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TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES
20/1

MÉLANGES
JEAN GASCOU

TEXTES ET ÉTUDES PAPYROLOGIQUES
(P. GASCOU)

édités par
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ABRÉVIATIONS

Les abréviations des éditions papyrologiques suivent la Checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic papyri, ostraca and tablets : <http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html> ou <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist> (toutes les adresses URL indiquées ici ont été consultées le 10 juin 2016).

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, Venetiis 1734-1940.</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique.</i> Bruxelles.
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz & al., Berlin – Leipzig 1914-.
<i>ACO, ser. sec.</i>	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda. 2, Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium</i> , ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1990-.
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i> Paris.
<i>AnalPap</i>	<i>Analecta papyrologica.</i> Messina.
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana.</i> Bruxelles.
<i>AnIsl</i>	<i>Annales islamologiques.</i> Le Caire.
<i>AnTard</i>	<i>Antiquité tardive.</i> Turnhout.
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete.</i> Berlin.
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte.</i> Berlin.
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte.</i> Le Caire.
<i>ASP</i>	American studies in papyrology.
<i>Basilica</i>	<i>Basilicorum libri LX. Series A, Textus, vol. 1-8</i> , ed. H. J. Scheltema et N. Van der Wal, Groningen 1955-1988.
<i>BASP</i>	<i>The bulletin of the American society of papyrologists.</i> Oakville.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i> Paris.
<i>BCTH</i>	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.</i> Paris.
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 ^e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français de l'archéologie orientale.</i> Le Caire.
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Rheinischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege im Landschaftsverband Rheinland und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande.</i> Köln.
<i>BL</i>	<i>Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten.</i> Leiden 1922-.
<i>BOEP</i>	<i>Bulletin of online emendations to papyri.</i> Heidelberg, < http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/zaw/papy/forschung/bullemendpap_2.1.pdf >.
<i>BSAC</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte.</i> Le Caire.
<i>Byz. Forsch.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik.</i> Amsterdam.

- Byz. Not.* *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten (Byz. Not.)*, hrsg. von J. M. Diethart & K. A. Worp (MPER N.S. 16), Wien 1986.
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Berlin.
- CdÉ* *Chronique d'Égypte*. Bruxelles.
- CEFR* Collection de l'École française de Rome. Rome.
- CEL* *Corpus epistularum latinarum papyris tabulis ostracis servatarum : (CEL). 1, Textus, 2, Commentarius*, collegit, commentario instruxit P. Cugusi (Pap.Flor. 23), Firenze 1992; 3, *Addenda, corrigenda, indices rerum, index verborum omnium*, cur. P. Cugusi (Pap.Flor. 33), Firenze 2002.
- CFHB* *Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*.
- CGL* *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, a G. Loewe inchoatum, ed. G. Goetz, Lipsiae 1888-1923.
- CbLA* *Chartae Latinae antiquiores*. 1954-.
- CIG* *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*.
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- CJ* *Corpus iuris civilis. 2, Codex Justinianus*, recognovit P. Krüger, Berolini 1877.
- CLRE* R. S. BAGNALL & al., *Consuls of the later Roman Empire* (Philological monographs of the American philological association 36), Atlanta 1987.
- Copt.Enc.* *The Coptic encyclopedia*, ed. in chief A. S. Atiya, 8 vol., New York 1991.
- CPG* *Clavis patrum Graecorum*. Turnhout 1974-2003.
- CRIPEL* *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille*. Villeneuve-d'Ascq.
- CRUM, Dict.* *A Coptic dictionary*, compiled by W. E. Crum, Oxford 1929-1939.
- CSBE²* R. S. BAGNALL & K. A. Worp, *Chronological systems of Byzantine Egypt*, 2nd ed., Leiden 2004.
- CSCO* *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*. Louvain.
- DACL* *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, publié par dom F. Cabrol et dom H. Leclercq, Paris 1924-1953.
- DDBDP* *Duke data bank of documentary papyri*. < <http://papyri.info/docs/ddbdp>>.
- DGE* *Diccionario griego-español*, red. bajo la dir. de F. R. Adrados, Madrid 1989-.
- Dig.* *Corpus iuris civilis. 1, Digesta*, recognovit Th. Mommsen, retractavit P. Krüger, Berolini 1908.
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks papers*. Washington.
- DORNSEIFF – HANSEN* F. DORNSEIFF, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, ausgearbeitet von B. Hansen, Berlin 1957.
- DU CANGE* Ch. du Fresne DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Lugduni 1688 (réimpr. Athènes 2003).
- Ed.* *Iustiniani XIII edicta quae vocantur*, dans *Corpus iuris civilis. 3, Novellae*, recognovit R. Schoell, absolvit G. Kroll, Berolini 1895, p. 757-795.
- EEBS* Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν. Athènes.
- EP* *Encyclopédie de l'Islam, nouvelle édition*, Leiden – Paris 1954-2009.
- FIRA III* *Fontes iuris Romani anteiustiniani. 3, Negotia*, ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz, ed. 2, aucta et emendata, Florentiae 1968.
- FÖRSTER, Wörterbuch* H. FÖRSTER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Wörter in den koptischen dokumentarischen Texten*, Berlin – New York 2002.

- GIGNAC, *Gramm.* F. Th. GIGNAC, *A grammar of the Greek papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods. 1, Phonology; 2, Morphology* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità 55), Milano 1975, 1981.
- GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies.* Durham.
- HASITZKA, *NB* M. R. H. HASITZKA, *Namen in koptischen dokumentarischen Texten.* <http://www.onb.ac.at/files/kopt_namen.pdf>.
- HGV *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, dir. by D. Hagedorn. <<http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0>>.
- ICMactar F. PRÉVOT, *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar. 5, Les inscriptions chrétiennes* (CEFR 34, 5), Rome 1984.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.* Berlin 1903-.
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Beyrouth – Paris 1929-.
- ILALg *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, recueillies et publiées par S. Gsell & al., Paris 1922-.
- I.Métr. É. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris 1969.
- I.Mylasa *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*, hrsg. von W. Blümel (Die Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 34-35), Bonn 1987-1988.
- JANNARIS, *Gramm.* A. N. Jannaris, *An historical Greek grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect as written and spoken from classical antiquity down to the present time : founded upon the ancient texts, inscriptions, papyri and present popular Greek*, London 1897.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian archaeology.* London.
- JESHO *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient.* Leiden.
- JHS *The journal of Hellenic studies.* London.
- JJP *Journal of juristic papyrology.* Warszawa.
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.* Wien.
- JRS *The journal of Roman studies.* London.
- KSB cf. *SB Kopt.*
- LAMPE *Greek patristic lexicon*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford 1961.
- LBG *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, erstellt von E. Trapp, Wien 1994-.
- LDAB *Leuven database of ancient books.* <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>>.
- Lex.Lat.Lehnw. *Lexikon der lateinischen Lehnwörter in den griechischsprachigen dokumentarischen Texten Ägyptens mit Berücksichtigung koptischer Quellen (Lex. lat. Lehn.)*, erstellt von I.-M. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser unter Mitarb. von J. Diethart, Wien 1996-.
- LSJ (& Rev. suppl.) *A Greek-English lexicon with a revised supplement*, comp. by H. G. Liddell & R. Scott, rev. and augm. throughout by H. S. Jones, Oxford 1996.
- MANDILARAS, *Verb* B. G. MANDILARAS, *The verb in the Greek non-literary papyri*, Athens 1973.
- MAYSER, *Gramm.* E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften. 1, Laut- und Wortlehre; 2, 1-2, Satzlehre. Analytischer Teil; 2, 3, Satzlehre. Synthetischer Teil*, Berlin – Leipzig 1933-1938.
- MBAH *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte.* St. Katharinen.
- M.Chr. L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 2, Juristischer Teil. 2, Chrestomathie*, Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
- M.-P.³ Base de données Mertens-Pack³ (catalogue des papyrus littéraires grecs et latins). <<http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/base-de-donnees-mp3/>>.

- Münch.Beitr. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. München.
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire. Le Caire.
- MTM Monographies de *Travaux et mémoires* du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Paris.
- NB Copt.* cf. HASITZKA, *NB*.
- Not. Dig.* *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin 1876.
- Nov.* *Corpus iuris civilis. 3, Novellae*, recognovit R. Schoell, absolvit G. Kroll, Berolini 1895.
- OGIS *Orientalis Graecae inscriptiones selectae : Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, Lipsiae 1903-1905.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta. Louvain.
- Onomasticon Oasiticum* *An onomasticon of personal names found in documentary texts from the Theban Oasis in Graeco-Roman times*, compiled by R. P. Salomons & K. A. Worp, Leiden, rev. version September 2009. <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/onomas_final.pdf>.
- OPEL *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum (OPEL)*, ed. B. Lőrincz & F. Redő, Budapest 1994-2005.
- Pap.Flor. Papyrologica Florentina. Firenze.
- Pap.Colon. Papyrologica Coloniensia. Opladen.
- PERF *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Wien 1894.
- PG Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1856-1866.
- PGM *Papyri Graecae magicae = Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, hrsg. und übers. von K. Preisendanz, München 1928, 1931.
- PIR² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III*, editio altera, Berolini 1933-2015.
- PL Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1844-1865.
- PLRE *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.
- PmbZ* *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Berlin 1998-.
- PN Papyrological Navigator. <<http://papyri.info/>>
- PO Patrologia Orientalis. Paris.
- PREISIGKE, *BL* cf. *BL*.
- PREISIGKE, *NB* *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschnennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienchildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, bearb. und hrsg. von F. Preisigke, Heidelberg 1922.
- PREISIGKE, *WB* cf. *WB*.
- PTS Patristische Texte und Studien. Berlin.
- RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*. Paris.
- RecTrav *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. Paris 1870-1923.
- REG *Revue des études grecques*. Paris.

- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*. Bruxelles.
- RN* *Revue numismatique*. Paris.
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Wiesbaden 1913-.
- SB Kopt.* *Koptisches Sammelbuch (KSB)*, hrsg. von M. R. M. Hasitzka, Berlin 1993-.
- SC* Sources chrétiennes. Paris.
- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*.
- SOPHOCLES* E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*, Cambridge Mass. – Leipzig 1914 (réimpr. Hildesheim 1983).
- SPP* *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, hrsg. von C. Wessely, Leipzig 1901-1924.
- StudPap* *Studia papyrologica : rivista española de papirología*. Barcelona.
- Stud.Pal.* cf. *SPP*.
- Suppl.Mag.* *Supplementum magicum : (Suppl. mag.)*, ed. with transl. and notes by R. W. Daniel & F. Maltomini (Pap.Colon. 16), Opladen 1990, 1992.
- TAVO* Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.
- ThLL* *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. München.
- ThLL Onom.* *Thesaurus linguae Latinae. Onomasticon*, Lipsiae 1907-.
- TIMM* S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit : eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit, unter Ausschluß von Alexandria, Kairo, des Apa-Mena-Klosters (Dēr Abū Mina), der Skētis (Wādi n-Naṭrūn) und der Sinai-Region* (Beihefte TAVO. B, Geisteswissenschaften 41), 7 vol., Wiesbaden 1984-2007.
- TLG* *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*. <<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>>.
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.
- TMGeo* Trismegistos Places <<http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php>>.
- TMNam* Trismegistos People <<http://www.trismegistos.org/ref/index.php>>.
- WB* *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden : mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder usw. aus Ägypten*, von F. Preisigke, mit einem Nachruf von O. Gradenwitz, bearb. und hrsg. von E. Kiessling, Berlin 1925-1944.
- W. Chr.* L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 1, Historischer Teil. 2, Chrestomathie*, Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
- W. Gr.* L. MITTEIS & U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde. 2, Juristischer Teil. 1, Grundzüge*, Leipzig – Berlin 1912.
- WL* *Wörter Listen aus den Registern von Publikationen griechischer und lateinischer dokumentarischer Papyri und Ostraka*, kompiliert von D. Hagedorn. <<http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf>>.
- YCS* *Yale classical studies*. New York.
- ZAC* *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*. Berlin.
- ZÄS* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Berlin.
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Stuttgart.
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn.

18–19. TWO PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS FROM THE DAKHLA OASIS

by Roger S. BAGNALL

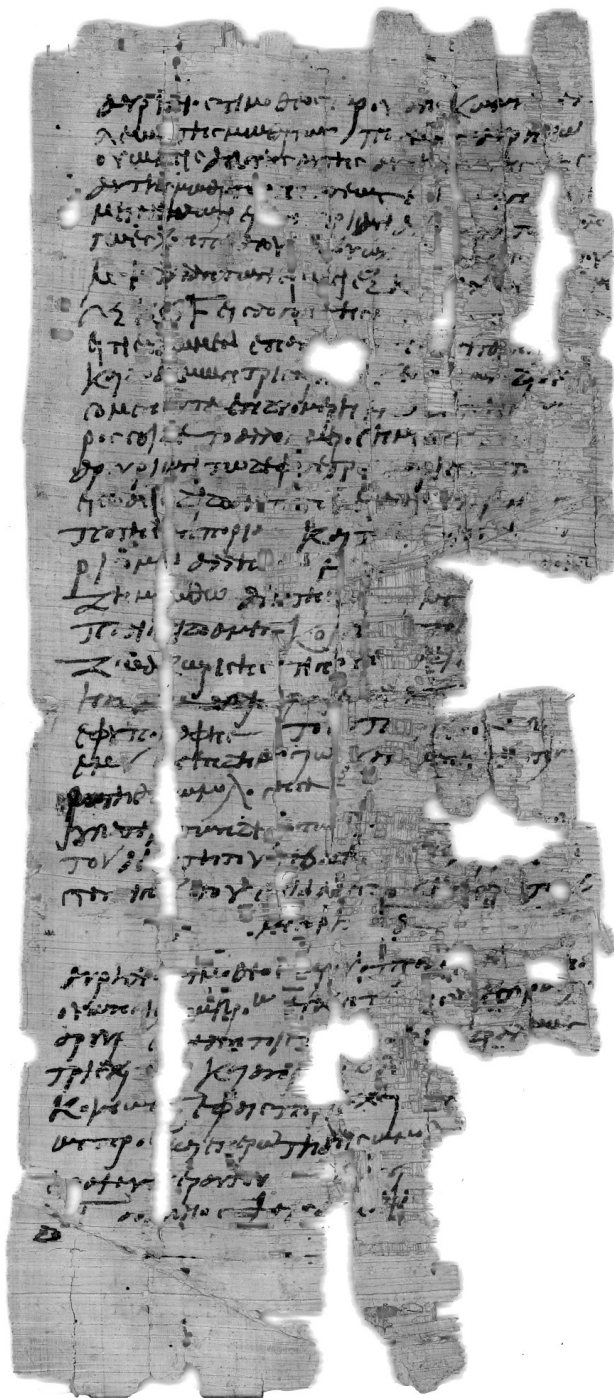
The two contracts from the Great Oasis republished here were first presented to the public in 1969, at a time when one could speak accurately of “la ventina o poco più di pezzi che in tutto sono noti per questa remota località d’Egitto.”¹ Today, the published papyri and ostraka from the Kharga and Dakhla oases amount to well more than 2,000, with many remaining to be edited.² These provide vastly more material for contextualization of the Genoa papyri than was available when they were published. They were republished in 1974 in *P. Genoa* I, before this situation had changed materially, and a fragment of one of them (*P. Genoa* 20) now in the collection of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan was published the same year.³ A combined edition of these papyrus fragments was published in 1980 in *P. Genoa* II, App. 1, along with some improvements to the second (*P. Genoa* 21). Some “debate” ensued during the following decade between D. Gofas (1982, 1992) and G. Wagner (1987) about both the texts and their interpretation, all still before the great era of publication of oasis papyri began.⁴ It was Gofas’s text of *P. Genoa* 20, with several unjustified restorations, that was reprinted as SB XVI 12530, and the “standard” text of this papyrus (called “A” below) thus remains

1. AMELOTI & MIGLIARDI 1969, p. 167. The introduction to this article is by Amelotti, the texts by Migliardi. Amelotti’s statement was made on the basis of BINGEN 1964.

2. Just to note the most important elements of this picture, *P. Kellis* now amounts to seven volumes, plus *O. Kellis*; the second volume of *O. Trim.* is in press. To these may be added a certain number of scattered Dakhla Oasis papyri acquired before the beginning of excavations there in the 1980s, see BALCONI 2010 and WORP 2010. From Kharga the volumes of *O. Douch* I-V and *O. Waqfa* add more than seven hundred ostraka. The archive of the nekrotaphoi of Kysis, which I am preparing for publication, adds about another fifty papyri (some previously published). Ostraka from the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s excavations at Hibis have appeared in *ZPE* (BAGNALL & TALLET 2015). Much remains unpublished, especially from Kellis and Mut.

3. I am grateful to Professor Livia Migliardi Zingale for supplying me with digital photographs of the two Genoa papyri and a photomontage of *P. Genoa* 20 and the Milan fragment. The first edition of the small Milan fragment was, in isolation from the larger contract, very inaccurate, and its readings are not reported in the apparatus below.

4. Wagner in fact ignores Gofas’s article (1982), to the latter’s (1992) indignation, along with, apparently, the revised text in *P. Genoa* II.



unsatisfactory in various respects; there is no revised text of the second papyrus (“B”). For this reason I have thought it useful to offer a revised edition of both contracts, with some new readings, to my friend Jean Gascoü, whose vast scholarly output also includes work on the archaeology and texts of the oases.⁵

Already in the first edition, Amelotti described the two contracts as partnerships,⁶ formed between the same individuals and written by the same scribe, “diretti, a quanto pare, all’assunzione di portatori e all’organizzazione di un servizio di trasporto da e verso la Grande Oasis.” That is perhaps an over-description, as he recognized: “Si tratta pertanto, secondo il diritto romano, nel cui ambito i due documenti per età rientrano, di una *societas unius negotiationis*.” That is, each contract concerns not the organization of an ongoing enterprise for transportation between the oasis and the valley, but a single trip, after which the partnership is dissolved and the results allocated to the partners. It is striking that Amelotti already recognized, as subsequent commentators often failed to, that the journey was to originate in and return to Dakhla.⁷ He emphasized the uniqueness of the transactions recorded in these papyri, in the face of the lack of relevant cases in the juristic sources and the scarcity of contracts for private business ventures in the papyri. Indeed, the near-invisibility of commercial partnership (as opposed to partnership in tax collection, for example) in the papyri is striking. The category is altogether lacking in the recent collection of papyrological sources for law in Egypt (KEENAN, MANNING & YIFTACH-FIRANKO 2014; this work regrettably lacks a subject index from which one could verify whether the term is ever mentioned).⁸ The most valuable recent contribution to the study of partnership in the papyri is JAKAB 2001.⁹

The nature of the transaction was relatively clear to Amelotti, who noted that one party furnished the capital, the second undertaking to conduct the business, “prestando la sua vera o presunta capacità imprenditoriale.” Profits are to be equally divided, and so also losses. But Amelotti comments that equal sharing in case of loss may be only apparent, “perché se il primo socio perderà il capitale, il secondo avrà lavorato invano. Ma in concreto è più esposto il capitalista, il quale — è vero — può ritrovare difficoltà ad

5. GASCOÜ & WAGNER 1979; GASCOÜ *et al.* 1980, with a first taste of the Douch ostraka.

6. Amelotti (AMELOTTI & MIGLIARDI 1969) provides an extensive bibliography on *societas* on p. 167 n. 2, and on partnership in the papyri on p. 168, n. 3.

7. GOFAS 1982, p. 499, speaks of “le commerce dans la Grande Oasis.” Similarly, the treatment of this papyrus in GRADEL, LETELLIER-WILLEMEN & TALLET 2012, pp. 140–1, exaggerates its scale (“une société de transport de produits”) and mistakenly attributes it to Kharga, which is nowhere mentioned—perhaps deriving this error from *Sammelbuch*. Still more bizarre is the suggestion of GOFAS 1992, pp. 347–8, that the partnership concerned a one-way trip from a Red Sea port (oddly suggesting Myos Hormos, long since past its period of activity). ADAMS 2007, p. 238, suggested Alexandria, an equally unmotivated point of origin. DESANGES 1978, p. 355, writes, “On peut se demander, à titre de simple hypothèse, si la voie du Nil ne s’est pas trouvée interdite à l’Empire, qui n’aurait pu compter que sur l’appui de Nobatae installés depuis longtemps dans les oasis du désert libyque.” This is fantasy rather than hypothesis.

8. *O.Kellis* 145 appears to reflect a partnership limited to joint ownership of a cow. It is telling that the only literature cited by the editor for partnership is RUPPRECHT 1994, pp. 129–30, where no literature later than 1936 is listed for *societas*.

9. See JAKAB 2001, pp. 72–8, with pp. 73–5 devoted to *P.Genova* I 20 and (to a lesser degree) 21. Unfortunately, she does not appear to know any of the later discussions of the texts, nor the *Kellis* papyri; she thus repeats a number of incorrect readings and restorations.

impiegare un capitale a quell'epoca gravemente svalutato, però resta soggetto all'eventualità di un comportamento malizioso o inetto dell'imprenditore." This pessimism carries over to his concluding question, "Sarà andato bene l'affare?" To this he answers that we hope so but hesitate to believe it, "in un'età così critica e in un luogo così fuori del mondo." He views the oasis as "ricca di miraggi ma avara di prodotti."

In reality, of course, the fact that these agreements were concluded in successive years between the same two people, with a larger capital in the second year, suggests very strongly that the first agreement resulted in a successful partnership. And, as we shall see, Timotheos was contributing animals to the partnership and putting them at risk as part of its capital. More broadly, Amelotti's characterization of the oasis as "miserly with products" is indefensible, as we know today from the excavations at Kellis and other sites. It produced many commodities of value to the valley and sufficiently costly in relationship to bulk and weight that transporting them across the desert was profitable: alum, dates, olive oil, and cotton, to name only the best documented.¹⁰

Gofas (1982, p. 504) indeed pointed out that in fact the borrower Timotheos was also contributing capital, in the form of the animals.¹¹ In the document's formulation, however, it appears (despite damage to the relevant passages) that the cash principal amount (from Ouonsis) and the animals (from Timotheos) are distinguished, even though both are treated as part of the capital sum to be the basis from which profit and loss are calculated. The verbal construction of the documents, however, resembles a loan, and indeed the term ἀποχή, "receipt," is used to characterize them (B20; restored in A15). This is in line with usage elsewhere, notably *P. Oxy.* XXII 2342, in which, as Έva Jakab has pointed out, the petitioner characterizes his late business partner as κοινωνὸς καὶ δανειστής, "partner and debtor."¹²

As Amelotti already noted, the two documents are very close in formulaic construction, allowing a large measure of restoration of the text missing in each, although not quite a completely confident reconstruction. To make the comparison between them easier, I have printed them interleaved and with line breaks following those of the first text (the line breaks are indicated in the second text, but it is not formatted according to them).

TEXT 18 (A)

4 July 319

Frag. 1. *Ed. pr.*: AMELOTTI & MIGLIARDI 1969, pp. 170-1 (with tav. II facing p. 168); M. AMELOTTI & L. MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, *P.Genova* I 20. Two fragments, 7 × 24.5 and 2 × 7.5 cm.

Frag. 2. *Ed. pr.*: P.Med. inv. 68.82, ed. G. CASANOVA, *Aegyptus* 54, 1974, pp. 87-8. 3.5 × 25 cm.

10. This is not the place for a full discussion of the oasis economy; see BAGNALL 1997; BAGNALL 2008; GRADEL, LETELLIER-WILLEMEN & TALLET 2012. I discuss the relevant issues further in a paper on "Papyrus documents for the study of an ancient economy: methods and materials from an Egyptian oasis" presented to a conference at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in October, 2014.

11. WAGNER 1987, p. 319, states that the capital borrowed by Timotheos is to be used to purchase animals, "chameaux et ânes probablement." There is no basis for this view.

12. JAKAB 2001, p. 73, against VAN MINNEN 1998, pp. 67-8, whose reconstruction of the situation is less persuasive.

Frgs. 1+2: L. MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, *P.Genova* II (1980), App. I (pp. 73-5); GOFAS 1982, pp. 502-3 (SB 16.12530¹³); WAGNER 1987, p. 327; GOFAS 1992, p. 341-51.

TEXT 19 (B)

25 July 320

Ed. pr.: AMELOTTI & MIGLIARDI 1969, pp. 172-6; M. AMELOTTI & L. MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, *P.Genova* I 21; cf. L. MIGLIARDI ZINGALE, *P.Genova* II, App. II (p. 76). 10.5 × 24.5 cm.

→

- A1 Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ὁρ[ου ἀπὸ κώμης Κέλλε]ως τῆς Μωθι-
 B1-2 Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ὁρου ἀπὸ κώμη[ς Κ]έλ[ε]λω[ς] τῆς Μωθι-
 A2 τῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω [Οὐῶνσις ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ]ῆς κώμης
 B2-3 τῶν πόλεως Αὐρηλίω |³ Οὐῶνσις ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς {αὐτῆς} κ[ώ]μης
 A3 τῆ(ς) αὐτῆς Μωθιτῶν πόλε[ως]. ἐπεὶ συνεθή[κ]αμεν μετ' ἄλ-
 B3-5 τῆς |⁴ αὐτῆς Μωθιτῶν πόλεως. ἐ[π]ὶ συν[εθ]έ[μ]ε[θ]α |⁵ μετ' ἄλ-
 A4 λήλων εἰς ἐμπορίαν [α. . . . ατων, ὁμο]λογῶ ἔσχον
 B5-6 λήλων εἰ[ς] ἐ[μ]πορίαν α. [. . .] . ατω[ν, ὁμ]ολο[γ]ῶ ἔσχον
 A5 παρὰ σοῦ Πουῶνσις ἀργυρίου ἐν νούμοις ταλάντων δώ-
 B6-7 πα[ρ]ὰ σοῦ Πουῶν[σις ἀργ]υρί[ου ἐν] νού[μ]οις ταλάντων
 A6 δεκα, γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) ἱβ, εἰς λόγον τ[ῆς αὐτῆς ἐμπορίας] ἵνα εἴ τι εὐρω-
 B7-9 εἴκοσι ἕξ κ[αὶ δρ]αχ[μ]ῶς [τρισχι]λίας, |⁸ γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) κς (δραχμαὶ) Ἰ
 εἰς λόγον τῆς α[ὐ]τ[ῆς ἐμπορίας] ἵνα |⁹ εἴ τι εὐρω-
 A7 μεν ἐπάνω τῶν δώ`δε`κα [ταλάντων κεφαλ]αίων, διαμερί-
 B9-10 μεν ἐπάν[ω τῶν] ἕξ [καὶ] εἴ[κο]σι ταλάν[των] |¹⁰ καὶ δραχμῶν τρισχιλί[ω]ν
 κεφα[λ]αίων, διαμ[ερί-]
 A8 ζομεν αὐτὰ ἐν δύο μέρη, [ἐμοὶ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος], σοὶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλον
 B11-2 |¹¹σομεν αὐτὰ ἐν δύο μέρη, ἐμο[ὶ] μὲν ἥμ[ι]σ[υ] μ[έ]ρος, σοὶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλον
 A9 μέρος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀργυρίων· τῷ δὲ φολέτρ[ω] ἄχρι Αἰγύπτου
 B12-3 μέρος ἥμισυ [ὑπὲρ τῶν] |¹³ ἀργυρίων, τῷ δὲ φολέτρ[ω] ἄ[χ]ρι Αἰ[γ]υπ[τ]ο[υ]
 A10 καὶ εἰς Ὅασιν κοινῶς διδόμεν. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθω σὺν θεῷ εἰς
 B13-4 [καὶ] |¹⁴ εἰς Ὅασιν <κοινῶς διδόμεν. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθω σὺν θεῷ εἰς
 A11 Ὅασιν, διδόμεν τὸ κ[εφά]λαιον καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας
 B14-5 Ὅασιν>, διδόμεν τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τ[ὰ] ζ[ῶ]α ἀ[πὸ] τῆς ἐμπορίας[ς]

13. Wrongly giving "Oase von Khâgeh" as the provenance.

- A12 καὶ τὸ πρόλοιπον δι[αμερίσομεν ἀλλήλων· ἐὰν δέ, τὸ
B15–6 καὶ τὸ [π]ρ[όλ]οι[ο]ν [δια]μ[ε]||¹⁶ρίσομ[ε]ν ἀλλή[λω]ν· ἐ[ὰν] δέ, τὸ
- A13 μοὶ γένοιτο, ζημιωθ[ῶ] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας ταύτης, πά-
B16–8 [μοὶ γέ]γοιτο, ||¹⁷ ζημ[ι]ωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς [ἐμπο]ρίας [ταύτης] ||¹⁸ πά-
- A14 λιν διδόμεν κοινῶ[ς] τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὰ ζ[ῆ]α χωρὶς ἡς-
B18–9 λιν διδόμεν κοιν[ῶς] τὸ κ[ε]φάλαιον καὶ τὰ ||¹⁹ ζῆα χωρὶς ἡς-
- A15 τινος εὐροδιλογίας· [κυρία ἢ ἀποχὴ ἀπ]λη γραφεῖσα
B19–20 τινος ε[ὐ]ρ[ο]δι[ο]γ[ι]ας· κυρία ||²⁰ ἢ ἀπ[ο]χ[ῆ] ἀπλη [γ]ραφεῖσα
- A16 ἔστω καὶ βεβαία ἐφ' ὑ[πο]γραφῆς τοῦ ὑπ[ε]ρ ἐμοῦ ὑπο-
B20–1 ἔστ[ω] καὶ βεβαία ||²¹ ἐφ' ὑπογ[ρ]αφῆς τοῦ ὑπ[ο]-
- A17 γράφοντος ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακειμένη]η καὶ ἐπερωτη-
B21–3 γ]ρ[ά]φο]ντος [ὑ]π[ε]ρ ||²² ἐμ[ο]ῦ [ὡ]ς ἐν δημοσίῳ κατακ[ε]ιμ[έ]νη [καὶ] ἐπε||²³ρωτη-
- A18 θεὶς ὁμολόγησα. *vacat*
B23 θ[ε]ις] ὁμολόγησα. *vacat*
- A19 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[ο]τῶν ἡμῶν] Κ[ω]ν[σ]τα[ν]τινίου
B24 ὑπατεί[ας] τῶν δε[σπ]οτῶ[ν] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
- A20 τοῦ ἀηττήτου Σεβ[α]στοῦ τὸ ε[σ] καὶ Λι[κ]ι[ν]νίου
B25–6 τοῦ ἀηττήτου Σεβαστοῦ [τὸ ε] [κα] ||²⁶ Κ[ω]ν[σ]τα[ν]τιν[ο]ῦ
- A21 τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου [Καίσαρος τὸ] α[σ] Ἐπ[ε]ρ δεκάτη.
B26–7 τοῦ ἐπιφανεστ[ά]του Κ[α]ί[σα]ρ[ος] τὸ [α] ||²⁷ *vacat* Μεσορῆ ᾧ.
- A22 Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ὁ[μ]β[ρ]ου ὁ προκ[ε]ιμένος Αὐρηλίῳ Οὐδῶνσις
B28–9 Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος Ὁ[μ]β[ρ]ου ὁ προκ[ε]ιμένος Αὐρηλίῳ ||²⁹ Οὐδῶνσις
- A23 τῷ προκειμένῳ ἔσχ[ον] παρὰ σοῦ τὰς προκειμένας ἀργυρίου <δραχμὰς>
B29 [τ]ῷ προκ[ε]ιμένῳ ἔσχ[ο]ν παρὰ σοῦ [τ]ὰς προκ[ε]ιμένας τοῦ ||³⁰ ἀργυρ[ο]ῦ
- A24 ἐν ταλάντων δώδεκα καὶ ἀγοράνῳ αὐτὰ ἐν εἴδοις
B30–1 ἐ[ν] τ[α]λάντοις ἐ[ἴ]κοσι ἐ[ξ] κ[αὶ] δ[ρα]χμὰς ||³¹ τρισχι[λ]ιάς καὶ ἀγορ[ά]σ[ω] α[ὐ]τὰ ἐν
εἴδοις]
- A25 κοινῶς ἐφ' αἷς περ[ι]έχει διασ[το]λα(ί)ς π[ά]σαις ὡς πρόκ[ε]ιται
B32–3 κοινῶς ἐφ' αἷς περιέχει [δια]σ[το]λαίς πάσαις ||³³ ὡς πρόκ[ε]ιται
- A26 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα. ἔ[γ]ραψα ὑπ[ε]ρ αὐτοῦ
B33–4 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολ[ό]γησα. ||³⁴ ἔ[γ]ραψα ὑπ[ε]ρ αὐτοῦ

A27 γράμματα μὴ εἰδό[τος Αὐρήλιος] Ψάις ἀδ[ε]λφός.

B34–5 γρ[άμματα μὴ εἰ]³⁵δότη(ος) Αὐ[ρ]ήλιος Ψάις ἀ[δ]ε[λ]φός.

In the apparatus, Gofas¹ refers to GOFAS 1982; Gofas² refers to GOFAS 1992. Wagner refers to WAGNER 1987. Minor divergences of underdotting, bracket placement, and abbreviation are not indicated.

A.1 ἐλλεως *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; ἐλλε]ως *P.Genova* II, Gofas¹ (*SB*), Wagner, Gofas²; Κέλλε]ως OATES, *BASP* 25, 1988, 134 (*BL* IX 286) || 3–4 [εἰς μίσθωσιν ἐν Ὁάσει μεγά]λη τῶν εἰς ἐμπορίαν [ἀποδημούντων, ὁμολογῶ ἔσχον] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; [± 13]αμεν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰς ἐμπορίαν [± 12 ὁμο]λογῶ ἔσχον *P.Genova* II; [χαίρειν. συνεθήκ]αμεν μετ' ἀλλήλων εἰς ἐμπορίαν [εἰς Ὁασιν· καὶ ὁμο]λογῶ ἔσχον Gofas¹ (*SB*), Gofas²; [ἐπεὶ συνεθήκ]αμεν μετ' ἀλλήλοις εἰς ἐμπορίαν [α ὁμο]λογῶ ἔσχον Wagner || 1. ἐμπορίαν || 5 I. τα]λάντοις || ἀρ[γυρίου δραχμὰς ἐν τα]λάντων all *edd.*; ἀρ[γυρίου ἐν νοῦμοις J. D. THOMAS, *YCS* 28, 1985, 122, n. to line 7 (not recorded in *BL*) || 6 γ' || τ[ῆς μισθώσεως τῶν νοτοφόρων] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; τ[ῆς αὐτῆς ἐμπορίας] D. HAGEDORN, cited in *P.Genova* II, Gofas¹, Gofas²; τ[ῆς ἀγορᾶς τῶν ζῶων] Wagner || 7 [ταλάντων κειμένων] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; [ταλάντων ± 7]ερων *P.Genova* II; τῶν ὑμετ]έρων Gofas^{1,2}; lacuna unrestored Wagner || 8 lacuna unrestored in *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; [ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡμισυ μέρος] σοὶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλον *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2}; [ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ἡμισυ] σοὶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλον Wagner || 9 ἀργυρ[ίω]ν, τῷ δὲ φολέτρῳ πορίας ἀπὸ *ed. pr.*; (?) added at end, *P.Genova* I; φολέτρ]ῳ ἄχρι Αἰγύπτου *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2}, Wagner || 10 lacuna unrestored in *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I;]ω σὺν θεῶ εἰς *P.Genova* II; δι[δόμεν. ὅταν δὲ ἦκ]ω Gofas^{1,2}; δι[δόμεν τὸ κεφάλαιον τ]ῷ Wagner || 11 only τῆς ἐμπορίας restored in lacuna in *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I;] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας *P.Genova* II; τὸ κ[οινὸν κεφάλαιον] Gofas^{1,2}; τὸ κ[εφάλαιον τὸ γινόμενον] Wagner || 12 δι[αμερίσομεν ἀλλήλοιν ἡμῖν, ἐάν κακῶς τί] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; δι[αμερίζομεν ἀλλήλων· ἐάν δέ, τὸ] *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2}; δι[αμερίσομεν ἀλλήλοιν ἡμῶν ἐάν δὲ τὸ] Wagner || 13 I. μὴ || ζημιωθ[ῶ ἀνὰ τῆς]ας ± 11 πά-] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; ζημιωθ[ῶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπορίας] ταύτης, πά- *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2}; ζημιωθ[ῆναι ἀνὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας] Wagner || 14 κοινῶ[ς το ± 8 καὶ τὰ ζῶα χωρὶς ἦσ-] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I except that it indicates ± 10; *P.Genova* II; κοινῶ[ς τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ ζῶα] Gofas^{1,2}; κοινῶ[ς τὸ κεφάλαιον καὶ τὰ ζῶα] Wagner || 15 I. εὐρησιλογίας || [καὶ δίκης. ἡ ἀποχὰ ἀπλῆ γραφεῖσα κυρία] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I, Wagner; [κυρία ἡ ἀποχὴ ἀπ]λῆ γραφεῖσα *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2} || 22 προ]κ || 24 I. ταλάντοις || 1. εἶδεσι || 25 προκ || 27 ἀπ[ὸ Μωθιτῶν πόλεως] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; ἀδ[ε]λφός *P.Genova* II, Gofas^{1,2}, Wagner.

B.1]έλ]λεως *ed. pr.* Κ]έλ]λεως J. F. OATES, *BASP* 25, 1988, 134 (*BL* IX 362) || 4–5 ε[ἰς μίσθωσ]ιν [ἐν] Ὁά[σει] | μεγάλη τῶν εἰς ἐ]μπορίαν ἀπο[δημού]γτων, ὁμολογῶ ἔσχον *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; rejected *P.Genova* II, p. 76; ἐ]μπορίαν, α ex corr. (ω²); I. ἐμπορίαν || 6–7 δρ[αχμὰς ἀργυρ]του | μ. | . | ταλάντων *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; δρ[αχμὰς ἐν] γούμοις (I. νοῦμοις) ταλάντων J. D. THOMAS, *YCS* 28, 1985, 122, n. to line 7 (*BL* VIII 498) || 8 γ' < || 5 || μ[ισθώσεως τῶν νοτοφόρω]ν *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I || 1. ἐμπορίας || 11 ἐμ[οῖ] δὲ τὸ ἡμ[ισυ] μ[ε]- *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I || 12 *ed. pr.* indicates an additional 5 unread letters in the lacuna before ὑπὲρ, replaced by 3 dashes in *P.Genova* I || 13 φολέτρῳ πορίας ἀπ[ὸ καὶ] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I (adding (?)); ἄ]χρι Αἰγύ]π[του] *P.Genova* II || 16 ἀλλή[λοι]ν ἡμῖν, ἐάν κακῶς τί μοι γέν]οιτο *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; ἀλλή[λων] ἐ]άν *P.Genova* II || 1. μὴ || 17 ἀν[ὰ] τῆς [.]ας [.] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I (replacing 11 dots with 3 dashes); τῆς [ἐνπο]ρίας [ταύτης] *P.Genova* II (silent on the preposition) || 18 το [. καὶ τὰ] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I || 19 I. εὐρησιλογίας || ε[ὐρ]οδιλ[ογίας καὶ δίκης] *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova* I; om. καὶ δίκης *P.Genova* II ||

20 [κυρία ἔστω *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova I* || 23 ρωτη remade || 29 προ^κ (bis) || δρ[αχμὰς *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova I* || 30 αργυρ' || 31 l. εἶδеси || 33 προ^κ || 34 *vacat c. 6 ll.* after αὐτοῦ || 35 δο^τ || ἀ[πὸ Μω]θιτ[ῶν πόλεως *ed. pr.*, *P.Genova I*; ἀ[δ]ελφός *P.Genova II*.

Translation (of A)

Aurelius Timotheos son of Horos, from the village of Kellis of the city of the Mothites, to Aurelius Ouonsis from the same village of the same city of the Mothites. Since we have made an agreement with one another for a commercial journey [...], I acknowledge I have received |⁵ from you, Pouonsis, twelve talents of money in nummi, that is, 12 tal., on account of the same commercial journey, on the condition that if we find more than the twelve talents principal, we divide it into two parts, a half part to me and the other half part to you for the money; and we give for the pholetron to Egypt and to the Oasis equally. When I come, God willing, |¹⁰ to the Oasis, we give the principal and the animals from the trip, and we will divide the balance between us. But if, God forbid, I make a loss from this commercial journey, once again we give equally the principal and the animals, without |¹⁵ any pretext. This receipt is to be authoritative, written in one copy, and secure with the signature of the person subscribing on my behalf, as if it were deposited in a public repository, and having been asked the formal question, I assented.

In the consulate of our masters Constantine |²⁰ the undefeated Augustus for the 5th time and of Licinius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time, Epeiph tenth.

I, Aurelius Timotheos son of Horos, the aforesaid, to Aurelius Ouonsis the aforesaid: I have received from you the aforementioned amount of money in twelve talents, and I shall buy goods with them |²⁵ in common, on all the terms contained herein, and having been asked the formal question I assented. I, Aurelius Psais, his brother, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.

A1/B1 OATES was able to restore the village name on the basis of P.Duke inv. G9 (now SBXX 14293) and information from G. Wagner about the then-new papyrus discoveries at Kellis. Although the place-name was not previously known from Dakhla, it had been suggested as a possibility in *ed. pr.* on the basis of the occurrence of the name in the Mendesian nome.

A3/B4 GOFAS' (1982, p. 500; 1992, p. 342) proposed χαίρειν is not possible in A for reasons of space. It would not be inconceivable to have an abbreviated version like χα(ίρειν), but the traces in B look like an epsilon rather than chi, and space there would not permit it in any case. It thus seems preferable to omit it from the restoration. There also does not in fact seem to be enough space in B for a full writing of συνεθήκαμεν; we find a clear nu but then space for 2–3 letters before what looks like mu followed by part of epsilon. Gofas comments, "Il est vrai que la forme 'συνεθήκαμεν' n'est, à notre connaissance, attestée qu'une fois par les sources papyrologiques." That one attestation is in a Zenon papyrus. More common than the active is the middle, and it therefore seems likely that in B the scribe wrote the expected συν[εθέ]με[θα].

A4/B5 After ἐνπορίαν Gofas proposed [εἰς Ὅασιν before καὶ ὁμο]λογῶ. This is clearly wrong, as the alpha visible in B shows. GOFAS 1992, p. 342, dismisses the alpha, but it is completely clear on the photo, and the traces of succeeding letters are also incompatible

with this reading. This restoration is, moreover, out of line with the indication in A9/B13 that the journey is “to Egypt and to the Oasis,” i.e., beginning in the Oasis and going to “Egypt” (the Nile valley) and back, and even with Gofas’ own restoration at the end of line 10 (see note ad loc.). WAGNER (1987, p. 327) rightly (but without argument) omits this suggestion. The word beginning in alpha may well end, as the editors thought, in -τω[v] and denote the object of commerce, referred to later in A.24 as αὐτά, thus providing a referent for that vague pronoun. One might hazard ἀρ[τ]υμάτω[v], usually rendered “condiments,” but the reading is far from secure. Exactly what substances are denoted by ἀρτύματα is not clear; the papyrus that might have told us the most, *P.Oxy.* LIV 3739 (312), is missing the left side of the entire section where the goods sold by the ἀρτυματοπωλῆαι were listed. Most were measured in artabas.

Wagner treats φόλετρον (p. 320) as the cost of transportation, and φόρετρον/φόλετρον does indeed seem universally to mean “charge for (land) transportation” in the fourth century, never to be a tax. But this is peculiar: the cost of transportation would have been mostly the use of the animals, who are already provided for as Timotheos’ contribution to the partnership, and his own labor. It seems unlikely that the partnership is making an internal charge to its common account for the value of the capital invested in the animals or for the time of their owner, which are precisely what he is providing in the partnership. It seems more likely that φόλετρον is here the cost of the food for the animals. This may indeed be its sense in many other documents of the period, in which amounts of grains are disbursed for this purpose, as in the Kellis account book (*P.Kell.* IV 96).

A5/B6 The suggestion in AMELOTTI & MIGLIARDI 1969, p. 174, note to line 7, that Πουῶνσις is the genitive of Οὐῶνσις (repeated by GOFAS 1982, pp. 501–2, n. 11 and 1992, p. 350, n. 45) is erroneous. The initial pi is only the definite article, not a possessive. The variation is banal.

The amount of money has created problems for the editors. The suggestion of THOMAS (see apparatus) indicated the correct path, but the phrase δρ[αχμᾶς ἐν] γούμμοις ταλάντων κτλ. is difficult to accept. There is no reason for drachmas to appear in this context, and in the text I have given what I believe to be the right reading. The consequences for A, where the phrase is lost, are evident, and THOMAS indeed suggested this. The awkwardness of genitive for dative with ἐν ταλάντων is thus eliminated here, although not in the recapitulation in A24. JAKAB 2001, p. 78, characterizes the amount of money as “eine ziemlich hohe Summe,” but this is incorrect. Although we do not have a lot of price information from 319–20, it does not appear that overall price levels had risen greatly between 312 and 319; cf., for example, *P.Oxy.* LIV 3734 and 3750, with salt unchanged at 1,000 dr. per artaba. Twelve talents would in 312 have bought perhaps a dozen or so artabas of wheat or some of the *artumata* in *P.Oxy.* LIV 3739, or thirteen *keramia* of wine: enough to load a couple of camels, but hardly a fortune.

A7/B10 A was first read as]ερων (see *P.Genova* II on A7), which led to the proposal ὑμετ]έρων in GOFAS 1982. WAGNER 1987, however, read]ιων and commented, “[]αίων ου εἰων; en *PUG* 21, Tav. XIII, on liraît assez volontiers ε. αἰων.” The reading of alpha in A seems probable, and on the digital image it is clear that the letter after it is iota, not rho. WAGNER’s reading in B is not excluded, but the traces of his epsilon and alpha are not

conclusive. The descenders are certainly enough to exclude the original restoration of κειμένων in A and reading of κει[μέν]ων in B. But in B the initial kappa and epsilon seem good to me, and the only reading that will take account of all of the traces, as far as I can see, is κεφαλ[α]ίων (A) and κεφα[λ]αίων (B). It is an appropriate word to modify the amount of the principal in this clause.

A10-1 *Ed. pr.* commented here, “In questi rigli bisogna pensare ad una dittografia, in quanto la ripetizione del verbo διδόμεν e dell’espressione εἰς Ὅασιν, in questo contesto, nulla significherebbe.” A different explanation, based on the presence of σὺν θεῷ and suggested by O. MONTEVECCHI, is presented in the note to this line in *P.Genova II*. In reality, the problem appears to lie with B’s omission, no doubt caused by the eye’s skipping from one occurrence of the verb διδόμεν to the next. The first occurrence refers to the joint payment of the *pholetron* to and from the valley, the second to the division of the results of the journey afterward. See GOFAS 1992, pp. 343-4 on this passage.

WAGNER’s text at this point makes little sense, with τὸ κεφάλαιον appearing twice and a grammatically isolated τῆ σὺν θεῷ εἰς Ὅασιν, which in a note he supplements with <φολέτρῳ>; τὸ γινόμενον? κοινῶς? It is not clear what he thought the sense was. It is true that ἦκ]ω, GOFAS’ restoration, is not a common verb in texts of the fourth century, but that is easily remedied by replacing it with the usual ἔλθ]ω. As the verb fell in the omitted section in B, there is no external check on the reading and restoration of A.

A11/B14 GOFAS (1982, p. 501) suggests τὸ κ[οινὸν κεφάλαιον] in A11, seemingly oblivious of the fact that this is not possible in B14. The parallel to A14, rather, suggests that in both places the contract calls for the parties to have their cash principal (Ouonsis) and animals (Timotheos) restored whole, with them sharing equally the cost of doing so if they make a loss (which comes down to sharing the loss equally), and sharing the profit if there is one. Oddly, GOFAS himself (1982, p. 504) recognizes precisely that Timotheos is contributing his animals to the partnership, but treats his own restoration of A11 as if it actually stood in the text and draws conclusions from it.

A12/B16 τό for the classical ὅ. This replacement of the relative pronoun by the definite article is common; see GIGNAC, *Gramm.* II, p. 179.

A14/B18 GOFAS 1982, p. 501 suggests restoring κοινῶ[ς τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ ζ]ῶα. This makes no sense. The goods would have been bought with the capital from Ouonsis.

A19/B24-A21/B26-7 A is dated to the consuls of 319, 4 July. B is dated to the consuls of 320, 25 July.

A23-4/B29-30 The feminine endings in 23 make it clear that the writer was thinking in terms of drachmas, but he did not write the word, despite the presence of ἐν at the beginning of the next line. In B we again find ἐν but with a dative following, and at least the feminine article preceding goes with the δραχμάς later in the line.

A24/B31 This has been perhaps the most difficult passage in these papyri, and it is hard to escape the sense that they diverge, even if slightly. In B, the reading καὶ ἀγορ[is clear; a lacuna of two letters follows. The editors read ἀγορ[ἀν ν]ωτ[οφόρων ἄζομεν], a restoration described by MIGLIARDI ZINGALE in *P.Genova II* (n. to line 24 of A) as “forse un po’ forzosa” and (n. to line 31 of B) as “da espungere certamente;” but without, she

notes, being able to substitute a more secure restoration. More attractive in my view would be ἀγορ[άσ]ω, better suited to the space and grammar. The faint remains of what follows look more like lambda or chi than tau; alpha (as A indicates) seems just possible. There should be space after this for up to ten more letters in the lacuna; only a couple of slight traces survive.

In A, on the other hand, αγοραν seems secure; WAGNER's ἀγοράσομε[ν], attractive though it is grammatically, simply cannot be read. To make matters worse, only one letter (at most) is probably lost in the lacuna before the line-ending αὐτὰ ἐν εἶδοις. If we admit that it is unlikely that in that phrase Timotheos is referring to the Ides, we have little option but to take this as εἶδοις, a second-declension form where εἶδεσι is wanted. What precedes must be read as ἀγοράνω. The only parallel known to me is *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2599.12–3: τὸ πορφυρεῖν τοῦ ἔλεγε | ὅτι ἀγοραννο ἀγόρασον, translated by John REA as “Buy the purple of which you used to say, ‘I shall buy it.’” He comments, “ἀγοραννο: I take to be a 1st pers. pres. indic. (= ἀγοράζω) constructed from the aorist ἠγόρασα, perhaps on the analogy of ἔφθασα and φθάνω.” Cf. GIGNAC, *Gramm.* II, p. 280 (“might reflect a confusion of the -άνω and -άζω suffixes”). One might also cite *P.Oxy.* XVI 1863, ἐγὼ γὰρ πληρώνω ὄλους τοὺς ἱπποκόμους, “For I pay all the grooms” in the editor's rendering, although a future sense as in the other instance does not seem excluded. On this form see MANDILARAS, *Verb*, p. 65, § 60; it reflects according to him the “beginning of the transformation of the -όω verbs to modern Greek -ώνω.” It does not seem, however, that there is room for double nu in B. Certainly the verb seems to have a future sense here, but the writer is, as we see with διαμερίζομεν in A7–8, capable of using a present form with reference to future action. That is commonplace, see MANDILARAS, *Verb*, pp. 102–6, § 214–21.

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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, *diagraphé* (*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^e 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^e 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^e 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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