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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES  
20/1

MÉLANGES  
JEAN GASCOU

TEXTES ET ÉTUDES PAPYROLOGIQUES  
*(P. GASCOU)*

édités par  
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&  
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*Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Collège de France*

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## **TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES**

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## PRÉFACE

*Peu de personnes auront marqué aussi profondément la papyrologie des époques byzantine et arabe que le récipiendaire de ce volume. Aussi ses collègues et élèves ont-ils répondu sans hésiter à notre appel pour rendre hommage, à travers le présent volume, à une œuvre dont ils se sentent tributaires et qui ne cesse de stimuler les nouvelles générations.*

*Jean Gascoü a beau d'être l'inventeur d'un « modèle », il s'est avant tout exprimé à travers l'édition de papyrus, qu'il a toujours ressentie comme un stimulus nécessaire au développement d'une pensée ferme et rigoureuse cherchant à éviter les séductions des synthèses faciles et des rapprochements factices de données en réalité hétérogènes. Cet hommage se devait donc d'être avant tout un recueil d'éditions de papyrus. Nous avons pu tenir ce cap, même si certains collègues dont la présence était souhaitée ont préféré contribuer par un essai, sans jamais néanmoins rompre totalement les liens avec la documentation papyrologique.*

*Le risque d'hétérogénéité qu'encourt tout volume de mélanges est ici conjuré par l'unité thématique qui découle des limites chronologiques et géographiques que nous lui avons imposées et qui reflètent celles de l'œuvre de Jean Gascoü : l'Égypte byzantine et arabe – même si quelques incursions en dehors de cette province confirment cette règle éditoriale et rappellent que notre « mélange » s'est aussi intéressé à d'autres périodes (la fin du Haut-Empire) et à d'autres régions (notamment le Proche-Orient qu'il a fréquenté avec de plus en plus d'assiduité ces deux dernières décennies). C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle certains collègues proches de Jean Gascoü, mais travaillant sur d'autres périodes, n'ont pu contribuer à ces mélanges. Nous nous excusons auprès d'eux d'avoir été d'une rigueur inflexible qui, loin d'être une entorse à l'amicitia papyrologorum, ne visait qu'à produire un ouvrage homogène qui reflète le mieux possible les préoccupations du récipiendaire.*

*Homogène ne veut pas forcément dire « monolingue ». On verra que toutes les langues pratiquées à grande échelle dans l'Égypte de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen-Âge y sont représentées dans toute leur diversité : grec, latin, copte, arabe. Nous avons souhaité ce mélange : il correspond aux intérêts de Jean Gascoü, qui a pratiqué l'édition de papyrus dans ces quatre langues ; il acte surtout une tendance de la papyrologie qui refuse désormais tout enclavement linguistique, comme en témoignent les sessions de nos congrès consacrées à d'autres formes de papyrologie et l'émergence d'une nouvelle génération de papyrologues de plus en plus rétive à se laisser enfermer dans une documentation monolingue.*

*L'autre risque auquel s'exposent des mélanges qui prennent la forme d'un volume d'éditions est la disparité qualitative des papyrus. Il n'est pas toujours facile d'échapper aux « rogatons » ou aux « fonds de tiroir » dans ce type de publications, surtout à une époque où les mélanges scandent nos vies de chercheur à un rythme de plus en plus frénétique. C'est au lecteur de décider si ce danger a été ici évité. Mais, pour notre part, nous en sommes convaincus et nous souhaitons exprimer notre reconnaissance aux contributeurs pour le grand intérêt des pièces qu'ils ont accepté de livrer au public. Cette haute qualité des textes est finalement le meilleur indice de l'admiration et la gratitude de la communauté papyrologique pour l'œuvre de Jean Gascoü.*

*Nous tenons enfin à remercier Constantin Zuckerman d'avoir accueilli ce volume dans la collection des Travaux & Mémoires qu'il dirige et Emmanuelle Capet qui s'est acquittée avec acribie et élégance de la relecture et de la mise en pages de ce volume. Nous devons également à celle-ci la bibliographie liminaire de Jean Gascoü et les index grec et latin qui clôturent cet ouvrage. Nous remercions aussi Naïm Vanthieghem qui a bien voulu s'occuper de l'index arabe ainsi qu'Anne Boud'hors et Esther Garel qui ont finalisé l'index copte.*

Jean-Luc Fournet  
Arietta Papaconstantinou

## ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS

Rodney AST, *Latin ostraca from Vandal North Africa [1–17]* p. 7

This article contains editions of 1 Greek and 16 Latin ostraca from Vandal North Africa, all of which, except 17, are kept in the Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines at the Musée du Louvre. Everyday texts of this type are rather rare, which makes them all the more valuable for the light they shed on day-to-day activities in communities of North Africa during the Vandal period. They are of particular interest for their onomastics, dating formulas, and evidence for estate management practices.

Giuseppina AZZARELLO, *VBP IV 95: qualche proposta di revisione* p. 487

The article focuses on *VBP IV 95*, a papyrus dating to the first half of the 6th c. CE and containing a long account referring to a large estate in the Hermopolite. Textual remarks, including a new edition of col. I and new readings of several lines in other columns, shed light both on the structure of the account and the economic administration of the estate.

Roger S. BAGNALL, *Two partnership agreements from the Dakhla Oasis [18–19]* p. 33

Two contracts for partnership in the caravan trade between the Dakhla Oasis and the Nile valley, drawn up between the same individuals in 319 and 320, are republished with new readings.

Guido BASTIANINI, *Amuleto cristiano [20]* p. 47

The paper provides a new and complete transcription of PSI inv. 365, a Christian amulet for the healing of an ill woman (late 6th c. AD). The commentary points out the connections with the liturgical formulary and with Christian literature.

PSI inv. 365, un amuleto cristiano per la guarigione di una donna malata (VI sec. d.C. *ex.*), è presentato in una nuova trascrizione integrale. Sono evidenziati nel commento i rapporti con il formulario liturgico e la letteratura cristiana.

Amin BENAÏSSA, *A recruit's enrolment in a military unit and a new dux Thebaidis [21]* p. 55

Publication of a papyrus in the British Library preserving a receipt issued by an *actuarius* of a military unit (probably the *Mauri Scutarii* in Hermopolis) to a new recruit. The *actuarius* confirms the receipt of the recruit's certificate of appointment to the unit (*probatoria*), which was issued by the *dux Thebaidis*, and accordingly undertakes to register him in the unit's muster-roll (*matrix*). The only parallel to this type of document is *P.Münch.* I 2 (578). The papyrus also reveals the name of a new *dux Thebaidis*, Flavius Heracleius Dorotheus Hypsistius Andronicus Celer Zenodotus. He is identifiable with a wealthy honorary consul in the reign of Anastasius mentioned by John Lydus.

Lajos BERKES, *New evidence on Byzantine aristocrats in fiscal contexts from the 5th–6th centuries* [22–23]

p. 65

An edition of two Greek papyri adding new evidence on Byzantine aristocrats. P.Heid. inv. G 1671 contains an order for delivery of a camel and three donkeys written on a reused 5th-century protocol referring to the *meris* of the *clarissimus* Eudaemon. P.Heid. inv. G 235a (6th c., Antinoopolis?) is a receipt for the extraordinary tax, *diagraphē* (*descriptio*) of the third instalment in connection with the *gloriosissimi* Dioscorus and Theodorus.

Phil BOOTH, *The last years of Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria* († 642)

p. 509

This article examines the final years (c. 636–42) of the Chalcedonian patriarch Cyrus of Alexandria. It first studies the witnesses to the patriarch's deposition and trial, before turning to alternative traditions for his reinstatement and death contained within the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu. It argues that the duplication of information within the *Chronicle* results from the integration within an earlier version of the text of a Constantinopolitan source covering events in 641 and 642. Using the *Chronicle* and other contemporaneous sources, it then suggests that the factionalism which characterised the same period was informed not only through rival aspirations to power, but through fundamental differences in political and religious ideologies.

Anne BOUD'HORS, *Degrés d'arabisation dans l'Égypte du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle : CPR II 228 revisitée* [24]

p. 71

This new edition of CPR II 228, a Coptic letter on papyrus assignable to the 8th century, aims to elucidate the grammatical and lexical difficulties of the text and to provide a full translation, as well as to discuss its contributions for the study of the socio-cultural changes associated with the Arabization of Egypt.

Florence CALAMENT, *Coup de projecteur sur un document copte des archives du monastère Saint-Jérémie de Saqqara* : P.RevilloutCopt. 3 (P.Louvre N 2405/15) [25]

p. 91

The papyrus P.RevilloutCopt. 3 entered the collections of the Louvre Museum (Department of Egyptian Antiquities) in the first half of the nineteenth century in an unknown way. This Coptic document belongs to the archives of the monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara. It is difficult to read because the pink has turned very pale. Published quite imperfectly by Eugène Revillout in 1876, it has remained rather underestimated. Modern investigative techniques (ultraviolet photography and image reediting in Photoshop) have allowed me to read and understand the text almost completely. It is a guarantee in which the sender of the letter states he has hired a man to replace a monk of Apa Jeremiah requisitioned for compulsory labour at Klyasma. Having received from the monastery the payment of the hired man's salary, he guarantees his reliability to the archimandrite. The papyrus can be unequivocally dated from the first half of the eighth century.

Malcolm CHOAT, *A receipt for wine from the Aspidas archive* [26]

p. 101

This contribution publishes a receipt for wine from 332/33 CE on papyrus. The papyrus, today held in the Museum of Ancient Cultures at Macquarie University, Sydney, forms part of the archive of the family of Aspidas son of Kollouthos, who dwelt in the village of Hipponon in the Herakleopolite nome in the first half of the fourth century.

Willy CLARYSSE, *Kosmas and Damianus in Egyptian onomastics* p. 559

The personal names Kosmas and Damianus are one aspect of the cult of the two saintly doctors. They are hardly ever found before the 6th century AD and may therefore be a helpful criterion to date Byzantine papyri.

Alain DELATTRE & Naïm VANTHIEGHEM, *Un ensemble archivistique trilingue à Strasbourg : un protocole et deux ordres de réquisition de la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle [27-28]* p. 109

Edition of a bilingual Greek-Arabic protocol and two entagia related to compulsory service. The first of these is an Arabic-Greek demand note issued by the chancery of the Egyptian governor ‘Abd al-‘Aziz son of Marwān. The second one was written in Coptic by the administration of the dux Flavius Atias. It mentions a visit of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in Alexandria, which is also recorded in the *History of the patriarchs*.

Tomasz DERDA & Joanna WEGNER, *Letter from Tebetny to the monks of Naqlun concerning fieldwork (P.Naqlun 39) [29]* p. 133

The present document is a letter from the villagers of Tebetny in the Fayum, headed by a priest and a deacon, to the monks of the Naqlun monastery. It was found in the refuse dump on the Naqlun plateau during the excavation campaign of 2008. Archaeological context and palaeographic criteria allow us to date it to the sixth-seventh century. The letter, although written in very poor Greek and difficult to understand, is of great importance for the research of the history of the Naqlun monastic community. It contains the first attestation of the monastery’s name (ἄγιον Νεκλόνιον) in a Greek text. The hierarchy of the addressees most probably reflects the organisational structure of the community. The document also bears testimony to the involvement of “Naqlun fathers” in fieldwork and to a significant role played by the community in local networks.

Denis FEISSEL, *Μουζίκια et autres coffres, de l’Égypte byzantine à Isidore de Séville* p. 565

Late Greek vocabulary (5th-6th c.) saw the appearance of two new words meaning “box”/“chest,” μουζίκιον and σκευρίον, which are insufficiently represented in lexicography. Μουζίκιον is attested in Greek by the odd papyrus (*P.Oxy.* XLIII 3150, which is reinterpreted here, and *P.Colorado* inv. 2), and by literary texts, mainly hagiography. It is also attested as a loanword in Coptic (μουσιρικε in *O.Crum* 472), in Syriac (*mzqyn* in John of Ephesos), and in Latin (*mozicia* in Isidore of Seville). Two texts use μουζίκιον and σκευρίον interchangeably as synonyms. This equivalence is confirmed by the other uses of σκευρίον in Greek and *sqwryn* in Syriac, in hagiographical and also legal literature. The analysis of picturesque narratives, most of which are set in Egypt, aims better to define the form and function of the coffers described by the two terms.

Jean-Luc FOURNET, *Un curieux contrat d’engagement d’intendant des archives de Dioscore d’Aphrodité [30]* p. 151

Edition of an unedited papyrus from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (*P.Cair.* SR inv. 2377), which joins with a fragment published by Jean Maspero (*P.Cair.Masp.* III 67304). The document follows *prima facie* the formulary of a steward’s work contract, but turns out to be a deed by which the declaring party makes arrangements that are family-related. I am tempted to identify it as being by Dioscorus of Aphrodite (6th c.) who, before retiring to the monastery founded by his father, would have wanted to set his own affairs in order and ensure the management of his properties.

Esther GAREL, *Le gnôstêr et le comarque dans les papyrus coptes : nouveau témoignage de P.Sorb. inv. 2488 [31]* p. 167

The Coptic papyrus P.Weill I 57 (P.Sorb. inv. 2488) offers a new attestation of two village officials, the κωμάρχης and the γνωστήρ, not much attested or not at all in Coptic documentary texts. Furthermore it proves that the functions of *gnôster* and village scribe are one and the same, *gnôstêr* being a designation peculiar to Middle Egypt (especially the Hermopolite nome).

Nikolaos GONIS, *Payments to bucellarii in seventh-century Oxyrhynchus [32]* p. 175

An extensive receipt for payments to *bucellarii* (32 cavalrymen and 26 infantrymen), issued at Oxyrhynchus in September/October 612 by the Apionic banker Makarios. The text offers a wealth of information on the composition and organisation of the bands of *bucellarii* and on the presence of foreign soldiers in Egypt at that time.

Dieter HAGEDORN & Bärbel KRAMER, *Zwei Schreibübungen und ein Geschäftsbrief byzantinischer Zeit [33–35]* p. 193

Edition of three unpublished documentary texts from papyri belonging to the collection of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg.

Paul HEILPORN, *Correspondance officielle à propos de deux perséas morts [36]* p. 215

Edition of a copy of a mid-4th-c. correspondence sent by Flavius Makarios, *procurator* of imperial estates, to the *exactor* of the Heracleopolite nome, about the sale of two fallen trees from a temple precinct. The sale has been authorized by the official in charge of the *res privata* in Egypt, Flavius Akontios, who might be known from Libanius, *Ep.* 226 and 1495.

Todd M. HICKEY, *Three late antique descripta from P.Amh. II [37–39]* p. 233

Editions of three late antique *descripta* from *P.Amh. II*. *P.Amh.* 185 is an account related to the vintage (6th or early 7th c.); 186, a tax receipt (7th/8th c.); 187, a Coptic text, probably a writing exercise (6th or 7th c.). A Hermopolite provenance is certain for the first two pieces and possible for the third.

Andrea JÖRDENS, *Drei Verträge aus dem kirchlichen Milieu [40–42]* p. 243

Edition of three late antique papyri from the Louvre collection: I. Lease of real property of the holy south church of Hermupolis (19.9.556?) – II. Receipt for wages for labour on a vineyard of the holy church of the Archangel Michael (1./2.587, 602 or 617) – III. Fragmentary labour contract involving a priest dwelling in the monastery of Psoei (6th/7th c.).

James G. KEENAN, *Cargo checking at Alexandria and the late antique annona: P.Turner 45* p. 579

This contribution offers a reinterpretation of *P. Turner* 45, 10–4 with coordinate observations on four related documents, all emanating from the office of the prefect of the *annona* in Alexandria. It proposes the existence of a type of document called a κέντησις, a “pricking,” used in late antiquity to check grain cargo amounts from the Egyptian nomes upon delivery in Alexandria.



Johannes KRAMER, *Das Bild der Stadt Köln im Hadrianus* (P.Monts.Roca III) p. 591

The contribution deals with the image of the city of Cologne in the Latin Hadrianus-papyrus (P.Monts.Roca III, 4th c.). The unknown author has no direct acquaintance with the city; he draws a picture of a frontier fortress and the measures taken by the emperor in favour of Cologne. The text is a novel with fictitious historical background, not a historical treatise.

Avshalom LANIADO, *Abba Ammonathas et son miracle : fiscalité, diplomatique et sainteté en Égypte byzantine* p. 597

When ordered by an imperial official to pay taxes called *epikephalaia*, monks in Pelusium (in the province of Augustamnica) decided to send a delegation to the emperor in order to ask for exemption. An otherwise unattested monk called Abba Ammonathas entreated them to fast in their cells for two weeks, and promised to solve the problem in his own way. On the 15th day, he showed them a *sakra* (imperial letter), and told them how, within a single night, he had it signed and sealed by the emperor and then countersigned in Alexandria. This allusion to the procedure of countersignature, which is entirely unexpected in a literary text, seems to betray some knowledge of Justinian's *Novel* 152 (534 CE), and this provides us with a *terminus post quem*. Some remarks on the use of the Latin term *sakra* as a loan word in Greek are included.

Alain MARTIN, *Note de service de Makrobios à Silbanos* [43] p. 271

Edition of a Greek papyrus (5th/6th cent.) from the Brussels collection, interpreted as a *memorandum* from the owner of an estate (situated perhaps in the Oxyrhynchites) to his assistant.

Roberta MAZZA, *Old and new papyri from the estate of Lady Victorina* [44–46] p. 277

A landlady Victorina is known from three published papyri: *P.Herm.* 42, *P.Bodl.* I 26 and *P.Grenf.* II 97. This article presents two new texts belonging to her dossier, *P.Ryl.Greek Add.* 1150 and *P.Berol. inv.* 9083, and a new edition of *P.Herm.* 42.

Although there are no firm elements allowing us to know the location of lady Victorina's estate nor any other important information such as her family background, the papyri present interesting material features and offer insights on the mechanics of land management in Byzantine Egypt.

Fritz MITTHOF & Amphilochios PAPATHOMAS, *Sorgen um Gesundheit und Geld: Ein spätantiker Privatbrief aus Alexandrien in die Thebais* [47] p. 285

The article offers the first edition of a late antique private letter preserved on a papyrus from the Viennese collection. The writer lives in Alexandria, but maintains close relations to the Thebaid, especially to the Panopolite nome. His place of origin can perhaps be situated in that area. The recipient, whom the writer addresses as a "brother," probably lived in Hermupolis Magna, where allegedly the papyrus was found; however, at present he is on his way up the Nile to Psonis in the Panopolite nome. The letter begins with an enquiry about the recipient's health: the writer appears to be very concerned, a fact which implies a close emotional relationship with the recipient. It then refers to an issue concerning the bad fortune or wrong behaviour of certain persons, who were close to the writer and the recipient: a servant named Chryseros, a patrician, who according to the writer behaved unjustly, since he exacted money from a procurator in the name of the writer, and, finally, a third person, who dissipated all his travel money during his stay in Alexandria, including spending on courtesans, and thus contributed heavily to the writer's dire financial situation. The writer is educated and uses many rare words and phrases. Apparently, both he and the recipient, though not scholars, belonged to the urban elite of Egypt.

Federico MORELLI, *L'imperatrice e i lebbrosi: un pagamento del duca di Alessandria e curatore della domus divina Athanasios per una fondazione di Aelia Theodora* [48] p. 303

Edition of a 6th-century papyrus from the Vienna collection. The text is a receipt issued by the representatives of a leprosarium, for the payment of part of 886 nomismata established by the empress Theodora as an annual donation from the imperial estates for the sustenance of the institution. The addressee of the receipt is Athanasios, dux or ex-dux of Alexandria and *curator* of the *domus divina* for the Thebaid, already known as dux of the Thebaid from the Dioscoros archive.

Bernhard PALME, *Neue Texte zum Dossier des Flavius Flavianus und Flavius Ptolemaeus* [49–51] p. 339

The wealthy Herakleopolite landowner Flavius Flavianus and his brother Ptolemaeus are known to us from a “dossier” of more than two dozen papyri from the mid-5th century CE. Flavianus was most likely the father of Apion I, whose marriage to Flavia Isis, the daughter of the wealthy Oxyrhynchite landowner Flavius Strategius I, united the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite estates of the two families, which would be the foundation for the development of the immense landholdings of the Apion dynasty. This article presents editions of three unpublished papyri, of which certainly Nos. 1 and 2 and possibly also No. 3 are to be added to the “dossier” of the Flavianus. It is further argued that two other, already published texts (P.Vind.Sijp. 20 and P.Vindob. G 29435, ed. PINTAUDI 1990) belong to this “dossier.” While all known texts pertaining to Flavianus have come from the collection of the Austrian National Library (Vienna), the newly edited papyrus No. 2 is housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library (Yale University).

Arietta PAPAConstantinou, *Credit, debt and dependence in early Islamic Egypt* p. 613

This article presents an overview of lending practices in early Islamic Egypt and Nessana as they are reflected in the papyri. It identifies the various individuals involved in such operations and their social distribution, and discusses a number of cases and their implications for social relations within Christian communities under Islamic rule.

Lucian REINFANDT & Naïm VANTHIEGHEM, *Les archives fiscales de Mīnā, fils de Damarqūra, un contribuable copte du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* [52–58] p. 351

Edition of seven Arabic tax receipts belonging to the archive of a Christian taxpayer who lived in the late 9th century in Madīnat al-Fayyūm. They cover an Abbassid taxation practice over a period of more than three decades, in a crucial phase of Islamic history, i.e., under the patronage of the Ṭulūnid dynasty over Egypt and Syria and during the gradual dislocation of the caliphate.

Fabian REITER, *Brieffragment bezüglich einer Vermögensauseinandersetzung aus der Trierer Papyrussammlung* [59] p. 371

The contribution consists of the first edition of a letter hosted in the papyrus collection of the University of Trier which stems from the 6th century CE and whose provenance remains unknown. The letter is directed to a *clarissimus* “brother” Helladius and concerns a division of property between a “most beloved brother” of the writer and an unknown party. The writer mentions a bishop and expresses a plea, but all details remain unclear because of the fragmentary state of the papyrus.

Tonio Sebastian RICHTER, *Ein fatimidenzeitliches koptisches Rechnungsheft aus den Papieren Noël Girons [60]* p. 381

The late Coptic paper quire presented here comes from papers left by Noël Giron (1884–1941). It contains records of expenditure and income spent and received at several occasions by buying and selling commodities such as wax, olive oil, flour, figs, salt, cumin, steel, chains, kettles, nails, different types of textiles, sulphur, myrrh, mastics and others, their prices summing up to substantial amounts of money. Dated to the '60s of the 11th century, P.Gascou 60 is one of the latest datable documentary texts in Coptic language known to us. One particularly interesting feature is its terminology and phraseology around coins and currency exchange which are partially based on Arabic loanwords.

Gesa SCHENKE, *Two papyri from Jeme [61–62]* p. 403

Among a group of fragmentary eighth-century fiscal documents in the Rendel Harris Collection in Birmingham, a tax assessment subscribed by officials of the village of Tmouk pa-Jeme concerns the *xenion* tax. This document makes it likely that also the other fiscal documents of the collection come from the same region, which has been known to have mainly produced fiscal documents on ostraca. Additionally, a letter to a man named Chael, an *illustrios* and *archon*, known already through another letter sent by the same man, Mena son of Stephanos, strengthens the assumption that this small dossier has the same provenance.

John David THOMAS, *List of foodstuffs and other items [63]* p. 413

Publication of an unedited papyrus belonging to the Egypt Exploration Society. Almost certainly part of the Theophanes “archive,” and so from Hermopolis and dating from around AD 320.

Sofía TORALLAS TOVAR, *Two documents from the abbey of Montserrat [64–65]* p. 419

The well known Roca-Puig collection at the abbey of Montserrat contains a great chronological and thematic variety of documents. Linguistically most of the material is Greek, although the Coptic collection is notable and contains many interesting pieces. In this paper I have chosen a sixth-century bilingual papyrus fragment which presents two independent texts, one on each side, representative of a multicultural society. On the recto side, across the papyrus fibers, one finds a fragment of a Greek document, probably a petition, where a sailor and a *τρακτηευτής* named Paulus are mentioned. After the document was obsolete and the papyrus already slightly damaged (which we know because the second use avoids the holes), at 180° there is a list of garments and textiles assigned to different men, written along the papyrus fibers, in Coptic. I will start on the verso, since the document on that side is complete.

Peter VAN MINNEN, *Receipt for salary payment to two village clerics [66]* p. 429

Edition of a fifth–sixth-century receipt for the partial payment of salaries (two *artabai* of grain) to two village clerics by the bishop of Hermopolis.

Klaas A. WORP, *Miscellaneous new Greek papyri from Kellis [67–88]* p. 435

Edition of twenty-two documents and sub-literary texts from Kellis.

Constantin ZUCKERMAN, *Between the Cadaster of Aphroditè and the Cadaster of Thebes, or, The emergence of modios as an area unit* p. 643

The article aims at showing that the generally admitted continuity of cadastral practice between late antiquity and the middle Byzantine period is an illusion. In the course of the seventh century, lacking the means to maintain the traditional registry, village by village, of landed properties and their owners, the state creates the rural fiscal unit, *chorion*, whose inhabitants are collectively responsible for its tax. This simplified form of land-tax perception generates the phenomenon of Byzantine peasant community known from the Rural Code (*Nomos georgikos*), which can now be described as the late antique village deprived of the cadaster. Then, a cluster of early-tenth-century evidence reveals a hitherto unsuspected reform, probably the most important in Byzantium's agrarian history, which consisted in re-introducing the cadaster through a systematic survey of agricultural land using a new area unit, the *modios*.

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