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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).

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

1–17. LATIN OSTRACA FROM VANDAL NORTH AFRICA*

by Rodney Ast

The Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines at the Musée du Louvre houses sixteen ostraca, fifteen Latin and one Greek. Eight of these (nos. 1–8 below) were among eleven pieces reportedly discovered in 1895 by Captain Don Farges at Henchir el-Maïz, 15 km south of Tebessa in modern Algeria. Four more (9–12) were found at Henchir el-Abiod about 10 km west of Cheria, a town located thirty-seven km southwest of Tebessa. A further two (13 and 14) turned up at Henchir Touta, fifteen km south of Cheria, and a jar inscription (15) came from Tebessa itself. The Louvre acquired the fifteen pieces in 1910.¹ Transcriptions of some of them have been published previously, while others are edited here for the first time. None of the published texts received proper editions, but were rather preliminary transcriptions. Hence, I have not noted divergent readings in the apparatus; many, however, are recorded in the commentaries.

In addition to these 15 pieces, two other ostraca are published below. One (16) is an anomalous piece kept with the other Louvre ostraca. It is anomalous both because it is written in Greek and because its provenance is not recorded; it could well be from an entirely different context. I edit it here for the sake of completeness, but it does not figure in the general discussion. The final ostrakon (17) comes from Sbeitla (ancient Sufetula) in Tunisia, approximately 250 km southwest of Tunis. It also dates to the Vandal period and is thus very much at home in this article.

* In the process of writing this I have become indebted to a number of people for various types of assistance: Magali Coudert put me in touch with the department that keeps the ostraca; Agnès Scherer, curator in the Département des antiquités grecques et romaines, kindly allowed me to examine them; Adam Bülow-Jacobsen produced fantastic photos that proved invaluable in the preparation of the article; Roger Bagnall made it possible for me to work on 17 and offered helpful comments on an earlier draft.

1. Transcriptions of 9–14 can be found in CAGNAT & OMONT 1908, pp. ccxlvii–ccxlix, and VILLESFOSSE & MICHON 1911, pp. 8–10; see also ALBERTINI 1932, pp. 61–2. 1 is published as *CIL VIII* 22646, 20 and *ILAlg I* 3719.

Date

Three of the ostraca preserve dates, all in the Vandal period. Two (1 and 4) are from the reign of Thrasamund (496–523) and one (17) from that of Hilderic (523–30). They belong to a small body of non-inscriptional Latin texts surviving from Vandal North Africa.² Other examples include the well-known Albertini tablets, mainly deeds of sale found on an estate south of Tebessa, and ostraca from Bir Trough, located to the south of Khenchela (ancient Mascula); all of these documents were written in the reign of King Gunthamund (484–496).³

The dating formulas employed in two of the ostraca edited here are of particular interest: 1 registers the 13th year of the “fruit” of our lord king Thrasamund (*anno xiii fructus dom(ini) n(ostri) regis Trasamundi*), which corresponds to 508/509; 17 is dated by the Carthage era to a year in the reign of King Hilderic (*Carthag(inis) d(omini) n(ostri) reg(is) Hilderici*). Both formulas, *anno . . . domini nostri regis* and *Carthaginis domini nostri regis*, are known from Vandal-period texts, and “the year of Carthage” is a distinctively Vandal dating clause.⁴ What has not been seen before is the term *fructus* in the dating clause of 1. It is both unparalleled and ambiguous: syntactically it could be understood as part of the dating formula: “In the 13th year of the *fruit* of our lord king Thrasamund;” or it could be interpreted separately from the dating formula as a term describing the content of the ostrakon itself, denoting, for example, “income” or “payments” (“rent payments,” perhaps): “Year 13. Income of our lord king Thrasamund.” Depending on which interpretation one chooses, Thrasamund should be regarded as either the beneficiary or the cause of agricultural bounty. We, however, refrain from committing to a single interpretation because of the unparalleled nature of the expression.

Content and onomastics

The ostraca deal in a range of subject matters. 1 may document tax assessments on plots of olive land. 2 registers a transaction of barley and wheat, which are measured in *modii*. 3 is an account dealing with an olive-related commodity, whether land, oil, or trees, that also supplies a number of what appear to be indigenous names. Money payments in *folles* are recorded in 7, 13, and 14. Two ostraca (9 and 10) register payments of *agraria*, possibly rent on leased land, while another (17) acknowledges the purchase of different commodities, including a small pig (*porcellus*). Livestock is also at stake in a couple of registers (*notitiae*) (11 and 12) that refer to herds (*pecora*) of *caprae*, *haedi*, *oves* and *hirci*. The writing on several sherds is too faint to yield much if any information (5 and 6), and these pieces are simply described.

The texts attest few place names. Two of the ostraca found at Henchir el-Abiod (9 and 10) mention Casae Nigrae, also known as Nigrenses Maiores (modern Henchir Besseriani), a place located in the southern part of Tebessa province, some 120 kilometers

2. For a general survey of non-inscriptional texts from North Africa and their cultural and administrative context, see CONANT 2013.

3. COURTOIS, LESCHI, PERRAT & SAUMAGNE 1952; BONNAL & FÉVRIER 1966–1967.

4. Of the five ostraca from Bir Trough, three certainly contain the Carthage formula, see BONNAL and FÉVRIER 1966–1967. For discussion of dating practice under the Vandal kings, see CLOVER 1986, esp. 3, 8, 10–3; cf. CONANT 2012, pp. 151–6.

southwest of Tebessa. It is perhaps best known as the birthplace of the fourth-century bishop Donatus. Aside from those, 9 refers to an estate, the *fundus Puteos*, located somewhere in the Casae Nigrae area.

Professions are also few. A *lanarius*, or wool worker, gets mentioned in a money account (13), and *vicarii* apparently serve administrative roles on properties in Casae Nigrae (9 and 10). With personal names we are only somewhat better off. The *vicarii* go by the names Petre (l. Petrus) and Comita (l. Comitas), the wool worker is called Januarius, and there is a certain Brumarius referred to in an account of money payments (13). These are, however, some of the less disputable names; for the most part, the onomastics in these documents are challenging and unusual, and their peculiar forms coupled with, in many cases, the poor preservation of the texts cause significant uncertainty about them. In particular, 3 appears to list a number of individuals bearing local names, but the poor state of the text makes it difficult to be sure about any one of the readings. Similarly in 1, it is unclear whether the proper names in lines 2 and 3 (the first transcribed with uncertainty as Murtocius, the second not deciphered) are toponyms or personal names.

1. RECEIPT

MNC 1927

10.5 (w) × 8 (h) × 1 cm (th)

508/509

(= *ILAlg* I 3719 = *CIL* VIII 22646, 20 = *AE* 1900, 205)

Henchir el-Maïz

The ostrakon is complete, even if the writing is so faint in places as to yield little satisfactory sense. A diplomatic transcription was published in *AE* 1900, 205, and some of those readings are noted in the commentary below.

This record of payment resembles a document also from Nigrenses Maires dated to the 16th year of Justinian (542/543) (*AE* 1933, 232), which was published by E. Albertini in 1932.⁵ The parallel text reads: *Anno XVI domni / nostri / Iustiniani in/peratori extimaltus fuit Laudeti in / portione dominica / oliariu arcariu / unu tantum* (“In the 16th year of our lord emperor Justinian. One *olearius arcarius* only was assessed at Laudeti on the landlord’s share.”). Both texts look like rent or tax receipts, but the precise land management system behind them is obscure, and so too the genre of the document.⁶

ḃḃḃ xiii fructus d(o)m(ini) n(o)stri regis

Trasamundi ext(imatus) murtocius in por-

tionē . . b () olēbi . () p(arte) d(ominica) ḃ . . ḃot . or

item[ex]t(imatus) in portione . . () olibi

5 unu tantum

cūrt . . inunūç . . . [

1 dmn̄ || 2 ext̄ || 3 . . b/ || pd/ || 4 [ex̄]t̄.

5. Edited and discussed in ALBERTINI 1932, pp. 54–8. A photograph can be found in DUVAL & FÉVRIER 1969, p. 272.

6. For discussion of such ostraca in the context of late Roman documentary practice in Africa, see CONANT 2013, esp. p. 50.



1

Year 13 of the fruit of our lord king Thrasamund ... Murtocius (or “at Murtocius”) was assessed for its part ... of olive ... on account of the landlord’s share ... NN (or “at NN”) was similarly assessed for its part ... of olive ⁵ ... one only ... [...]

- 1 *anno* was omitted from the *ed. pr.* and *OL MV* was read instead of *d(o)m(ini) n(ostr)*.
- 2 *t* with a wavy line above it appears both here and in line 4. The wavy line presumably signals an abbreviated form of *extimo*, for *aestimo*, as in *AE* 1933, 232 quoted above. The *ed. pr.* has *EXTREMUS TOCIVS* in this line. The word ending in *-tocius*, which is transcribed here *Murtocius*, could be a toponym, on analogy with *Laudeti* in *AE* 1933, 232, or else a personal name. *Martocius* is a possible alternative reading.
- 3 The first letter after *-tione* looks like a *u* but could conceivably be an *a*, making *arb(or)is* a possibility. Where the *ed. pr.* has *oleri*, I read *olebi*, which appears to be followed by a raised letter, *a* or *u*, with perhaps a dot over it (this is represented as *BN* in suprascript in the *ed. pr.*). *u(nu)* suggests itself as a plausible resolution; the same word is spelled out in line 5.

Or *p(ortione) d(ominica)*. The parallel text has *portio dominica* written in full, while elsewhere we find *pars dominica*, cf. *AE* 1967, 591 = BONNAL & FÉVRIER 1966–1967, pp. 239–41. This phrase looks like the Latin equivalent of the common Greek designation γεουχικὸν μέρος, “the landlord’s share,” which is found in documents from Egypt (especially the western, or Libyan, desert) beginning in the fourth century, e.g., *O.Kellis* 73 (319–20), 74 (318–9), 77 (318–9), 78 (319–20), *O.Waqfa* 51, 57, and 61 (351–400). For discussion of the *pars dominica* within the broader context of estate accounting practice in North Africa, see WICKHAM 2005, pp. 266 and 273 f.

Instead of *h* after *d*(), *in* is a possible reading. The unread word here is presumably a name analogous to Murtocius, ending in perhaps *-tuor* or *-tior*.

4 There is no longer any trace of *ex*, but its former presence is betrayed by the blank space after *item* and before *t*(). For . . (), see note to line 3 concerning *arb(oris)*. The *ed. pr.* has . . . *X OLI* at line end, but *olibi* seems quite clear.

5 The entire line is omitted from the *ed. pr.*

6 Or *cuṣt-*, or even *caṣt-|caṣt-*? *castilinunu*, *castulinunu*, *cartilinunu*, *curtilinunu* are paleographically defensible readings, perhaps rendering a personal name (see JONGELING 1994 for names beginning in *Cart-*, *Curt-*, and *Cast-*). Following this, one might conjecture *scripsit*, and a signature would not be out of place here. The first edition has *CO LI UNUS C.*

2. RECEIPT

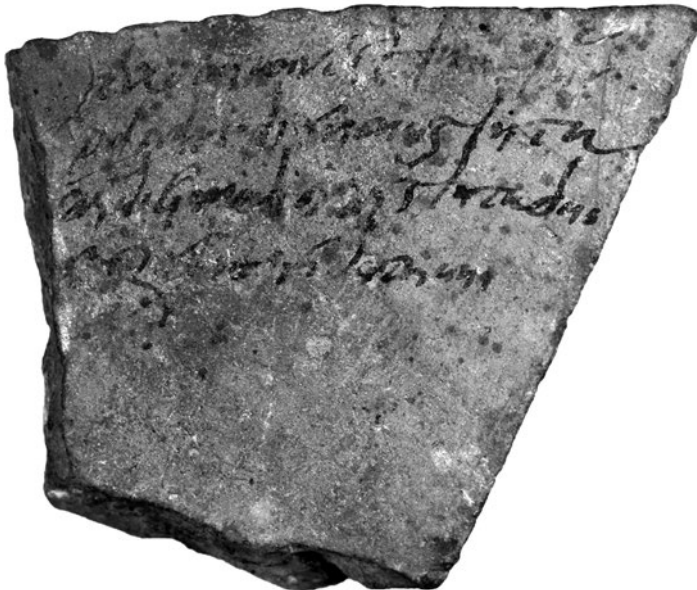
MNC 1928

w. 9.0 × h. 8 × th. 1.6 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.

Henchir el-Maïz

The ostrakon is broken at the top. It is a record of payment similar to 1, but for barley and wheat. The measure employed is the *modius*, and this might also be the measure intended in the ostraca from Bir Trough where the editors supply the metrologically vague term *m(ensura)*.⁷



2

7. See especially no. 1 in BONNAL & FÉVRIER 1966–1967, pp. 240 f.

].[. . . .]. . . [.
 extimatus est i . . . ius
 p(arte) d(ominica) ord(ei) modios nonaginta
 tridici modios vīginta duo
 5 . . o . () . sd . . . () Botriani.
 3 pd/ ord/.

[NN] has been assessed on account of the landlord's share 90 modii of barley, 22 modii of wheat |⁵ . . . of Botrianus (?).

- 2 *ianuarius* (i.e. *Januarius*) could be the name at the end of the line. Above *-ius* there appears to be a supralinear *u*, but this could also be the tail of a descender from the preceding line.
- 5 Nothing is certain in this line. The first letter resembles *c* and a couple letters later we have either *l* or *z*. *sd* could represent an abbreviation; *s(ub) d(ie)*, however, seems out of place due to the absence of a date. In the middle of the line we find *fi* or *f()* (for *filius?*), or else *fu()* for *fu(ndus)*, the latter an attractive idea but less appealing reading. A very different suggestion is *m()* for *modios* (the diagonal mark above the line being an abbreviation sign). Then at the end of the line, one might read *-ium* instead of *-ani*, and *d* is possible in place of *b*. *Botrianus*, if it is correct, could be either a personal name (see JONGELING 1994, s.v.) or a toponym; cf. the *fundus Botrianus* associated with modern Henchir Botria in Tunisia (MARZANO 2013, p. 247). There is a good chance however that the solution to this line lies somewhere else completely.

3. LIST OF NAMES (?)

MNC 1929

w. 6.5 × h. 13.4 × th. 1.5 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
 Henchir el-Maiz

The ostracon is broken on top and at the right. It appears to contain a list of personal names, which were followed in the part now lost by payments of an olive commodity, presumably oil. The word that prefaces lines 1 to 9 is abbreviated. Its first letter is either *b* or *d*, and the abbreviation is signaled by a raised *l*-like stroke that may or may not be intended as a letter. The proper division of the individual letters and the resolution of the abbreviation are uncertain. One might read *de n()*, or perhaps a form of *bendo* (l. *vendo*) or *benditor* (l. *venditor*), but none of these suggestions is entirely convincing. If the raised letter is indeed an *l*, then we are at an even greater loss, since the sequence *-enl-* does not readily suggest any word. But there is reason to think that the *l*-like stroke was a generic abbreviation sign, since it occurs elsewhere, e.g. after *lg* in 4.5 and in the abbreviations in 7.

The words preserved after *.en()* are also ambiguous, but a couple of forms are suggestive of personal names. Of particular interest is *miggin* [in line 6, a name found in various forms and spellings (e.g. Miccin, Meggin, etc.) in North Africa.⁸ *iadel-* points in the direction of Iader, a fairly common personal name, although the name Iadel, if this is in fact the correct reading of line 5, appears to be unattested.⁹ In line 7, we apparently have a name beginning in *Med-*.

 .e[n() c. 8] . . [
 .en() vi. meic . [
 .en() paç [
 .en() maşç . [
 5 .en() iadelisc . [
 .en() miggin . [
 .en() meddi . [
 .en() frome . [
 .en() eudimi[
 10 . . [
 q(uae) f(iunt) ol() . . [
 . . [
 2-9 .en^L || 11 qf o^L.



4 *maschi-* is more likely than *marchi-*, while *mascli-* is also possible.

5 The letter *l* is faint but fairly secure, thus *iaderisc* . [is unlikely.

7 The last letter has a tall vertical stroke; *meddid* is therefore possible, cf. JONGELING 1994, s.v. medid. *medden*[is less attractive.

8 A word like *frumentum* is unlikely. No name beginning with *Frome-* is known to me.

9 No name immediately suggests itself here.

10 A large *l*-looking stroke is followed by ink that may or may not belong with it. The same shapes can be discerned in the faint traces in line 12.

8. See JONGELING 1994, ss.vv. miggin, miccin, mygen, meggin, etc.

9. See JONGELING 1994, ss.vv. iader and iadar.

4. RECEIPT

MNC 1930

w. 7 × h. 8.7 × th. 1 cm

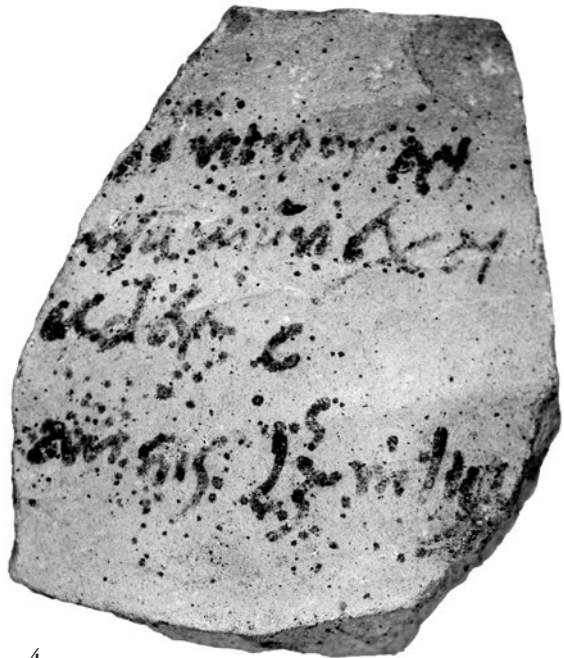
496–523
Henchir el-Maïz

The ostracon is broken on the right. Similar to 1, the text is dated to the reign of Thrasamund and concerned with some kind of assessment. The precise year is not preserved in line 2. Judging from the surviving part of the regnal formula, we presume that only the word *regis* and the initial letter of Thrasamund's name is missing on the left in line 3. In line 5, we find the abbreviation *lg()* followed by *mili* [. A possible resolution is *l(e)g(io)* followed by a word for soldiers or military, although the letter *t* does not really suggest itself. The numeral *milia* is, paleographically at least, more attractive, but we cannot say what commodity would be at stake. It is just possible that the *m* has a dot of ink above it (it is difficult to distinguish ink from black specks on the ostracon's surface), which could be an abbreviated form of *modius*, followed perhaps by the Roman numeral *iiii*. Again, if this is an amount, we still cannot say what for, unless *lg()* represents *l(e)g(uminum)*, an abbreviation not encountered elsewhere.

] . .
] ḏo`m`ni nostri
 regis T]rasamun exti-
 matus -]ader c
 5]taṅ viii lg() mili .[
 5 lg^l.

[In the ... year] of our lord
 [king] Thrasamund [-]ader has
 been assessed ⁵ 100. ...

- 1 *m* appears to be written in
 suprascript.
 3 f. Read *Thrasamundi*. If
extimatus was written out,
 then we should probably
 assume that *est* (or *fuit*) was
 omitted.
 4 The proper name Iader?
 Cf. the introduction to 3
 above.
 5 The abbreviation stroke above *lg* resembles *l* (or *li*), similar to that over *en()* in 3,
 but rather than a letter it is probably a non-alphabetic abbreviation character.



4

5. LATIN DOCUMENT OF UNKNOWN TYPE

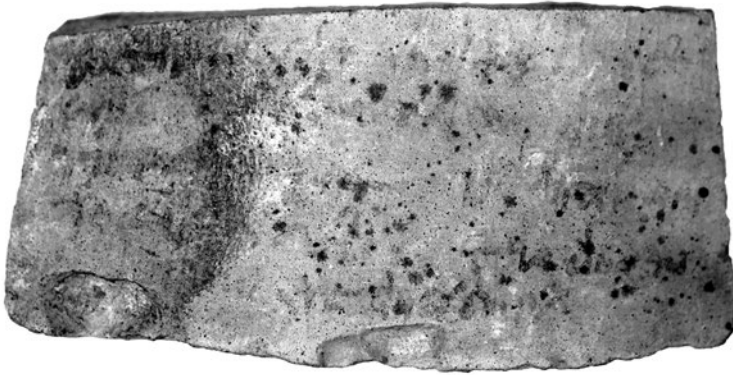
MNC 1931

w. 9.5 × h. 4.5 × th. 1.1 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
Henchir el-Maïz

The ostracon is possibly complete. Where visible the ink is still too faint to make out individual letterforms. There are traces of 5 lines.

5



6. LATIN DOCUMENT OF UNKNOWN TYPE

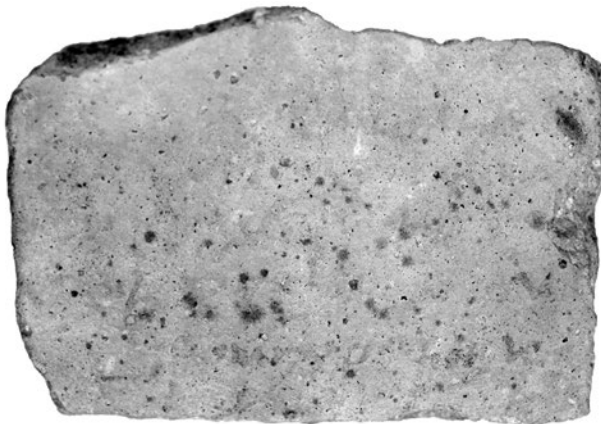
MNC 1932

w. 7.5 × h. 5.5 × th. 1 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
Henchir el-Maïz

It is unclear if the document is complete. As with 5, traces, perhaps of 5 lines, are too faint to allow decipherment of individual words.

6



7. REGISTER OF PAYMENTS (?)

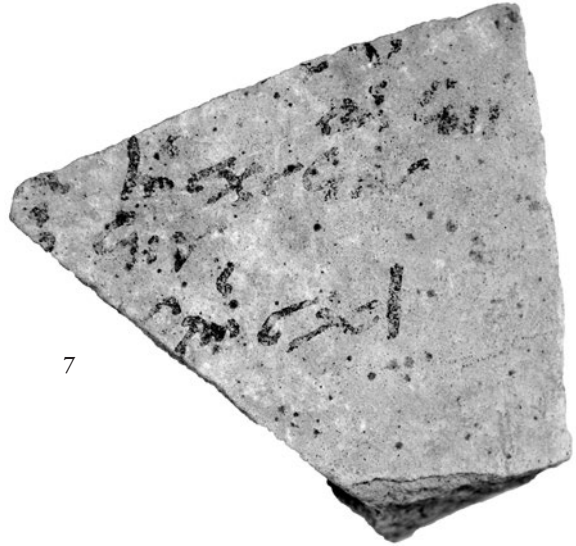
MNC 1933

w. 7 × h. 6 × th. 1.8 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
Henchir el-Maïz

The ostracon is broken at the top and on the left side. The text looks like an account ending in each line with individual payments. It is unknown what the payments were for. A couple of abbreviations are employed, but their meanings have yet to be determined.

]..
] *vacat* .. viii
].. h. () cxxvii s
].. () vii s
 5]ct̄r() cxi
 3 h. ^L || 5 ct̄r^L.
 3 f. s for *s(emis)*?



8. DOCUMENT WITH PARTIAL REGNAL FORMULA

MNC 1934

w. 7.6 × h. 5.8 × th. 0.7 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
Henchir el-Maïz

The sherd is partially painted. It seems to be complete at the bottom and perhaps on top; the left side is broken and the lower right corner is missing. Line 3 mentions a tenth year, and a regnal date is recorded in lines 1 and 2.

].. nōstr̄[i r]egi[s
]... quex ummā
]e... t̄us anni x
].. es et .. de. [



- 5] . . . se . . se . [
] c. 10 letters [
] c. 8 letters [
]

- 1 To the left of *n* is a superlinear horizontal bar, which marks the abbreviation of *domini*, but where exactly the word was abbreviated is unclear. All that is missing in the lacuna to the left is the regnal year preceded by the word *anno*; the name of the king is lost in the lacuna at the start of line 2.
- 2 The surviving part of the base of the letter after *x* does not really resemble the bottom of an *s*, which would rule out *qu(e) ex summa*; *c* is more attractive.
- 3 The first letter of the line contains a tall vertical, perhaps *d*.
- 4 (*h*)*ordej* [does not seem too far-fetched here, but it is not clear enough to warrant inclusion in the text.

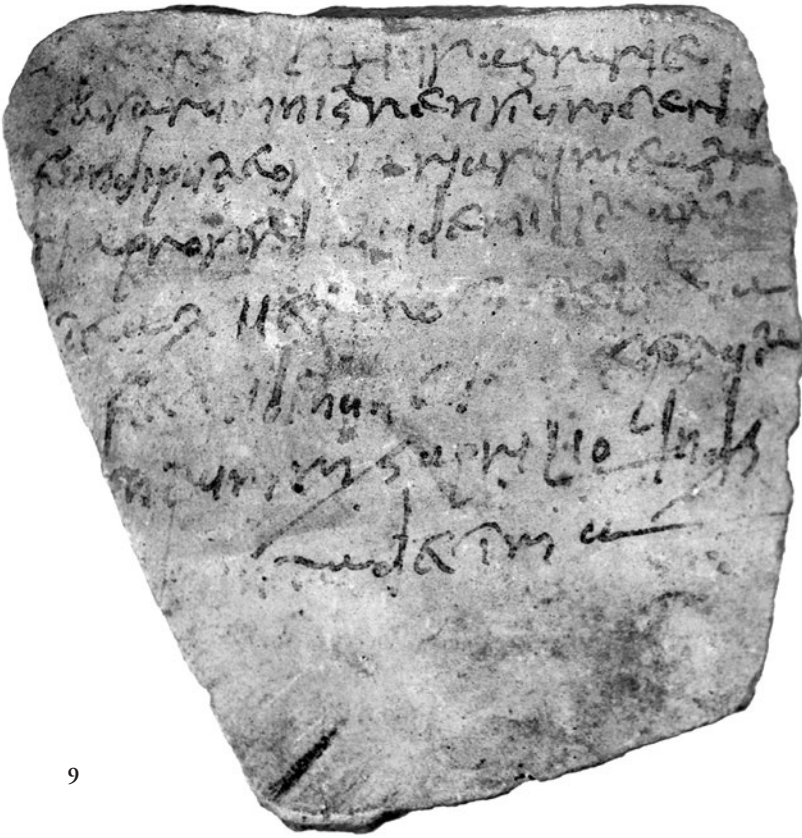
9. RECEIPT FOR *AGRARIA*

MND 891.A/1 w. 10 × h. 11 × th. 1 cm late 5th/first half of 6th c.
 (= *BCTH* 1908, ccxlviii, a) Henchir el-Abiod

The ostrakon is complete but the ink is worn off at the beginning and in the middle of the document. Its content and form are similar to **10**: both are receipts for an impost called the *agraria*, perhaps rent payments on leased land. Each is addressed by a different *vicarius agrariae* of the *Casae Nigrenses* to the person who has made the payment. In this document the name of the *vicarius* is *Petrus* and in **10** it is *Comitas*. As *vicarii*, these men were perhaps underservants responsible for overseeing collection of rent and other estate related payments. Following their names we find the phrase *pariasti* (i.e., *pariavisti*) *me agraria* (“you have paid me the *agraria*”), which is intended as confirmation of payment received, and then the month and indiction in which the payments occurred. **9** differs from **10** by distinguishing payments made on behalf of two individuals, one of whom is probably a soldier. The commodity in which the payments were made is unknown.

Ṗṛṭṛḡ ḡ[i]carius agrarie
 Casarum Nigrensiū Cerḡus
 fundi Puteos. pariasti me agra-
 ria pro serb. quide milite ar.
 5 teaxu eṭ pro a
 feḡi ṭibi ḡuṅ ḡe [r]eceptu ta-
 ntum m(ense) aprilio ind(ictione)
 [qu]inta decima.

7 m/ || ind/ || 8 [r]eceptu.



9

Petre vicarius of the estate at Casae Nigreses to Cerbus of the fundus Puteos. You have paid me the agraria on behalf of Serv- ... the soldier (?) ... |⁵ ... and on behalf of NN. I have made this for you on account of what has been received in the month of April of the 15th indiction.

- 1 Read *Petrus vicarius*. There is possibly a cross before the name (see 10.1 n. below). The *ed. pr.* has for this line only *]caricis agrarie[*.
- 2 *b* looks better than the *d* of *cerd* in the *ed. pr.* This is presumably the name of the addressee, perhaps a variant of the name Cervius.
- 3 The fundus Puteos is otherwise unattested. After *Puteos*, the original editor prints *riastime agra[*.
- 4 f. This and the following line are hard to interpret. The letters after *b* look like *i* followed by *q*, so we might read *serbi* (l. *servi* or *Servio*) *quide* (or *qui de*). What comes after *militē* could be the soldier's name or a commodity followed by the numeral *xv*. In the *ed. pr.* we find *]apros[.]r[.]d[. .]idem[.]lit[.]urte[* in line 4 and only *te[.]x[* in line 5.
- 6 f. What follows *hunc* is hard to decipher, but, paleographically at least, *de [r]eceptu* (l. *recepto*) is very attractive. Following the *u*, there appears to be *t*, and at the beginning of line 7, *ntum* is fairly clear; thus, it seems that we have *tantum* written over the two

lines, even if *a* is not entirely satisfactory. In light of other instances of this word in Latin ostraca, one expects a number before it, but there does not seem to be one here—some spelling of *septem*, such as *septa*, is an inferior reading to *[r]ēceptu*. Perhaps the writer intended *recept/ ul*, for *de recept(o) u(num) tantum*.

- 8 The *ed. pr.* records *undecima*, but the infrared photo reveals clearly the letters *nta* before *decima*; *qu]inta decima* seems secure.

10. RECEIPT FOR *AGRARIA*

MND 891.F w. 11.5 × h. 11.5 × th. 0.8 cm late 5th/first half of 6th c.
 (= *BCTH* 1908, ccxlviii, b) Henchir el-Abiod

The ostrakon appears to be complete on all sides, even if ink has vanished at the end of several lines. Stray strokes at the beginning of line 4 and possibly in line 6 (see commentary) give the false impression that the sherd is broken on the left. The orthography is remarkable for the reduplication of consonants in *aggrari-* and *Cassarum* in lines 2 and 4 f. The document records payment of *agraria* for an eighth indiction (see introduction to 9 above).

† Comita bicariū[s]
 aggrarie Cassarū[m]
 Nigrensium b . . e .
 pariaštī me aggra-
 5 ria octabę indic-
 ti[o]nis

Comita vicarius of the estate of Casae Nigrenses to ... You have paid me the agraria of the 8th indiction.

- 1 Read *Comitas vicarius*. There is a cross at the beginning of the line, which is not mentioned in the *ed. pr.* It is the only clear instance of a cross in these ostraca, although there might be one in 9.1 and 12.1 as well. The *ed. pr.* has *C mitubicari[*.

- 3 The first letter of the line looks more like *m* than *n*. It is possible that the two words *cassarū]migransium* were run together. Alternatively, there may be some ink in the left margin of line 3 that is distorting the reading, as there apparently is in the left margin of line 4.

The word at the end of the line is probably a proper name. It begins with either *ba-* or *bu-* (the *ed. pr.* has *bu[*), and may include the letter *r*, so *Bare* or *Bure* are conceivable. It is hard to make out *c* at the end of the line, but nothing excludes it; one might therefore consider the name *Barec*, cf. JONGELING 1994, s.v. *barecis* and *baric*.

- 4 Where I see *pariaštī me*, the *ed. pr.* has *p[.]ari[.]sa hic*.



10

- 6 There is stray ink between *t* and *i*. Unlike in the preceding text, no month name is given here, unless we are to read *m(ense) Iun̄is* instead of *t̄i[o]nis* (the “stray ink” in that case being an abbreviation stroke beneath *m*). If this is right, then the end of line 5 should have *indic(tionis)*, an abbreviation mark being notably absent. The *ed. pr.* has *ill[]nis*.

11. REGISTER

MND 891.C/3
(= *BCTH* 1908, ccxlix, d)

w. 11.4 × h. 13 × th. 1.6 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.
Henchir el-Abiod

The ostracon is broken on top and at the left. It bears close resemblance in form and content to 12 and appears to come from the same vessel. There is however no sign of a direct, physical join between 11 and 12. All that can be read here are some numbers and the word “he-goats,” *irci* (i.e. *hirci*).

]ar . . [
]xliii iꝛcoꝝ xvii
] *traces*

[...] 17 *he-goats* [...].

- 2 Read *hircos*. The *ed. pr.* has *Hiulreos XCI*, the meaning of which is unclear.



12. REGISTER OF LIVESTOCK AND BARLEY

MND 891.CDE/891.4 w. 16 × h. 17 × th. 1.1 cm late 5th/first half of 6th c.
 (= BCTH 1908, ccxlix, c) Henchir el-Abiod

This ostracon contains two texts, each a request beginning with the word *notitia*. The right side of the sherd is broken and the texts are therefore incomplete. The type of document is known from contemporaneous texts preserved on slate from Visigothic Spain. Spanish examples include records, *notitiae*, of various commodities, such as cheese, livestock, garments, etc.¹⁰ For its part, this ostracon registers sheep, goats and barley.

The phonetic spelling of *notitia* as *nottitzia* is worth noting. The ligature *tz*, which was interpreted as *cl* in the *ed. pr.*, is seen in other late Latin texts.¹¹

. nōttitzia de peçora quod adş . . . t[?
 de capras m . . . reş aedo[s]
 de obes masculos q(uan)tu(m) xxxviii c . [
 / tota ccxlv[

5 vacat
 nōttitzia de peçora quod [
 te orabimus ord(ei) . . . unde . [
 . . . ccxxiiii . udo[
 / ç . / [

3 qtū || 6 ord/.

Notice of livestock that [...] of she-goats ... of kids [...] of male sheep, as much as 39. [...] totals 245. [sup] vacat Notice of livestock that [...] we will request from you 11(?) [...] of barley ... 224 [...].

- 1 Faint traces of an overlying vertical and horizontal stroke at the beginning of the line are suggestive of a cross. The *ed. pr.* prints *notti CL*; what followed this was not deciphered, but *de peçora* strikes me as quite legible. At line end, I am inclined to print *adşunt* [, “Notice of livestock that are present [.”
- 2 The word after *capras* is unclear. The *ed. pr.* gives *mi sies*, but I rather see *muleres* (l. *mulieres*); the expected spelling, *mulieres*, is less likely due to lack of space. After this is a letter containing a long descender. It looks at first like *p*, but on closer inspection might be *qtū*. If this is right, we presume that a number followed, and then perhaps the word *de* before *aedos* (l. *haedos*).

10. See examples in *Hispania epigraphica* (= *HEp*): *notitia de cevaria* (*HEp* 10, 2000, no. 24), *notit<i>a de casios* (*HEp* 10, 2000, no. 442), *[n]otitia de cutis* (*HEp* 10, 2000, no. 459). For general discussion of writing culture in Visigothic Spain, see EVERETT 2013.

11. AST 2001, with further bibliography given in fn. 8.



12

3 *masculos* (l. *masculos*, “male”) is to be preferred over *musclos* of the *ed. pr.*

In the *ed. pr.* the ligature forming the numbers *v* and *i* is consistently mistaken as *c*. Thus, the nonsensical *xxxiii* is printed there instead of *xxxviii*.

4 If this figure represents the total number of livestock recorded above, then we are dealing with flocks of fairly substantial size. The symbol before *tota* presumably represents a word like *funt*; it resembles the symbol for *γίνονται* in Greek documents.

- 5 *notti CLI, ed. pr.* The word *pecora* is easier to make out here than in line 1, but in the extant text that follows no words for individual types of livestock can be seen.
- 6 The *ed. pr.* prints *agrabinus* at the beginning of the line, but *g* is hard to see; the initial letter looks more like *o* than *a*, and the word ends in *-bimus*. After *orabimus ord(ei)* (l. *hordei*) there was presumably a measure, probably in abbreviated form (although *m/* does not immediately present itself), followed then by the number *undecim*. Barley was most likely requested as feed for the animals.

13. ACCOUNT OF MONEY PAYMENTS

MND 891.B

w. 10.4 × h. 7 × th. 1.3 cm

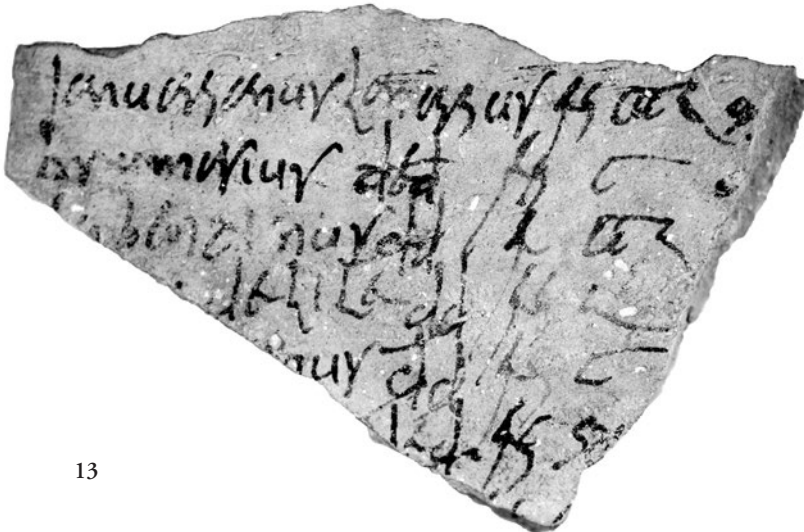
late 5th/first half of 6th c.

(= *BCTH* 1908, ccxlviii, a)

Henchir Touta

The ostrakon is broken on the left and at the bottom. It is unclear whether any text is missing from the top right. It contains part of an account with names followed by money payments. These payments are in *folles*, not *sestertii*, as recorded in the *ed. pr.* for this and the next document. The purpose of the payments is unknown, but some of the amounts, such as the 360 paid by Januarianus the wool worker, are not trivial, especially if one considers that 100 *folles* could buy a small piece of land with an almond tree (*T.Alb.* 19) or six olive trees (*T.Alb.* 18),¹² and, as we see in 17 below, 75 was enough for a *porcellus*.

The stroke after *f* in lines 1, 2, 4–7 is interpreted as the letter *l*. Unlike the *l*-form abbreviation marks discussed above (see introduction to 3), the mark is quite clearly a letter here, as too in 14.



13

12. See CONANT 2013, pp. 39 f.

Ianuarianus lanarius f(o)l(les) ccclx [

Brumasius ded(it) f(o)l(les) c. [

Çabcoitinus d(e)d(it) f(olles) ccl

] delile d(e)d(it) f(o)l(les) l

5]inus d(e)d(it) f(o)l(les) c

] ded(it) f(o)l(les) lxi [

] f(o)l(les) ç [

1 fl || 2 dēd fl || 3 d/d/ f || 4 dd/ fl || 5 d/d/ fl || 6 ded fl || 7 fl.

Januarianus the wool worker, 360 folles [

Brumasius gave 100+(?) folles [

Cabcoitinus gave 250 folles

delile gave 50 folles

] ⁵ *inus gave 100 folles*

] gave 61(?) folles [

] 100+(?) folles [

- 2 The name Brumasius is found in Latin inscriptions; in North Africa it is attested in *AE* 1904, 20, *AE* 1901, 11, and *ICMactar* X 2.
- 3 *Ina inus, ed. pr.* The beginning of this name is not entirely secure. Of the first letter, the tip of a tall vertical line is visible. It seems most likely to be either *c* or *s*, and because it does not curve to the right like other *s*'s, I favor *c*. Phoenician names in Cabd- are known, but the name here perhaps points more in the direction of Coccoitchanus (cf. JONGELING 1994, ss.vv. cabdollionis and coccoitchanus).

14. ACCOUNT OF MONEY PAYMENTS

MND 891.G/6 w. 3 × h. 8 × th. 1.4 cm late 5th/first half of 6th c.
(= *BCTH* 1908, ccxlviii, b) Henchir Touta

The ostrakon is broken on the left and at the bottom. As in 13 it is a list of names and payments in *folles*. Unlike 13, it does not include the verb *dedit*.

]nius f(o)l(les) c

] . idiç f(o)l(les) l

] . . . f(o)l(les) clxxv

] f(o)l(les) clxxv

5 f(o)l(les)] lxxv

f(o)l(les)] cc
 f(o)l(les)]cxxv
 f(o)l(les)]c
 f(o)l(les)]c
 10 f(o)l(les)]c

1-4 fl.

-]nius, 100 folles [
 -]idiuc 50 folles [
] ... 175 folles
] 175 folles
 |⁵] 75 folles
] 200 folles [
] 125 (?) folles [
] 100 (?) folles
] 100 (?) folles
¹⁰] 100 (?) folles



14

15. INSCRIBED VESSEL

MND 892

w. 13.1 × h. 16 × th. 1.2 cm

late 5th/first half of 6th c.

(= VILLEFOSSE & MICHON 1911, p. 8, no. 25)

Tebessa

The vessel has been incised with an inscription; the text is broken on the right side where the bottom of a long descender is visible.

in . . [

16. OSTRACON INCISED WITH GREEK

SN Ostrakon 1

w. 7.5 × h. 15 × th. 2.5 cm

3rd–5th c. (?)

provenance unknown

Broken on the left and right, the ostrakon, which comes from a large pot covered in red slip, preserves a spacious top margin measuring 6 cm. The text is incised in Greek letters, which is unusual when compared with the typical practice in Greco-Roman Egypt of writing in ink. No continuous sense is discernible. The provenance is unknown, and the date difficult to determine. While κ and ν look somewhat early, the epsilon does not, cf. a late Roman graffito (c. 4th/5th c.) published in LANG 1976, p. 11, no. B20 with



Pl. 3, as well as B21 (5th c.), Pl. 3. If this piece had an origin similar to that of the Latin ostraca, then it is likely to be from the fifth or sixth century.¹³

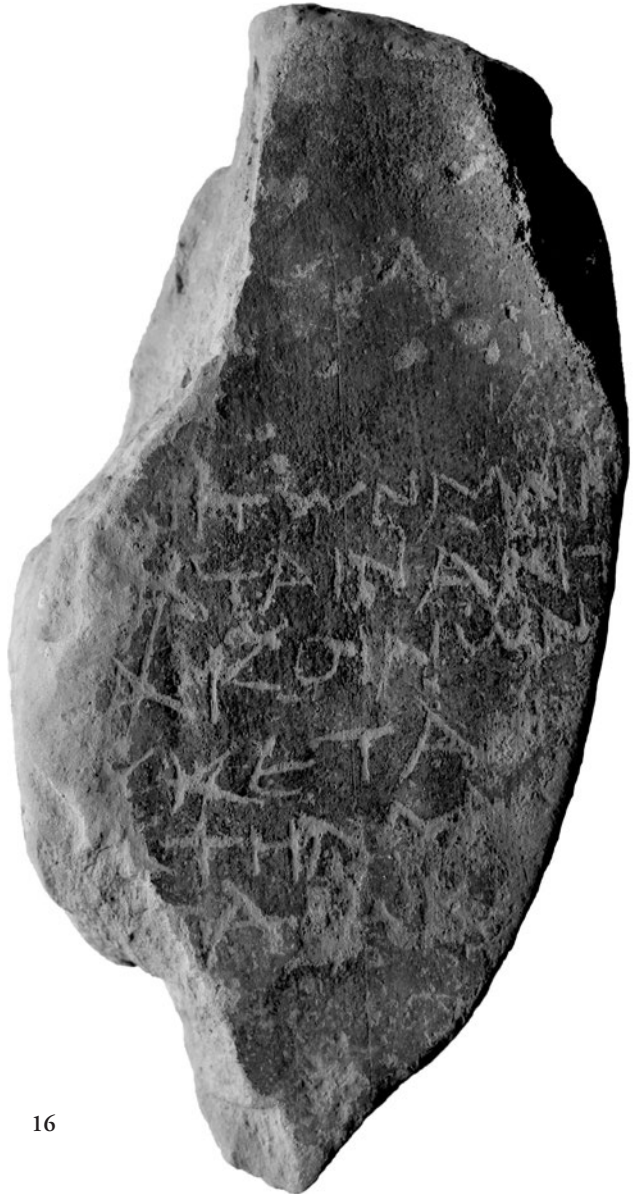
]. . των μη[
]αταιναντ[
]ακοινων[
]ηκεταν . [
 5]. την . α . [
]. α ακ . [

1 There is a long horizontal stroke before the *tau* suggestive of either *tau* suggestive of either *pi* or another *tau*.

2]ατα ἴν' ἀντ[?

3 This looks like a form of κοινός, κοινωνία, *vel sim*. One can imagine something like κατ]ὰ κοινων[ίαν.

5 The first letter could be κ.



13. Clementina Caputo suggests, albeit without having seen the object in person, that the ceramic vessel from which the ostraca came is a typical example of the kind of North African red slip ware produced from around the 2nd c. into the late Roman period.

17. RECEIPT¹⁴

O.Sbeitla D2

w. 14.9 × h. 16.8 cm

526/527 (?)

Sbeitla

This intriguing piece was reportedly found in Sbeitla (ancient Sufetula), but the exact circumstances of its discovery are unknown. The sherd is broken in the top right corner at a left-to-right downward sloping angle. Judging from the last two lines, we can expect the loss of 10 to 15 letters in the first couple of lines, that is to say that in line 1 we are probably missing more than half the line.

The text resembles a receipt and is divided into two parts. The first registers the sale of an unidentified commodity and is dated to what looks like the fourth year in the reign of the Vandal king Hilderic. The last two lines give the impression of a *postscriptum* and mention the purchase of a small pig for 75 *folles*. The rest of the text is unclear.

Nimmirre . . . [

çel() p() vidu quando . [

eminu unu . . . () quartō [

Çarthag(inis) d(omini) n(ostri) reg(is) Hilderici [

5 çr() .ri inveniōrc̄ sex() emin . . [

...

item pro porcellu filio m[eo

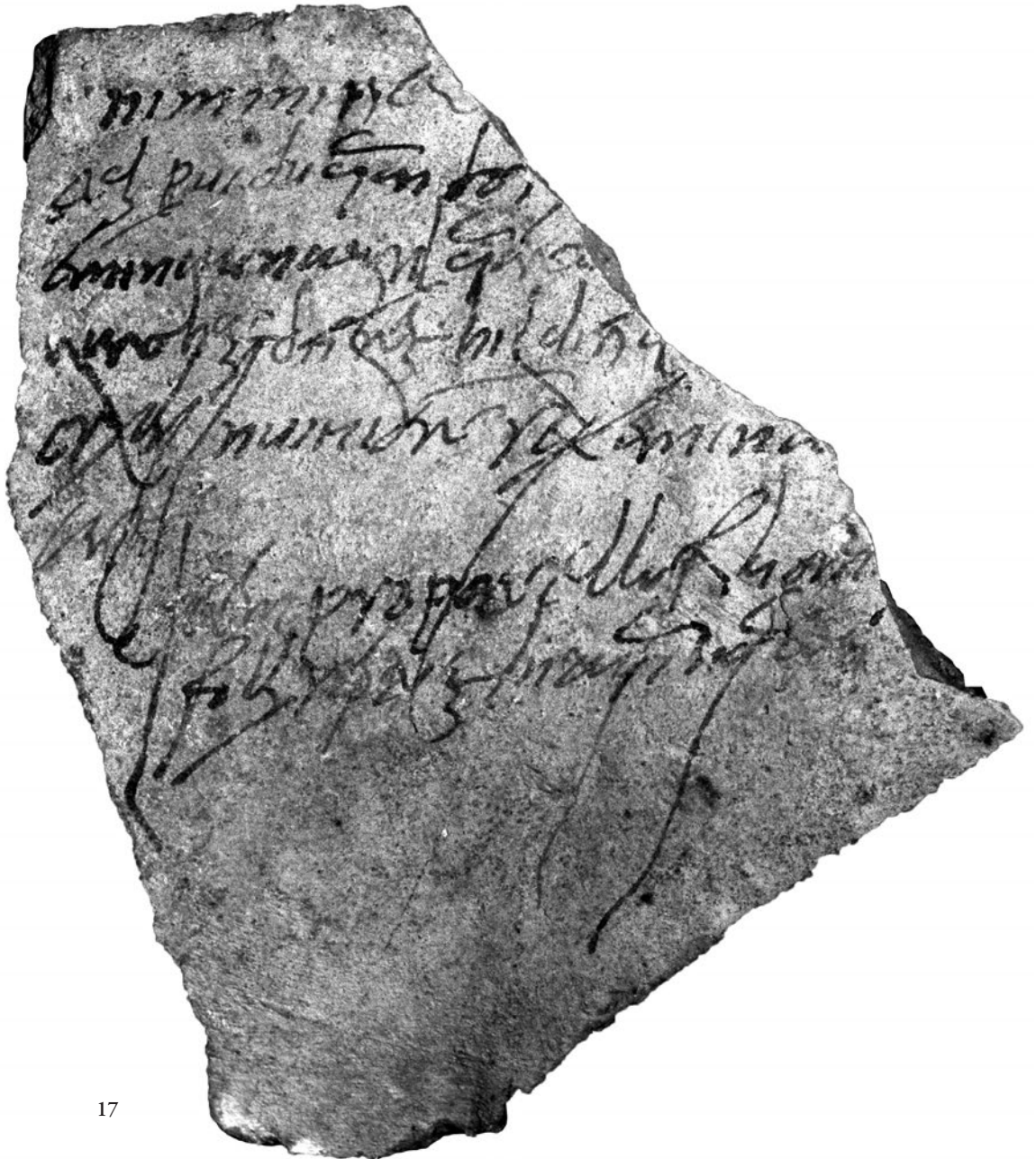
foll(es) septuaginta quinque . . . [

2 çel/ || p/ || q^aando || 3 q^aarto || 4 çarthag' dn' reg' || 5 or̄c̄ sex/ || 8 foll/.

Nimmire [...] we bought one ... [in the] fourth (?) [year] of Carthage of our lord king Hilderic [...]]^s [...] in jars of wine (?) ... we bought ... Likewise for a piglet for my son 75 folles ...

- 1 For different forms of this name, see KERR 2010, pp. 179 f.; cf. also JONGELING 1994, s.v. nimmira and nimmire.
- 2 The group of letters transcribed as çel/ is difficult to make out, and I am not entirely convinced of the reading; if correct, we may have the end of *porcel(l-)*. An alternative interpretation of the ink is . . . d(), but this does nothing to clarify what was written.

14. This ostrakon is kept in the Institut national du patrimoine, ministère de la Culture et de la Sauvegarde du patrimoine, in Tunis. I saw it in 2007 while working in Tunisia with Roger Bagnall and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi on inscribed amphora walls from Gigghi, which were subsequently published by the three of us and Ali Drine in AST, BAGNALL, VÁRHELYI & DRINE 2011–2012. I thank Ali Drine for his support and hospitality and Fathi Béjaoui for allowing us to study and photograph the ostrakon.



p(er) bidu(um), “for two days”? Or *p(er)/p(ro)* plus a proper name Vidu(-)? A form of *viduus*, “bereft” or “widowed,” is also possible, but does not really fit what is known of the overall context.

- 3 *emīnu(s)* (= *emīmus*) seems likelier than *emi nuunu*. What came next could have been a measure written in abbreviated form followed by *q̄rd̄(ei)*, “we bought one? of barley.” Instead, one could read *. . n̄i()*, but *vini* is doubtful, both on paleographical grounds and in light of the abbreviation stroke.

Despite the fact that the word *anno* typically precedes the year number in dating clauses, we should perhaps restore [*anno*] in the lacuna after *quarto*, unless *anno* and the year number were both written in the lacuna, and *quarto* goes with what precedes.

- 4 For the *c* letterform in *Carthag(inis)*, cf. the drawing in TjÄDER 1955, p. 102. The so-called Carthage regnal formula is known from a handful of sources; see the discussion in the general introduction above.

- 5 *çr() ri: Oçt̄qbri* is not an obvious or at all likely interpretation of the beginning of the line, although one could perhaps imagine *ct* ligatured in a similar way, as it sometimes is in the Ravenna papyri, see TjÄDER 1955, p. 102.

invin̄iōrc̄: the *n* looks like that of *n(ostri)*; instead of *o*, we might read *a*. It is not clear if the horizontal line that marks the abbreviation covers two or three letters; if three, then read *ōrc̄*—*in vini orc̄(is)*, or *orc̄(a)*, “in jars of wine.” The apparent abbreviation stroke after *x* in *sex* is so far unexplained. It could signal the proper name *Sex(tus)*, the ordinal number *sex(tus)*, or the measure *sex(tarius)*. Given the ambiguity of the line, it is difficult to have a preference, or to exclude the possibility of a cardinal number modifying *orcae*, “in jars of wine, 6.”

- 7 The price seems somewhat high. Perhaps the piglet was, as Julia Lougovaya has pointed out to me, meant as a pet for his son, cf. *SEG* 25, 711 (2nd/3rd c.), an epitaph from Edessa for a pet pig.
- 8 The word *quinque* might have been followed by *tantum*.

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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 PAPACONSTANTINO, *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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