΑΥΩ ΧΘΟC

... We write (and) greet our precious brother ... the whole ... May the Lord bless you. Be so kind and send us my father/Father Iob (4) ... and send him to us in a hurry ... and also ... the Lord bless you and ...

Side b

ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΘΟC
 ΠΑΥΛΟC ΠΑΠΟCΤΟΛΟC
 ΠΑΥ Α Α Α ΧΘ

3. π and α are not completely formed.

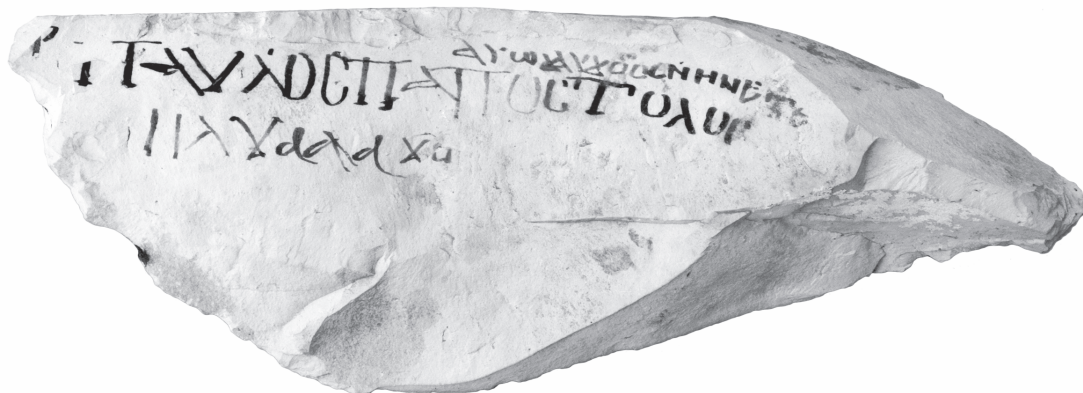
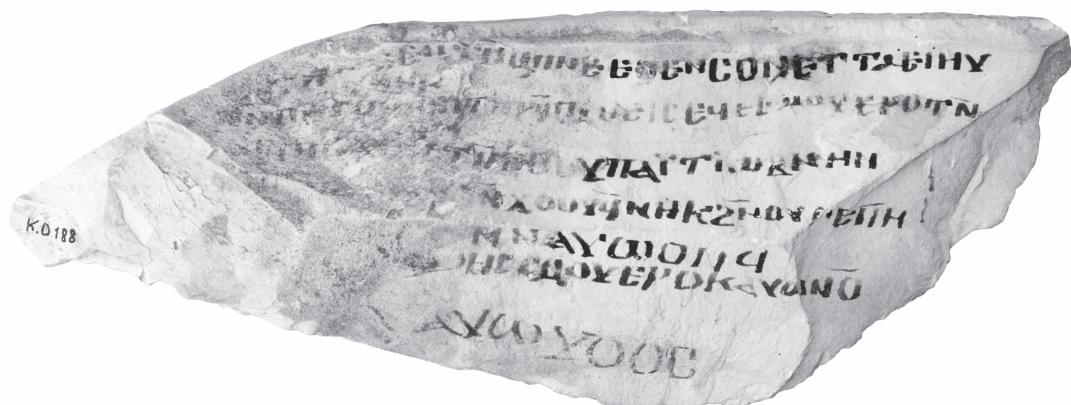
135. Exercise or quotation?

Inv. no. C.O. 127

4.5 × 11.9 cm

Limestone

Probably written on the edge of a piece of limestone. The hand is clumsy. If the last letter of line 3 is more of a μ, these lines could be the beginning



of one of the epistles of Paul that begins with $\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\pi\epsilon\chi\varsigma$, 'Paul, the apostle of Christ' (2 Co., Eph., Col., 1 Tim.).

$\pi\alpha\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
 $\pi\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron-$
 $\lambda\omicron\varsigma \eta[\dots]$
 4 $[\dots][---]$

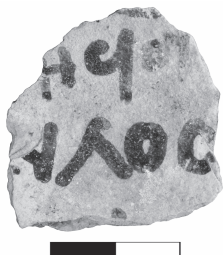


136. Fragment with the name of Paul

Inv. no. C.O. 176

3.5 × 3.5 cm

Limestone



[---]ηϥ οΥ[?]
 [--- π]αυλος [?]
 [---]. [---]

137. Pious or epistolary exercise?

Inv. no. C.O. 130

7.2 × 9.8 cm

Limestone

Beginning of a text; the ostrakon may have contained nothing more than these three lines.



† ΠΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΟΟΟΥΝ ΉΜΟΚ .
 . . . €

† *God knows you ...* (perhaps:
God knows that you ...).

138-161. WRITING EXERCISES

138-148. *Alphabets*

This series contains copies of the alphabet, alone or in association with other texts and exercises. They bring confirmation of Gesa Schenke's suggestion that among Egyptian letters, the common order had σ before χ, which is not the use nowadays.³⁸

138. *Alphabets*

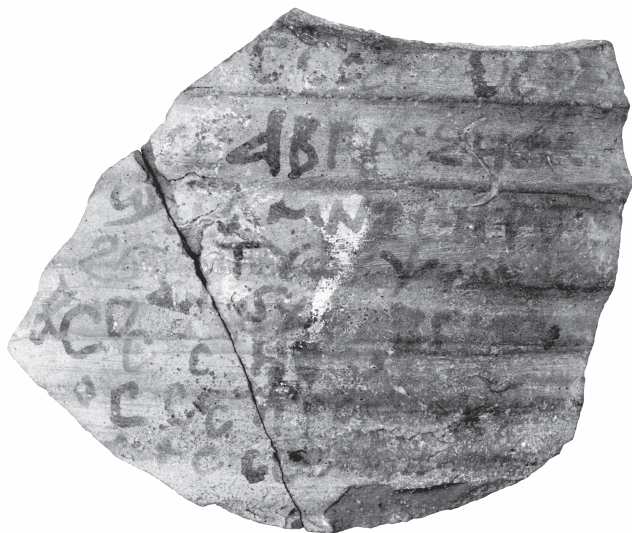
Inv. no. C.O. 013+020

15 × 15.1 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Straight and unskilled writing. The exercise contains two consecutive alphabets; the second one, which can be guessed more than read, may have contained only the Greek letters. Before the alphabet and on the left side of the ostrakon are trials of round letters, especially c.

Δ Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ
 Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ
 Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω ς Ϸ
 4 σ χ α β γ δ ε ζ
 η ι κ λ μ ν ξ
 π ρ σ τ
 ω



³⁸ See SCHENKE, 'Zwei Schultexte' (cit. n. 9), p. 292.

139. Alphabet

Inv. no. C.O. 022b

8 × 9.5 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

This ostrakon is part of a large amphora which supplied several ostraca (inv. no. C.O. 022b-d + 085; see *O. Gurna Górecki* 30, 90, *cf.* 91). The right part of lines 2-4 (line 3 has been added on the rib), contains an alphabet (Greek letters only), perhaps written on another text partly erased.



εω . [---]
 τν *traces* α β γ Δ ε ζ η
 θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ
 4 νι . ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 ο γ μ η δ η ν̄ ς ο π̄
 ν ο ε ν ε ι
traces
 8 *traces*
 5. 'Many times'.

140. Alphabet

Inv. no. C.O. 030+048

5.5 × 10.6 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Remains of an alphabet. Straight and careful letters, especially big on line 3.



[α β γ] Δ ε ζ η θ
 [ι κ] λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ
 [σ] τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 4 ω ς ρ σ ς
 4. Stain or correction between ς and σ.

141. Alphabet(s)

Inv. no. C.O. 032

12.5 × 12.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Alphabet and scattered letters. Straight and clumsy writing. Lines 3–4 seem to indicate that the alphabet was not in the right order, unless the ostrakon was very wide and contained two consecutive alphabets, the first of which having only Greek letters. The lack of an image³⁹ does not allow me to be completely sure that the last sign is the letter †, and not a cross.

[---]π ρ θ ι ς ι ς
 [---]μ ς ς ς
 [---]φ χ ψ ω ς ς
 4 [---]μ ν ξ ο π ρ ς
 [---]ϣ ϣ ς ς †

142. Alphabet and drawings

Inv. no. C.O. 074

14.7 × 16.3 cm

Limestone⁴⁰

Palimpsest (traces of an earlier alphabet between the lines of the most recent text); on the front side are an alphabet, a few scattered letters, and drawings (a cross in a large orb on the left, a small cross ‘pattée’ above, a wheel with eight spokes below); scattered letters on the back. Fairly careful straight letters (μ with three strokes). Note that the letter † is present among the Egyptian letters, which does not seem to be systematic.

³⁹ I transcribed the ostrakon in Luxor in December 2010.

⁴⁰ The front side of this ostrakon was reproduced in I. ANTONIAK, ‘Preliminary remarks on the Coptic ostraca from seasons 2003 and 2004’, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 16 (2005), pp. 244–247, fig. 2. I was not able to obtain the original picture, but I saw the ostrakon in December 2010 in Luxor.

α β γ Δ ε ζ η θ ι κ [λ]
 μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ
 φ χ ψ ω : Ϙ ϙ
 4 ς Ϸ Ϡ

143. Incomplete alphabet

Inv. no. C.O. 134

7.5 × 13.2 cm

Pottery: pink, with bitumen

Half of the alphabet arranged in a line at the top of the ostracon. A few traces of ink are visible on the rest of the surface, but do not indicate whether or not the entire alphabet was arranged on one line. The writing is straight.



α β γ Δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν [---]

144. Alphabet

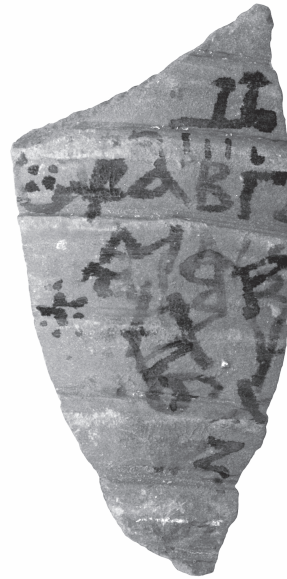
Inv. no. C.O. 135

11.6 × 6.2 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Sketches of letters, among which an alphabet stands out. Straight and careful letters (μ with four strokes). The ostracon was used several times.

4 Ṁ[---]
 Ṁ Δ Β Γ Δ [ε ζ η ι κ λ]
 Μ Ν Ξ [ο π ρ σ τ υ φ]
 Χ Ψ [ω υ ς ζ]
 Ϻ Ξ [---]
 Ζ [---]



145. Fragment of an alphabet

Inv. no. C.O. 261

2.9 × 5.9 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

[---] κ λ μ ν ξ ο π [---]



146. Fragment of an alphabet?

Inv. no. C.O. 303

3.2 × 3.1 cm

Pottery: 'X'⁴¹

Remains of two Egyptian letters from an alphabet arranged in columns?

⁴¹ I have not been able to decipher this abbreviation.



 [---] . [---]
 [---] ϙ [---]
 [---] x [---]

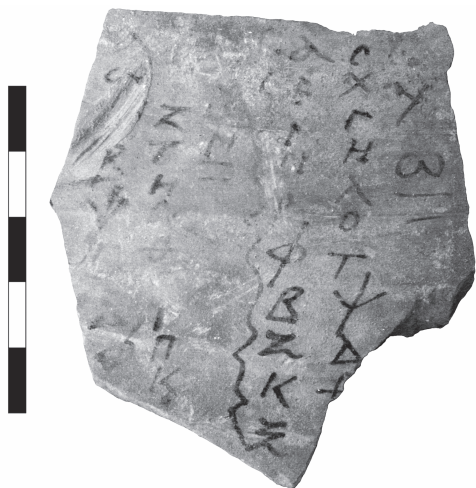
147. Play on the alphabet

Inv. no. C.O. 274

7 × 6.7 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

The exercise is arranged in six columns separated into two groups of three columns by a wavy vertical line. In the first set, the letters are associated in pairs combining the extremes of the Greek alphabet (α and ω), then β and γ, and so on until μ and ν. In the second, the first letter of each third of the alphabet is associated with the fifth (α and ε, ι and ν, ρ and φ), then the second to the sixth, the third to the seventh, the fourth to the eighth. Does this correspond to cryptographic practices?⁴² The writing is skilful, slightly sloping.



	α	ε	ο	α	ϙ	
	ω	γ	λ	ε	χ	
		ζ	μ	ι	γ	γ
4		τ	ν	ν	η	
	β	η	=	ν	λ	ω
	ψ	ϙ		ρ	ο	=
	γ	θ		φ	τ	
8	κ	ρ		β	ψ	
	Δ	ι		ζ	Δ	
	φ	π		κ	θ	
		κ		ζ	[μ]	
12		ξ			[π]	

⁴² For another exercise of cryptography, see 107, where the common system is used.

148. Remains of an alphabet (?)

Inv. no. C.O. 139

6.7 × 6 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Looking at the ostrakon vertically, one can distinguish, in the apparent disorder, some alphabetic sequences: $\phi \times \Upsilon$ are aligned at the bottom of the ostrakon; the x is surmounted by a ϕ , itself surmounted by a $\mathfrak{N}$ which is before a $\mathfrak{z}$; above the lowest ϕ is a σ itself topped by a $\mathfrak{X}$.

 ...[---]
[---]
 $\mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{z}$.[---]
 4 σ ϕ [---]
 $\phi \times \Upsilon$ [---]

149-161. *Various exercises*

149. List of toponyms

Inv. no. C.O. 035+060

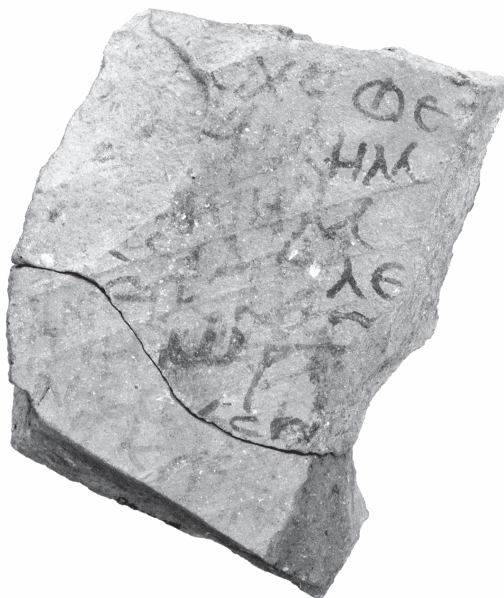
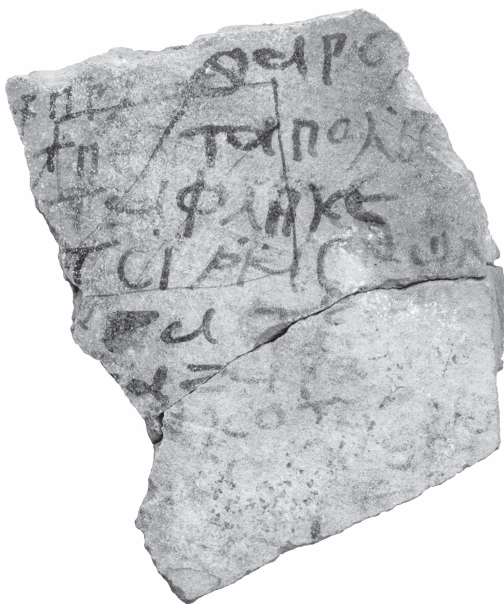
10.5 × 8.6 cm

Pottery: import?⁴³

Inscribed on both sides. Perhaps a list of cities or regions of Eastern Christendom: it includes the names of the Pentapolis (l. 2), perhaps Africa (l. 3),⁴⁴ Syria (l. 4), Nazareth (l. 6), Rakote (= Alexandria; l. 7), and on side (b), that of Jerusalem (ll. 2 and 3). Clumsy writing.

⁴³ In his table, Górecki indicates 'import? MT?'; MT remains obscure.

⁴⁴ According to an attractive suggestion by the anonymous reviewer.



Side a

Ⲣ πρεμοαρθ

πενταπολις

ταφληκε

4 τσιρια . . . λ

. ζατε

[?] ηαζαρ'ε'θ

[?] ρακοτε

traces of 2 or 3 lines

Side b

[---]χοφε

[---] ει(ερογσα)λημ

[---] ει(ερογσα)λημ

4 [.] η. δ. λε

. ηεικκος

νε . ωρτ

νε . σν

traces of 2 lines

150. Greek words

Inv. no. C.O. 050

8 × 4 cm

Pottery: qadus⁴⁵

The shard is inscribed on both sides. On the external face a text (fragment of a letter or act) is written with a sloping and skillful hand.⁴⁶ The inner side seems to keep the remains of a list of Greek words: βλάβη, ‘harm’, λύπη, ‘grief’, ἡδονή, ‘pleasure’.

traces of 4 lines
 [--- β]λάβη
 [---] λύπη
 [--- η]δονή



151. Epistolary exercise

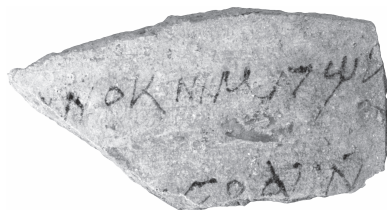
Inv. no. C.O. 286

2.9 × 5.7 cm

Pottery: ‘X’⁴⁷

Unskilled writing, with letters well separated. An epistolary formula is recognizable: ‘I so-and-so, son [of so-and-so] I write to ...’.

[ⲡ] ἀνοκ νῆμ πωη[ρε ν-]
 [νῆμ ε]ἰςχαῖ ᾤ[---]



⁴⁵ In his table, Górecki's indicates ‘gosp. NT, gaddus’; gosp. = gospodarcze, ‘utility (ware)’; NT remains obscure.

⁴⁶ To be published in the last article on the material.

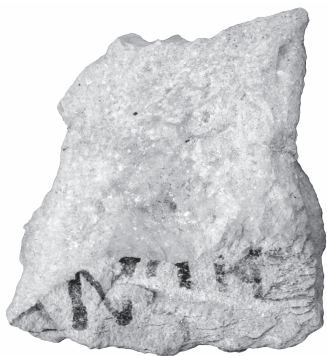
⁴⁷ I have not been able to identify this abbreviation.

152. Fragment of an epistolary exercise?

Inv. no. C.O. 138

6 × 5,5 cm

Limestone



Large calligraphic letters.

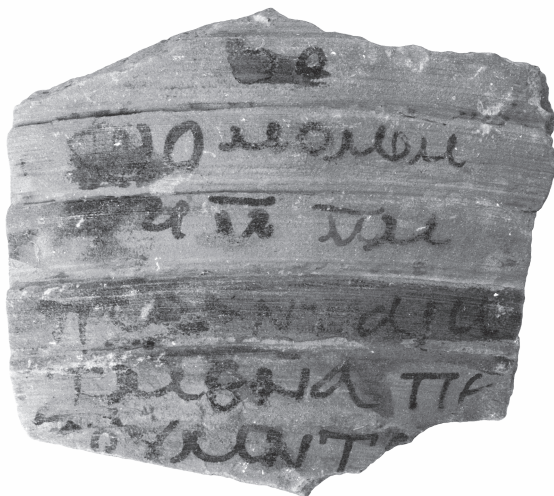
[---] ΔΝΟΚ [---]

153. Sequences of letters

Inv. no. C.O. 053

8 × 10 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

*2 erased letters*

Ο Η Ο Η Ο Η

Μ Η Ξ Η Μ

4 Π Μ Ε Ν Δ Π Ε

Π Μ Ε Ν Δ Π Ε

Ο Υ Μ Ν Τ ,

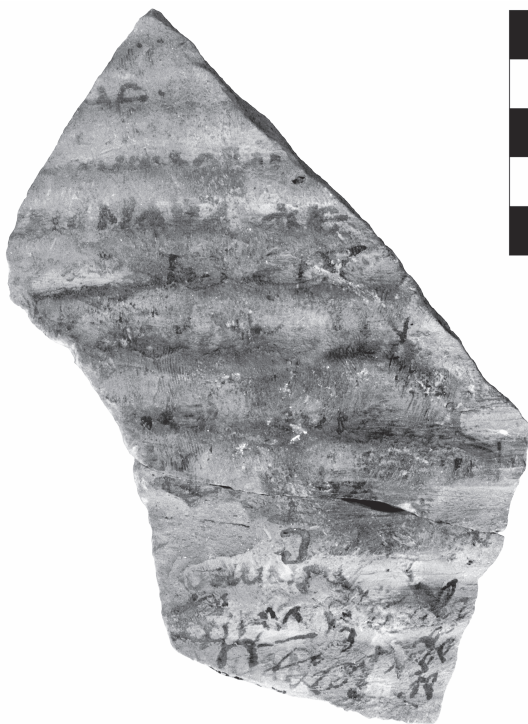
154. Writing exercise

Inv. no. C.O. 207

14.4 × 10.8 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

At the bottom of an ostrakon where an unidentifiable text was written in straight letters, and after having turned it over, there is an exercise consisting of scattered letters: α, ρα, η, θ, ω, c.

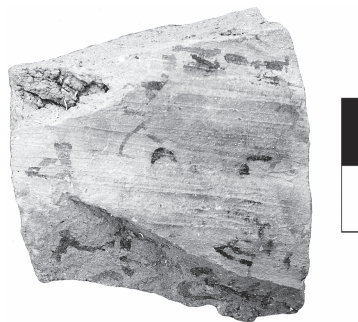
**155. Writing exercise**

Inv. no. C.O. 211

3.7 × 4.6 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen

Traces of scattered letters on the outside and on the edge: α, ε, η, ρ, η.

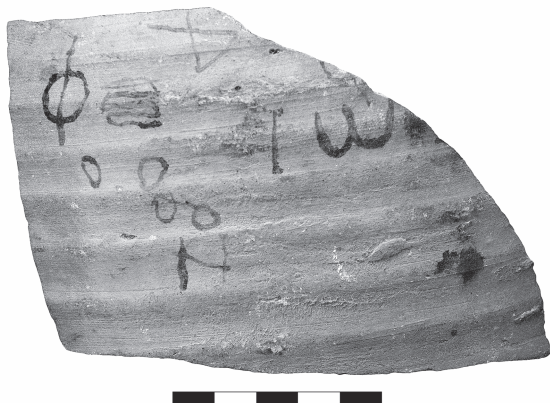


156. Writing exercise

Inv. no. C.O. 216

13.1 × 9.6 cm

Pottery: Aswan



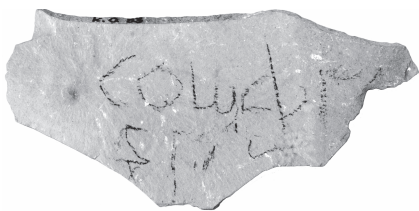
A φ, a α, some o's, a ν, and perhaps the beginning of a name: ἰω . [: Iob or Iohannes?

157. Writing exercise

Inv. no. C.O. 083

7.5 × 4 cm

Limestone



Inscribed on both sides with a fine tool. A series of letters, many of which are unintelligible.

Side a c o ω φ κ

Side b
ε

. . . .



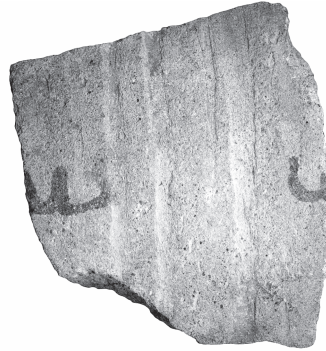
158. Writing exercise

Inv. no. C.O. 248

6 × 6.9 cm

Pottery: quadus?⁴⁸

Two spaced ω are inscribed on the outer face, perpendicular to the ribs.

**159. Writing exercise?**

Inv. no. C.O. 121

6 × 8.1 cm

Pottery: LRO, bottom with foot

Four lines of unintelligible signs, which could constitute an exercise.



⁴⁸ In Górecki's table, the material is described as 'MT, Kena, gaddus?'; MT remains obscure; Kena is certainly the Upper Egyptian town of Qena, but it is unclear to me whether it refers to the provenance of the pot or of the fabric.

160. Exercise or aide-memoire?

Inv. no. C.O. 185

2.5 × 3 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen



If the ostrakon is complete, it is a feminine 'two' or the word 'foundation'. For another very short note, see 130.

cen-
te

161. Writing exercise?

Inv. no. C.O. 313

5 × 5.2 cm

Pottery: LRA 7, with bitumen



Lines 3–4 are written in Biblical majuscule and could come from an earlier text, the ostrakon having then been reused for exercise material.

α[---]
vacat
several ζ
αϰϰο. [---]
4 ϷHT [---]

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