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JEAN GASCOU

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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 Ἐταιρείας 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 : revista 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.

32. PAYMENTS TO *BUCELLARII* IN SEVENTH-CENTURY OXYRHYNCHUS*

by Nikolaos GONIS

P.Misc. I 105 + 110

h. 40 × l. 33 cm

28 September – 27 October 612
Oxyrhynchus

In its current state, this document consists of two large fragments, assembled from smaller pieces, contiguous at one point. Two sheet-joins are visible, one under the text now represented as lines 14 and 25, and another at the foot, *c.* 19 cm apart. As creases and breaks indicate, the sheet was rolled along the vertical axis and then pressed flat.

The text is written *transversa charta*. The hand is essentially the proto-minuscule of the early seventh century, written fairly rapidly. The scribe generally adds diaeresis over initial iota, usually in the form of a short horizontal, and diastole between double consonants. In the cases of double theta (35, 62) and double tau (17, 39), the crossbar of the first of the two letters is an oblique gently rising from the left to the right. The treatment of the last consonant in abbreviations of plural forms is inconsistent: sometimes it is duplicated, and sometimes it is not.

The text is largely complete except for some small losses, mainly at the top, foot, and right-hand side; one of them affected the last line, which would have contained the date. The back carries the endorsement, of which only the second half is preserved. Though technically a receipt, the layout of the text has similarities to that of an account. The first line is written as in a typical Oxyrhynchite receipt of this period, but the second line is indented, and a third contains the formulaic οὐ(τωϛ), which gives this part the appearance of an account heading. Three eleven-line columns with names and sums of

* The text was first presented in a short paper (“Foreign soldiers in early seventh-century Egypt”) at the 23rd international congress of papyrology in Vienna on 23 July 2001 (Jean Gascou chaired the session, and that was the first time we formally met). Fourteen years later, I wish to record my gratitude to the Craven Committee and to Wolfson College, Oxford, for the grants that enabled me to attend the congress. Jane Barton imaged the papyrus back then, and more recently Daniela Colomo performed some conservation work on the papyrus and created new images; to both my sincere thanks. I am also indebted to Ben Henry, Federico Morelli, and Bernhard Palme, who read the penultimate version of this edition and suggested improvements.

Fragmentary papyrus text in Greek script, showing several lines of text with significant damage and missing sections. The text is written in a cursive hand and includes various words and phrases, some of which are partially obscured by tears and holes in the papyrus.

Visible fragments of text include:

- Top left: *Καὶ ἔπειτα...*
- Middle left: *ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς...*
- Middle right: *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς...*
- Bottom left: *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς...*
- Bottom right: *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς...*



32 verso (part.)

money follow; immediately below, another line brings back the form of the receipt. Then comes a heading in two lines, the second of which only contains οὐ(τωσ), followed by three nine-line columns with names and money sums. The conclusion of the document returns to the form of the receipt. The columns were written one after the other, and are to be read vertically, not horizontally; cf. in particular the reference to two soldiers with the same patronymic in 13–14, and the problematic horizontal alignments in the second set of columns (I owe these observations to F. Morelli).

The receipt certifies that 32 cavalrymen and 26 infantrymen, the latter explicitly called *bucellarii* and the former very probably *bucellarii* as well (see below, 1–2 n.), received a total of 32 solidi and 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats for their salaries in the month of Phaophi in indiction 1. The issuing authority is a banker (*trapezites*); although his name has not survived, he was certainly Makarios, who issued four other receipts in the same month of Phaophi in the same year (day not specified): 28 September – 27 October 612. Very similar to the present text in format is *P.Oxy. XVI 2045v*, which details the payments for the monthly salaries of 34 *symmachoi spatharioi*, a militia employed by the Apionic *oikos*. The other three receipts are of the common oblong format: two were issued for the monthly expenses of those who were to escort a *cancellarius* on a trip to Alexandria

to transfer the first instalment of the annual money taxes: a servant (*P.Amb.* II 157) and two *symmachoi* (*P.Amb.* II 158¹); another text refers to a payment to sailors who were also leaving for Alexandria (*P.Oxy.* I 151). *P.Amb.* 157 and 158 are reportedly in the same hand (see *P.Amb.* II 157 introd.); though only a partial reproduction of *P.Amb.* 157 is available, the hand is the same as that responsible for *P.Oxy.* 151. I should also think that this same scribe also wrote *P.Oxy.* 2045*v* and our text, but in a more informal script than the one used in the other three, much shorter receipts. The subscription when extant is always in the same second hand, presumably Makarios' (the change of hand is not always indicated in the editions).

Of the five receipts issued by Makarios,² two were found by Grenfell and Hunt in their first excavation season at Oxyrhynchus (1896/1897), and were published the one immediately (1898) as *P.Oxy.* I 151, and the other in 1924, as *P.Oxy.* XVI 2045. The other three were acquired by them on the antiquities market between 1898 and 1900. Two were resold to Lord Amherst, and were published in 1901. The other piece was not resold, and is published here.³ I have discussed the origins of the collection to which this papyrus belongs in GONIS 2008, pp. 70–72; I did not explore the links with the Amherst papyri, but *P.Amb.* II 145 and the texts published in the same article, which belong to the archive of Apa Ioannes, provide another connection.

This text offers such a wealth of information that it may be considered as one of the most important pieces of evidence on Egyptian *bucellarii* published to date. To start with, it records the full strength of a regiment of cavalry (the first mounted troop of *bucellarii* attested in Egypt) and another of infantry. The size of units of *bucellarii* varies, but numbers in the twenties and the thirties are fairly common. The largest single group recorded in papyri are the 35 *bucellarii* who came from Cynopolis to Oxyrhynchus and are mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480, 68–9, 75, and 80 (cf. also the 32 νεώτεροι from Cynopolis in l. 109); there are 30 *bucellarii* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1903 and 2480, 85; up to 29 in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2046; 27 (28 with their commander) in *P.Oxy.* 2480, 3–4, and elsewhere. *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2196*r* (after 587) has been thought to attest payments to a group of about fifty *bucellarii*,⁴ but this could have been two or more groups combined, as e.g. in *P.Oxy.* 2480, 94–5 (44 or 45, from two different localities).

The structure of these regiments of *bucellarii* is that of an ordinary military unit at that time. As expected (see 4 n.), the commanding officer is a *tribunus*. The trumpeters (28, 34) and bow-maker (50) are other familiar figures in the papyri, but there are also novelties: a cuirass-maker (53), and two couriers or messengers, one for each troop: a μανδάτωρ (25) and a διατρέχων (48). The μανδάτωρ is known from the *Strategikon* of Ps.-Mauricius as a standard feature of the army in the late sixth century, so that it is not surprising to find him here. More remarkable is the διατρέχων, a term used for

1. On the interpretation of this text, see BENAÏSSA 2009, p. 60.

2. These documents were no doubt kept in the central archives of the Apion estate. It cannot be confirmed whether they were among the large discovery of estate documents in March 1897 or were found elsewhere; not all Apionic documents were found together.

3. Bought privately by Grenfell and Hunt, it is kept in Oxford with the other papyri of the Egypt Exploration Society, courtesy of which it is published here.

4. See JOHNSON & WEST 1949, pp. 227–8; MORELLI 1996, p. 78; HICKEY 2012, p. 127.

couriers in departments of the civil service in *De cerimoniis*, and not previously found in a military context.

A military unit—but these are commonly regarded as paramilitaries. The *bucellarii* were originally armed retainers, often serving as bodyguards of grandees, and fought alongside the regular army in the Justinianic and later wars.⁵ Questions concerning the role of *bucellarii* in times of peace and their relation to the state and landed aristocracy of the time have been discussed in several studies, not least by the honorand in a seminal paper. What has been debated is whether the *bucellarii* were privately and in fact illegally hired soldiers in the service of powerful landowners (the older view⁶), or whether these magnates had to maintain *bucellarii* on behalf of the state (GASCOU 1976, followed by several others). As HICKEY 2012, pp. 111–112, points out, where one stands in this debate depends on one’s views about the relationship between the magnates and the state, while the sources can be ambiguous. The description of *bucellarii* with reference to a large estate remained the same over a century, from *BGU* III 836 = *W. Chr.* 471, 8 (Ars.; c. 530–542) [βου]κκελλαρίους (...) τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τοῦ πατρι[κίου] Στρατ[ηγίου] τοῦ *SPP* III 344, 1 (Ars.; 643/658; for the date, see *CPR* XXIV, p. 180, n. 11) Ἄνουπ βουκελλάριος οὐσίας τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Μηνᾶ.⁷ Our text records that a large estate paid the monthly salaries of *bucellarii*; the rationale for the payment will be conditioned by these views.

The highest salary is that of the *tribunus*, who receives 23 ¼ carats, three times as much as the infantrymen (7 ¾ carats). The cavalrymen are paid 18 carats each, more than twice the salary of the infantrymen, no doubt because of the need to maintain a horse. With a 24-carat solidus, the standard assumed in the conversion of carats to solidi in the docket, the annual salaries would be 11 solidi 15 carats for the *tribunus*, 9 solidi for the cavalrymen, and 3 solidi 21 carats for the infantrymen.

The evidence on the salaries of *bucellarii* or other soldiers in this period is scant; only two other papyri refer to cash payments, the more important of which is the Apionic *PSI* VIII 953, 18 (568) τοῖς βουκελλαρίοις παραμένουσι τῷ ἐνδόξ(ῳ) οἴκ(ῳ) τοῦ Μεσορη μὴ(νός) τὰ καὶ ἐ[νεχθ(έντα) . .] . . συμμ() ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς α [i]v[δ(ικτίωνος)] νο(μισμάτια) ια (παρὰ) μδ, which implies a similar exercise to that in our text. The other is *P. Bodl.* 145 (early 7th c.), which merely refers to payments in gold to four *bucellarii* in the Fayum.

As we have seen, in the same month of Phaophi Makarios the banker paid a group of σύμμαχοι παθάριοι, a militia in the employ of the Apion estate (*P. Oxy.* XVI 2045). Their monthly salary was ⅓ sol. on the “private standard,” at 1 solidus minus 4 carats, which makes it approximately a carat lower than the pay of the infantrymen here if

5. HALDON 1984, pp. 101–2 (sim. in other later publications) has argued that in the later sixth century they became an elite military unit; but contrast WHITBY 1995, p. 119, n. 294.

6. Reformulated by SARRIS 2006, pp. 162–75, but with some novel views (a brief rejoinder in MAZZA 2008, p. 154; it would be worth engaging with Sarris’s views in some detail, but this cannot be attempted here).

7. In a similar vein, cf. *P. Oxy.* LXXV 5070, 2 (605/606 or 620/621) βουκελλάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκ(ου) (sim. 5–6) or *SB* XX 14557, 1–2 (Aphrodite; 6th/7th c.) τοῖς βου(κελλαρίοις) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) | Ἄπολλῶ. The date of the Oxyrhynchus text is uncertain (there is no basis for deciding between the two alternatives), but if it comes from the time of the Persian occupation, the *bucellarii* would not have been maintained as part of a public service towards the state; the same applies to *SPP* III 344, cited above.

measured on the same standard. The annual salaries of these *symmachoi* would be 4 solidi; the salary of the *symmachos* in the Arsinoite *P.Heid.* V 350 of 612 is also 4 solidi, but the rate of deduction is not specified, though it must have been minus $7\frac{3}{4}$ car., the Arsinoite standard in this period. These are not high figures when compared to the salary of a *symmachos* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1864 (623/624?), said to be 15 solidi; at the opposite extreme, in *SB XXII* 15713 (*Oxy.*; 6th/7th c.)⁸ two *symmachoi* are paid 1 solidus each for their salaries in a six-month period. MORELLI 1996, p. 154, has suggested that low-paid *symmachoi* may have also received payments in kind, and the same may hold for the *bucellarii* here.⁹ They may have also received additional cash payments; *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5070 attests that *bucellarii* received a clothing allowance.

What is most striking in this text are the *bucellarii* themselves, who take us through a journey across the empire and beyond. They are described by their name and father's name; name and ethnic; name and function; name alone. Its closest parallel is *P.Oxy.* XVI 1903 of 561, a "receipt for supplies to *bucellarii*;" I quote from the introduction:

"Statement showing that 960 pounds of meat had been distributed to 30 *bucellarii* ... All the recipients are specified by name, and it is here that the interest of the document lies. Two have Germanic names, two are described as Bessi, two more as from Salonae (in Dalmatia) and several others bear names that are unusual."

Our text takes us fifty years later, and the *bucellarii* are about twice as many. The foreign or rather non-Egyptian element has become more conspicuous, though most of the "foreigners" come from areas under imperial control,¹⁰ and still most *bucellarii* have typical Egyptian or Christian names.¹¹

We expect to find soldiers of Germanic stock, and we have two Goths, but there is nothing Germanic about their names, Georgios (35) and Ioannes (63); they are ordinary Christian names. Germanic are the names of the fathers of three others: Belisarios son of Gentzon (5), Ioannes son of Stottzas (17), and Menas son of Areobindas (26), the last offering an interesting combination of Egyptian name and Germanic patronymic. It could be that their fathers were also *bucellarii* (cf. the father and son in *P.Oxy.* 5070). The same perhaps applies to Tzittas son of Victor (39) and others in this text. Given that the name alone is not always an indicator of ethnicity, there could have been other soldiers of Germanic extraction in this group.

These are not the only non-Egyptians in this text; we find Ioannes the Slav (45—the earliest documentary reference to a Slav), Gregorios the Armenian (64), Martinos the

8. *Ed. pr.* assigned the document to the fifth/sixth century, but the content and the handwriting indicate that this is too early; the Oxyrhynchite provenance is secured by the reference to the "private standard."

9. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1920 (563), the monetary value of the various rations supplied to soldiers of the imperial army (στρατιῶται) and *symmachoi* who had come to Oxyrhynchus from the Thebaid may be estimated at around 10.6 and 6.05 solidi per year respectively; see the table in MORELLI 1996, p. 65. It should be noted, however, that the rations are generally very large, and the calculations are only indicative.

10. Cf. SCHMITT 1994, p. 163, and WHITBY 1995, p. 106.

11. F. Morelli points out to me a curious feature in the listing: "... quelli con indicazioni di provenienza non egiziana sono concentrati nella col. III di entrambi i gruppi. Tra i fanti ci sono più persone definite con cose diverse dal patronimico; più persone definite con provenienza; e più persone definite con provenienza non egiziana. Eppure i fanti sono meno dei cavalieri." (email of 25/2/2015)

Persian (31), Souel the Saracen (60), and five Romans, another novelty in the papyri of this period: Georgios (12), Petros (33), Ioannes (40, 56), Kosmas (59). Other non-Egyptians but subjects of the emperor are the Danubian Theodoros (8), Ioannes from Ashkelon (32), and perhaps Ioannes from Cilicia (61).

As in *P. Oxy.* 1903, there are also many Egyptians. There are those whose fathers have typical Egyptian names: Victor son of Phoibammon (9), Ioannes son of Pamouthios (23), Georgios son of Phoibammon (57), the children of Apasion (47). Others have Egyptian names themselves: Kollouthos son of Ioannes (6), Apakyros son of Ioannes (18), Menas son of Areobindas (26), Menas the trumpeter (34), and Phoibammon son of Kosmas (46). There are also Phoibammon the Oasite (42), Sergios the Oxyrhynchite (49), the two *anomeritai* (Martinus, 22; Georgios, 51) and the one *katomerites* (Apakyros, 43).

When the soldier has an ordinary Christian but not Egyptian name, the absence of a provable foreign patronymic does not suffice to make him an Egyptian; cf. Ioannes the Goth (62) or Kosmas the Roman (59). At the very least, he could have been born in Egypt, like Anastasios (15) and Theodoros (19) the sons of Iuvenalis (a name not previously recorded in papyri), or Ioannes son of Boraides (63); in these cases, the fathers are clearly not Egyptians. When no ethnic is given (not included are the cases where only the name of the soldier is given, and those where another qualification takes the place of the patronymic), these soldiers may be considered as born in Egypt. Defining ethnicity is a question of points of reference; here the world is seen through the eyes of an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus.

↓ † ἐδόθη(η) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ εὐδοκι(μωτάτου) [Μακαρίου τρα]πεζ(ίτου) *vacat* τ[οῖς ἐξῆς
ἐγγεγραμμέ(νοις) βουκκελλαρ(ίοις)·]
καβαλλαρ(ίοις) τε (καὶ) πεζ[έστρ(οις)] (ὑπὲρ) μηνιαίου τοῦ Φαωφ[ι μην(ὸς)
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α,]
οὔ(τως)·

Col. I

	Θεοδώρω τριβού(νω)	(κεράτια) κγ d/
5	Βελισ[α]ρίω Γεντζῶνος	(κεράτια) ιη
	Κολλούθω Ἰωάννου	(κεράτια) ιη
	Βίκτωρι Τιμοθέου	(κεράτια) ιη
	Θεοδώρω Δανουβ(ί)τ(η)	(κεράτια) ιη
	Βίκτωρι Φοιβάμμωνος	(κεράτια) ιη
10	Στεφάνω Θωμά	(κεράτια) ιη
	Ἰωάννη Ζαχαρίου	(κεράτια) ιη
	Γεωργίω Ῥωμαίω	(κεράτια) ιη
	Ἰωάννη Θεοδ[ώ]ρου	(κεράτια) ιη
	Ἀνδρέα Θεοδ[ώ]ρου	(κεράτια) ιη

Col. II

- 15 Ἀναστασίῳ Ἰουβεναλίου (κεράτια) ιη
 Γεωργίῳ Ἀβραμίῳ (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἰωάννη Στοττζα (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἀππακύρῳ Ἰωάννου (κεράτια) ιη
 Θεοδώρῳ Ἰουβεναλίου (κεράτια) ιη
 20 Φιλοθέῳ (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἀλεξάνδρ[ω] (κεράτια) ιη
 Μαρτίνῳ Ἀνωμερ(ί)τ(η) (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἰωάννη Παμουθίου (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἰωάν[ν]η Δομετίου (κεράτια) ιη
 25 Θεοδώρῳ μανδ[ά]τ[ορ(ι)] (κεράτια) ιη

Col. III

- Μηνῶ Ἀρεοβίνδα (κεράτια) ιη
 Ἰωσήφ Μάγχου (κεράτια) ιη
 Θεοδώρῳ β[ου]κινά(τορι) [(κεράτια)] ιη
 Γεωργίῳ Παύλ[ου] (κεράτια) ιη
 30 Βίκτωρι Γεωργίου (κεράτια) ι[η]
 Μαρτίνῳ Πέρσι [(κεράτια) ιη]
 Ἰωάννη Ἀσκαλω[νίτη] (κεράτια) ιη
 Πέτρῳ Ῥωμαίῳ [(κεράτια) ιη]
 [Μ]η[ν]ῶ βουκινά(τορι) (κεράτια) ιη
 35 Γεωργίῳ Γόθθῳ (κεράτια) ιη
 γί(νονται) τῶν κα[βαλλα]ρ(ίων) σὺν τριβού(νῳ) (καὶ) τῶ μανδάτορ(ι) (ὑπὲρ)
 [ὄνομά(των) λβ χ]ρ(υσοῦ) [κε]ρ(άτια) [φπα d/μό(να).]
 τ[ο]ῖς ἐξῆ[ς] ἐγγεγραμμέ(νοις) βουκκελλαρ(ίοις) πεζ(έστροις) (ὑπὲρ) [μηνιαίου τοῦ
 Φ]αωφ(ι) μην(ὸς) ἰγδ(ικτίωνος) [α,]
 οὔ(τως)·

Col. IV

- Τζιττα Βίκτορος (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 40 Ἰωάννη Ῥωμαίῳ (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 Σαμουηλίῳ Θεοδώρου (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 Φοιβάμμωνι Ὠασίτη (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 Ἀππακύρῳ Κατωμερ(ί)τ(η) (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 Μαρίνῳ (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 45 Ἰωάννη Σκλάβῳ (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 Φοιβάμμωνι Κοσμῶ (κεράτια) ζ \ d/
 τοῖς τέκν(οις) Ἀπασίωνος (κεράτια) ζ \ d/

Col. V

Βελισαρίω διατρέχ(οντι)	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Σεργίω Ὁξυρ(υγ)χ(ίτη)	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
50 Λιβεριώ τοξοποι(ῶ)	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Γεωργίω Ἀνωμερ(ίτ(η))	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Ἀρχαιλιάω	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Βίκτωρι ζαβαρῶ	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Μαριανῶ	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
55 Δαμιανῶ Κωνσταντίνου	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Ἰωάννη Ῥωμαίω	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/

Col. VI

Γεωργίω Φοιβάμμωνι	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Χριστοφόρω Θεοδώρου	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Κοσμᾶ Ῥωμαίω	(κεράτια) ζ λ [d]
60 Σουηλ Σαρακην(ῶ)	(κεράτια) ζ [λ d]
Ἰωάννη Κιλικα	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Ἰωάννη Γόθθω	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Ἰωάννη Βοραϊδίου	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
Γρηγορίω Ἀρμενίω	(κεράτια) ζ λ d/
65 [γί(νονται)] τῶν πεζέστρω(ν) (ὑπὲρ) ὀνομά(των) κς χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) σα λ μό(να). [γί(νονται) . . .] καβαλλαρ(ίων) (καὶ) πεζ(έστρων) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) ἑπτακόσια ὀγδοήκοντα δύο ἡμίσι τεταρτον, [γί(νονται) χρ(υσοῦ) κερ(άτια) ψ]πβ λ d/ εξ. π. . . [. . .] α() [

Verso

→ [Φαωφ]ι ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α, Ἀλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) λβ (κεράτια) ιδ λ d/

1 εδο^οχ || ευδοκι⁻ || [τρα]πεζ^ζ || 2 καβαλλαρ || s || ψ μηνιαίτ || 3, 38 σ⁻ || 4 τριβ^β || 4 *et passim* ζ, τη ||
6 κολ'λουθῶϊωαννου || 8 δανουβ^β || 11, 13, 17, 23, 24, 32, 40 45, 61, 62, 63 ἰωαν'νη || 16 αβρααμίου ||
18 απ'πακυρωϊωαννου || 18, 43 l. Ἀπακύρω || 19 ιουβεναλιου || 22, 51 ανωμερ^ρ || 27 ἰωσηφ || 28,
34 βουκινα || 31 l. Πέρση || 35, 62 γοθ'θ || 36 γλ || τριβ^β / s || μανδατοργ^γ || 36, 65, 66 χρκερ ||
37 εγγεγραμ^μβουκκελλαρπεζζψ || φ]αωφ μην⁻ ἰνδ || 42 l. Ὁασίτη || 43 κατομερ^ρ || 47 τεκν^ν ||
48 διατρεχ || 49 οξυρ^ρ || 50 τοξοποι || 52 l. Αρχελάω || 53 ζαβαρ^ρ || 56 ἰωαννη || 57 l. Φοιβάμμωνος ||
60 αρακην^ν || 63 βοραϊδιου || 65 πεζεστρω^ωονομ^μ || μ^μ || 66 καβαλλαρ s πεζζ || 68 ἰνδχ α αλ^α ἡ λβ
ζ ιδ λ d/.

Given through the most respected Makarios, banker, to the bucellarii (?) recorded below, cavalrymen as well as infantrymen, for their monthly salary of the month of Phaophi of indiction 1, as follows:

(To:)

<i>Theodoros, tribunus</i>	23 ¼ carats
⁵ <i>Belisarios son of Gentzon</i>	18 carats
<i>Kolluthos son of Ioannes</i>	18 carats
<i>Victor son of Timotheos</i>	18 carats
<i>Theodoros, Danubian</i>	18 carats
<i>Victor son of Phoibammon</i>	18 carats
¹⁰ <i>Stephanos son of Thomas</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes son of Zacharias</i>	18 carats
<i>Georgios, Roman</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes son of Theodoros</i>	18 carats
<i>Andreas son of Theodoros</i>	18 carats
¹⁵ <i>Anastasios son of Iuvenalis</i>	18 carats
<i>Georgios son of Abramios</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes son of Stottza</i>	18 carats
<i>Apakyros son of Ioannes</i>	18 carats
<i>Theodoros son of Iuvenalis</i>	18 carats
²⁰ <i>Philotheos</i>	18 carats
<i>Alexandros</i>	18 carats
<i>Martinos, "Highlander"</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes son of Pamuthios</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes son of Dometios</i>	18 carats
²⁵ <i>Theodoros, mandator</i>	18 carats
<i>Menas son of Areobindas</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioseph son of M—</i>	18 carats
<i>Theodoros, trumpeter</i>	18 carats
<i>Georgios son of Paulos</i>	18 carats
³⁰ <i>Victor son of Georgios</i>	18 carats
<i>Martinos, Persian</i>	18 carats
<i>Ioannes, Ascalonian</i>	18 carats
<i>Petros, Roman</i>	18 carats
<i>Menas (?), trumpeter</i>	18 carats
³⁵ <i>Georgios, Goth</i>	18 carats

Total for the cavalrymen with the tribunus and the mandator, for 32 persons, 581 ¼ carats of gold only.

To the bucellarii infantrymen recorded below, for their monthly salary of the month of Phaophi of indiction 1, as follows:

(To:)	
<i>Tzittas son of Victor</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
⁴⁰ <i>Ioannes, Roman</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Samuelios son of Theodoros</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Phoibammon, Oasite</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Apakyros, "Lowlander"</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Marinos</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
⁴⁵ <i>Ioannes, Slav</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Phoibammon son of Kosmas</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats

<i>The children of Apasion</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Belisarios, courier</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Sergios, Oxyrhynchite</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
⁵⁰ <i>Liberios, bow-maker</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Georgios, "Highlander"</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Archelaos</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Victor, cuirass-maker</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Marianos</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
⁵⁵ <i>Damianos son of Konstantinos</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Ioannes, Roman</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Georgios son of Phoibammon</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Christophoros son of Theodoros</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Kosmas, Roman</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
⁶⁰ <i>Souel, Saracen</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Ioannes, Cilician (?)</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Ioannes, Goth</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Ioannes, son of Boraidios</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats
<i>Gregorios, Armenian</i>	7 ½ ¼ carats

⁶⁵ *Total for the infantrymen, for 26 persons, 201 ½ carats of gold only.*

Total [...] for the caballarii and infantrymen seven hundred eighty-two one-half one-quarter carats of gold; total 782 ½ ¼ carats of gold [...].

Verso

[...] Phaophi, indiction 1, 32 solidi 14 ½ ¼ carats on the Alexandrian (standard).

1–2 The restored parts are modelled on *P.Oxy. XVI 2045*, 1–2 ἐδόθη(η) δ(ιὰ) τοῦ εὐδοκιμωτά(του) Μακαρίου τραπεζ(ίτου) τοῖς ἐξ[ῆ]ς ἐγγεγραμμέ(νο)ις συμμ(ά)χ(ο)ις σπ(α)θ(α)ρίοις παραμαίνουσιν | τῷ ἐνδόξ(ω) οἴκ(ω) (ὑπὲρ) μηνιαί(ου) το(ῦ) Φαωφι μ(η)ν(ός) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) [α]. Considerations of space suggest that there must have stood something in the break at the end of line 1 after the restored ἐγγεγραμμέ(νο)ις, but the supplied βουκελλαρ(ί)οις rests on probability only. Only the infantrymen are called *bucellarii* in 37, while in 66, where both troops are mentioned, the qualification is absent; but the pairings in 2 (with τε (καί)) and 28 seem to imply identity of status. A further indication that they are all *bucellarii* comes from a list of names, apparently of militiamen (an *ex-tribunus* among them), which groups together persons listed as cavalrymen or foot soldiers here: Kollouthos son of Ioannes (6), Menas son of Areobindas (26), Phoibammon the Oasite (42), Liberios the bow-maker (50), and perhaps Philotheos (20) recur in *P.land. IV 65*, which may now be shown to come from Oxyrhynchus.

1 [Μακαρίου τραπεζ(ίτου)]. On Makarios see above, introduction. He should probably be recognized also in *SB XII 11163* of 601 or 616,¹² which comes from a different

12. BOGAERT 1997, pp. 105–6 (= *BL XI*, p. 212), argued for the earlier date, but his arguments are not cogent, and pending further evidence a date in 616 remains a possibility. The sum of 87 sol. min.

context. On estate bankers see BOGAERT 1997, pp. 104–6, and MAZZA 2001, p. 140; cf. also BANAJI 2001, pp. 61–2.

[βουκκελλαρ(ίους)]. See the literature on *bucellarii* cited above, introduction and n. 5; WHITBY 1995, pp. 116–19; and *Lex.Lat.Lehnu.* II, pp. 181–3, with further (select) bibliography, of which I should single out SCHMITT 1994, who offers a convenient collection of the evidence from across the empire.

- 2 καβαλλαρ(ίους). Cf. 36, 66. On *caballarii* see GASCOU 1978, pp. 228–9. The term is found with regiments of the regular Roman army in this period. This is the first reference to a mounted unit of *bucellarii* in the papyri.¹³

πεξ[έστρ(ους)]. Cf. 37, 65, 66, and see 65 n.

- 4 τριβ(όνω). Cf. 36. *Tribuni* of *bucellarii* are attested in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2046 (564) and XXVII 2480, 29, 25, 66–7 (581?); cf. also the *ex-tribunus* in *P.Iand.* IV 65, 12. Another such *tribunus* should be recognized in *P.Got.* 18, 1 (7th c.); cf. the references to νεώτεροι in ll. 3, 7, 11. On military *tribuni* in this period, see RANCE 2007, pp. 398–9.

- 5 Βελισ[α]ρίω. Cf. 48. All references to this name in the papyri come from the late sixth and early seventh centuries, “after the rise of the famous Belisarius;” see *P.Oxy.* LVI 3872, 3 n.

Γεντζῶνος. A Vandalic name; see SCHÖNFELD 1911, p. 106. Another Egyptian instance comes from *P.Mon.Epiph.* 630 = *SB* IV 7483, fr. (b), 17 Γεντζῶν Γεντζ[ῶν], where it probably refers to another soldier (see below, 12 n.). After Belisarius destroyed their kingdom in 534, many Vandals were integrated into the imperial army and other militias; the chronological gap suggests that Gentzon was not one of them, but it is probably no coincidence that he named his son Belisarius. (A senior military commander in 593–4 was named Gentzon; see *PLRE* IIIA, pp. 512–13.)

- 6 Κολλούθω Ἰωάννου. Cf. *P.Iand.* IV 65, 10 Κωλωθως Ἰωάννου (cf. above, 1–2 n.).
- 7 Βίκτωρι Τιμοθέου. This person, as well as Martinos the Persian (31), recurs in *P.Oxy.* inv. 97/90(a) (publication forthcoming), a fragmentary list of militiamen dated Phaophi, indiction 9 (605/620).
- 8 Δανουβ(ί)τ(η). This is a form of the ethnic known more commonly as Δανούβιος; it had previously occurred in *P.Iand.* IV 65, 3 (see above, 1–2 n.) as Τανουβίτες, which the editor took as an Egyptian name. It would be pointless to speculate which of the groups dwelling in the Danubian provinces is meant.
- 12 Ῥωμαίω. Cf. 33, 40, 56, 59. It is unclear whether this is the first time this ethnic is found in a similar context. *P.Mon.Epiph.* 630 = *SB* IV 7483, a list from the monastery

380 ½ car. “with *rhope*” mentioned in the text implies a deduction of min. 4 ⅓ ¼ car. per solidus, which would suit either date.

13. GASCOU 1976, p. 153 = 2008, p. 81, sees in the Oxyrhynchite Κρομμυδιῶται “sortes de policiers montés supplétifs des bucellaires des Apions.” The key passage for this interpretation is *P.Oxy.* XVI 1861, 8–9 καθὼς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις γράμμασιν γεγράφηκα αὐτῇ δύο, Κρομμυδίω γὰρ | ἤνεγκαν ἵππον εἰς τὴν Κυθῶν. The Greek is odd; the editors note, “γὰρ is superfluous, as often,” and translate, “As I have written to you also in two other letters, they brought a horse for Crommydion to Cynopolis.” A photograph allows reading δύο Κρομμυδιῶται at the end of l. 8; translate, “... in other letters, two persons from Krommydion brought a horse ...”

- of Epiphanius at Thebes, refers to several Germanic and unusual names, no doubt of soldiers (surely not “Klosterbewohner,” an alternative put forward by KORTENBEUTEL 1939, p. 183); the marginal notes before two entries, ρομ’ Στέφανος Καρέλλου | ἕτερο(ς) Θαδοῦαρις Κολλωνί[ου] (fr. A, II, 2–3), might refer to such “Romans;” understand perhaps Ῥομ(αῖος), i. Ῥωμαῖος. Yet some of these names are not “Roman” (“*Carellus* ... may be a Teutonic name,” and “*Thadouaris* ... appears to be Teutonic” [*P.Mon.Epiph.* II, p. 324]).
- 13 Ἰωάννη Θεοδ[ώ]ρου. Cf. Ἀνδρέα Θεοδ[ώ]ρου immediately below (14), which suggests they were brothers. For another possible pair of brothers, see 15 n.
- 14 Ἀνδρέα Θεοδ[ώ]ρου. Cf. the *bucellarius* Theodoros son of Andreas in *PSI* VIII 953, 43.
- 15 Ἰουβενάλιου. Cf. 19. This is the first occurrence of this name in papyri; given its rarity, it is conceivable that Anastasios here and Theodoros in 19 are the sons of the same Iuvenalis.
- 17 Στοττῆα. According to SCHÖNFELD 1911, p. 211, “Stotzas, Stutias: ist mit WREDE [1886, p.] 88 als ungermanisch zu betrachten (anders GRIENBERGER [1905, p.] 549),” but this needs qualification. Wrede considered the possibility that if Stutias, the version of the name used by Corippus, corresponded to *Stutja, the name could be Gothic or perhaps Vandalic. Grienberger simply took the name as Vandalic; the Vandalic association might only be a conjecture due to the fact that it was the name of a rebel against Justinian in North Africa (see *PLRE* IIIB 1199–1200, under Stotzas).
- 20 Φιλοθέω. One Φιλόθεω(ς) is listed with no further description in *P.Land.* IV 65, 5.
- 22 Ἀνωμερ(ί)τ(η). Also in 51; cf. 43 Κατωμερ(ί)τ(η). This is the first time the two terms are attested in the same document. *P.Amb.* II 158, 1 and *P.Oxy.* I 204 = *SB* XXII 15365, I, 5 (the readings after GONIS 2004, p. 199 and n. 17) furnish other instances of Κατωμερῖται in Oxyrhynchite texts of this date. *CPR* XXX 16, 7 n. suggests that these terms may reflect the division of administrative districts into northern and southern parts; cf. also MORELLI forthcoming. This rather technical sense does not tally with the fact that κατωμερίτης seems to describe wine in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67210, 11 (548–51) and III 67330, II, 25 (545/546). Rather than from within a district, the perspective must be from Egypt as a whole: the Κατωμερῖται may be people from the area of the Delta, and the Ἀνωμερῖται from the (deep?) south. It may not be a coincidence that the *symmachoi* who escort a *cancellarius* to Alexandria in *P.Amb.* 158 are Κατωμερῖται. The southernmost (and latest) reference to an Ἀνωμερίτης comes from *PMerton* I 50, 27 (7th/8th c.) (the reading after GASCOU 2008, p. 290 [234 n.]), if the text comes from Panopolis.
- 24 Δομετίου. The only other instance of this name in this period is in *O.AbuMina* 1054, 1–2 (7th c.).
- 25 μανδ[ά]τ[ο]ρ(ι). Cf. 36. This is the earliest documentary reference to this term in this sense; the μανδάτωρ is described in [Mauricius], *Strategikon* XII 8, 11, 16 Dennis, as ὁ ... τὰ μανδάτα γνώμη τοῦ ἄρχοντος διδούς, “the one who transmits the orders according to the judgment of the commander.” See further the references in DU CANGE, s.v. Μανδάτωρες. The other *mandatores* attested in papyri are guarantors, another meaning

- of this term (see *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394, 25–6 n.), while there are references to *μανδατάριοι* in two early seventh-century texts (*SPP* III².1 72, 2 and X 251, B, 8; it is unclear whether in *SPP* X 79, 3 the reading and resolution are correct), but not in military contexts.
- 26 Μηνῶ Ἀρεοβίνδα. Surely the same person as Μηνῶ Ἀραβίντα in *P.Iand.* IV 65, 2. Areobinda is Gothic name; see SCHÖNFELD 1911, p. 27. It is first recorded in Egypt in *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390, 4 (469). It may refer to a military man in *CPR* VIII 56, 11 (Heracl.; 5th/6th c.), a text with several Germanic and other unusual names; it is the name of a *symmachos* in *P.Oxy.* 2045. *SB* VI 8988, 109 (647) offers a late example from Oxyrhynchus. This is not the first time we find someone with an Egyptian name (Menas) whose father had a Germanic name; cf. e.g. *CPR* VIII 53, 6 Παμουνίω Ἀρδαβουρίου.
- 27 Μάγγου. Perhaps the name is to be associated with Mang, listed in REICHERT 1987, p. 487, who does not consider it Germanic. (I owe this point to F. Morelli.)
- 28 β[ου]κινά(τορι). Cf. 34. Provided that the word is correctly read here, the presence of two trumpeters in the same unit is remarkable. On this Latin loanword (*bucinator*), see *Lex.Lat.Lehmw.* II, pp. 187–9. Its two other secure attestations in papyri, viz. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1903, 8 (561) and *P.Bodl.* 145, 5 (7th c.), also refer to *bucellarii*. The fact that the trumpeter belongs to a group of troupers is in line with Johannes Lydus, *De magistratibus* 70, 16, βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἰππέων, though *bucinatores* are attested in other units as well (see *Lex.Lat.Lehmw.* II, p. 187, n. 344).
- 31 Μαρτίνω Πέρσι (l. Πέρση). See above, 7 n. In this period, the ethnic has otherwise occurred only in *SPP* XX 280, 12 (Ars.; “6th/7th c.”) Ἀπα Οὐ Πέρσης. Neither of these two “Persians” bears a Persian name (the name Apa Ol is typical of the Fayum). A possibility we might consider is whether Martinos was a Christian Persarmenian.
- 32 Ἀσκαλω[νίτη]. The ethnic has occurred in *P.Oslo* II 58, 8 (3rd/4th c.), and, with reference to wine, in *P.Oxy.* XI 1384, 32–3 and probably *SB* XXII 15712, 2 (6th/7th c.).
- 35 Γόθω. Cf. 62. The earliest references to Goths in papyri come from *PSI* VIII 953, 17, 32, 46, 47, 84 + 956, 26 (568) τοῖς παιδαρ(ίοις) Γόθθ(οις);¹⁴ this is not long after the end of the Gothic kingdom of Italy and the ensuing dispersal of soldiers ready to be hired. It is unclear what these παιδάρια were (domestic personnel?¹⁵), but it appears that their number could have been as high as 73; see HICKEY 2012, pp. 131–3. Slightly later is *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480, 39 τοῖς Γόθθ(οις) (581?; the date is after HICKEY 2012, pp. 95–7), which may still refer to first-generation Goths in Egypt; their function is not specified, but it is reasonable to assume that they were militiamen. Both these texts are Apionic accounts. Another text, the fragmentary *SB* I 4689r, comes from the Fayum and dates from sometime in the late sixth or seventh century.¹⁶ It refers to Γ]όθθοις (1) and ὕ(πέρ) Γόθθ(ων) θ (6); the missing context obscures the purpose of these references,

14. The resolution of Γόθθ() is uncertain; HICKEY 2012, p. 131, n. 181, “suspect[s] the Latin Gothicus.” Γόθθ(ων) cannot be excluded.

15. HICKEY 2012, p. 131, suggests that this may be “the Oxyrhynchite oikos’ contingent of *bucellarii*”; it should be noted that Goths are mentioned separately from the *bucellarii* in *P.Oxy.* 2480, 39. On παιδάρια see most recently *P.Jena* II 27 introd.

16. The date is suggested by the references to the Goths and to the κέρμ(ατος) κερ(άτια) in l. 5 (the papyrus was assigned broadly to the Byzantine period).

but they may be comparable to *P.Oxy.* 2480, 39. One might wish to detect Goths in a number of other texts on the basis of onomastics, e.g., Ταγγιλα the *bucellarius* in *P.Oxy.* 1903, 6 or Οὐλιωρ, *tribunus* of the *bucellarii* in *P.Oxy.* 2046 (on the names, see SCHÖNFELD 1911, p. 220, under Tancila, and p. 265 under Viliarit and Wiliarius), but this is not always a secure method. Besides *bucellarii*, the unit of Scythae Iustiniani of the imperial army, stationed in Egypt in the third quarter of the sixth century, certainly included (mainly?) Goths.

A particular case is P.Berol. inv. 13927 (M.-P³ 2437), a list of stage productions (mimes?) and props, lastly re-edited in PERRONE 2011. It was assigned to the fifth/sixth century, but a fifth-century date seems rather early. One of the productions is called ἰς τὸ τῶν Γόθθων (I, 7; II, 22), and the stage props include dresses for male and female Goths, [σ]χήματα Γόθθων | καὶ Γοθθισσῶν (II, 25–6); the subject matter of the act is uncertain (see PERRONE 2011, pp. 139–41), but the implication is that Goths were an established feature in society to appear in a stage act. Various aspects of the presence of the Goths in Egypt are discussed in UNDERWOOD 2014.

- 36 The synopsis in *P.Oxy.* 2045, 12 starts γί(ν.) (ὑπὲρ) ὀνομά(των).
(καὶ) τῷ μανδάτορ(ι). It is remarkable that the *mandator* receives special mention beside the *tribunus*; perhaps this was due to their close relationship, the *mandator* being the mouthpiece of the *tribunus*.
- 39 Τζιττα. The origin of the name is disputed (Germanic? Thracian?); see PALME 1997, p. 110, n. 33, with references. We find another *bucellarius* of this name in *P.Oxy.* LXXV 5070 (605/606 or 620/621).
- 42 Φοιβάμμωνι Ὀασίτη (l. Ὀασίτη). Cf. *P.Land.* IV 65, 13 Φοιβάμων Αὐασίτα. There is no way of telling which Oasis is meant.
- 43 Κατωμερ(ί)τ(η). See above, 22 n.
- 45 Σκλάβω. This is the earliest record for a Slav in Egypt; another Slav in *P.Oxy.* inv. 97/90(a) of 605/620 (see above, 7 n.). Other Slavs occur in two texts from early eighth-century Aphrodito, viz. *CPR* XXII 56, 3 and *P.Lond.* IV 1435, 173 (see *BL* XII, p. 106). The word used in all these examples is Σκλάβος. For early references to Slavs (Σκλάβοι or Σκλαβηνοί) and the relevant literature, see F. MORELLI, *CPR* XXII 56, 3 n.; Morelli would now refer also to KORTH 1970, REISINGER *et al.* 1990, and KODER 2002.
- 47 τοῖς τέκν(οις) Ἀπασίωνος. *PSI* VIII 955, 42 τ]έκν(οις) Θεοδώριχ most probably refers to the children of a *bucellarius*, but the context is different. RÉMONDON 1961, p. 61, saw in them and in the παιδάρια of the Goths and other *bucellarii* the natural or adopted children of these militiamen; he further suggested, “[i]ls sont là pour apprendre le métier des armes, mélange curieux de pages et de janissaires,” but this is rather fanciful (cf. also above, n. 15). Here the payment may have been made to Apasion’s children because he was unavailable.
- 48 διατρέχ(οντι). This is the first occurrence of this term in papyri. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* 698, 22, 718, 14–15, 738, 13, 801, 3, 805, 17 Reiske, refers to civil servants called διατρέχοντες, who were no doubt couriers: cf. *Suda* κ 2194 κουρσῶρες· οἱ διατρέχοντες; see also ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ 1972, p. 332 and n. 260. The

διατρέχων here would correspond to the *mandator* of the *caballarii* (25); it may be relevant that *De cer.* 718, 14–15 juxtaposes διατρέχοντες and μανδάτορες, though in the context of the civil service.

- 50 Λιβεριῶ τοξοποι(ῶ). Cf. *P.Iand.* IV 65, 8 Λιβέρι τοξοπεῶς (*ed. pr.* has Λ(ούκιος) Βεριτωξώθεως, but see <http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv030recto.jpg>; the iota of Λιβέρι has the form of a short oblique intersecting the right-hand leg of lambda, which made the editor think of an abbreviation). On τοξοποιοί, see *P.Count.* 3, 174 n. (W. B. Henry points out a misunderstanding in the note: the word is not known “from a gloss in Pollux,” but from Pollux as well as “Gloss.,” i.e., *CGL* III 309, 46). In this period, the term has occurred also in *SB* X 10558, 3 (?; 6th/7th c.) and in *P.Lond.* III 1028, 20 (Herm.; 7th c.). In *CPR* XXIV 11, p. 80, n. 6, it is tentatively suggested that these bow-makers were “Monopolarbeiter einer staatlichen Fabrik,” but this has to be reconsidered. In *P.Lond.* 1028, we are only told that a priest and bow-maker pays on behalf of a city quarter. *SB* 10558 records disbursements of a commodity measured in pounds (meat?), and the entry immediately before Γεωργίῳ τοξοποιῶ reads Θεοδωριχ, surely a Goth; it is conceivable that the bow-maker was a *bucellarius*.
- 52 Ἀρχιλάῳ, l. Ἀρχελάῳ. For the name and spelling, see *P.Oxy.* LXXI 4830, 4 n.
- 53 ζαβαρῶ. The word (from ζάβα, “cuirass”) is otherwise known from a single literary source, written around 800 (see *LBG* s.v.).
- 60 Σουηλ Σαρακην(ῶ). The name may correspond to Arabic Soheil (the Egyptian female name Σούηλις is not related). On Saracens in Egypt before the Islamic conquest, see the references collected in *P.Oxy.* LXXIX 5205, 3 n., and *SIJPESTEIJN* 2013, p. 34, n. 115, p. 54 (the present papyrus is mentioned there in n. 41), and p. 170, n. 289.
- 61 Κιλικῶ or Κιλικᾶ: an ethnic or a personal name (which derives from the ethnic)? The name has not been attested in papyri after the second century. See generally *MASSON* 2000, p. 50.
- 63 Βοραϊδίου. On the name see *DETSCHER* 1957, p. 80, and *GASCOU* 2010, p. 365, with further references. A Boraidēs is said to be a Bessian in *P.Oxy.* 1903, which suits the Thracian origin of the name; but a Slav is thus named in *P.Oxy.* inv. 97/90(a).
- 64 Ἀρμενίῳ. On Armenians in Egypt, see the references collected in *CLACKSON* 2001, p. 209, n. 9.
- 65 πεζέστρω(ν). This word has not been attested previously. F. Morelli has plausibly suggested that it corresponds to Lat. *pedester*, which is common in military treatises, and glosses Greek πεζός (*CGL* II 400, 25); see *ThLL* s.v. The standard term for a foot soldier in literary sources of this period (e.g. Procopius) is in fact πεζός, but it has not been found in any papyrus of this date. The use of zeta where the Latin has *d* is probably an influence from the Greek word rather than phoneticism. The form of the nominative is uncertain; I have posited *πέζεστρος, on the model of *Silvester/Σύλβεστρος*.
- 66 [γ(ι(ν)νται) . . .]. A short semi-horizontal trace after the break rules out reading τῶ]γ, as in the line above. As J.-L. Fournet suggests, Ϝ = ὀ(μοῦ) is one possibility.
- 67 εξ.π. . . [. . .]α(). E.g. ἐξ (ῶν) (JLF). As for]α(), there are apparently two suprascript alphas, as in 65 ὀνομά(των). Perhaps [(ὑπερ) ὀνομ]ά(των)]νη.

- 68 Cf. *P.Oxy.* 2045v γί(νεται) τοῖς συμμα(ά)χ(οις) σπαθ(αρίοις) (ὑπὲρ) μη(νῶν) Φαω[φι] (καὶ) Ἄθυρ α ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) νο(μ.) κβ β/.

Ἄλε(ξανδρείας) νο(μισμάτια) λβ (κεράτια) ἰδ ὤδ/. The conversion of carats to solidi implies that there were 24 carats to the solidus ($581 \frac{1}{4} + 201 \frac{1}{2} = 782 \frac{3}{4}$ car. = 32 sol. [= 768 car.] + $14 \frac{3}{4}$ car.). As far as I can see, this is the first time that the Alexandrian standard is associated with 24-carat solidi (for the period 542–90 in Oxyrhynchus, see MARESCH 1994, pp. 39–43). In this light, we may reconsider *P.Oxy.* LXXII 4930, 13–16 (614) χρυσοῦ νομίσματα τέσσερα | καὶ κεράτια ἕξ ἕκαστον | ἀπὸ κεράτιων δεκαοκτὼ | Ἀ[λ]εξανδρείας, and LXXV 5070, 9–10 (605/606 or 620/621) χρυσοῦ νομισμάτων ἕν | κεράτιον(ν) δεκαοκτὼ Ἀλεξανδρί(ας). The implication is probably not that in the “Alexandrian” solidi there was a deduction of 6 carats per solidus, but that the solidi used in these transactions were each valued at 18 carats on the Alexandrian standard.

The monetary standards used in Makarios’ payments varied according to the status of the beneficiary. We find the Alexandrian standard, with no deduction mentioned, in the payment of a *paid(ar)ion* who accompanied a *cancellarius* to Alexandria (*P.Amb.* II 157), but the “private standard,” with 1 sol. min. $4 \frac{1}{4}$ car. for the *symmachoi* who escorted the *cancellarius* (*P.Amb.* II 158). Makarios employed the “private standard,” with 1 sol. min. 4 car., in payments to sailors (*P.Oxy.* I 151) and *symmachoi spatharioi* (*P.Oxy.* XVI 2045v).

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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, *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^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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