

Ἐρμηνεῖται ζωγραφικῆς, Διακονικά, Κυριακοδρόμια, Εὐαγγελιστάρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ Νομοκάνονες, Ἀγαθάγγελοι κ.ἄ. Τὰ πλείστα τῶν χειρογράφων χρονολογοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνος καὶ ἐξῆς καὶ εἶναι χαρτῶα. Σπουδαῖα εἶναι: ὁ Διγενῆς Ἀκρίτας τῆς πεζῆς διασκευῆς Ἄνδρου ἢ Πασχάλῃ (ἀριθμ. 27), τὰ ἔργα Πέτρου Κατσαῖτη (ἀριθμ. 28), ὁ αὐτόγραφος κῶδιξ Λογικῆς καὶ Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ Βικεντίου Δαμοδοῦ (ἀριθμ. 52), τὰ σπαράγματα περγαμηνῶν κωδίκων ἀπὸ τοῦ 10ου μέχρι τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνος (ἀριθμ. 90 ἐκ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, τοῦ 10ου αἰ.· ἀριθμ. 86 ἐκ τοῦ Βίου τοῦ Αἰσώπου, τοῦ 11ου αἰ.· ἀριθμ. 84 ἐκ λόγου τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, τοῦ 11ου αἰ.· ἀριθμ. 85 ἐκ τοῦ Λεξικοῦ τοῦ Κυρίλλου, τοῦ 13ου αἰ.).

Κατὰ τὸ μέγιστον μέρος του (94 χειρόγραφα) ὁ τόμος προέρχεται ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Καθηγητοῦ Λίνου Πολίτη, ἀκαμάτου θεράποντος τῆς παλαιογραφικῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἔχει δὲ συγκροτηθῆ μετὰ τὰς γνωστὰς καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλας παρομοίας ἐργασίας τοῦ συγγραφέως ἀρετὰς: τὴν διεξοδικότητα, τὴν πληρότητα καὶ τὴν φιλολογικὴν ἀκρίβειαν. Οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως Π. Σωτηροῦδης καὶ Α. Σακελλαρίδου-Σωτηροῦδης, ἀμφοτέρωι μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Καθηγητοῦ καὶ ἔμπειροι περὶ τὰ παλαιογραφικά, ὄχι μόνον ἐφρόντισαν διὰ τὴν ἀρτίαν ἐκδοσὶν τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ διδασκάλου των, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέθεσαν νέαν ὕλην εἴτε ὑπὸ μορφήν μικρῶν συμπληρώσεων εἰς τὸ κείμενον Πολίτη εἴτε ὡς πλήρη περιγραφὴν 24 χειρογράφων τῶν Σπουδαστηρίων Κλασικῆς Φιλολογίας, Πρακτικῆς Θεολογίας καὶ Δικαίου τῆς Νομικῆς Σχολῆς. Ἡ ἐργασία τῶν δύο ἐπιμελητῶν ἀμιλλᾶται κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα πρὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου των. Τῆς ἐκδόσεως προτάσσεται ἐκτενὴς εἰσαγωγὴ τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ Γ. Μ. Παράσογλου, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐκτίθενται αἱ ἐπιστημονικαὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ τὸ ἱστορικὸν αὐτῆς. Ἐπιτάσσονται 32 πίνακες χειρογράφων.

Ἄσφογος εἶναι ἡ τυπογραφικὴ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ τόμου, ὁ ὁποῖος εἶναι βέβαιον ὅτι θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ πολὺτιμον ἐργαλεῖον ἐρεῦνης καὶ πηγὴν πληροφοριῶν διὰ τοὺς ἀσχολουμένους εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν κειμένων. Οἱ σχόντες τὴν πρωτοβουλίαν ἐκδόσεως τοῦ τόμου καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἄξιοι συγχαρητηρίων διὰ τὸ ἐπίτευμά των καὶ τιμοῦν πρεπόντως τὴν μνήμην τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ Λίνου Πολίτη.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Α. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ

Andrea Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechisch-sprachlichen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1990 (Carl Winter-Universitätsverlag), pp. 410+16 plates = 28 photographs.

Miss Jördens' dissertation deals with "Contracts for Work in Late Greek-Speaking Egypt". She also takes this opportunity of editing or re-editing several texts drawn from the Heidelberg *Papyrus-Sammlung*, the Papyrological Institute "G. Vitelli", the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, and the British Museum. These texts are listed under the abbreviation *P. Heid. V*.

The texts offer a great variety of contracts giving substantial information on every kind of employee relations. It appears that they increased considerably in number during the Byzantine period up to and after the Arab conquest of Egypt, a fact which demonstrates the development of working relationships.

The first part (pp. 19-121) includes 7 contracts for work (*μίσθωσις ἔργων*), 1 lease of water-supply work, 4 leases of loans with distribution of crops, 7 contracts

for delivery of prepaid products (wheat, wine, meat). In addition, 4 *excursus* are included on the topics of *Ταβλίτης*, the position of *Σύμμαχοι*, and the transfer of work. The contracts under examination are introduced with an instructive list of Papyrological data, so that the reader can consider the data of the document, its provenance, its particular (i.e. *χειρόγραφον, μίσθωσις, συνάλλαγμα, ὁμολογία*), the duration of its validity, and the nature of the work. There follows an analysis of the content of each contract and an informative commentary. These contracts refer to work in a narrow sense; a list of them can be found on pp. 130-147: manual labour, trade, offer of services etc. The analysis of these contracts as attempted by Jördens gives a clear idea of their nature and function.

The next part contains documents providing working relations within the area of *leitourgies*. Again, we have a list of documents (pp. 185-194) accompanied by their details, while emphasis is placed on the main *leitourgies*: tax collection, transport, irrigation, security work etc. Here Jördens distinguishes three kinds of contracts according to the degree of the official's participation.

There follows a chapter under the heading "*Μίσθωσις τῶν ἔργων*". The documents here (listed on pp. 222-225) concern water-supply and viniculture. They reflect the early development of private wealth of land-owners.

The next chapter (pp. 233-259) deals with leases of land divided into two categories: a) from the time of Diocletian till AD 442, and b) from then until the Arab period. The leases are examined on the basis of distribution of crops. However, other details, mainly of place and date, are also taken into consideration.

Chapter VI (pp. 260-270) contains leases of a peculiar kind, as they are leases in form, but involve the execution of a piece of work (irrigation, cultivation, guarding of lands). They are in fact contracts serving current needs.

Working occupation and lending are examined next (pp. 271-295) with an extended chapter on terms used in these documents such as *προχρεία* and *παραμονή*.

Chapter VIII concerns "sales on delivery". These specific contracts set down the terms of the sale of a product paid in advance. They are known as *χειρόγραφα*, and include the dating formula, long-winded as a rule, the names of the persons involved (seller, purchaser, and possibly the guarantor) with details of their identity. They end with the signature of the persons who guarantee the validity of the contract. Jördens offers a substantial discussion revealing details and clarifying the issues involved in these "agreements". The conclusion is that these contracts are neither "loans" nor "sales" as it appears from the stated obligation that a certain product should be produced to satisfy a certain order. The form of the "contract" served both sides in the working relationship. The "employer" could take possession of the product when he needed it, while the "debtor" had already received a good income. So, Jördens suggests that these documents are "contracts for work", and their similarities in form with "orders" obliged the notaries to follow the customary form of the "contracts" faithfully, with the consequence that differences in the social and the financial situations of the parties involved were not always apparent. Jördens expresses the view that even in cases of agricultural products we can, in many cases, discern the work relations, if the quantity of the product is large enough to amount to the total production. The dependence of buyer/creditor is small. The farmer does not feel he has to sell the whole crop, because he can live off it. Yet the workman hopes for a "contract of loan", because his survival depends on the sale of the products of his work.

Chapter IX (pp. 342-348) deals with "contracts concerning training". The dis-

cussion refers to the contracting parties (teachers, guardians, parents, occasionally priests), the duration of apprenticeship, the salary paid to teacher or trainee, and the terms of the contract.

There follows a chapter (pp. 349-353) on "work without payment". Free work is agreed between individuals connected with a church. A salary is not given because the church or monastery pays for the keep of members of its community. The corresponding laymen's contracts differ in the matter of salary. The worker would try to secure his survival through dependence on a wealthy employer.

Next chapter (pp. 354-370) concerns "agreements for partnership". They imply full *κοινωνία* with a common share to financial means and a common contribution to the work, the profit, and/or the loss. The parity of partners is revealed by the sentence *ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἀλλήλοισ χείρειν*. Though common participation (*συνεργάζεσθαι ἀλλήλοισ*) was generally popular, especially in later times, there are contracts in the form of a *χειρόγραφον*, where the competence of each partner is split into supply of capital and offer of work. Thus the worker, being financially weaker, was a kind of employee of his financier, but he demanded an equal share in the profits, by virtue of the risks of his work. There are also contracts noteworthy for the variety of their forms. Jördens passes them all under her careful eye pointing out their peculiarities and particularities.

Lastly we come to the epilogue (pp. 371-375), where Jördens maintains that the only contracts displaying the influence of the changes which occurred in Diocletian's time are those which relate to nuture. These contracts disappear after AD 300. Diocletian's reign, despite certain innovations, can be the *terminus ad quem* for practical reasons. During this reign no changes in social life are observed. But for "contracts for work" and for the "private law" such a *terminus* is meaningless. These contracts are only change substantially in the middle of fifth century AD.

There follow "indexes" (XIV in number), a list of abbreviations, another list of references to papyri used in the book, and a table of bibliography covering the topics with which Jördens deals. The work ends with 28 photographs of papyri.

There is no doubt that Jördens' work merits a positive response. It is correctly structured as a whole, combining the edition of papyri with the presentation of theoretical issues. Jördens herself is not a jurist, but she tackles legal matters successfully. In her work one can see the eye of a historian combined with that of a jurist, while at the same time she convinces the reader of her linguistic and palaeographic merits. Also positive is the fact that, during the composition of her work, she consulted not only her evidently excellent teachers, but also many colleagues both in Germany and abroad (see her acknowledgements in the introduction). One of the gains from these profitable contacts was her ability to assemble, from various papyrological collections, 19 papyri relevant to her topic.

The book under review appeared four years after Jördens had submitted her thesis. During that time she was evidently able to deepen and broaden the material. Parallel to the present work Jördens has published a number of favourably received articles.

This work has been brought up to date; the material is excellently presented; the conclusions drawn are sound. Concerning details one could perhaps make some tiny observations, but I should not want these to be considered as defects. There are for example some linguistic lapses, some errors of accent (p. 51: *app. crit.*, and p. 69 also in the *app. crit.*, where we see *ὦ, τὸ* instead of *ὲ, τὸ*). In the bibliography certain misprints escape her attention, such as (p. 402) *Chronological Systems in Byzantine*

Egypt instead of the correct title *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*. In the *excursus* on *Σταβλίτης* she does not mention the interesting papyrus *P. Oxy. xiv 1676, 38*, which, however, in the meantime, has rather lost its primary interest (cf. J. R. Rea, "P. Oxy. xiv 1676, 38. From Stable to Record Office?" *ZPE* 91, 1992, 81-82). Sometimes Jördens repeats herself or speaks at rather great length while analysing all aspects of a question. But this is sometimes necessary as legal issues have to be analysed, and readers, being mostly papyrologists, linguists, historians and not jurists, must be informed on the assumption that their legal learning (as mine too) is limited.

In conclusion Jördens' book, which contributes to the exploration of essential aspects of papyrology during Byzantine times, is in more than one way a remarkable work.

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