

TWO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Alia Hanafi

1. Sale of Wine in Advance

P.Coptic Museum 3512

24,5 x 15,8 cm

Hermopolite nome
March 25th, AD 610

This is a light brown papyrus. Its top, bottom and a large part of its left hand side have been broken off. Consequently the beginning of all lines and the end of the text are missing. In spite of the missing portion, several lines can be reconstructed (12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22). The number of letters per line ranges from 36 (17) to 57 (3) letters. The remaining part of the document is sufficient to verify the context. The document is written along the fibres. The handwriting is upright, fluid, sometimes sloping to the right.

The document belongs to the monastery of Apa Apollon on the site of Bawit¹. The date is complete and precise : Phamenoth 29th, in the first year of Heraclius and in the 14th indiction (*i.e.* March 25th, AD 610). This year was not previously attested in the documents related to the reign of Heraclius².

This contract deals with a sale of 140 measures of wine, paid in advance. In return, the wine seller undertakes to deliver the mentioned quantity of wine at the following indiction, in the month of Mesore, during the grape harvest. There is a clause concerning a penalty for the delivery of spoilt wine, providing for the exchange of the wine if it is found to be sour, or not fit for use, or having a moldy taste. This clause takes place in the month of Phamenoth of the same indiction, which means that there is a period of six months from Thoth till Mecheir for assessing the quality of the wine.

The formulas in the sales for future delivery have been studied and described adequately and much discussed as the category of « sale in advance », « sale on delivery », or « contract for delivery », by which the price specified was paid in advance and the goods delivered later under threat of penalty for non-delivery³.

On the verso, only some letters remain :]παραϝου' Τουϝ[ιουϝ may be read.]παραϝου' may be the end of the name of the vinedresser, while Τουϝ[ιουϝ is the beginning of the patronymic⁴. A sentence such as χ(ει)ρ(όγραφο)ν γενομε(νον) name]παραϝου' Τουϝ[ιουϝ may be reconstructed⁵ ; or]παραϝου' Τουϝ[ιουϝ may be also read.

Recto

χ]μ[γ ἀμή]γ (vac.) [

- [† ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς] ἀγίας καὶ ζωοπ[ο]ιοῦ καὶ ὁμ[οου]σίου Τ[ρι]άδος Πατρὸς
[καὶ Υἱοῦ(ῶ) καὶ Ἁγίου(υ) πνεύματος]ε βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνο[τάτου]
[καὶ θεοτεφοῦς ἡμ]ῶν δεσπότης Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου
5 [Αὐγούστου Αὐτοκράτο]ρος ἔτους πρώτου' Φαμίε'(νῶθ) κθ ιδ ἰνδ(ικτίονος)
[† Αὐρήλιος name υἱὸς] Ἀπολλῶτος ἐκ μητρὸς
[name ἀμπελουργὸς ἀπὸ] κώμης Τανεμῶεως τοῦ
[Ἐρμουπολίτου νομοῦ (vac. ?) † τ]ῶ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀββᾶ

¹ On the monastery of Apa Apollon, see Timm (1984) 643–653 ; Drew-Bear (1979) 36–37 ; Krause (1958).

² See Bagnall / Worp (1978) 291.

³ See P.Cair.Isid. 90 introd. Add to the bibliography given there : Pringsheim (1950) 275 ; Bagnall (1977) 85–96 ; Jakab (2010) 335–344. Close parallels are P.Herm. 33 ; P.Antin. I 42 ; P.Oxy. XIV 1725 ; SB I 4504 and 4505 ; P.Ross.Georg. V 39 ; PSI X 1122 ; P.Lond. III 997 descr. (= SB XXII 15597) ; 999 descr. (= SB XVI 12488) ; 1001 (p. 270) ; V 1764 ; SPP XX 144 ; P. Strasb. I 1 ; P.Bad. 55 ; P.Oslo II 43 ; SB VI 9051 ; XVI 12401 and 12402.

⁴ Τοῦς as indeclinable name in SPP XX 258, 8 (VII AD), and Τοῦςις (gen. Τοῦςιους) in SB I 841 (II/III AD).

⁵ See SB XVI 12401, 15 (AD 590).

- [name τῷ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ (?) τοῦ ἁγίου μοναχ[η]ρ[ι]οῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλῶτος
 10 [ἐν ὄρει τῆς κώμης Τιτκώεως τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου νομο]ῦ χαίρειν.
 [ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγράμμενος name ἐσχηκ]έναι καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι
 [παρὰ τῆς σῆς εὐλαβείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνη]μένης τελείας
 [καὶ ἀξίας τιμῆς οἴνου νέου καλλίτου καὶ εὐαρέστου μέτρων ἐκ]ατῶν
 [τεσσεράκοντα ἀπὸ ξ(εστῶν)] τριῶν γί(νεται) οἴ(νου) μέτρα ρμ ἀπ' ὀ(ξετῶν) γ
 15 [ἄπερ σοι ἀποδώσω] ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τρύγης <τῷ> Μεσορῇ μ[ηνί] τῆς εἰ-
 [σιούσης] πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίονος) εὖν θεῷ παρέχοντος
 [σοῦ τὰ κοῦφα νέα] αὐτῶν · εἰ δὲ εὐρεθείη ὄξος ἢ ἀποιήτος
 [ἢ ὀζόμε]νος ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴνου ἕως τοῦ μηνὸς Φαμ(ενῶ) ἴθ'
 [τῆς αὐτῆς] ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμὲ ἀλλάξει σοι ἐν καλῷ οἴνω χωρὶς
 20 [τινος ὑπ]ε[ρ]θέσεως καὶ ἀντιλογίας καὶ οἰαδῆποτε ἀφορμῆς
 [καὶ πάσης] προχρείας · παρε[λ]θούσης δ]ε τῆς [προ]ειρημ(ένης)
 [προθεσμίας]]υ
 [.....]γης(α)

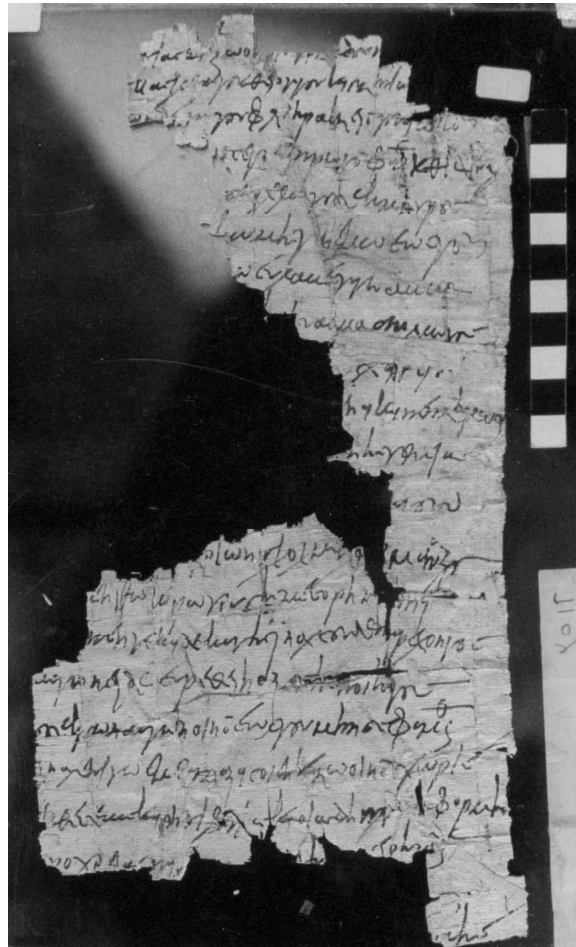
Verso (across the fibers)

]παρας() τους[

4 Φλ/ 5 Φαμ^ε ἰνδ/ 13 γυ/ οί/ 15 τῶν αὐτῶν (pap.) 16 ἰνδ/ 18 Φαμ^ος 19 ἰνδ/
 21 [προ]ειρημς

Fig. 1

Sale of wine in advance
 P.Coptic Museum 3512
 © Coptic Museum



In the name of the holy, life-giving, and consubstantial Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the first year of the reign of our most divine, most serene and crowned by God our master Flavius Heraclius, the perpetual Augustus, Imperator, Phamenoth 29th, 14th indiction. Aurelius (...) son of Apollos, his mother being (...), vinedresser from the village of Tanemois in the Hermopolite nome, to the most reverent Abba (...), archimandrite (?) of the holy monastery of Abba Apollos in the desert of the village of Titkois in Hermopolite nome, greetings. I, the afore-mentioned (...), agree that I have received and been paid in full from your discretion for the complete and goodly price we mutually agreed upon of the best and new must, of fine quality and tasty, one hundred and forty measures of must, (each measure consisting) of three xestai, total 140 measures of 3 xestai of wine, which I shall deliver for you at the time of vintage, in the month of Mesore with God's help in the next fifteenth indiction. You will supply the containers, new ones. And if the wine is found to be sour, or unfit for use, or having a moldy taste till the month of Phamenoth of the same indiction, I agree to exchange it for you in good wine without any delay or dispute or reason whatsoever or any loan. And when the aforesaid period is past (...).

1 χ]μ[γ ἀμή]ν. These traces may be the first line of the document. For the restoration, see P.Lond. II 483, 1 (p. 323 ; AD 615/616) and comm.

3 γαληνο[τάτου]. This is the traditional epithet, found only in upper Egypt ; see Bagnall / Worp (1978) 154.

2–5. For the whole restoration and the formula of dating, see P.Lond. I 483, 1–5 ; P.Herm 33, 1 (= SB XVI 12490 ; VI AD) ; P.Herm. 34, 1–2 (VII AD) ; SB I 4669, 1–3 (AD 613/614) ; P.Edfou 3, 1–3. (AD 618). It may be noticed that the notary has abbreviated the name of the month Phamenoth in two different ways (5 : Φαμε ; 18 : Φαμθc).

6. At the start of this line, one expects a cross, then Αὐρήλιος, the name of the vinedresser in the nominative, then υἱός in the lacuna before the patronymic Ἀπολλῶτος. In Byzantine Egypt, Αὐρήλιος was restricted to definite a category of Egypt's population ; see Keenan (1973), (1974) and (1983). For the restoration of υἱός, see BGU XVII 2695, 5 (AD 608) ; XII 2209, 9 (AD 614). For the interpretation of the profession of ἀμπελοργός as a vineyard specialist, see Mayerson (2003).

7. At the start of this line, one expects the name of the mother in the genitive, followed by ἀμπελοργός (description of the profession), and ἀπό in the lacuna before κώμης Τανεμώεωc. See BGU XII 2208, 8 (AD 614) ; XVII 2695, 6 ; 2207, 5 (AD 606 AD) ; all those parallels come from the Hermopolite nome. For ὁ ἀμπελοργός ἀπὸ] κώμης Τανεμώεωc, see BGU XII 2207, 5 ; 2208, 8 ; 2209, 11 ; XVII 2695, 7 ; SB XVI 12401, 6–7.

8. Since the average of the letters per line in our document is a minimum of 36 (line 17) and a maximum of 57 letters (line 3), there may be an empty space between Ἐρμουπολίτου νομοῦ and the cross before τ]ῶ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀββᾶ ; see SB XXII 15595, 2 (Hermopolite nome, VI/VII AD).

9. The lacuna at the beginning of this line needs a name of a monk, one belonging to the monastery of Apa Apollos near the village of Titkois followed by the title of the monk, either τῷ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ (see SB XVI 12401, 5) or πρ(οετῶτι) (see P.Lond. V 1899) or μονάζοντι (SB XXII 15595). I prefer τῷ ἀρχιμανδρίτῃ since the line contains only 34 letters, although the average per line is between 26 and 57. For details about the daily life and business in the monastery of Apa Apollos, see Delattre (2004). Various Apollos monasteries are known from late antique Egypt ; see MacCoull (1991).

10 [ἐν ὄρει τῆc κώμης Τιτκώεωc τοῦ Ἐρμουπολίτου νομο]ῦ χαίρειν. This is found also in other documents related to monastery of Apa Apollos of Titkois ; see SB XVI 12401, 7–9 (AD 590) ; P.Sta.Xyla 5, 8–9 n. (VI AD) ; P.Lond. V 1899, 7 and 11 (AD 600) ; and P.Mon.Apollo 27, which refers to the monastery of Apa Apollo at Τιτκώιc.

11. At the start of this line one expects ὁμολογῶ followed by a phrase such as ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγραμμένωc, then the name of the vinedresser. See SB XVI 12488, 17 (AD 538 AD) ; P.Prag. I 45, 9 (AD 521).

12. The formulation of this line is essentially identical to that of SB XVI 13037, 6–8 (AD 523) and SB XVI 12488, 5–6 (AD 538), except for εὐλαβετάτω (see line 8).

13 [καὶ ἀξία τιμῆς οἴνου νέου καλλίτου καὶ εὐαρέτου μέτρων ἐκ]ατῶν may be restored on the basis of SB XVI 12401, 7 and XVIII 13124, 6, where καλλίτου καὶ εὐαρέτου is placed after οἴνου νέου instead of being before <σου> παρέχοντος (16); see P.Sta.Xyla 5, 6-5 : ἐν οἴνω νέω καλλίτω καὶ εὐαρέτω. In some documents we find εὐαρέτου alone after μούτου; see SB I 4487, 4 (= SPP III 125; VI/VII AD); P. Lond. II 390, 2, and CPR XIV 4, 8. ἐκ]ατῶν may be read since the contract deals with a sale of 140 measures of wine (14 : ρμ).

14 ἀπὸ ξ(ετῶν)] τριῶν. In our document each measure consists of 3 *sextarii*. For the restoration, see SB XXII 15595. For measures consisting of 3 *sextarii*, see P.Amst. I 48, 14, a contract for the advance sale of 450 *knidia* of unfermented wine (9), in which each *knidion* contained 3 *sextarii*. See also Harrauer (1980) 11, note to line 11; Casson (1939) 8.

15 [ἄπερ σοι ἀποδώσω] ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τρύγης <τῷ> Μεσορῆ μ[ηνί]. There is no room for the article τῷ. For the restoration, see P.Ath.Xyla 6, 1 (VI AD) : <τῷ> Μεσορῆ μ[ηνί]. For the grape vintage ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τρύγης, see Schnebel (1925) 275; Montevicchi (1944) 146; also P.Oslo. II 43, 2.

15–16 τῆς εἰ[σιούσης]. See SB XVI 12489, 7 (V/VI AD).

16–17 παρέχοντος | [σοῦ τὰ κοῦφα νέα] αὐτῶν. Usually, the buyer contracts to provide the empty jars. For the restoration, see P.Lond. III 1001, 21 (p. 270). Some adjectives such as νέα sometimes accompany τὰ κοῦφα; see P.Ath.Xyla 6, 7 (VI AD), with note to line 7.

17–18 ὄξος ἢ ἀποίητος | [ἢ ὀζόμε]νος. See SB XVI 12488, 13 (AD 538). For a discussion of ὄξος, ἀποίητος, and ὀζόμενος, which are found in the guarantee clause of wine sales for future delivery, see P.Lugd.Bat. XVII 10; P.Oxy. XVI 1974,; also Kruit (1992) 265–276.

19–20 χωρὶς | [τινος ὑπε]ρ[ρ]θέσεως. For the restoration, see BGU XII 2198, 17 (VI AD); SB XVI 12603, 3 (VI/VII AD).

21. For the restoration of this line, see SB XVIII 13124, 13–14 (VI AD).

22]υ. This reading may be accepted if compared to the *upsilon* of the article τοῦ at the end of line 7; so ὅμις]υ may be restored. This line may contain a financial compensation. See SB XVI 12401 (AD 590), which is a close parallel to our document; the seller expresses the obligation to deliver 140 jars of wine, the same quantity as in our document (13–14). See also P.Oxy. XVI 1974 (AD 499), with a payment of 1 ½ *solidi*.

23. Perhaps [τὸ γράμμα κύριον καὶ βέβαιον καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολό]γησ(α).

2. A Christian Letter

P.Egypt.Mus. S.R 3733 (1) recto

30 x 18 cm

Provenance unknown

VI AD

The papyrus is badly mutilated. A part of the top left corner that includes the first, second, and third lines has been torn off. The papyrus was badly repaired, so that two thirds of the first and second lines of the left hand side corner should be moved to the edge of the right margin. The papyrus has many gaps in its upper two thirds, which makes the reading of the first four lines particularly difficult. The surface is of a darkish colour and tends to become lighter on the top, right and left hand sides. The lower margin is preserved, but not the top one. The left and right margins are preserved; thus the number of letters per line ranged from 34 (8) to 50 (4) letters. Line 13 is probably the last of the letter, because the line is directed upwards. Besides, the space between lines 12 and 13, which is narrower than that between the others, may indicate that the writer was trying to finish his letter by writing the last line parallel to the lower edge of the papyrus, which is oblique, and short. The handwriting is an upright regular cursive hand, readable and clear, sloping sometimes upwards to the right, along the fibres. The letters are of a large size. The shape of the letters indicates an

expert hand. This is confirmed by the fact that the sender of this letter is a notary. On the verso there is a Coptic document.

This document is a letter whose sender is a notary called Stephanos. He wrote this letter to a clergyman (see 1, 4, 11 and 13). It is not clear whether he is a private notary in a large estate or an official notary. We know there were in this period some official scribes, assisting the collectors of taxes in the office of the pagarch, called λογογράφοι or νοτάριοι⁶. Beside them there were private notaries, who had functions in the large estates⁷. The status of our notary and the fact that he mentions the landowner (9 : ὁ γεοῦχος) suggest that this letter came from a large estate which had its secretaries, accountants, tax-collectors and private army of hired soldiers, *buccellarii*⁸.

The subject of the letter is the sufferings of our notary, Stephanos, who encountered some difficulties as we may conclude from the words στενοῦμαι and ταλαιπωρῶ (see 7 and 8, n.). It seems that he has been ordered by the landowner to manage something (5–6), the exact nature of which is unclear from the text. We can guess that it may have been concerned with the collection of the taxes, which was a part of the notary's tasks⁹. Stephanos begs the priest to pray God that the landowner may have pity on him and the peasants, who apparently were being pressed by the landowner¹⁰. Appealing to priests and anchorites is much in evidence in the papyri ; it is a witness to the extent of the people's need for spiritual or physical assistance¹¹.

[. μν]ήμηγ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου. θαρρῶ δὲ [
 ἔχει μου . [.]ε αἰω. τὰς οὖν εὐχ[ὰς]
 τῆς ὑμ[ῶν πατ]ρ[ι]ότητος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πα[τέρω]ν μνίσθητί μοι[τι]
 ἐν ταῖς ἁγ[ί]αις εὐχαῖς [c]ου ὅ[τ]ε ἀναφέρεις τὰς ἁγίας προσφοράς
 5 ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ε[ν]πραξῆ μοι εἰς τὰ διοικ[ο]ύμε[ν]α παρ' ἐμοῦ
 πράγμα[τα κ]αὶ δυνηθῶ διοικῆσαι αὐτά, ἐπειδὴ [ο]ἱ
 γεωργοὶ ἐστενωθήσαν · καγὼ στενοῦμαι μετ' αὐτῶν
 καὶ ταλαιπωρῶ · κα[ὶ] δύναιτε ἢ πατριότης σου
 εὔξασθαι τὸν θεὸν ἵνα ἐλεήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ γεοῦχος τε
 10 καὶ εὔξητε καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν. † ἐγὼ δὲ Στέφανος
 ὁ νοτάριος ὁ ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς πόδας σου ἄλλο ἅπαξ
 παρακαλῶ εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμὶ
 καὶ οὐκ ἠξιώθην ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν εὐχῶν σου.

3 μνήθητι 8 δύναιται 10 εὔξηται

(...) remembrance in your prayers. I am however confident (...) has my (...) therefore (...) the prayers of your paternity and of the holy fathers, remember me in your holy prayers when you present the holy offerings in order that God may help me in the matters which I manage, and that I be able to manage them, since the peasants have encountered diffi-

⁶ See Rouillard (1928) 26 and 55 ; on the *tribuni et notarii*, P.Lond. V 1979, 3–4 n.

⁷ See Rouillard (1928) 202–203.

⁸ See Gascou (1976) ; MacLennan (1935) 38–46.

⁹ See Rouillard (1928) 202–203 ; also P.Lond. V 1915, 2–3, from a letter sent to a priest who may have power over the landlord as a bearer of λόγος Θεοῦ, and who received a remission of taxation from the landlord, or at least the possibility to postpone the assessed taxes.

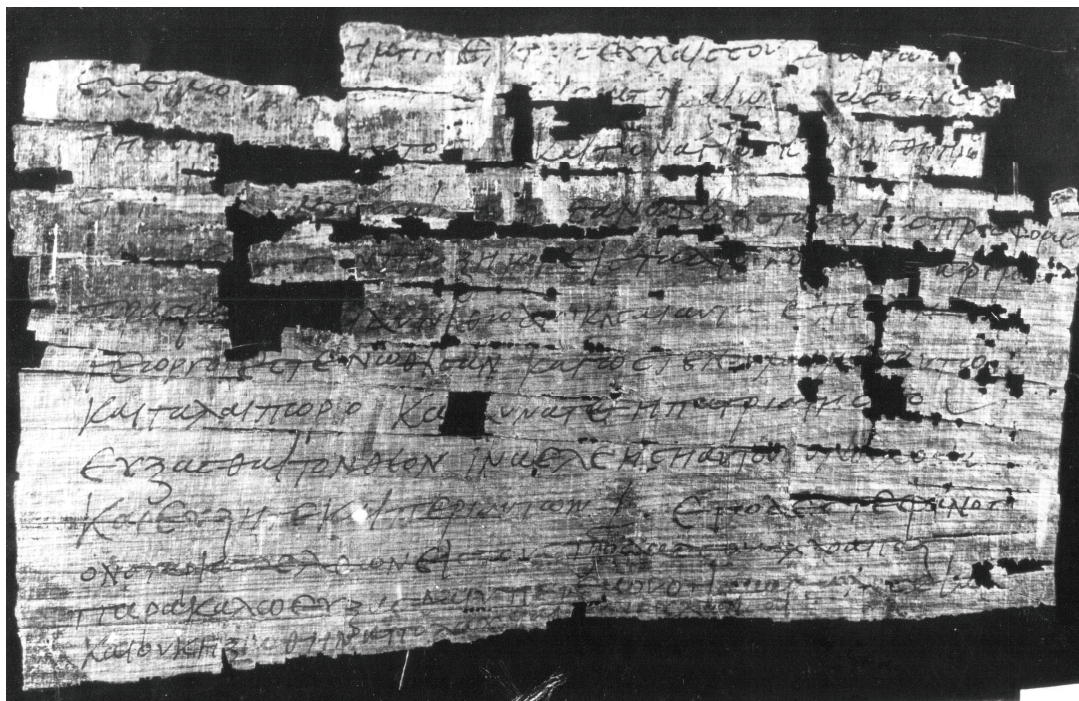
¹⁰ See 6–7 and 9. In P.Lond. V 1674, 91 (VI AD), the inhabitants prove that they are unable to pay the assessed taxes and they get a remission of taxation. P.Oxy. I 130, 9–10 (AD 548/549 ?) is a letter from Anoup to Apion, patrician and *dux* of Thebaid, asking for indulgence in respect of his debt which he declares himself presently unable to pay.

¹¹ See P.Lond. V 1923–1929, esp. p. 110.

culties ; and I also share their difficulties, and I am suffering. And your paternity can pray God so that their landowner may show mercy towards them and also pray even for them. (chrism) I, the notary Stephanos, who has come to your feet again, I beg you to pray for me because I am a sinner and I am not worthy of benefitting from your prayers.

Fig. 2

A Christian letter P.Egypt.Mus. S.R 3733 (1) recto © Egyptian Museum, Cairo



1. μν]ήμην may be restored despite the lack of parallels, except for SB XVI 12474, 3 (VI/VII AD) : [πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆ]ς τᾶλαιπώρου ἡμῶν ψυχῆς μνήμην [ποιο]ύμεν.

2]ιε αιω. There is a tail under the *iota* ; it may be the remaining of *xi*. The remaining three letters may be an end of a name in the dative.

3 τῆς ὑμ[ῶν πατ]ρ[ι]ότητος. See P.Lond. VI 1916, 32 (Cynopolite nome, AD 330–340 [?]) : καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πα[τέρω]ν μνίσθητί (μνήθητί) μο[ι].

μνίσθητί μο[ι]. A narrow strip of margin is preserved, showing that the small part of this line that contains]ν μνίσθητί μο[ι] must be moved to the right, and then, it will leave a gap sufficient for four letters. The suggested word πα[τέρω]ν gives us a good sense.

4 ἐν τᾶ[ι]ς ἀγ[ί]αις εὐχαίς [ε]ου. See P.Lond. VI 1923 11–13 : παρακαλῶ ὅπως | μνημονεύσης μου ἐν τῆς | ἀγίαις εὐχῆς (l. ταῖς ἀγίαις εὐχαίς) σου. The formula for prayers is discussed by Koskenniemi (1956) 145–148.

τὰς ἁγίας προσφοράς. Those are offered by the people to the church ; see Villecourt (1924). This offering was originally wheat and bread, and then oil and wine ; see Athanasius' Canon 64 in Crum / Riedel (1904) 129. It was the main source of the Church's revenue ; see Wipszycka (1972) 64–92. It was regulated by various laws, almost from the fourth till the twentieth century ; see ps.-Basil., edited by Crum (1904) 57–62 ; for the twelfth century, Gabriel Ibn Turaid edited by Burmester (1936) 5–45. For προσφορά, see P.Mey. 24, 9 n. ; as taxes, Gascou (1972) 245–246 and Rémondon (1972) 269.

6–7 ἐπειδὴ [ο]ί | γεωργοὶ ἐστενώθησαν. See P.Goodsp. 15, 24 (IV AD) : διὰ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων στήνωσιν (l. στένωσιν) ; P.Gen. I² 14, 6 : διὰ τὴν πολλήν μου στένωσιν[ν].

8 τάλαιπωρῶ. Whereas the adjective τάλαιπωρος appears frequently in the papyri, the use of the verb τάλαιπωρέω is very rare. It is recorded only once as a participle in P.Mil.Vogl. 24, 15 (II AD). Here the use is still intransitive (« to suffer, be troubled »); later usage – esp. Modern Greek – has retained only the transitive meaning (« to trouble someone »).

10-11 Στέφανος | ὁ νοτάριος. On *notarii*, see P.Lond. V 1679, 3–4 n. A list of notaries found in Byzantine contracts was drafted by Segrè (1927) 102–104.

12 ἁμαρτωλός. On the religious significance of ἁμαρτωλός, see Deissmann (1910) 114.

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