



erc

European Research Council

Established by the European Commission



ALMA MATER STUDIORUM  
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA



# A PASSAGE TO ROME

Latin Insertions in Greek Documents from Late Antique Egypt



Wm. L. Heath

[illegible]

1. Latin **official texts**  
(from military or  
civilian bureaus)

## 2. Greek texts with **Latin dating formulae**

### 3. Greek texts with Latin names and sentences

4. Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)

## 5. Greek texts with the *di emu* formula



**Latin Relics in a Greek Egypt** ([MSCA-IF-GF n° 895634](#)):  
**Latin in Egyptian documents** between **Diocletian** and **Heraclius**



# Latin **RE**lics in a **G**reek **E**gypt

- a) *Prozeßprotokolle* – bilingual records of (court) proceedings [**Palme-Dolganov, Pedone**]
- b) Copies of legal texts (*Codex Theodosianus, Corpus Iuris* etc.) [**REDHIS**]
- c) Latin literature (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [**M.C. Scappaticcio**]
- d) **Latin official texts** (from military or civilian bureaus)
- e) Greek texts with **Latin dating formulae**
- f) Greek texts with **Latin with Latin names and sentences**
- g) Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)
- h) Greek texts with the **di emu** formula



# Latin RElics in a GRreek Egypt

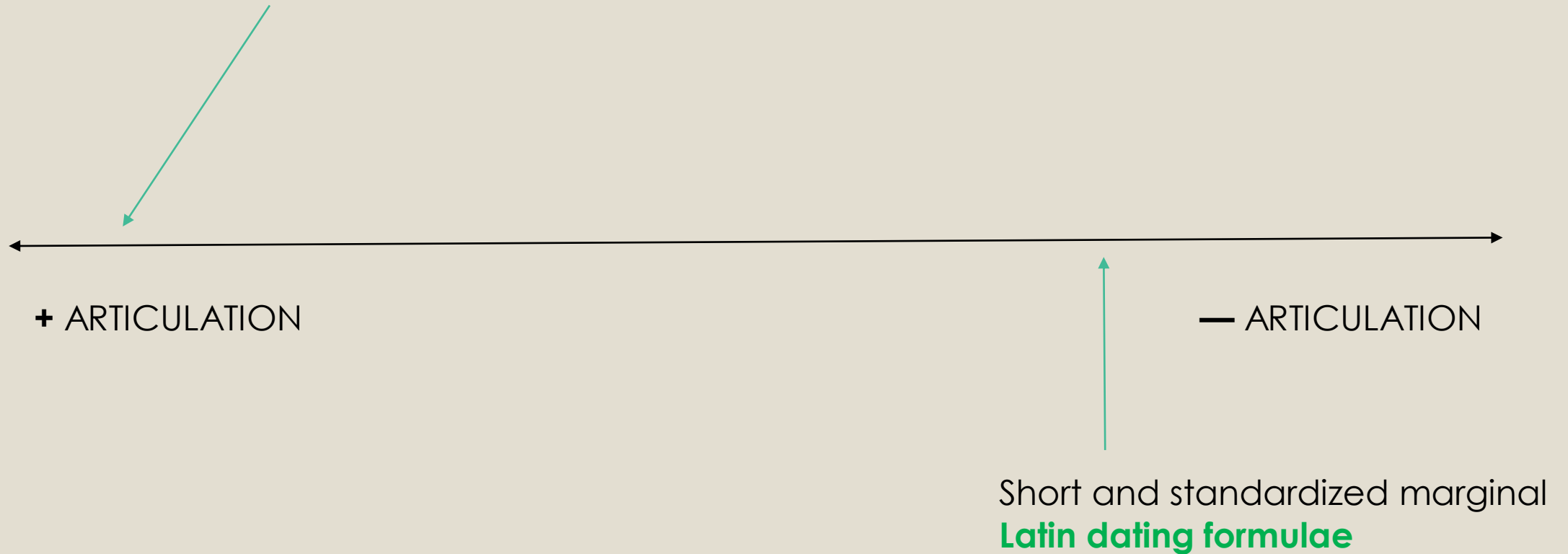
- a) *Prozeßprotokolle* – bilingual records of (court) proceedings [Palme-Dolganov, Pedone]
- b) Copies of legal texts (*Codex Theodosianus*, *Corpus Iuris* etc.) [REDHIS]
- c) Latin literature (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [M.C. Scappaticcio]
- d) **Latin official texts (from military or civilian bureaus) [9<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2021]**
- e) Greek texts with **Latin dating formulae**
- f) Greek texts with **Latin with Latin names and sentences**
- g) Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)
- h) Greek texts with the **di emu** formula

# Latin **RE**lics in a **G**reek **E**gypt

- a) *Prozeßprotokolle* – bilingual records of (court) proceedings [Palme-Dolganov, Pedone]
- b) Copies of legal texts (*Codex Theodosianus*, *Corpus Iuris* etc.) [REDHIS]
- c) Latin literature (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [M.C. Scappaticcio]
- d) **Latin official texts** (from military or civilian bureaus) [9<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 2021]
- e) **Greek texts with Latin dating formulae** [24<sup>th</sup> FEBRUARY 2022]
- f) Greek texts with **Latin names and sentences**
- g) Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)
- h) Greek texts with the **di emu** formula

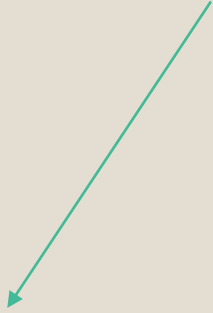


**Fully Latin documents**, carefully worded and bombastic, from provincial and Imperial chanceries



Short and standardized marginal  
**Latin dating formulae**

**Fully Latin documents**, carefully worded and bombastic, from provincial and Imperial chanceries



+ ARTICULATION

— ARTICULATION



Short and standardized marginal **Latin dating formulae**

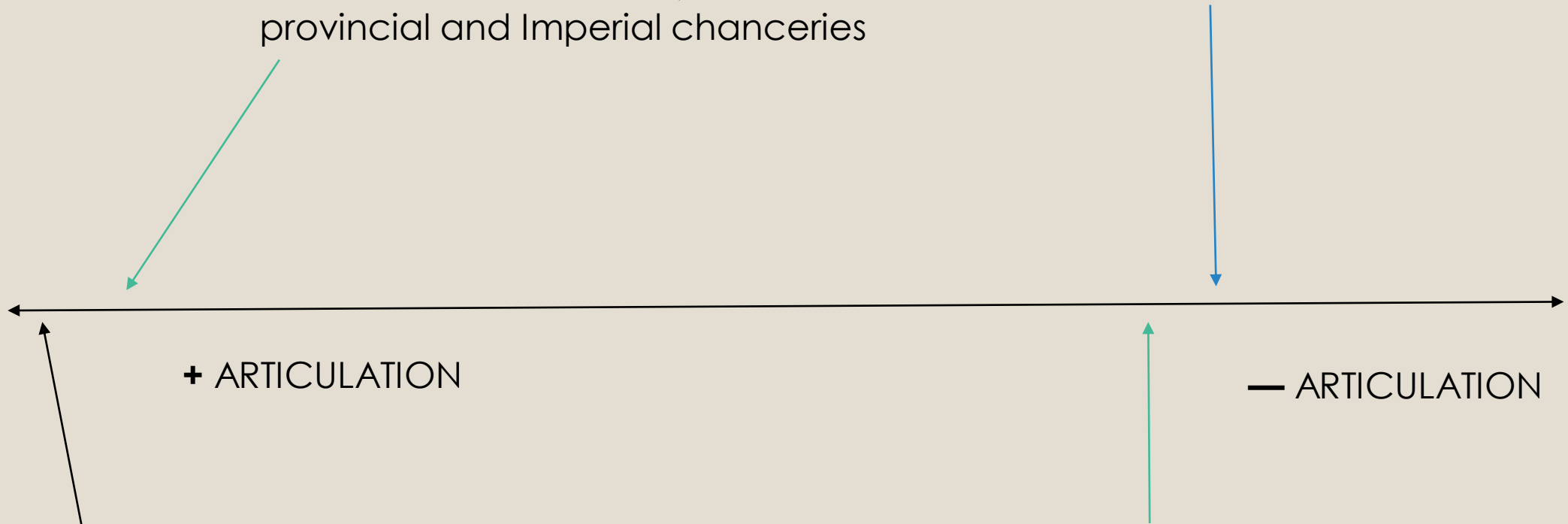


**Latin literature** (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [M.C. **Scappaticcio**]



**Fully Latin documents**, carefully worded and bombastic, from provincial and Imperial chanceries

Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)



**Latin literature** (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [M.C. **Scappaticcio**]

Short and standardized marginal **Latin dating formulae**

**Fully Latin documents**, carefully worded and bombastic, from provincial and Imperial chanceries

Greek texts with **Latin tags and seals** (*legi, recognoui, bene uale...*)

Greek texts with the **di emu** formula



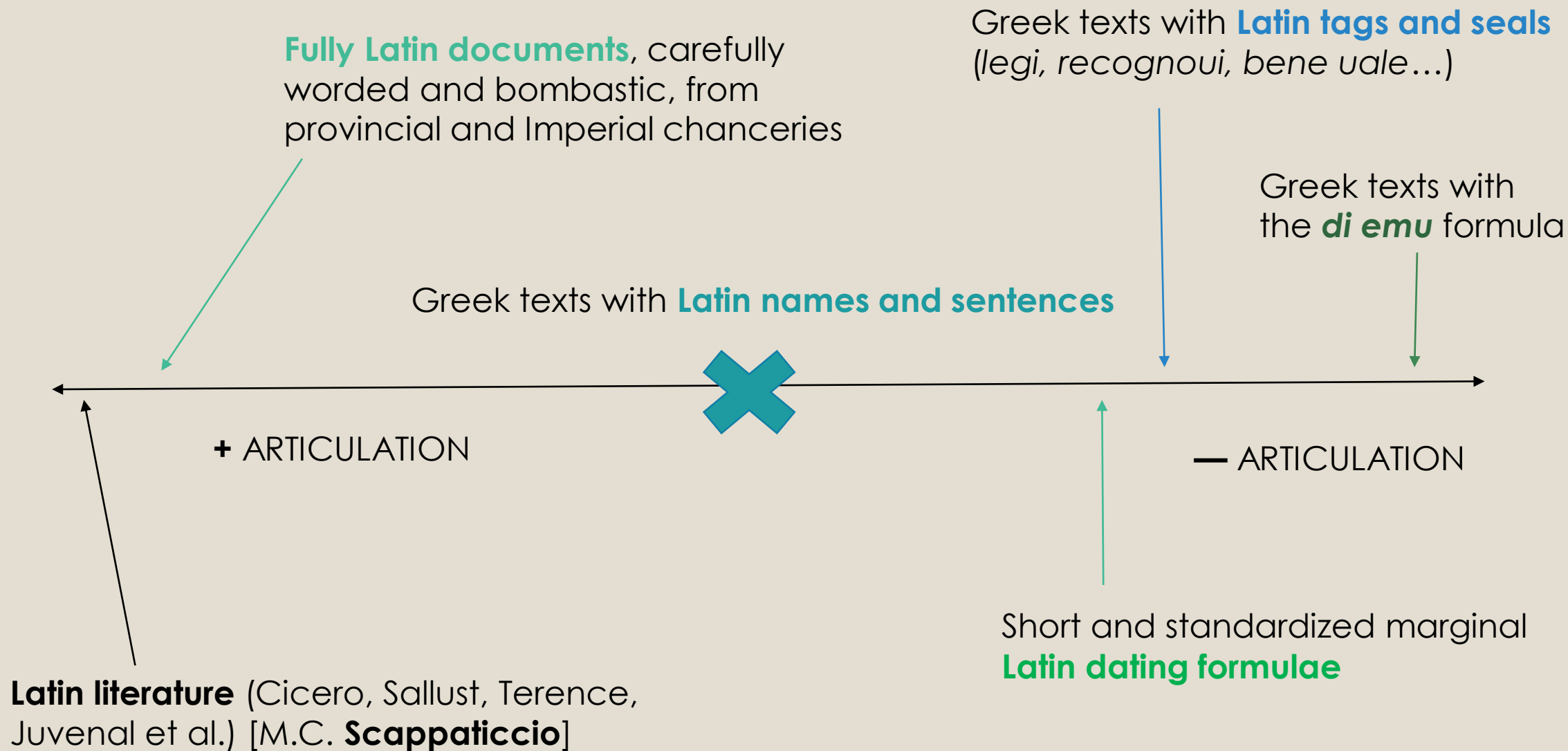
+ ARTICULATION

— ARTICULATION

**Latin literature** (Cicero, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal et al.) [M.C. **Scappaticcio**]

Short and standardized marginal **Latin dating formulae**





# The evidence

- Except for the *P.Petra* V 55, the texts are all **epistolary**

# The evidence

- Except for the *P.Petra* V 55, the texts are all **epistolary**
- ...as for Latin documentary texts, all letters, and Latin dating formulae, all associated to letters

# The evidence

- Except for the *P.Petra* V 55, the texts are all **epistolary**
- ...as for Latin documentary texts, all letters, and Latin dating formulae, all associated to letters
- **Latin in Late Antique Egypt is inextricable from (Latin) Late Antique epistolography**

# The evidence

- Greek texts containing **Latin passages**, from one to three or four clauses (also **translations**)



# The evidence

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)
- P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)
- P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)
- P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)
- Greek texts containing **Latin passages**, from one to three or four clauses (also **translations**)

# The evidence

- Greek texts containing **Latin passages**, from one to three or four clauses (also **translations**)
- Greek letters with inserted **Latin short sequences** in the letterhead (the *praescriptum*) and a subscription

# The evidence

- *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- *P.Vindob. inv.* G 24715 (AD 343)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- Greek texts containing **Latin passages**, from one to three or four clauses (also **translations**)
- Greek letters with inserted **Latin short sequences** in the letterhead (the *praescriptum*) and a subscription

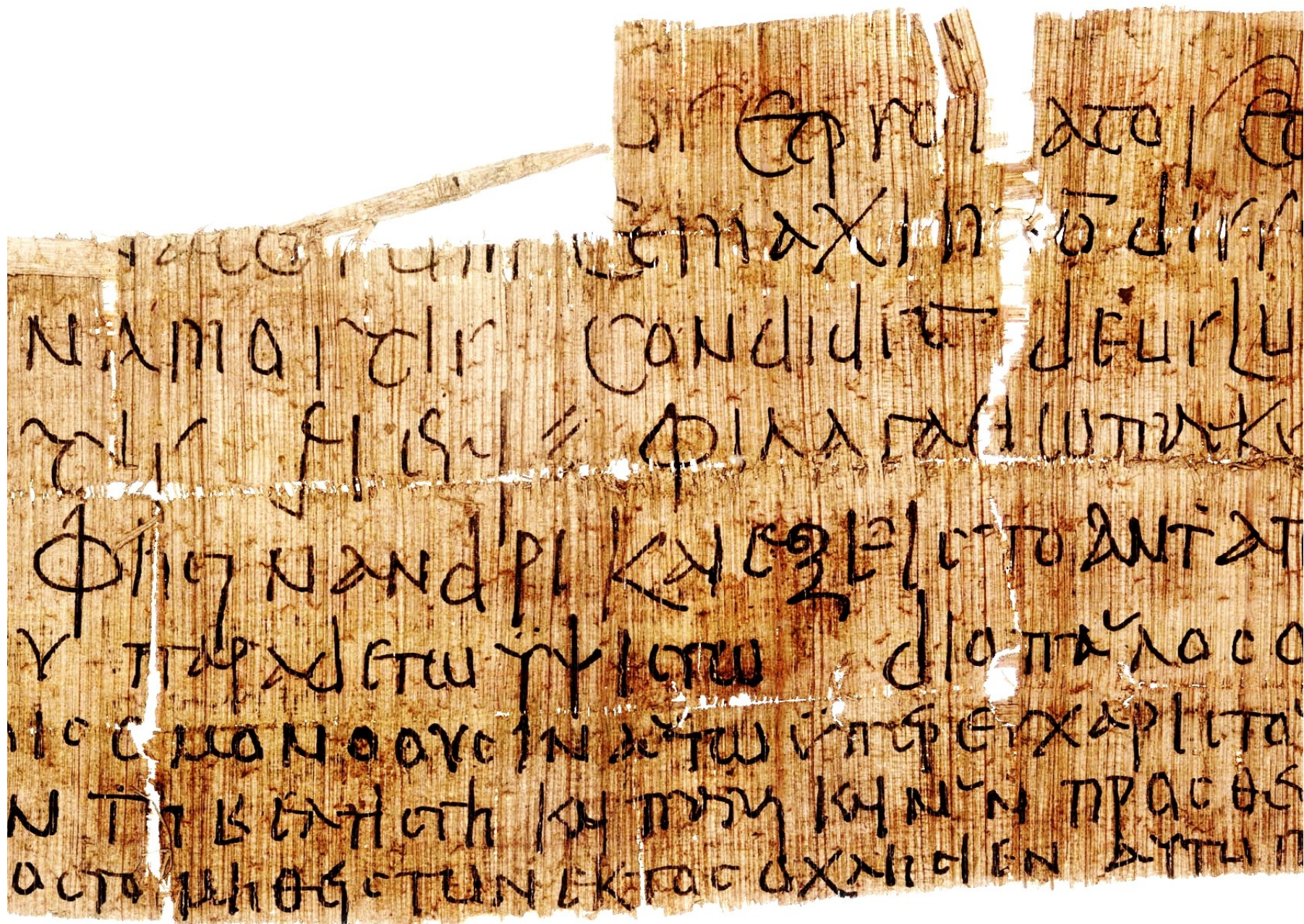
# The evidence

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- **SB XVI 12580** (late IV AD)
- Greek texts containing **Latin passages**, from one to three or four clauses (also **translations**)
- Greek letters with inserted **Latin short sequences** in the letterhead (the *praescriptum*) and a subscription
- A **hybrid**

# The first batch

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- **P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)**
- **P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)**
- **P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)**
- P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)
- P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)
- **Pezzella, A. (2022)** 'Remarks on the Scope and the Functions of the Code-switching in the Letters of Theon', in M. C. Scappaticcio and A. Pezzella (eds.), *Latin and Coptic. Languages, Literatures, Cultures in Contact*. Napoli: 137–74.

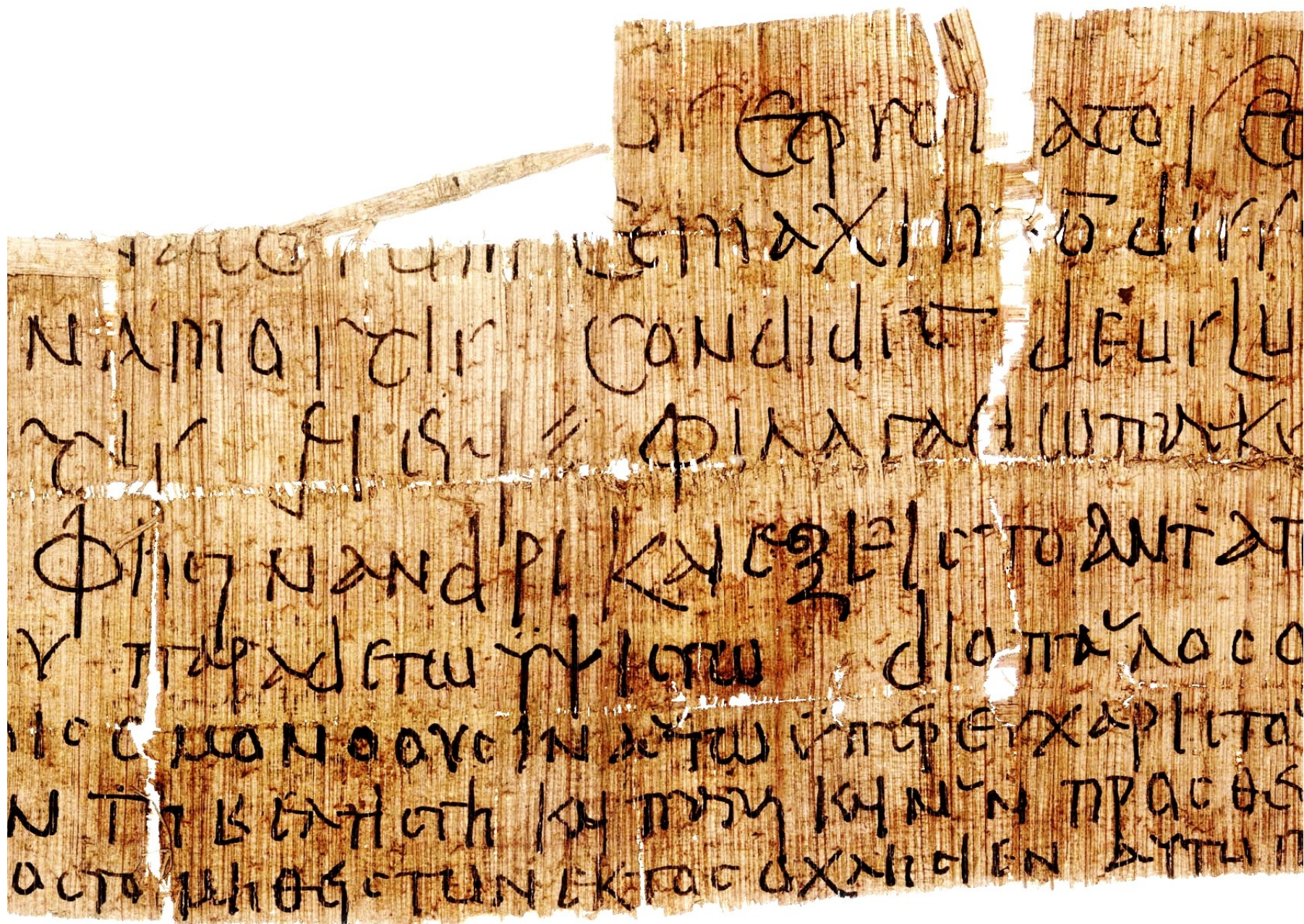




## Theon's letters

- Personal letters among Greek- and Coptic-speaking Egyptians, in Greek language **with Latin insertions**

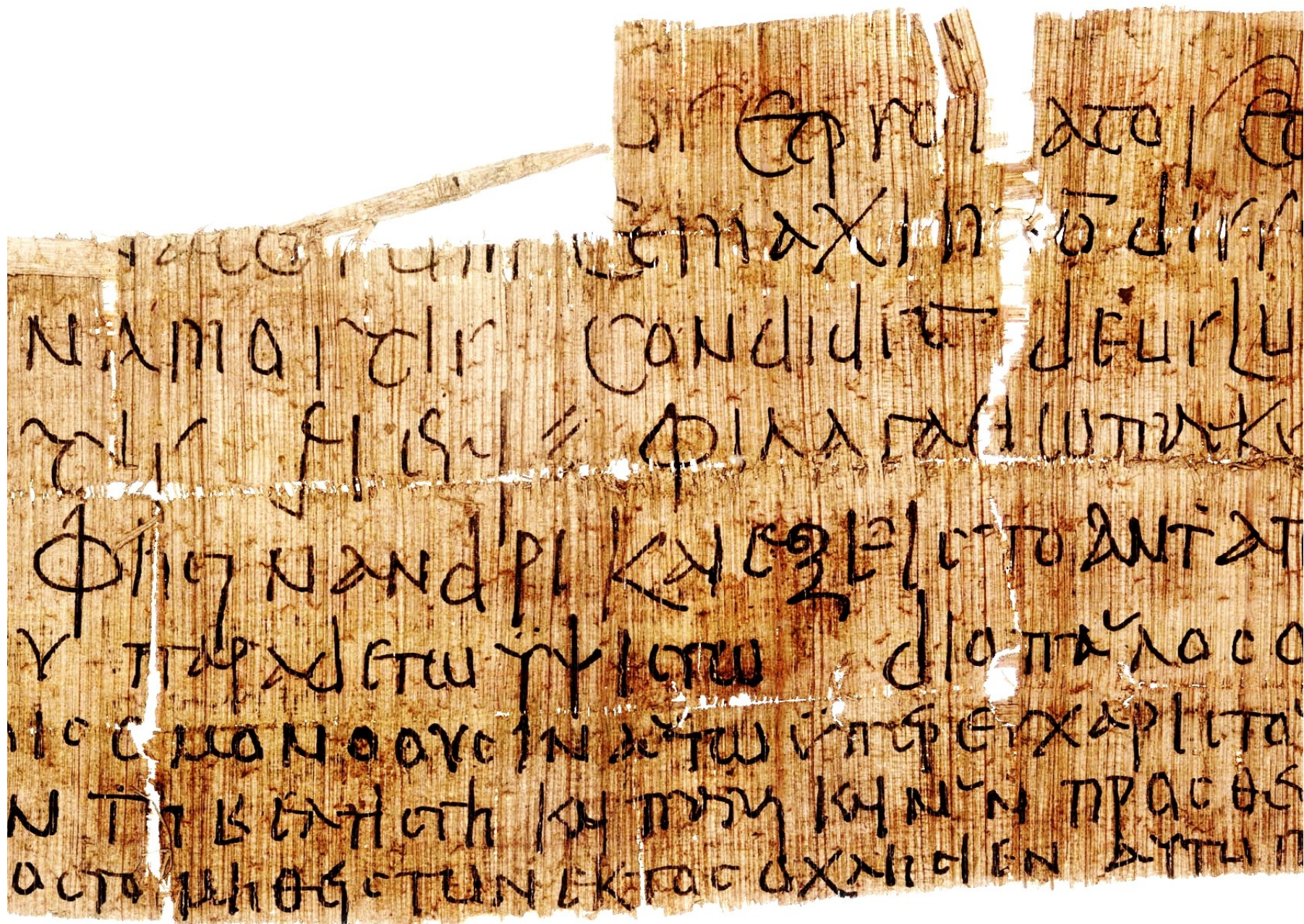




## Theon's letters

- Personal letters among Greek- and Coptic-speaking Egyptians, in Greek language **with Latin insertions**
- **THEON** (the ἅγιος ἀνὴρ?), **PASCENTIUS**, (Apa?) **APPHOUS**

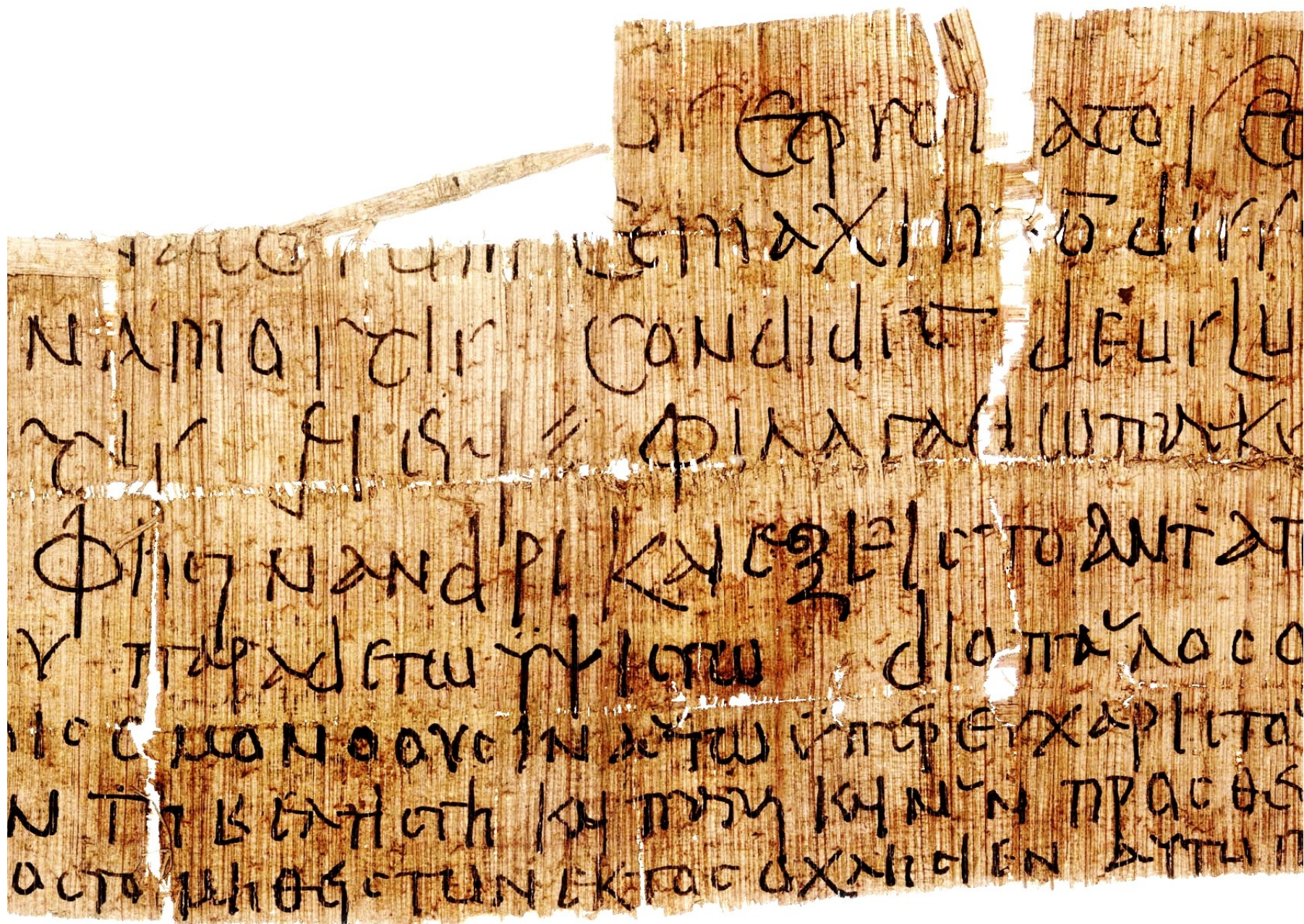




## Theon's letters

- Personal letters among Greek- and Coptic-speaking Egyptians, in Greek language **with Latin insertions**
- **THEON** (the ἅγιος ἀνὴρ?), **PASCENTIUS**, (Apa?) **APPHOUS**
- Asking for **favours**, and occasionally comfort the addressee's **distress**





## Theon's letters

- Personal letters among Greek- and Coptic-speaking Egyptians, in Greek language **with Latin insertions**
- **THEON** (the ἅγιος ἀνὴρ?), **PASCENTIUS**, (Apa?) **APPHOUS**
- Asking for **favours**, and occasionally **comfort the addressee's distress**
- Normal **Christian** letters, but...



# ...some Latin

- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193, ll. 1–4 *unamortis condidit deus | lues autem com | m[o]rtis fieri; verso: redde Pascentio serbo dei tempore*



## ...some Latin

- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193, ll. 1–4 *unamortis condidit deus | lues autem com | m[o]rtis fieri; verso: redde Pascentio serbo dei tempore*
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194, ll. 1–5 [- - -]os et probatos et inperato|rum et senatorum et maximo disserto et pau|peros una mortis condidit Deus, lues autem | com mortis fieri. Φιλαγάθω Πασκεντίω Θέων κτλ.; verso: serbo dei tempore Pascentio

## ...some Latin

- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193, ll. 1–4 *unamortis condidit deus | lues autem com | m[o]rtis fieri*; verso: *redde Pascentio serbo dei tempore*
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194, ll. 1–5 [- - -]os et probatos et inperato|rum et senatorum et maximo disserto et pau|peros una mortis condidit *Deus, lues autem | com mortis fieri*. Φιλαγάθω Πασκεντίω Θέων κτλ.; verso: *serbo dei tempore Pascentio*
- P.Köln IV 200, l. 10 *uale apud de(um)*; verso: *[r]edde serbo Dei te[mpore Apphuti]*

# ...where does it come from?

- *...et probatos et inperatorum et senatorum et maximo disserto et pauperos una mortis condidit Deus, lues autem com mortis fieri.*

# ...where does it come from?

- *...et probatos et inperatorum et senatorum et maximo disserto et pauperos una mortis condidit Deus, lues autem com mortis fieri.*
- *A.Apoll. 25* Musurillo γινώσκειν δέ σε θέλω, Περέννιε, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ συγκλητικοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν καὶ ἐπὶ πλουσίους καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ δούλους καὶ μεγάλους καὶ μικροὺς καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας ἓνα θάνατον ὥρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ δίκην μετὰ θάνατον ἔσεσθαι ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους.
- The martyrdom of **Apollonius** (II AD), a very popular work in Egypt

# ...where does it come from?

- *...et probatos et inperatorum et senatorum et maximo disserto et pauperos una mortis condidit Deus, lues autem com mortis fieri.*
- *A.Apoll. 25* Musurillo γινώσκειν δέ σε θέλω, Περέννιε, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐπὶ συγκλητικοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐξουσίαν πολλήν καὶ ἐπὶ πλουσίους καὶ πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ δούλους καὶ μεγάλους καὶ μικροὺς καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ ἰδιώτας ἓνα θάνατον ὥρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ δίκην μετὰ θάνατον ἔσσεσθαι ἐπὶ πάντα ἄνθρώπους.
- ‘But I wish you to know, Perennis, that **for emperors and senators and for those who wield great power**, for rich **and poor**, for slave and free, for the great and the insignificant, for the philosopher and the simple man, **God has laid down one and the same death** for all and **a judgement after death that shall be** for all mankind’.



# ...and the rest

- the ***redde alicui***-type of address on the verso (**Sarri 2018, 122–4**)

# ...and the rest

- the **redde alicui**-type of address on the verso ([Sarri 2018, 122–4](#))
- BGU I 28, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀπολιν[αρίως]τρατιώτη
- BGU I 164, verso: ἀπόδος Ἐμφού[ι]τ(ι) ἀπὸ Λυκαρίωνος
- P.Ross.Georg. III 4, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἰεράκι π(αρά) Ἀσ[κλ]ηπ[ιάδου]
- P.Tebt. II 422, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι ἀπὸ Σύρου ἀδελφοῦ εἰς Τεπτῦνειν.

# ...and the rest

- the **redde alicui**-type of address on the verso (**Sarri 2018, 122–4**)
- *BGU I 28*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀπολιν[αρίως]τρατιώτη
- *BGU I 164*, verso: ἀπόδος Ἐμφού[ι]τ(ι) ἀπὸ Λυκαρίωνος
- *P.Ross.Georg. III 4*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἱεράκι π(αρά) Ἀσ[κλ]ηπ[ιάδου]
- *P.Tebt. II 422*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι ἀπὸ Σύρου ἀδελφοῦ εἰς Τεπτῦνειν.
- **vale** apud Deum

# ...and the rest

- the **redde alicui**-type of address on the verso (**Sarri 2018, 122–4**)
- *BGU I 28*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀπολιν[αρίωσ]τρατιώτη
- *BGU I 164*, verso: ἀπόδος Ἐμφού[ι]τ(ι) ἀπὸ Λυκαρίωνος
- *P.Ross.Georg. III 4*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἰεράκι π(αρά) Ἀσ[κλ]ηπ[ιάδου]
- *P.Tebt. II 422*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι ἀπὸ Σύρου ἀδελφοῦ εἰς Τεπτῦνειν.
- **vale** apud Deum
- the final **subscription**: **vale**, *valete, opto bene valeas, ἔρρωσο*, ἔρρωσθε, ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι κτλ.

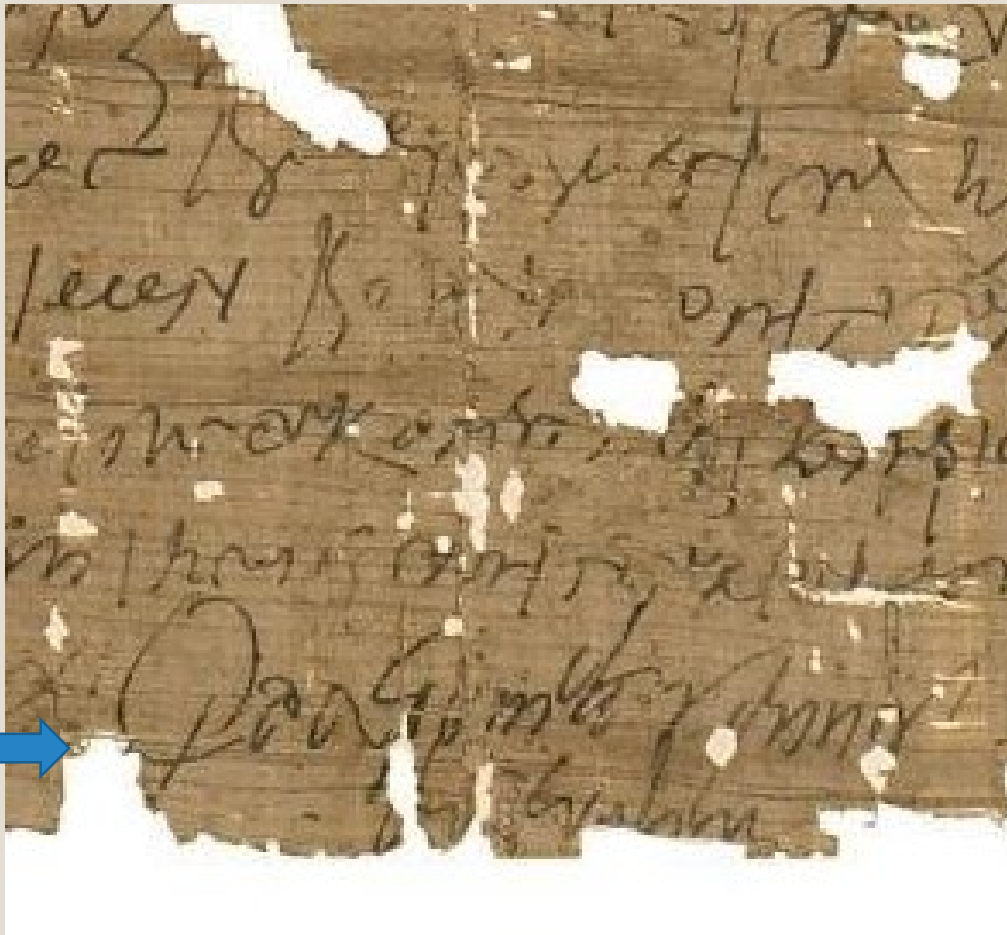
# ...and the rest

- the **redde alicui**-type of address on the verso (**Sarri 2018, 122–4**)
- *BGU I 28*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀπολιν[αρίωσ]τρατιώτη
- *BGU I 164*, verso: ἀπόδος Ἐμφού[ι]τ(ι) ἀπὸ Λυκαρίωνος
- *P.Ross.Georg. III 4*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἱεράκι π(αρά) Ἀσ[κλ]ηπ[ιάδου]
- *P.Tebt. II 422*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι ἀπὸ Σύρου ἀδελφοῦ εἰς Τεπτῦνειν.
- **vale** *apud Deum*
- the final **subscription**: **vale**, *valete*, *opto bene valeas*, ἔρρωσο, ἔρρωσθε, ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι κτλ.
- Parsons in *P.Rain.Cent. 164*, pp. 488–9

# ...and the rest

- the **redde alicui**-type of address on the verso (**Sarri 2018, 122–4**)
- *BGU I 28*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀπολιν[αρίω σ]τρατιώτη
- *BGU I 164*, verso: ἀπόδος Ἐμφού[ι]τ(ι) ἀπὸ Λυκαρίωνος
- *P.Ross.Georg. III 4*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἱεράκι π(αρά) Ἀσ[κλ]ηπ[ιάδου]
- *P.Tebt. II 422*, verso: ἀπόδ(ος) Ἀκουτᾶτι ἀπὸ Σύρου ἀδελφοῦ εἰς Τεπτῦνειν.
- **vale** *apud Deum*
- the final **subscription**: **vale**, *ualete*, *opto bene valeas*, **ἔρρωσο**, ἔρρωσθε, ἔρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι κτλ.
- Parsons in *P.Rain.Cent. 164*, pp. 488–9
- Anyone who **learned Latin** in the **military** or to enter **civil administration** could, if he so wished, **subscribe in Latin his own letters**

# ...and the rest



- Anyone who learned Latin in the military or to enter civil administration could, if he so wished, subscribe in Latin his own letters
- Like **Flavius Abinnaeus**, former *praefectus alae Dionysiados*, in AD **346–51**
- *P.Abinn.* 16, ll. 18–20 ...ὅσον|δήποτε  
ἐποίησας εἰς πιτ'τάκιον ἀπόστιλόν μοι |  
αὐτὰ ἐν τάχι. **Et te per multos annos |  
be[n]e ualere.**

# WHY LATIN?



# WHY LATIN?

1. The **same scribe** wrote the Greek and the Latin portions

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are **private**: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are private: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses
3. The Latin is **gawky**

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are private: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses
3. The Latin is gawky

'The code-switches likely mark a communication between **pairs with equal cultural and linguistic competences** and happen from the speakers' native language (Greek) **to the language they somehow learned (Latin)**. CS possibly has a social intention as it would serve the purpose of **shaping a bilingual identity** while also negotiating an intimate relationship between the speakers based **on a shared belief and a common cultural background**' (pp. 151–2)

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are private: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses
3. The Latin is gawky
4. Latin is part of Theon, Pascentius and Apphous' **past**: it recalls their **bond**

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are private: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses
3. The Latin is gawky
4. Latin is part of Theon, Pascentius and Apphous' **past**: it recalls their **bond**
5. **'Cultural solidarity, relationship of equality'**

# WHY LATIN?

1. The same scribe wrote the Greek and the Latin portions
2. The letters are private: two friends or at least acquaintances are communicating on personal businesses
3. The Latin is gawky
4. Latin is part of Theon, Pascentius and Apphous' **past**: it recalls their **bond**
5. 'Cultural solidarity, relationship of equality'
6. **YES, BUT WHERE?**





## Western pilgrims in Egypt





## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- From the IV AD onwards, pilgrims go to Egypt to learn about monasticism and ἄσκησις





## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- From the IV AD onwards, pilgrims go to Egypt to learn about monasticism and ἄσκησις
- They lived in **monasteries**, **Latin native speakers** among Graeco-Egyptians

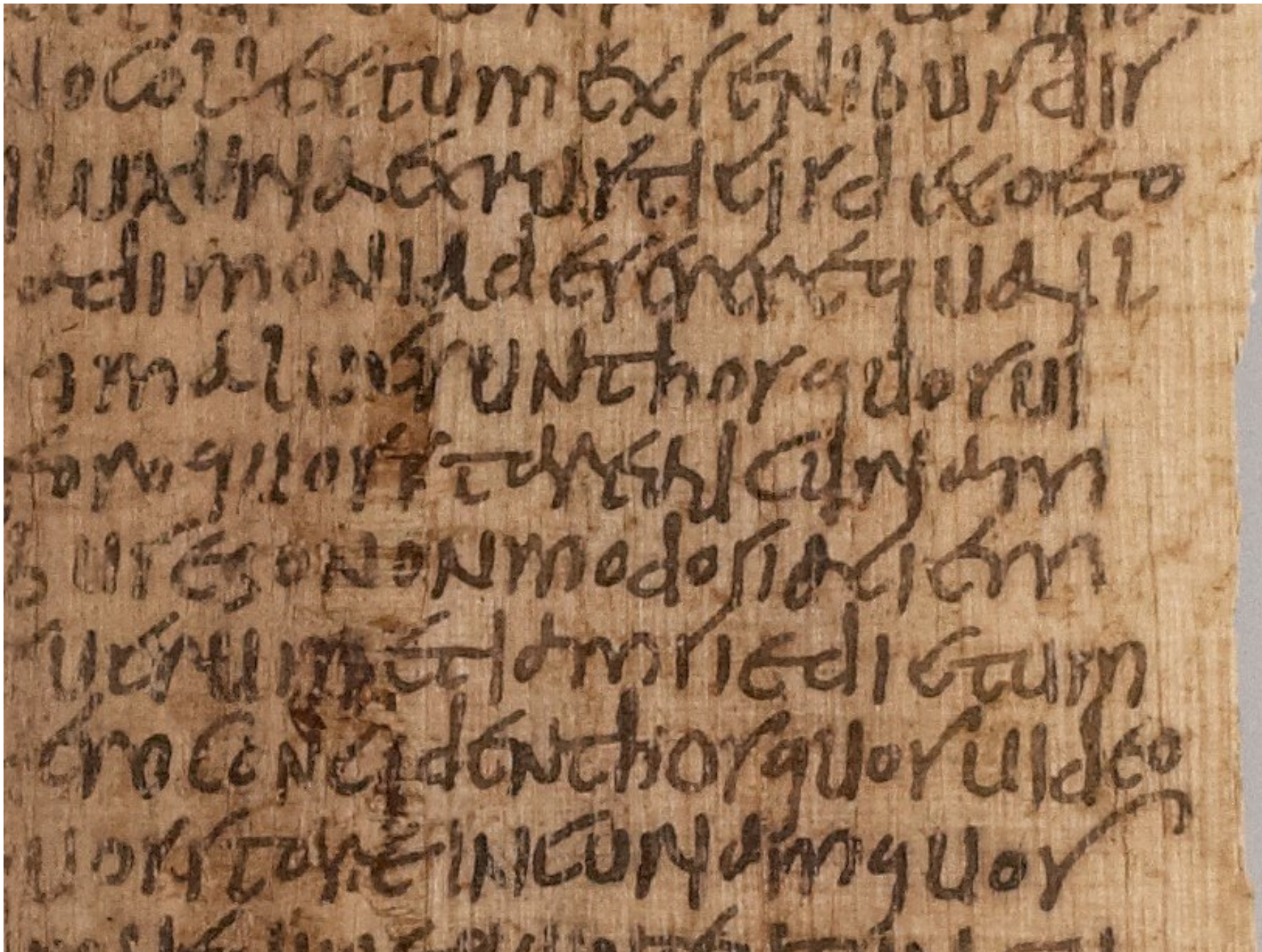




## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- 'Latin brought to Egypt by travellers and pilgrims, who were interested in learning the new ascetic practice, and **in translating into Latin and spreading towards the West** the texts and regulations of the emerging Egyptian monastic communities' (Torallas Tovar)

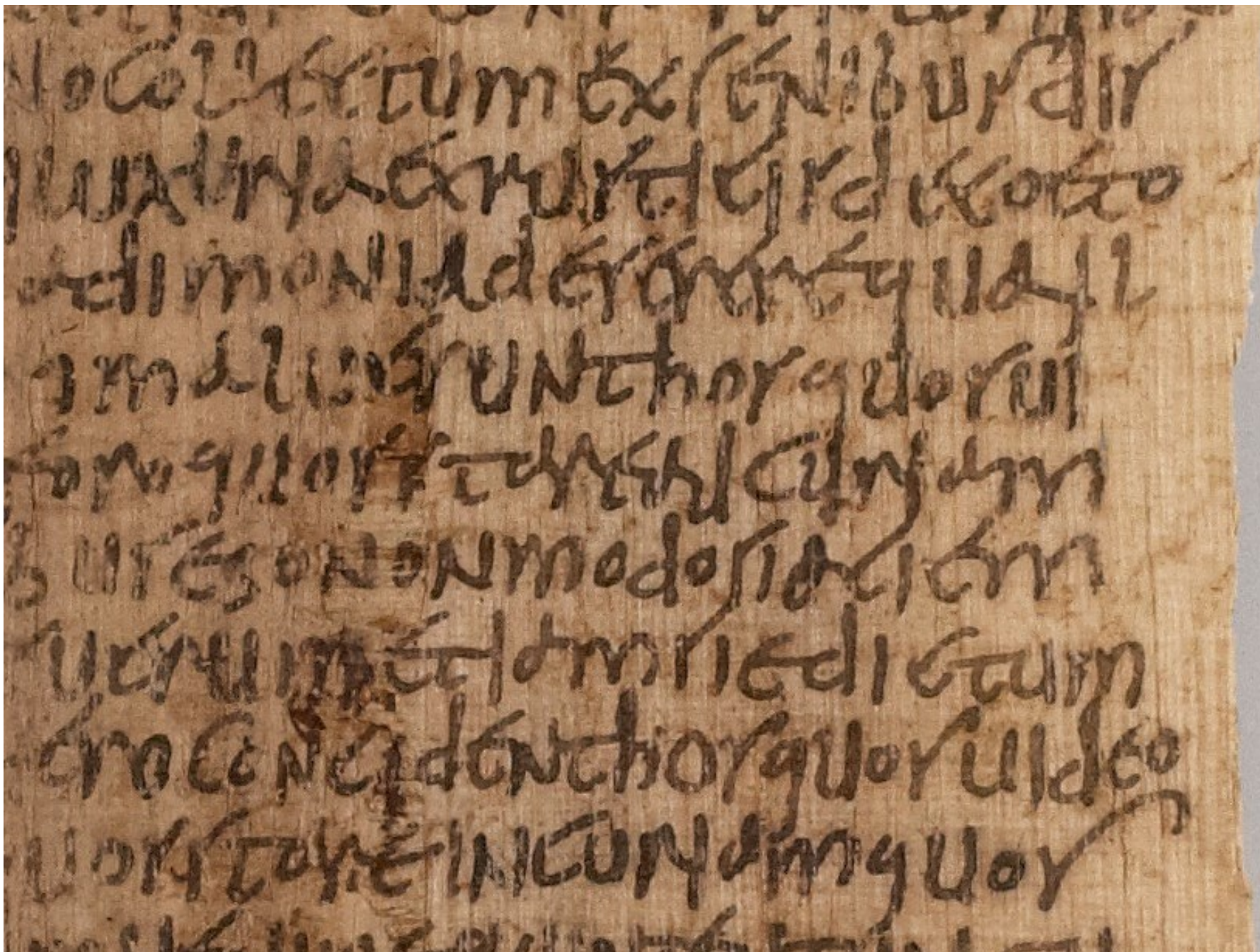




## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- These people needed at least a small complement of Latin texts – and at least to learn Coptic

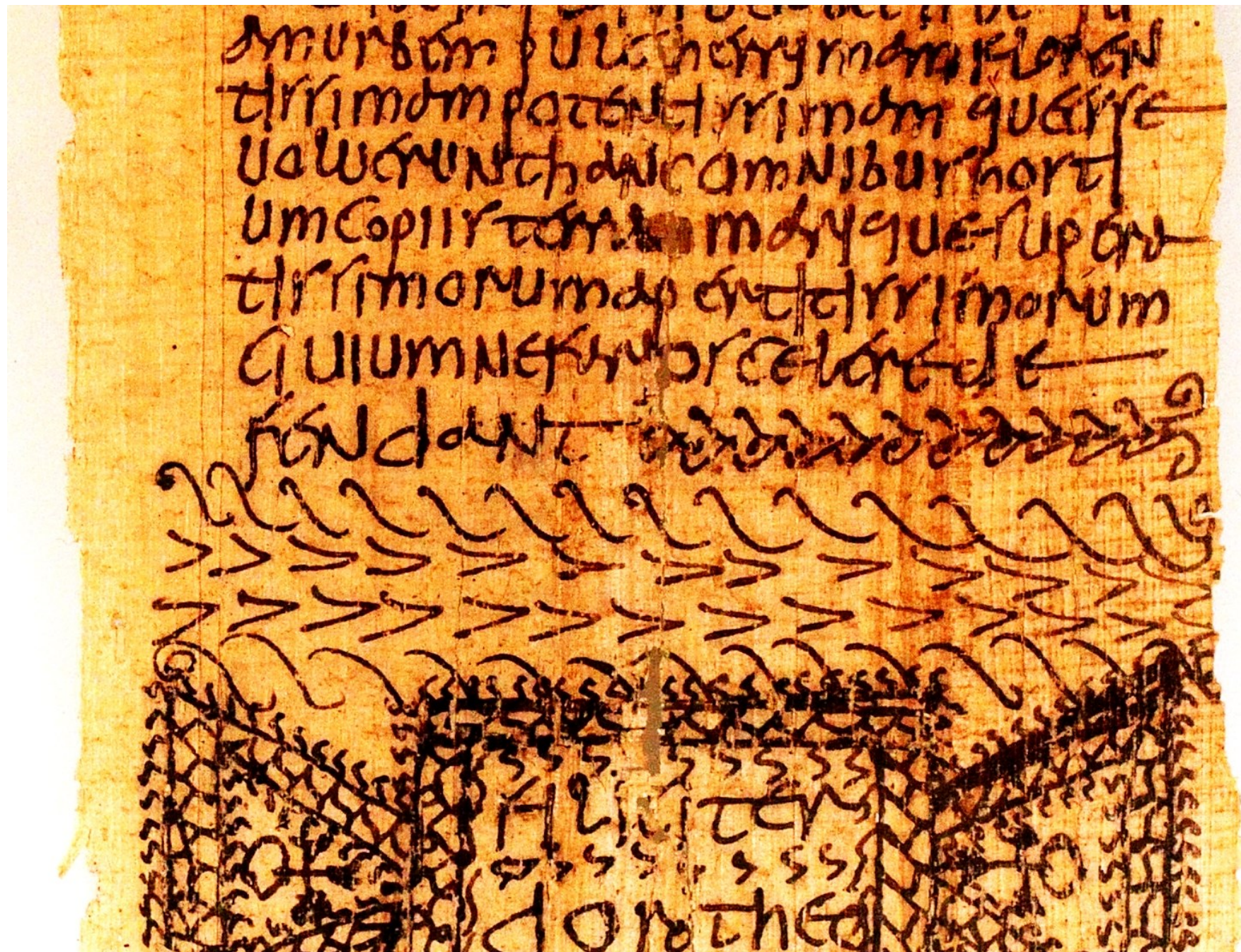




## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- This explains the **P.Monts.Roca** inv. 128-157 + P.Duke inv. 798
- Cicero, *Alcestis*, *Hadrianus*, psalms, tachygraphy, etc.

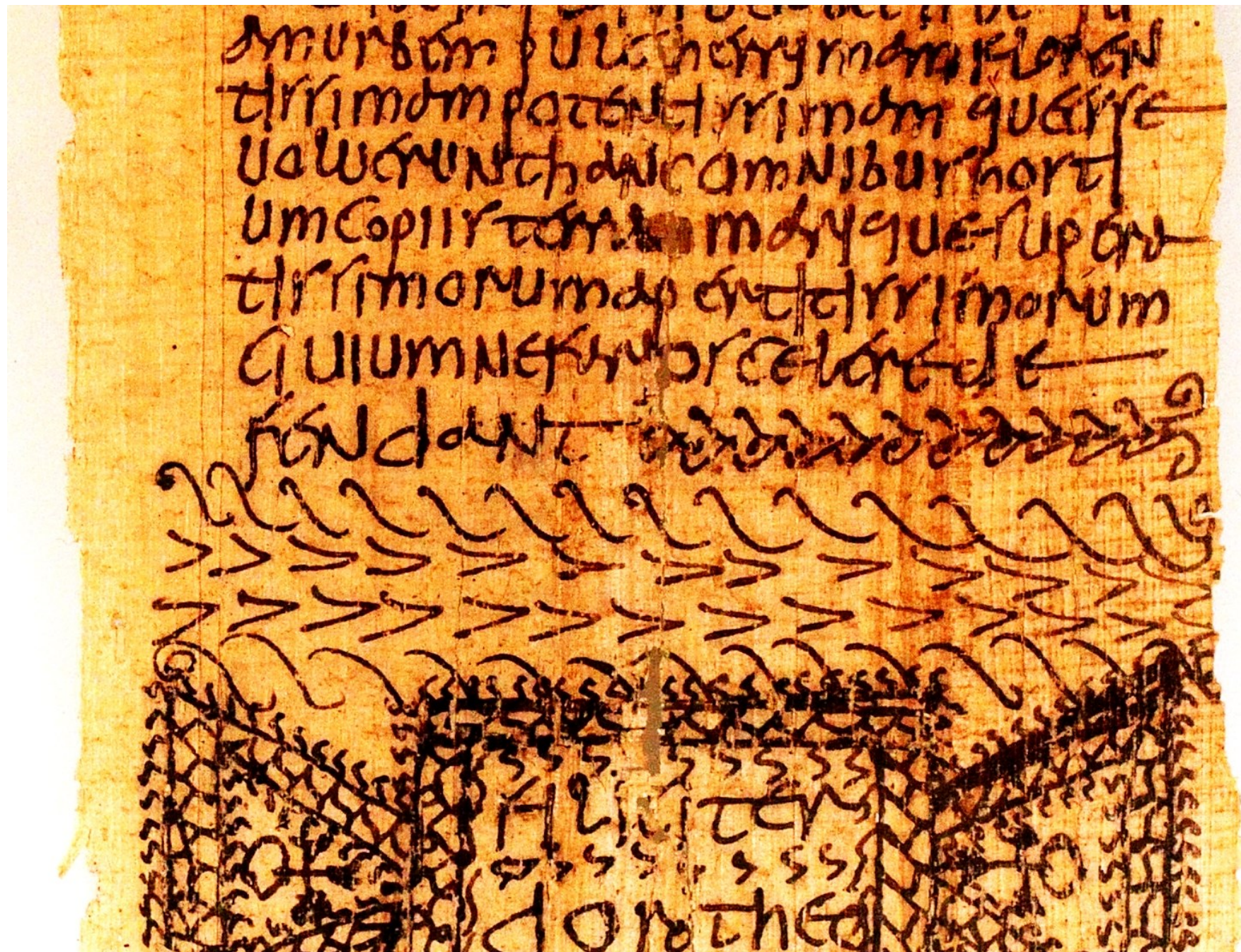




## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- This explains the **P.Monts.Roca** inv. 128-157 + P.Duke inv. 798
- Cicero, *Alcestis*, *Hadrianus*, psalms, tachygraphy, etc.
- Maybe **Dorotheus**, who copied most of it, needed material for his **homilies**





## Western pilgrims in Egypt

- This explains the **P.Monts.Roca** inv. 128-157 + P.Duke inv. 798
- Maybe **Dorotheus**, who copied most of it, needed material for his **homilies**
- In the **Metanoia** monastery in the Delta, Latinophones were a majority and interpreters were needed



# In short:

- 'There was linguistic contact and there was exchange between speakers of Latin and speakers of Coptic. The sources describe the linguistic context of the early monasteries in some detail. **Texts were translated, even in both directions, sometimes with the mediation of Greek, and sometimes perhaps without it.** Travellers returned home to the West carrying a treasure of ascetic knowledge, ready to found their own communities and produce their foundational texts' (Torallas Tovar)

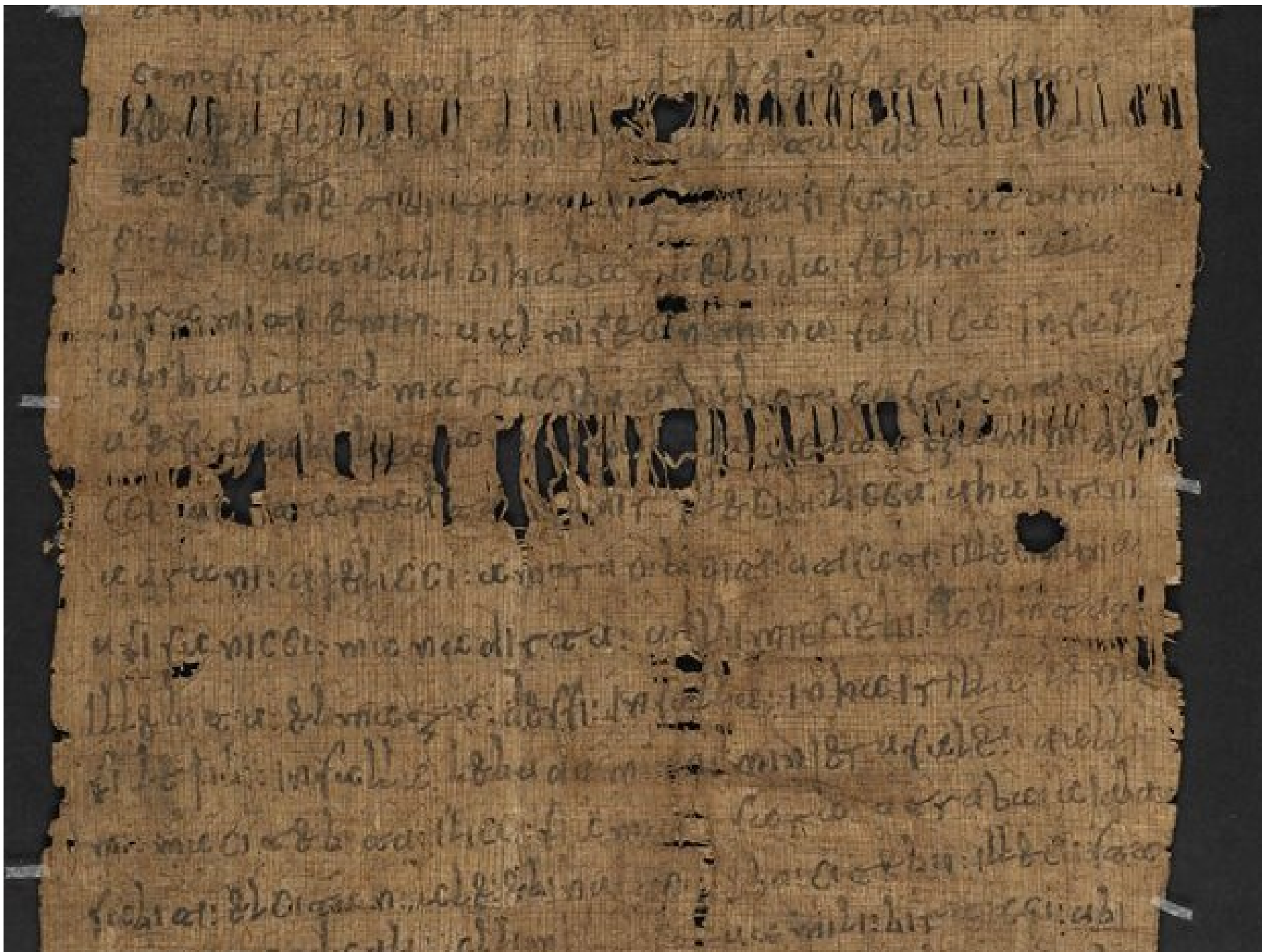


# In short:

- 'There was linguistic contact and there was exchange between speakers of Latin and speakers of Coptic. The sources describe the linguistic context of the early monasteries in some detail. **Texts were translated, even in both directions, sometimes with the mediation of Greek, and sometimes perhaps without it.** Travellers returned home to the West carrying a treasure of ascetic knowledge, ready to found their own communities and produce their foundational texts' (Torallas Tovar)
- Christians like Theon, Apphous or Pascentius might have learned some Latin **either when serving as clerks in the public administration**, or (also) **from fellow Christians in religious events and places**

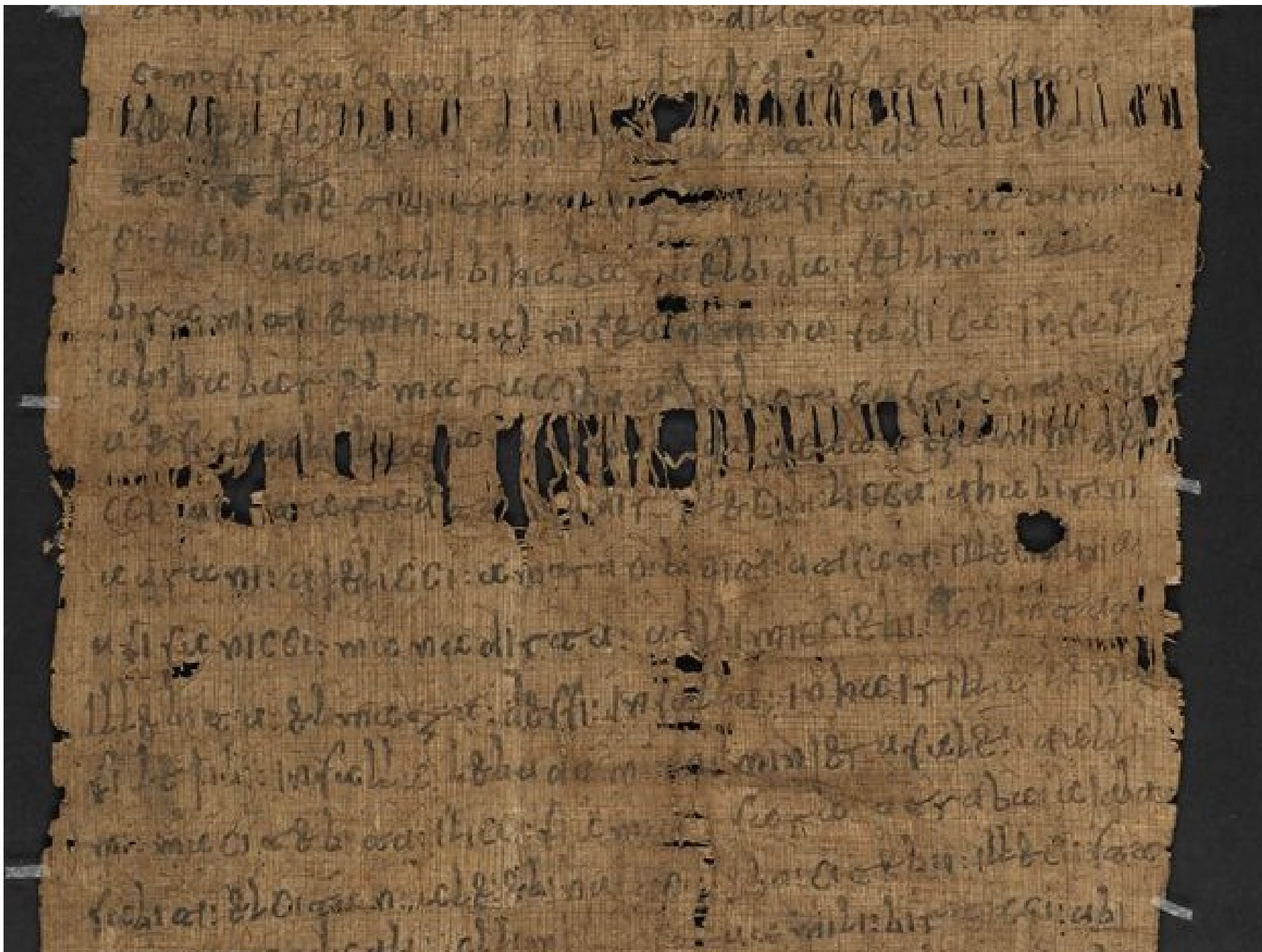
# In short:

- 'There was linguistic contact and there was exchange between speakers of Latin and speakers of Coptic. The sources describe the linguistic context of the early monasteries in some detail. **Texts were translated, even in both directions, sometimes with the mediation of Greek, and sometimes perhaps without it.** Travellers returned home to the West carrying a treasure of ascetic knowledge, ready to found their own communities and produce their foundational texts' (Torallas Tovar)
- Christians like Theon, Apphous or Pascentius might have learned some Latin **either when serving as clerks in the public administration, or (also) from fellow Christians in religious events and places**
- **Monasteries**, as places of learning and exchange, preserved traces of Latin learning **till very late** in the East...



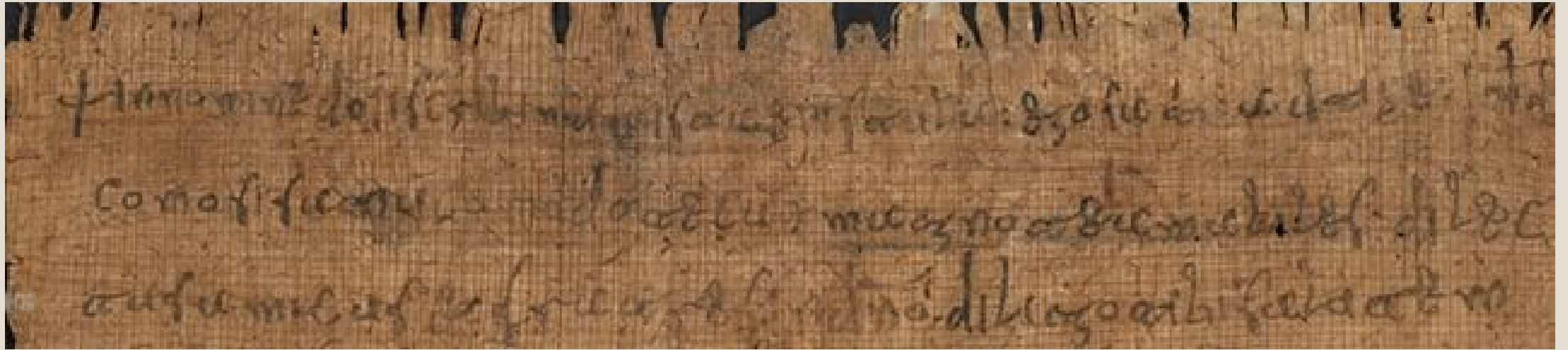
## You'll never guess what this thing is

- Found in Palestine or Egypt, written between **VII and IX AD** from Sati to Iohannes



## You'll never guess what this thing is

- Found in Palestine or Egypt, written between VII and IX AD from Sati to Iohannes
- Buried in the British Library, retrieved by D. Internullo, published by himself and A. D'Ottone Rambach
- **P.Lond. inv. 3124**



II. 1–6: the salutation (*praescriptum*) is in Latin (**-ish...**) and written in **new Roman cursive**

*Recto*

- 1 + innomined(omi)niiscribimusistaepistula (:) egosati (:) adtibe (:) ioh(ann)e  
 comosisanu(m)comodotecu(m) (÷) magnoteamabiles (:) dilec  
 tusamicusetfratres (:) ind(omi)nodiligotibisalutem  
 Comosisanu(m)comodotecu(m) (÷) d(omi)n(us)d(eu)sq(uod)tefaciasanu  
 5 senp(er)etsalbu (:) binnemiepistula (:) tuadetuasani  
 tated(omi)ne (:) tibi (:) gratiaquaatusisanu(m) (.) uebamin



5 senp(er)etsalbu (:) binnemiepistula (:) tuadetuasani  
tated(omi)ne (:) tibi (:) gratiaquatusisanu(m) (.) uebamin  
ci (:) eahi (:) uctubuli (:) bihabari (:) elbida (:) sellimu (:) alla  
bira miti (:) emin (:) ual (.) misec . n . minu (:) sadica (:) insalla  
ubihabar (:) elmaracciba (:) u . ḣabar (:) ċustantin (:) . (-)fḟ .  
10 u (:) ‘u’ es . ala . ub . lat . ar . . . mah[. .]du (:) ucatagamini (:) deli  
cci (:) uç[. .]tarađt . [. .] . . ađir (:) illecibi (:) liccu(m) (:) uhabirini  
aurani (:) ujelicci (:) amurun (:) bitiiti (:) utisati (:) illec . . ilina  
uḃisanicci (:) manadirtu (:) uallimicciehi (:) atiimtua  
illebitu (:) elmaga (:) dessi (:) insalla (:) inhairilla (:) lena  
15 filejil (:)(:) insalla (:) lebudumian. minjerusale(m) (:) ualli  
m̃i (:) maciteb . tu (:) ilicci (:) f . ama . . . sara (:) utruba (:) ajaba  
sabiti (:) elcitan (:) ale (:) ebina (:) . ç . . . . buicitebu (:) illecusta  
ntin (:) umandauli (:) allim . . . . . uamili (:) bira . ċi (:) ubi  
matirit . l̃ insalla . . . . . uhabar . . (:) uḃi  
20 macitebi . tu (:) iliccu . . . . . essala (:) citira (:)  
ucali (:) icr . . ç̇i (:) essala . uḃair . . . . . essala (:) essala(m) ma  
licci (:)

### III-A. SUGGESTED READINGS (Arianna D'Ottone Rambach)

#### *Recto*

1. 6	O brother	eahi (:)	ياخي
1. 7	write me	uctubuli (:)	اكتبوا لي
1. 7	with news of the merchandise	bihabari (:) elbida (:)	بخبير البضاعة
1. 7	give my greetings to	sellimu (:) alla <sup>74</sup>	سَلِّم ا على
1. 8	Amen	emin (:)	امين
1. 8	the poor ones	ual (·) misec . n	والمساكين
1. 8	if God wills	insalla	ان شاء الله
1. 9	and with news of the ships [?]	ubihabar (:) elmaracciba (:)	وبخبير المراكب [?]
	And with news		. . .

## *Latin text and translation*

---

<sup>1</sup> + *In nomine Domini iscribimus ista epistula, ego Sati ad tibe Iohanne.*

| <sup>2</sup> *Como si sanum? Comodo tecum? Magno te amabiles, dilec* | <sup>3</sup> *tus amicus, et fratres in Domino diligo: tibi salutem.*

| <sup>4</sup> *Como si sanum? Comodo tecum? Dominus Deus quod te facia sanu* | <sup>5</sup> *senper et salbu.*

*Binne mi epistula tua de tua sani* | <sup>6</sup> *tate: Domine tibi gratia, qua tu si sanum.*

---

“+ In the name of the Lord, I, Sati, write this letter to you, Iohanne.

How are you? How are you doing? I greet you, my dear friend, and your brothers<sup>73</sup> with friendship, in the name of the Lord.

How are you? How are you doing? May God, our Lord, keep you safe and sound forever.

A letter about your good health reached me: I thank God, because you are safe.”

---

# Latin **openings** for Greek and Arabic **messages**

- Like Theon, Pascentius and Apphous, Sati and Iohannes might have shared some Latin learning in their past
- Monks and merchants still come in the now Arabic East

# Latin **openings** for Greek and Arabic **messages**

- Like Theon, Pascentius and Apphous, Sati and Iohannes might have shared some Latin learning in their past
- Monks and merchants **still** come in the now Arabic East!



# Latin **openings** for Greek and Arabic **messages**

- Like Theon, Pascentius and Apphous, Sati and Iohannes might have shared some Latin learning in their past
- Monks and merchants **still** come in the now Arabic East!
- *Commentariorum de casis Dei* (AD 808): in the Mount of Olives there are churches and monks *qui sedent per cellulas, eorum **qui** Graeca lingua **psallent** XI, Georgiani IIII, Syriani VI, Armeni II, **Latini V**, qui Sarracenica lingua psallit I*

# Latin **openings** for Greek and Arabic **messages**

- Like Theon, Pascentius and Apphous, Sati and Iohannes might have shared some Latin learning in their past
- Monks and merchants **still** come in the now Arabic East!
- *Commentariorum de casis Dei* (AD 808): in the Mount of Olives there are churches and monks *qui sedent per cellulas, eorum **qui** Graeca lingua **psallent** XI, Georgiani IIII, Syriani VI, Armeni II, **Latini V**, qui Sarracenica lingua psallit I*
- For Theon, Pascentius, Apphous, Sati, Iohannes and several others, Latin is no longer (if it ever was!) a viable language for **contents**: it represents **a tool for exterior decoration**, and a token of a **shared cultural milieu**

84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98



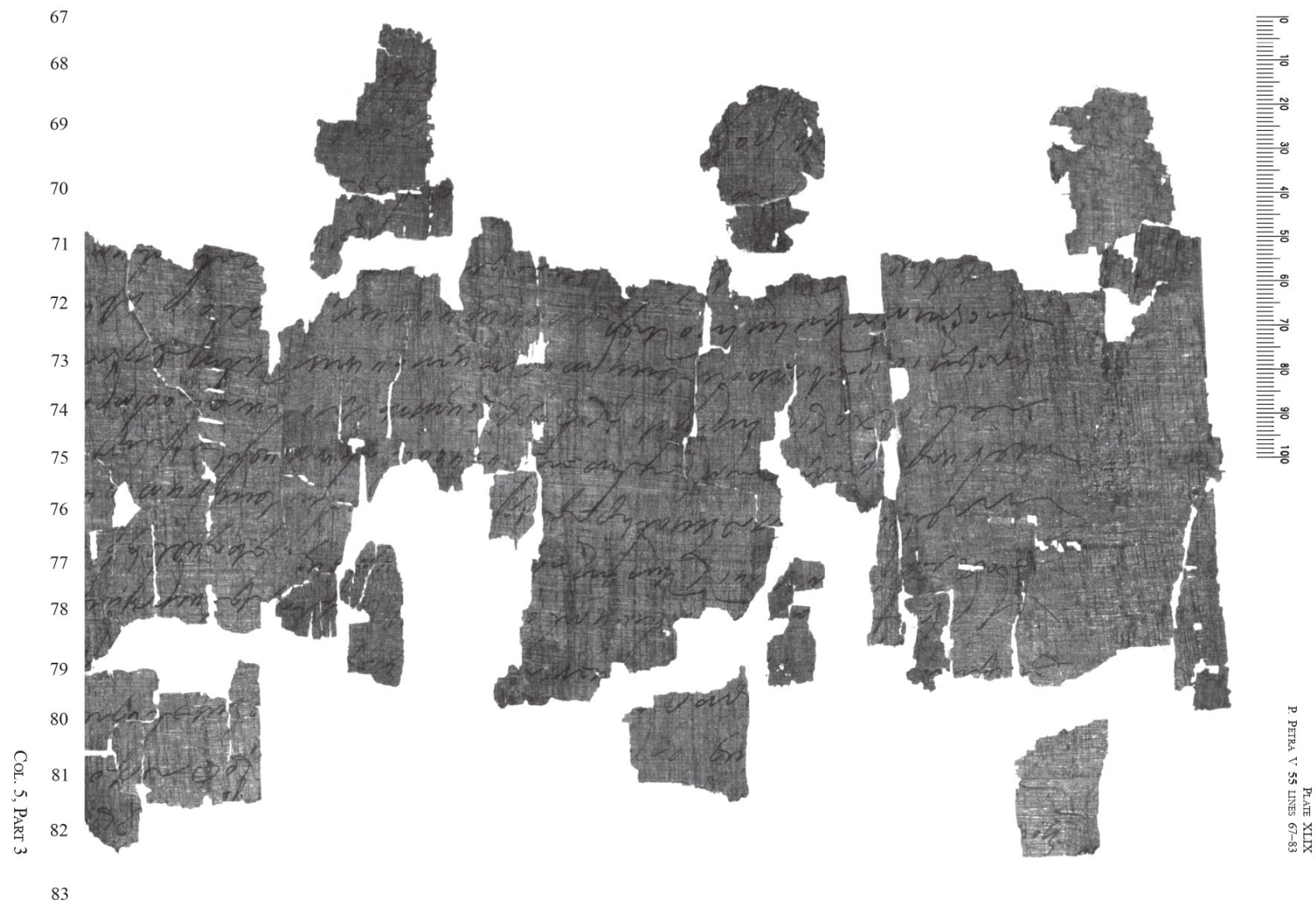
PLATE L  
P. PETRA V 55 LINES 84-98

P. Petra V 55





**P.Petra V 55**



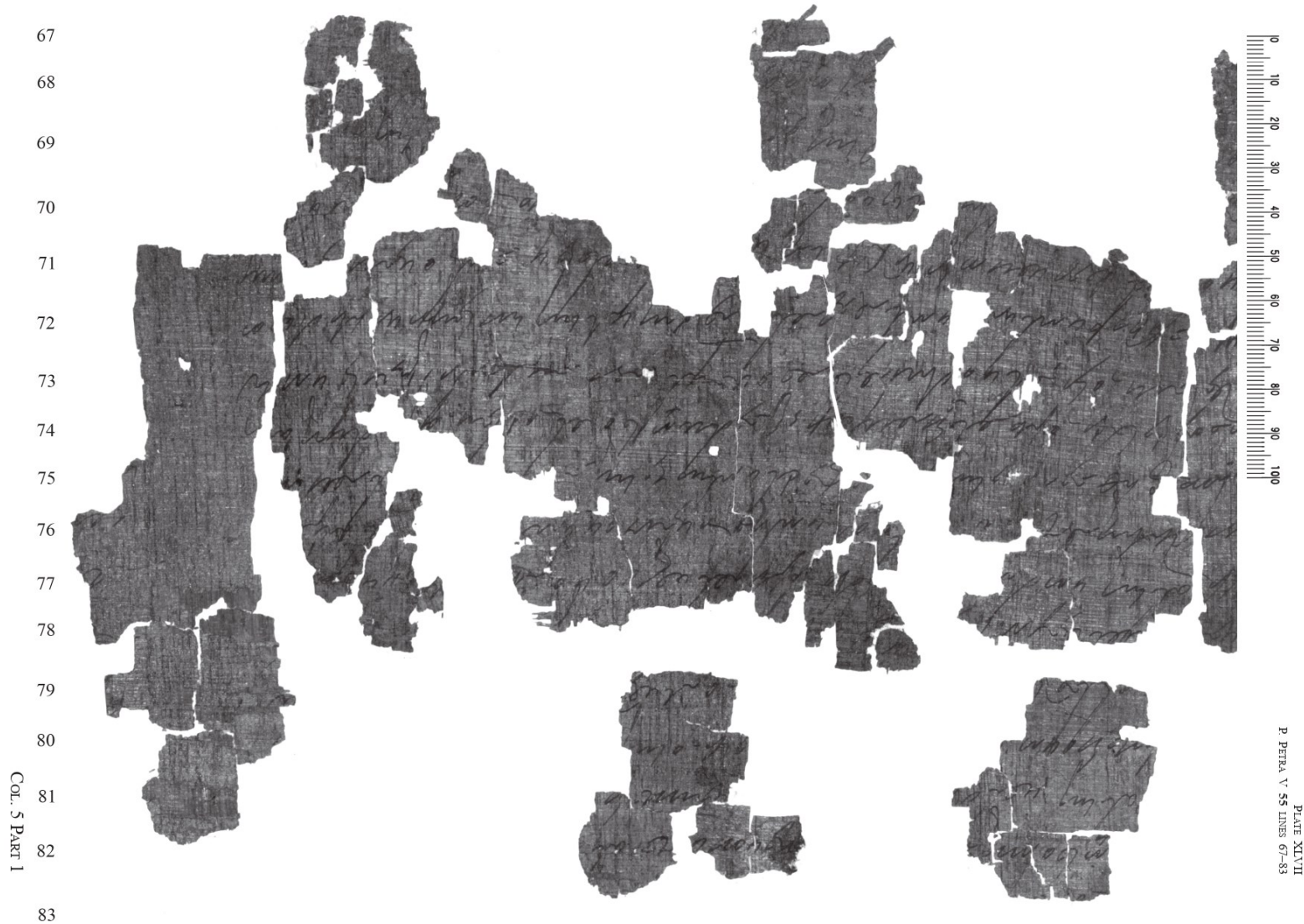
*P. Petra V 55*

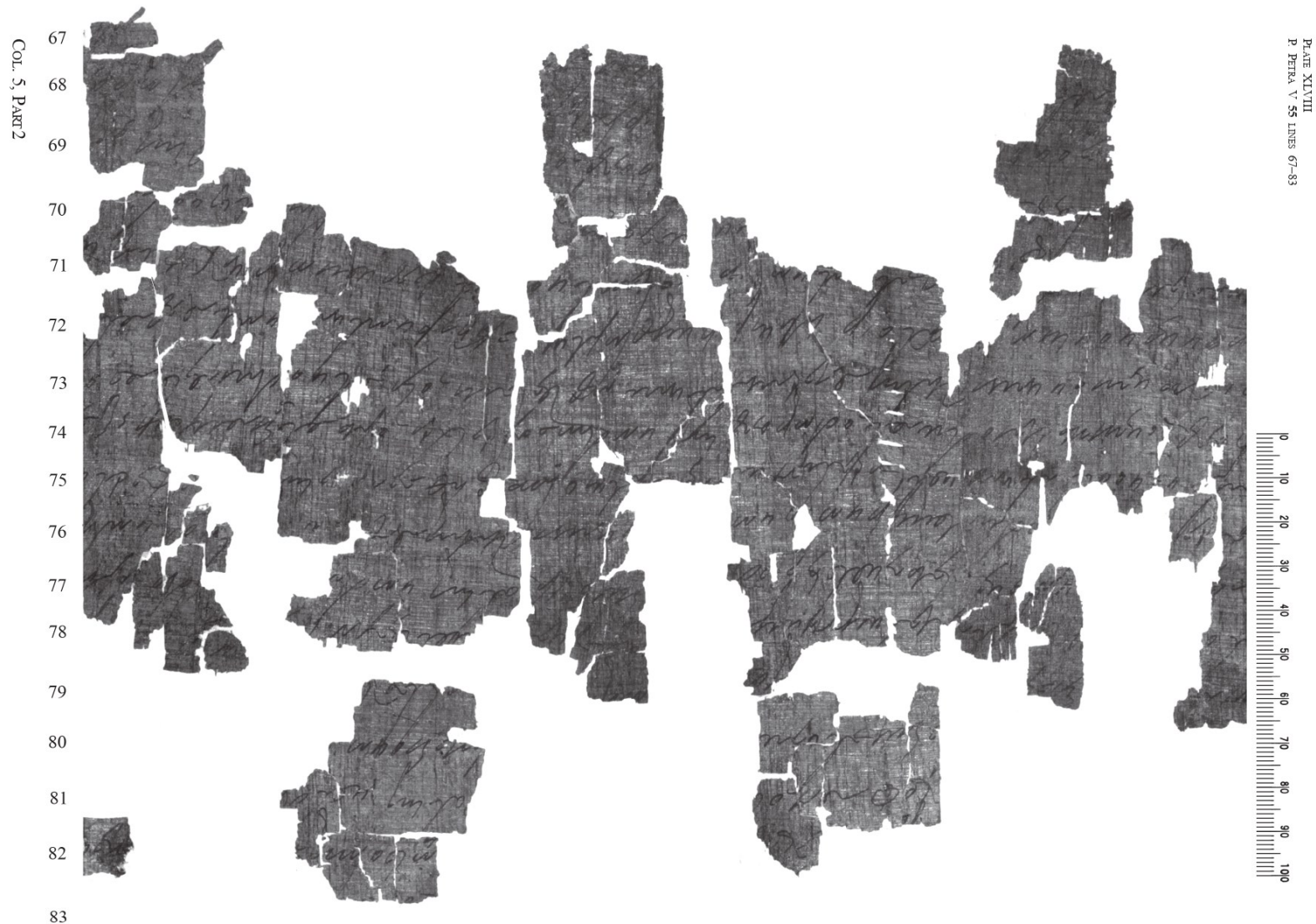
• AD 573



## *P. Petra* V 55

- AD 573
- Flavius **Obodianus**, terminally (?) ill, makes a **donation** to a pious institution





## *P. Petra V 55*

- AD 573
- Flavius **Obodianus**, terminally (?) ill, makes a **donation** to a pious institution
- Not really a will, but a **donatio mortis causa** (not that they really cared)

# The text

- One half of Obodianus' estate will go to a **church or monastery** (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών 'the sacred house of our lord the saint high priest Aaron')

# The text

- One half of Obodianus' estate will go to a **church or monastery** (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών 'the sacred house of our lord the saint high priest Aaron')
- The other half will go to a **hospital** (εἰς τὸν εὐαγέστατον ξενῶνα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Κηρυκοῦ, 'to the most sacred hospital of the saint and gloriously triumphant martyr Kerykos')

# The text

- One half of Obodianus' estate will go to a **church or monastery** (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών 'the sacred house of our lord the saint high priest Aaron')
- The other half will go to a **hospital** (εἰς τὸν εὐαγέστατον ξενῶνα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Κηρυκοῦ, 'to the most sacred hospital of the saint and gloriously triumphant martyr Kerykos')
- The document is almost entirely in Greek, but for an **introductory sentence** in **Latin** in col. I ll. 6–8, and a **conclusive remark** in Latin as well – almost completely vanished – at the end of it (col. VIII ll. 112–4)



... πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ Καλ[ανδῶ]ν Ἰο[υ]λ[ί]ων ἔτους τῆς

<sup>4</sup> ἐπαρχε[ί]α[ς] τετρ[ακο]σιοστ[οῦ] ἑξήκοστο[ῦ] ὀγδόου] μην[ὸς] Δαισί]ου εἰ[κάδι] ἔκ]τη χρόνων ἑκτης ἰν[δικ]τίωνος ἐν Αὐγ[ουστοκο]λωνία Ἀντωνιανῇ ἐπισήμῳ

<sup>5</sup> [καὶ ἐγγ]ενεῖ μητρὶ κ[ο]λωνιῶ[ν] Ἀ]δρι[α]ν[ῇ] Πέτρᾳ] μητροπόλ[ει] τῆς τρί[της] Παλαιστίνης Σαλουταρίας.

<sup>6</sup> [ . . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci . . . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasium

<sup>7</sup> [ . . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron

<sup>8</sup> [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20 ]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [ ±12 ]s Ἰνδ[ . [±8]ερη[±13]ετρας τη . [ . . ]ε[ . ]ε[ . ]αν

<sup>9</sup> [ ±10 ]εβαλο[ ±17 ] . Λεοντίου Ὀ[βοδιανού] ±8]λ[ . ὅσ]ιωτατ- τοῦ . [ ...



... [ . . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] **Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci** . . . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasium | [ . . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron | [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [±12]s ...

... πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ Καλ[ανδῶ]ν Ἰο[υ]λ[ί]ων ἔτους τῆς

<sup>4</sup> ἐπαρχε[ί]α[ς] τετρ[ακο]σιοστ[οῦ] ἑξήκοστο[ῦ] ὀγδόου] μην[ὸς] Δαισί]ου εἰ[κάδι] ἔκ]τη χρόνων ἑκτης ἰν[δικ]τίωνος ἐν Αὐγ[ουστοκο]λωνία Ἀντωνιανῇ ἐπισήμῳ

<sup>5</sup> [καὶ ἐγγ]ενεῖ μητρὶ κ[ο]λωνιῶ[ν] Ἀ]δρι[α]ν[ῇ] Πέτρᾳ] μητροπόλ[ει] τῆς τρί[της] Παλαιστίνης Σαλουταρίας.

<sup>6</sup> [ . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci . . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasius

<sup>7</sup> [ . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron

<sup>8</sup> [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20 ]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [ ±12 ]s Ἰνδ[ . [±8]ερη[±13]ετρας τη . [ . . ]ε[ . ]ε[ . ]αν

<sup>9</sup> [ ±10 ]εβ[αλο] ±17 ] . Λεοντίου Ὀ[βοδιανού] ±8]λ[ . ὅσ]ιωτατ- τοῦ . [ ...



... [ . . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci . . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasius | [ . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron | [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [±12]s ...

... πρὸ δεκαεπτὰ Καλ[ανδῶ]ν Ἰο[υ]λ[ί]ων ἔτους τῆς

<sup>4</sup> ἐπαρχε[ί]α[ς] τετρ[ακο]σιοστ[οῦ] ἑξήκοστο[ῦ] ὀγδόου] μην[ὸς] Δαισί]ου εἰ[κάδι] ἔκ]τη χρόνων ἑκτης ἰν[δικ]τίωνος ἐν Αὐγ[ουστοκο]λωνία Ἀντωνιανῇ ἐπισήμῳ

<sup>5</sup> [καὶ ἐγγ]ενεῖ μητρὶ κ[ο]λωνιῶ[ν] Ἀ]δρι[α]ν[ῇ] Πέτρᾳ] μητροπόλ[ει] τῆς τρί[της] Παλαιστίνης Σαλουταρίας.

<sup>6</sup> [ . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasium

<sup>7</sup> [ . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron

<sup>8</sup> [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20 ]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [ ±12 ]s Ἰνδ . [±8]ερη[±13]ετρας τη . [ . . ]ε[ . ]ε[ . ]αν

<sup>9</sup> [ ±10 ]εβαλο[ ±17 ] . Λεοντίου Ὀ[βοδιανοῦ] ±8]λ[ . . . ] ὅσ]ιωτατ- τοῦ . [ . . . ]



... [ . . . . ] . . . sac[r]osancti seu [ . . . . ]olso [ . . . ] Flavius Obodi[a]nus Obodian[i donation]e[m f]eci . . . s[ . ] lego. Epi[pha]n[ius] Damiani presbyter et Gymnasium | [ . . . . ]rii ex primic[eriis] . . . . supra]scr[ipta] indictione C. Iulius Eud[a]e[mon] . . . ] l- seu [ . . . . ] et Cyricus [P]et[ri] [p]resbyter [±14] seu pro domo Aaron | [et Theodoru]s Ob[odiani] ±20]e[ . . p]resbyt[er] . . . ] [±12]s ...

# The text

- One half of Obodianus' estate will go to a **church or monastery** (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών 'the sacred house of our lord the saint high priest Aaron')
- The other half will go to a **hospital** (εἰς τὸν εὐαγέστατον ξενῶνα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Κηρυκοῦ, 'to the most sacred hospital of the saint and gloriously triumphant martyr Kerykos')
- The document is almost entirely in Greek, but for an **introductory sentence** in **Latin** in col. I ll. 6–8, and a **conclusive remark** in Latin as well – almost completely vanished – at the end of it (col. VIII ll. 112–4)
- The document is envisaged in **Roman law** – maybe it required at least a statement in Latin?

# The text

- One half of Obodianus' estate will go to a **church or monastery** (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών 'the sacred house of our lord the saint high priest Aaron')
- The other half will go to a **hospital** (εἰς τὸν εὐαγέστατον ξενῶνα τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ καλλινίκου μάρτυρος Κηρυκοῦ, 'to the most sacred hospital of the saint and gloriously triumphant martyr Kerykos')
- The document is almost entirely in Greek, but for an **introductory sentence** in **Latin** in col. I ll. 6–8, and a **conclusive remark** in Latin as well – almost completely vanished – at the end of it (col. VIII ll. 112–4)
- The document is envisaged in **Roman law** – maybe it required at least a statement in Latin?
- Or rather **Flavius** Obodianus (a veteran?) wants to remind everyone who he was



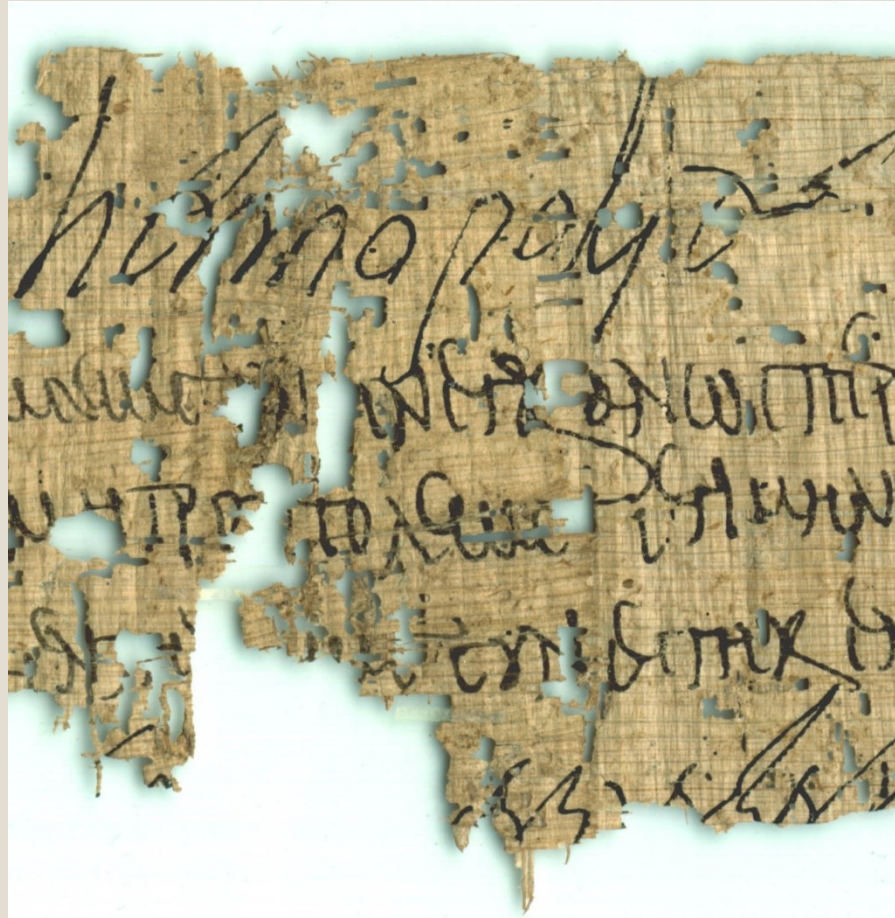
# The last two items in the batch

- **P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)**
- **SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)**
- *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)
- *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)
- *P.Köln* IV 200 (IV-V AD)
- *P.Petra* V 55 (AD 573)
- *P.Lond.* inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)

# The last two items in the batch

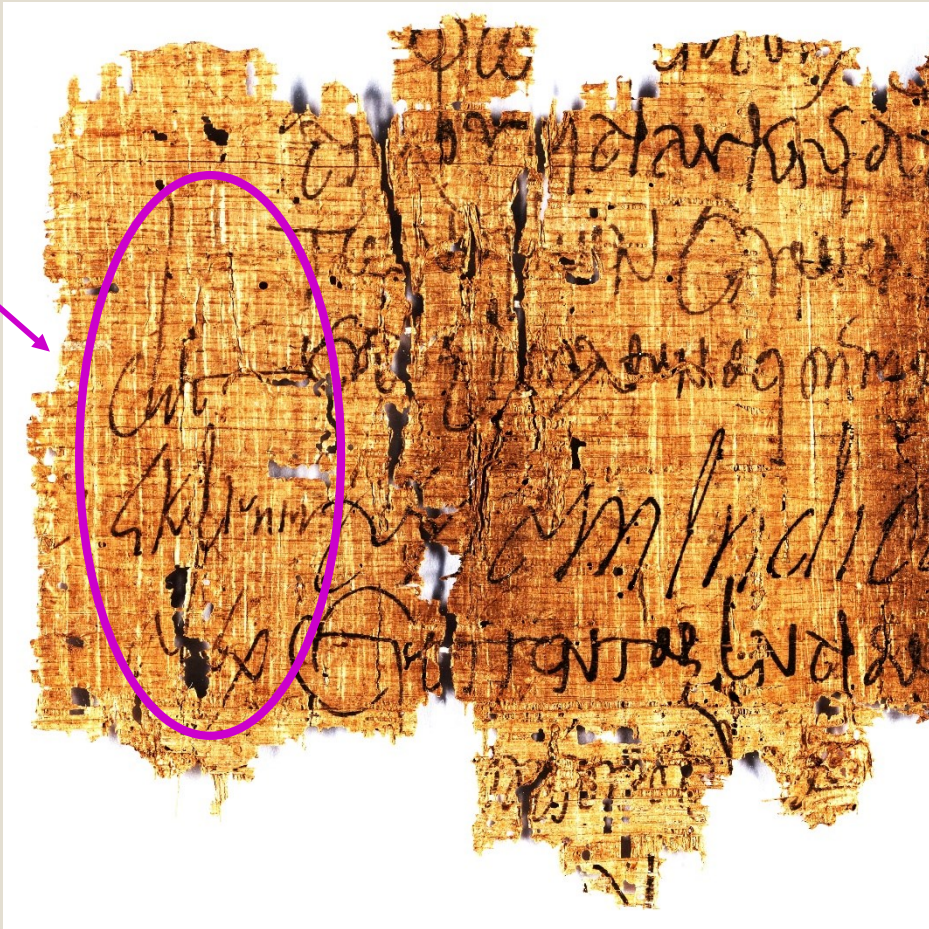
- **P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)**
- **SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)**
- *P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)*
- *P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII-IX AD)*
- Letters from **from an upper to a lower rank** in the Roman administration of Egypt, in the mid to late 4<sup>th</sup> AD

# The last two items in the batch



- SB 12580: instructions from the office of the *praefectus annonae Alexandrinae* **to the exactor of the Hermopolite nome**, to deliver a certain amount of artabas of wheat

# The last two items in the batch



- P.Lips: content uncertain, but the **marginal dating formula** speaks for itself

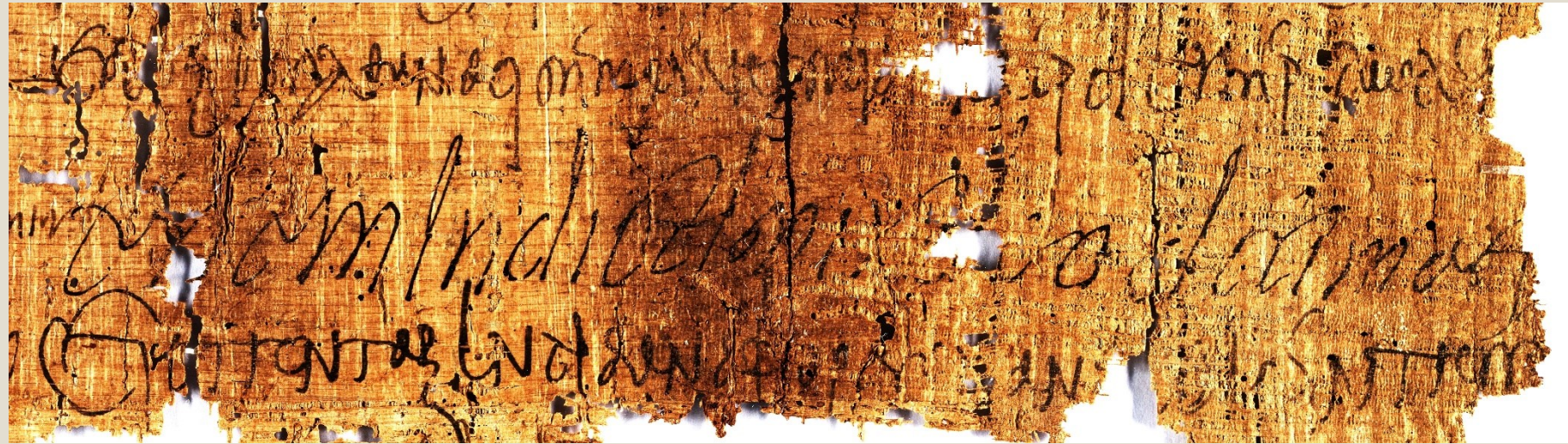
# The last two items in the batch

- **P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)**
- **SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)**
- *P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)*
- *P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)*
- *P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII-IX AD)*
- Letters from **from an upper to a lower rank** in the Roman administration of Egypt, in the mid to late 4<sup>th</sup> AD
- In both documents a sequence in the main text has been **translated** to Latin



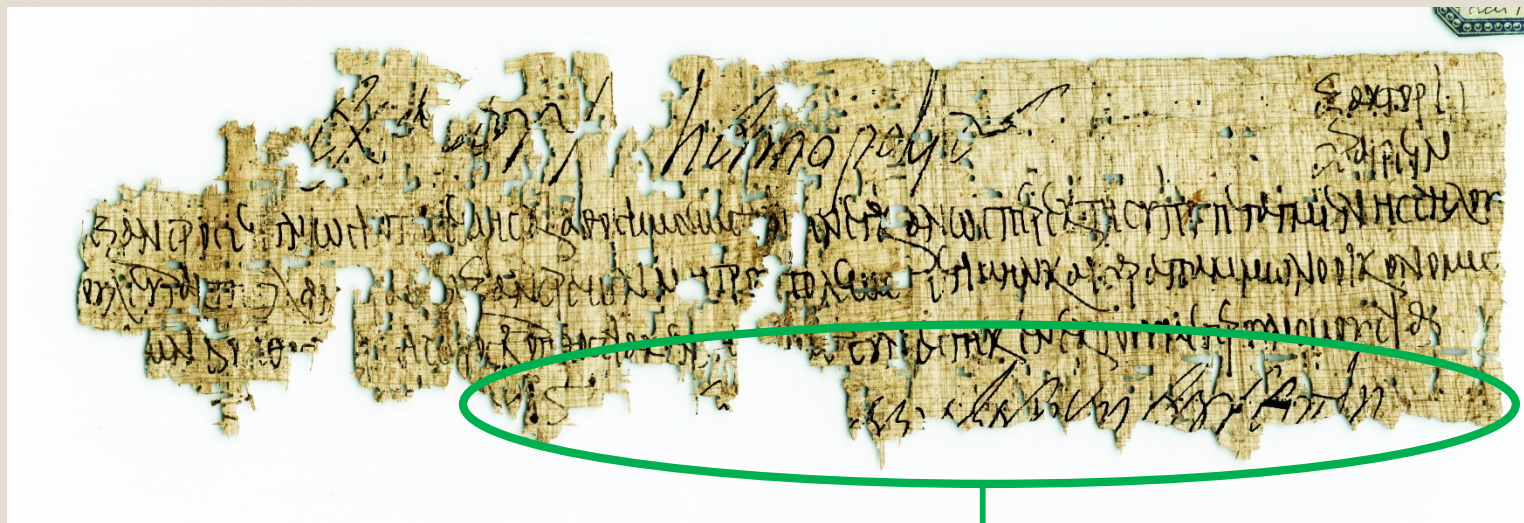


P.Lips. inv. 1129

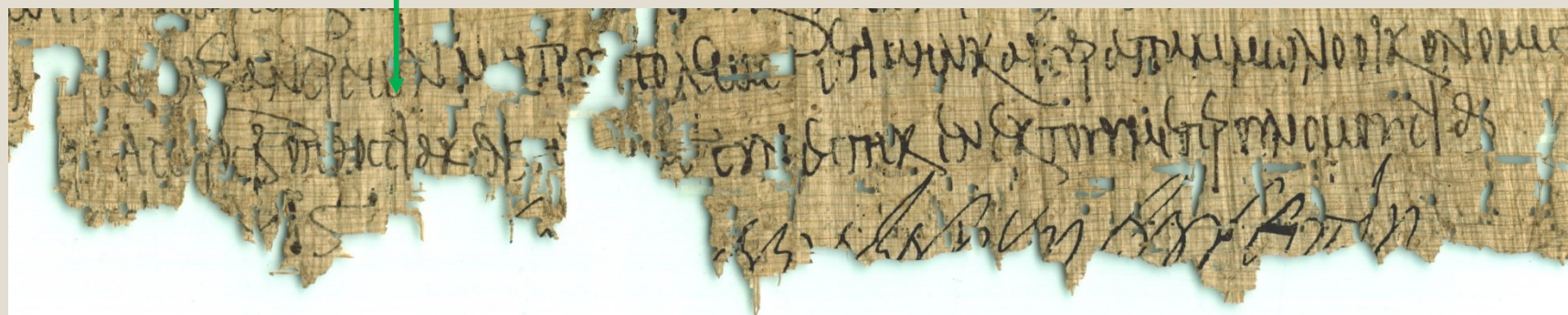


<sup>3</sup> τῶν ὀρίων οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων ὁ τῶν ο . [   
<sup>4</sup> Εὐδοξίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπιμελητοῦ διὰ Μέρσις ὑπὲρ δωδεκ[άτης ἰνδικτίωνος   
<sup>5</sup> tantum **indictionis duodecimae** f . [   
<sup>6</sup> εἰς τὴν τάξιν κτλ.





SB XVI 12580



- [<sup>4</sup> ... β]ουλευται τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀλεξανδρέων μητροπόλεως ἔτι μὴν καὶ Σαραπάμμων ὁ οἰκονόμος  
 [<sup>5</sup> [- - -]ῖων βοηθὸς κ[α]ὶ Ἰσίδωρος βοηθὸς διὰ κεντή[σε]ως συνέστηκεν ἐκ τοῦ ὑμετέρου νομοῦ δια  
 [<sup>6</sup> [- - -]...[.....]. σίτου [ἄρτάβας] ψις [...] fr[umenti] artabas numero septin-  
 [<sup>7</sup> [-gentae sedecim

# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- The temporal notation, the quantity of wheat to produce

# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- The temporal notation, the quantity of wheat to produce
- Why? There is **no need to do so**



# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- The temporal notation, the quantity of wheat to produce
- Why? There is **no need to do so**
- The documents clearly come from **chancery**

# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- The temporal notation, the quantity of wheat to produce
- Why? There is **no need to do so**
- The documents clearly come from **chancery**
- **Maybe a symbolic value?**

# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- The temporal notation, the quantity of wheat to produce
- Why? There is **no need to do so**
- The documents clearly come from **chancery**
- **Maybe a symbolic value?**
- **Random Latin clauses may emphasize that we represent the power of Rome**

# So what?

- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- Maybe a symbolic value?
- Random Latin clauses may emphasize that we represent the power of Rome
- The **language we don't speak** is the language we can use as a **cultural hint**: e.g. Greek in the West, French in 18<sup>th</sup> cent. England

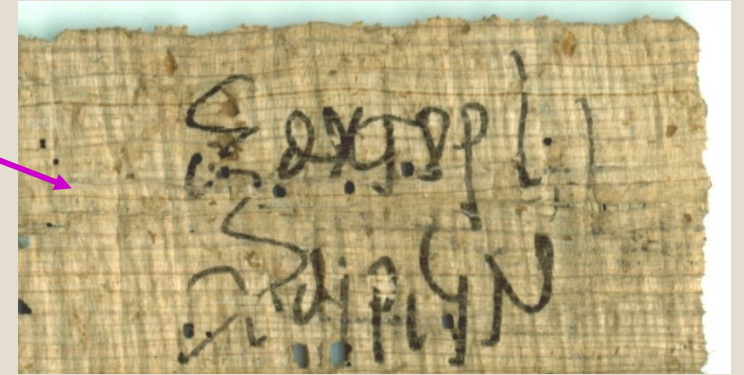
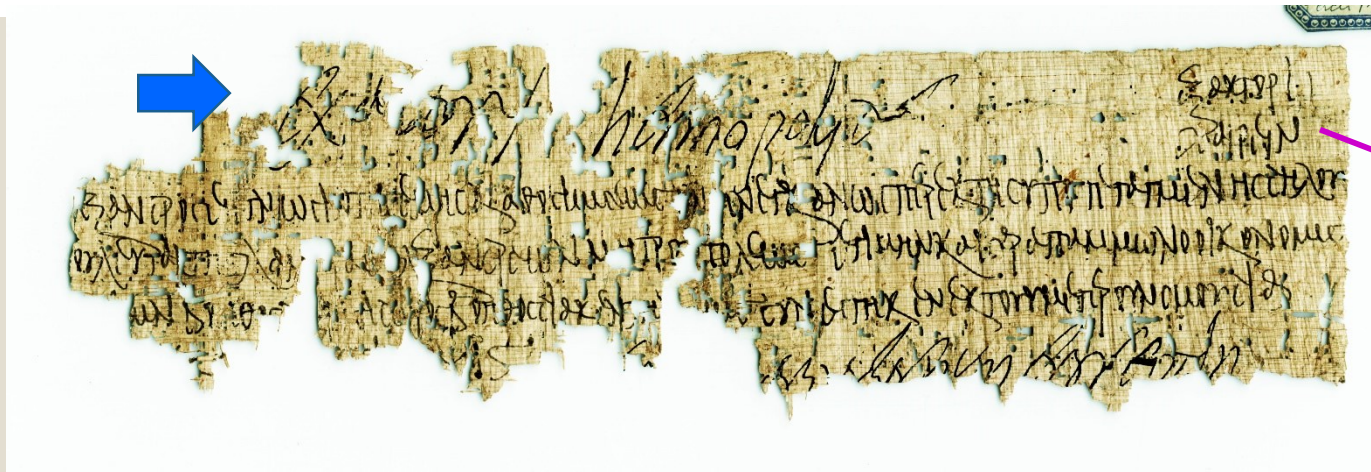


# The second batch

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- **SB XVI 12580** (late IV AD)
- Greek letters with inserted **Latin short sequences** in the letterhead (the *praescriptum*) and a subscription
- A **hybrid**

*[Fragmentary Greek text from papyrus]*





[NN ]

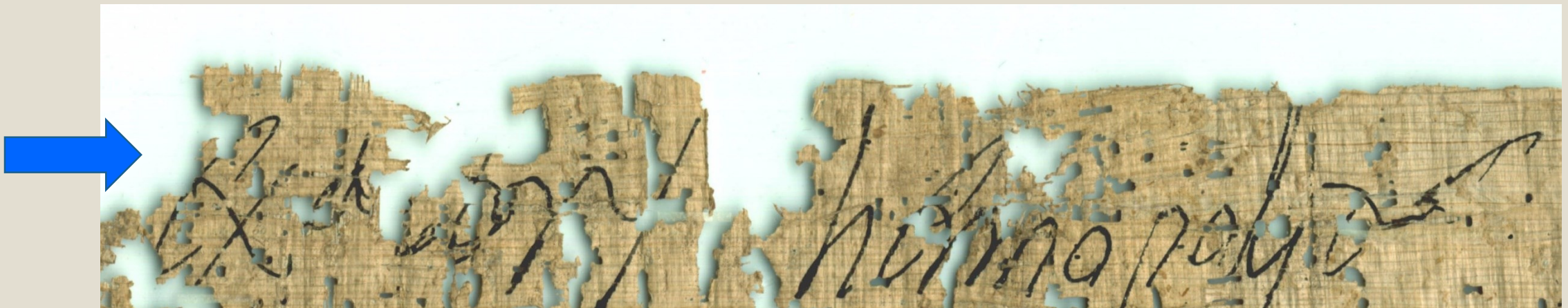
[ NN?]

[Ἑρμοπολίτου ]

**exactori Hermopolitú**

**ἐξάκτορι**

**χαίρειν**



# The second batch

- *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- *P.Vindob. inv.* G 24715 (AD 343)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- Latin **letterheads**?

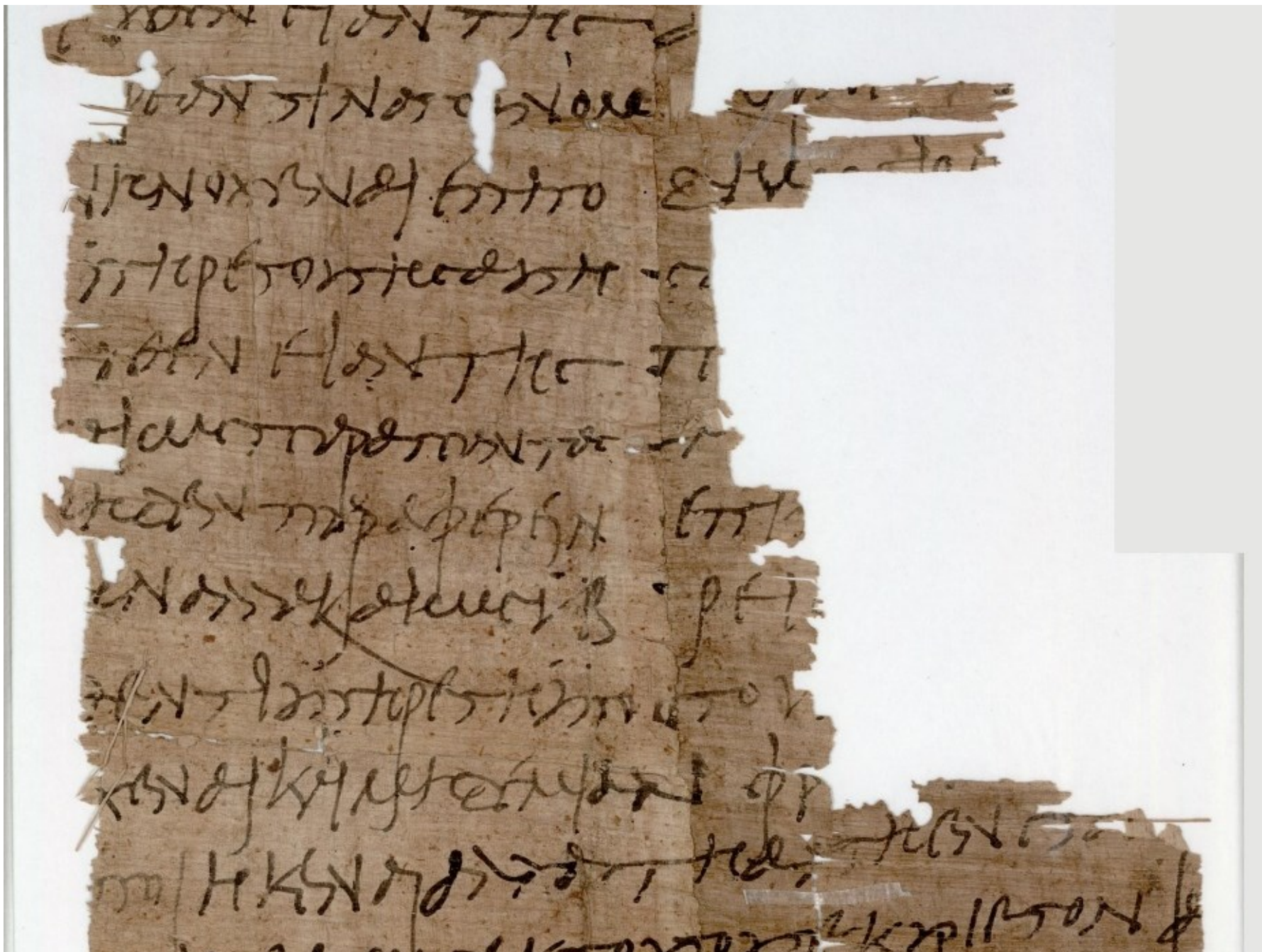


# The second batch

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- Latin **letterheads**?
- NN ἐξάκτορι Ἑρμοπολίτου χαίρειν ~  
*NN exactori Hermupolitu*

# The second batch

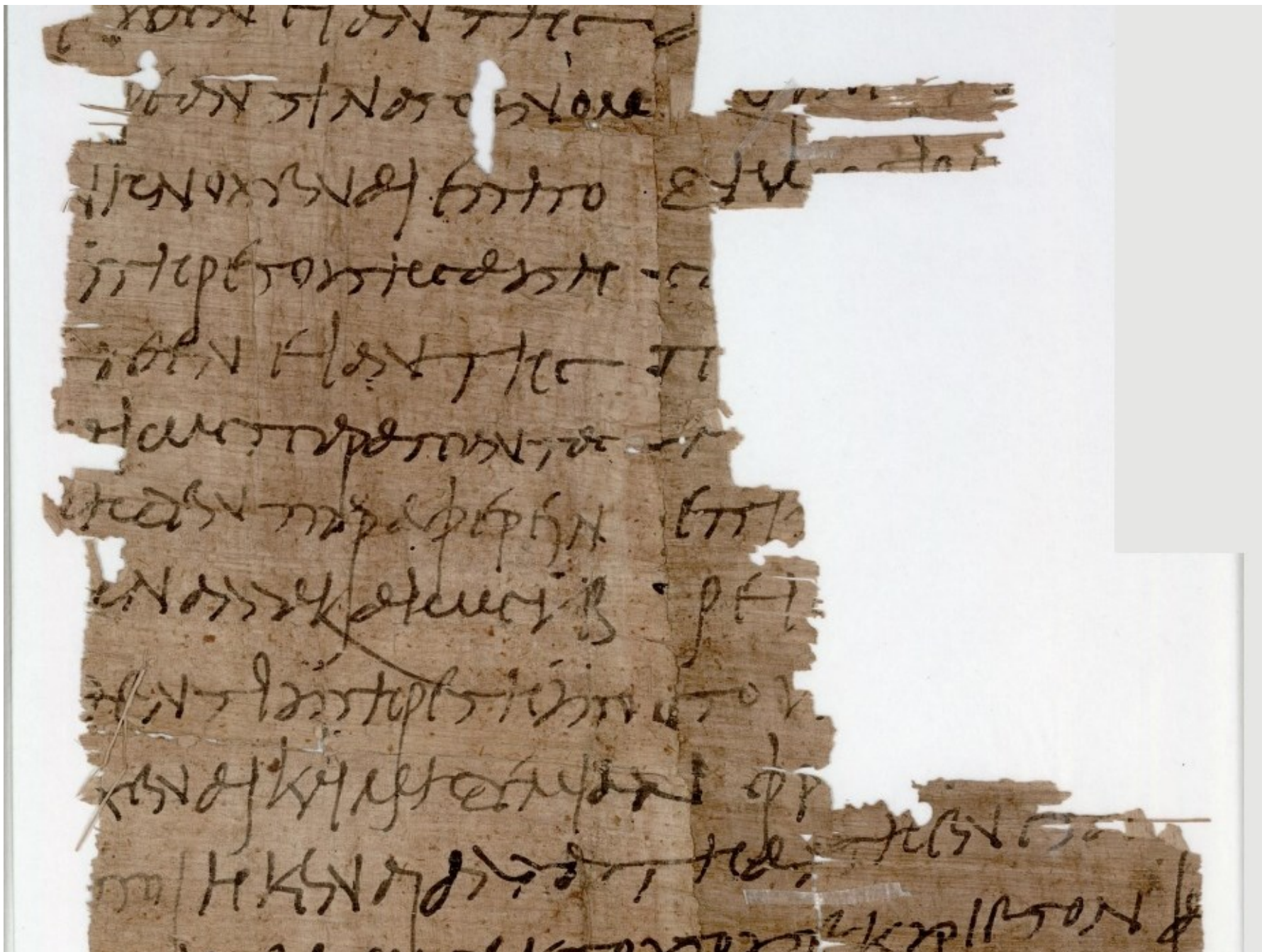
- **P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)**
- **P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)**
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- Latin letterheads?
- NN ἐξάκτορι Ἑρμοπολίτου χαίρειν ~  
*NN exactori Hermupolitu*



## P.Oxy. LXIII 4363

- Partially preserved **petition** transmitted to a praeses *prouvinciae* from the **beneficiarius** Valerius Diogenes

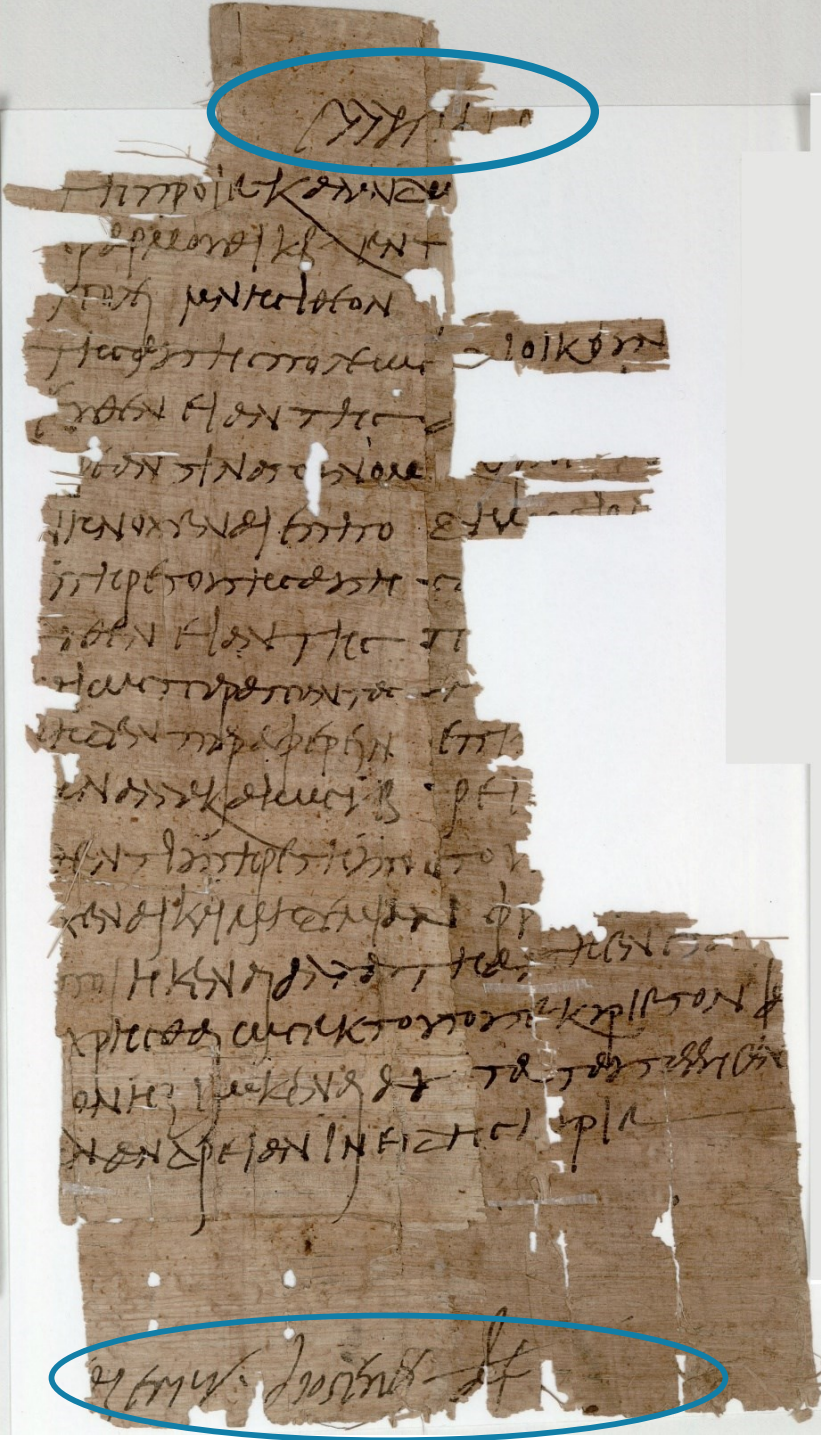




## P.Oxy. LXIII 4363

- *Beneficiarius* in the army (Rankov 1994, Dise 1995, Salati 2021) vs. **beneficiarius** as a **civil official**
- A **buffer** between the subjects and the governor, transmitting their petitions to the higher authorities.

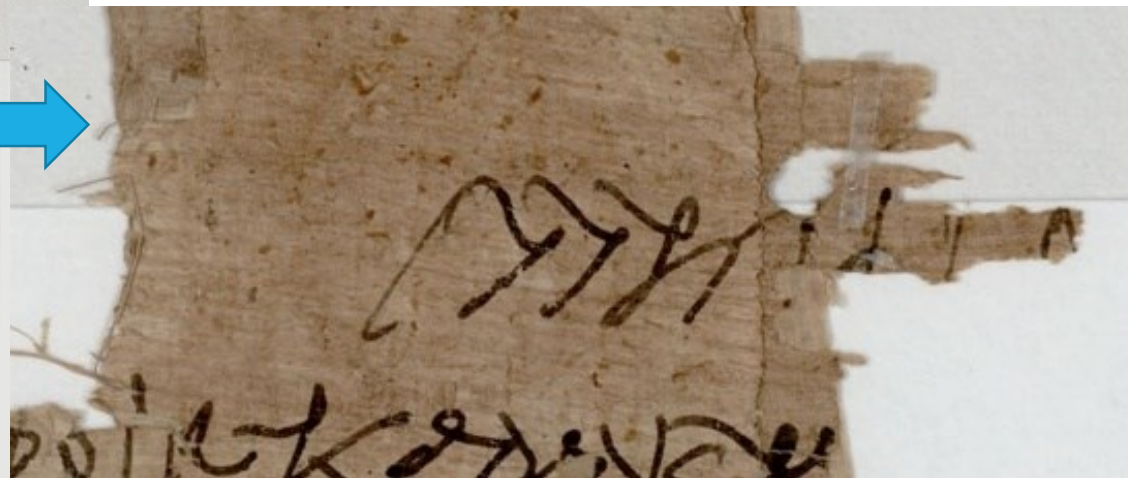
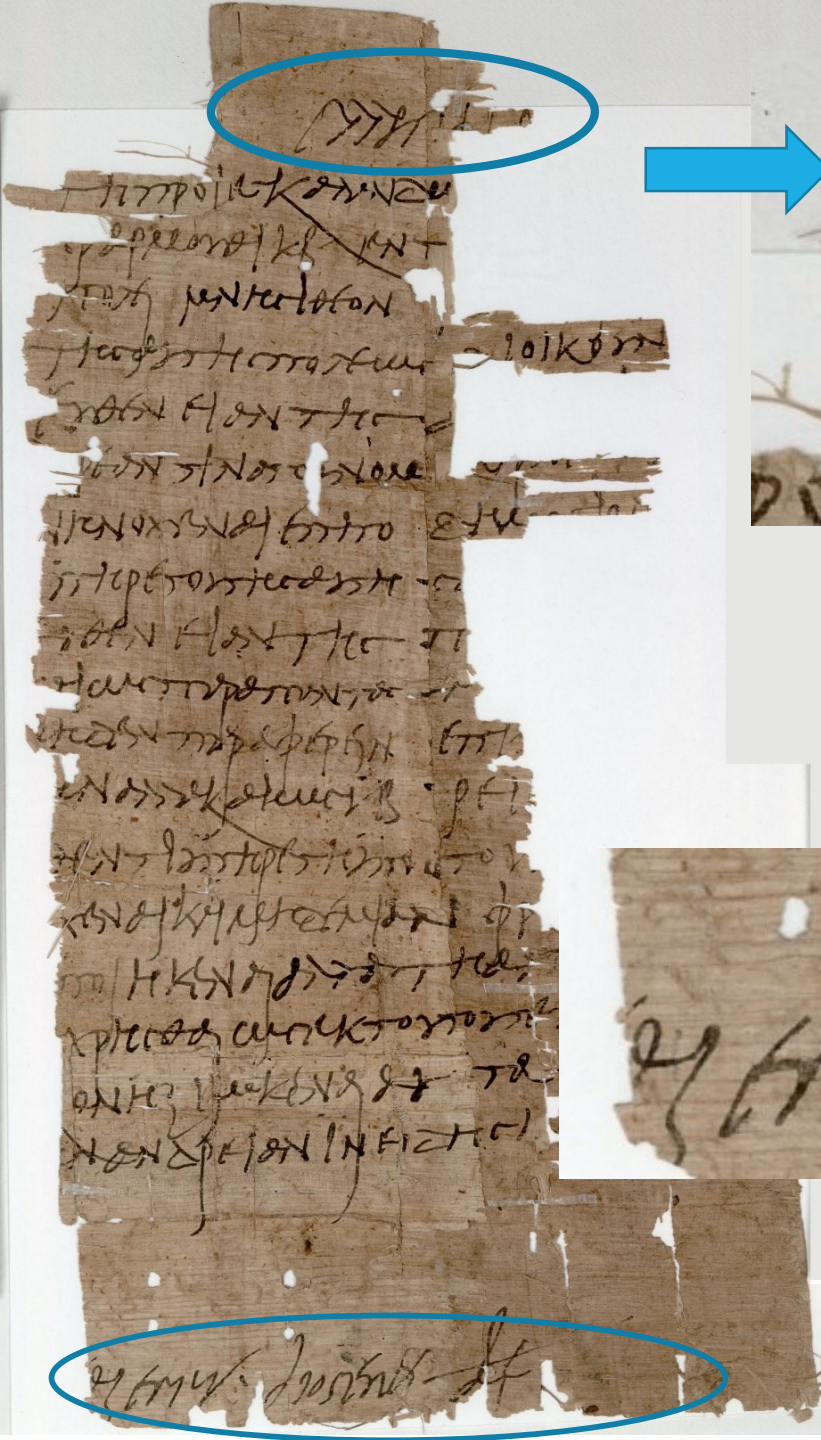




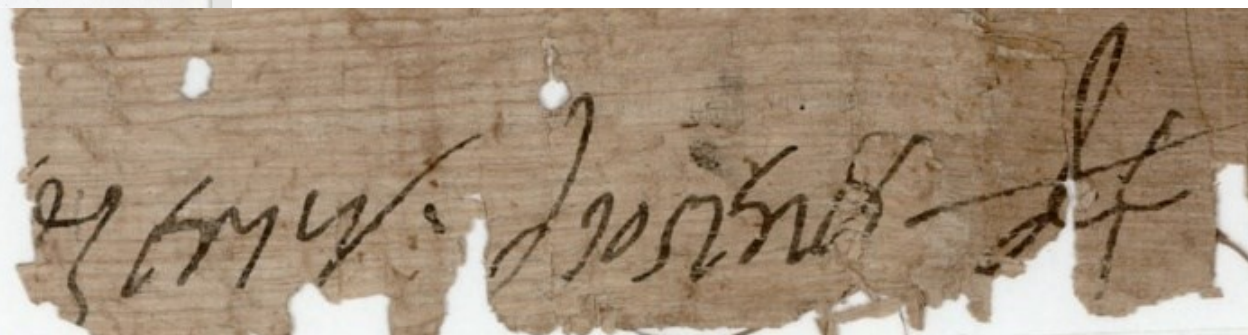
## P.Oxy. LXIII 4363

- *Beneficiarius* in the army (Rankov 1994, Dise 1995, Salati 2021) vs. ***beneficiarius*** as a **civil official**
- A **buffer** between the subjects and the governor, transmitting their petitions to the higher authorities.
- The whole point of this manuscript is what has been **added to it**





] praesidi p[rouvinciae



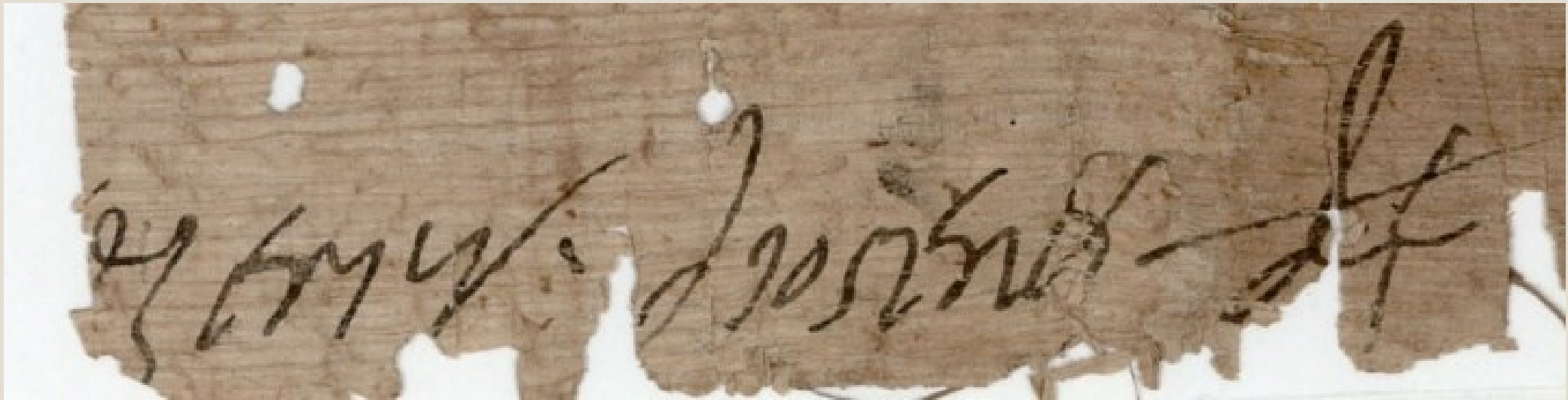
Valerius Diogenes bf

## P.Oxy. LXIII 4363

- The whole point of this manuscript is what has been **added to it**
- One notation pointing out the **sender**, the other the **addressee**, both in old Roman cursive
- **WHO WROTE THEM?**

# The two notations

- The **lower** notation may function as a **subscription**: Valerius Diogenes' **signature**



# The two notations

- The **lower** notation may function as a **subscription**: Valerius Diogenes' **signature**
- But the notation is very neatly written – whereas personal subscription of Roman soldiers are **everything but neat**



Handwritten text on a torn piece of parchment, likely in a Semitic script. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains several lines of text, including what appears to be a date or reference number "1011". The right column contains more text, including the word "Amen" at the top. The parchment is heavily damaged with many holes and tears.

A close-up of a single line of handwritten text on a dark, textured surface. The script is a cursive Semitic script, possibly Syriac or Arabic, with a single line of text that is somewhat faded and difficult to read.

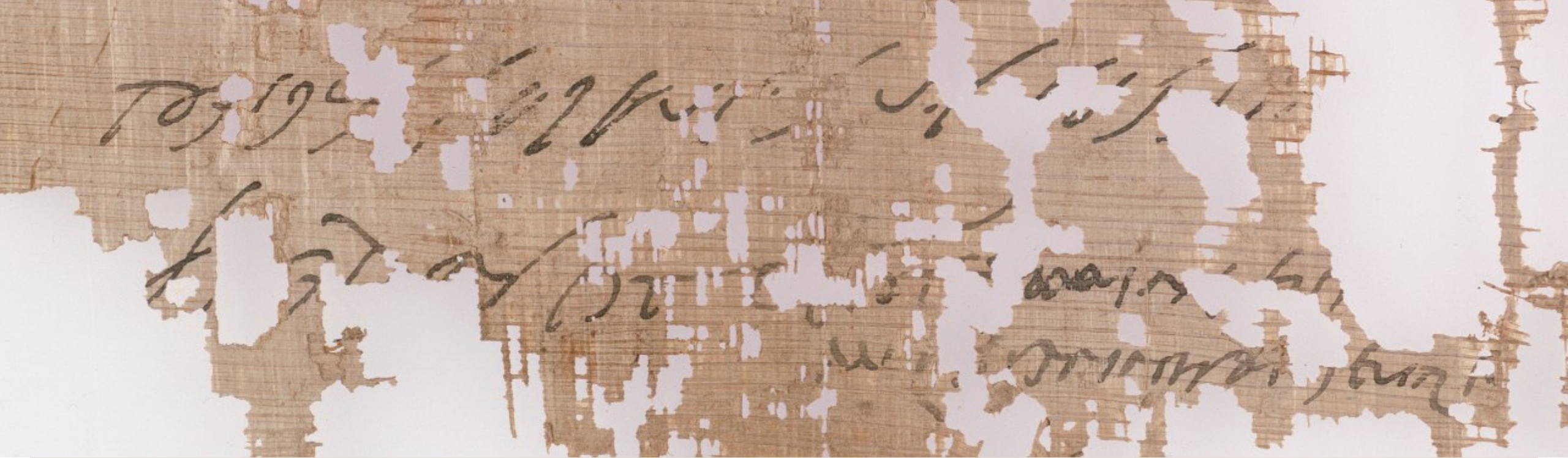
Handwritten text on a torn piece of parchment, likely in a Semitic script. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains several lines of text, including what appears to be a date or reference number "1011". The right column contains more text, including the word "Amen" at the top. The parchment is heavily damaged with many holes and tears.

Handwritten text on a torn piece of parchment, likely in a Semitic script. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains several lines of text, including what appears to be a date or reference number "1011". The right column contains more text, including the word "Amen" at the top. The parchment is heavily damaged with many holes and tears.

Handwritten text on a torn piece of parchment, likely in a Semitic script. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains several lines of text, including what appears to be a date or reference number "1011". The right column contains more text, including the word "Amen" at the top. The parchment is heavily damaged with many holes and tears.

Handwritten text on a torn piece of parchment, likely in a Semitic script. The text is arranged in two columns. The left column contains several lines of text, including what appears to be a date or reference number "1011". The right column contains more text, including the word "Amen" at the top. The parchment is heavily damaged with many holes and tears.





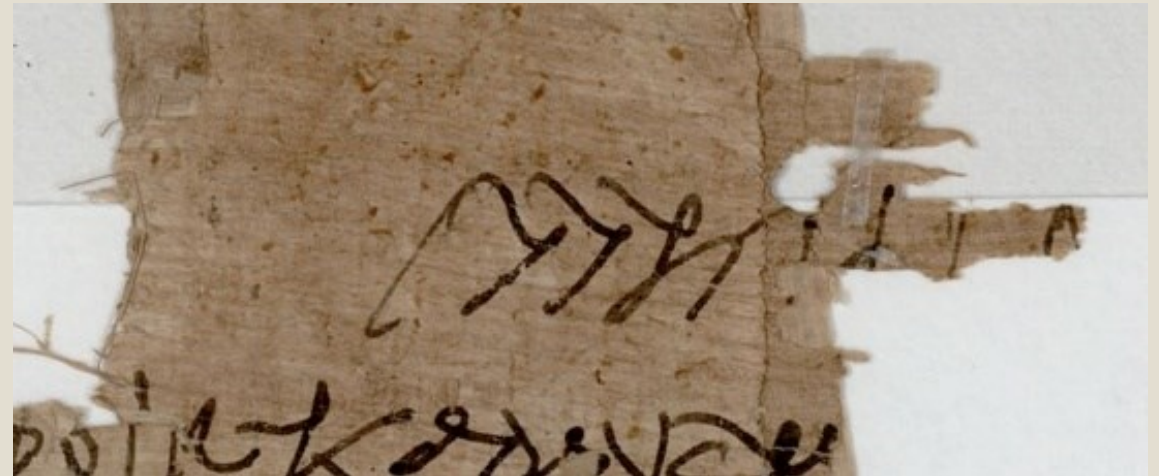
P.Dura 64b, ll. 7–9 (AD **221**)

|<sup>7</sup> ... satisfacere Ha[ni]nae. An-  
|<sup>8</sup> -tonius Seleucus u· c[·] cos n .[ . . . . ] p[rae]cipere  
|<sup>9</sup> dignatus est **opto te domine fili [feli]ci[s]s[i]m[um]**  
|<sup>9a</sup> **multis annis bene uale[r]e**

# The two notations

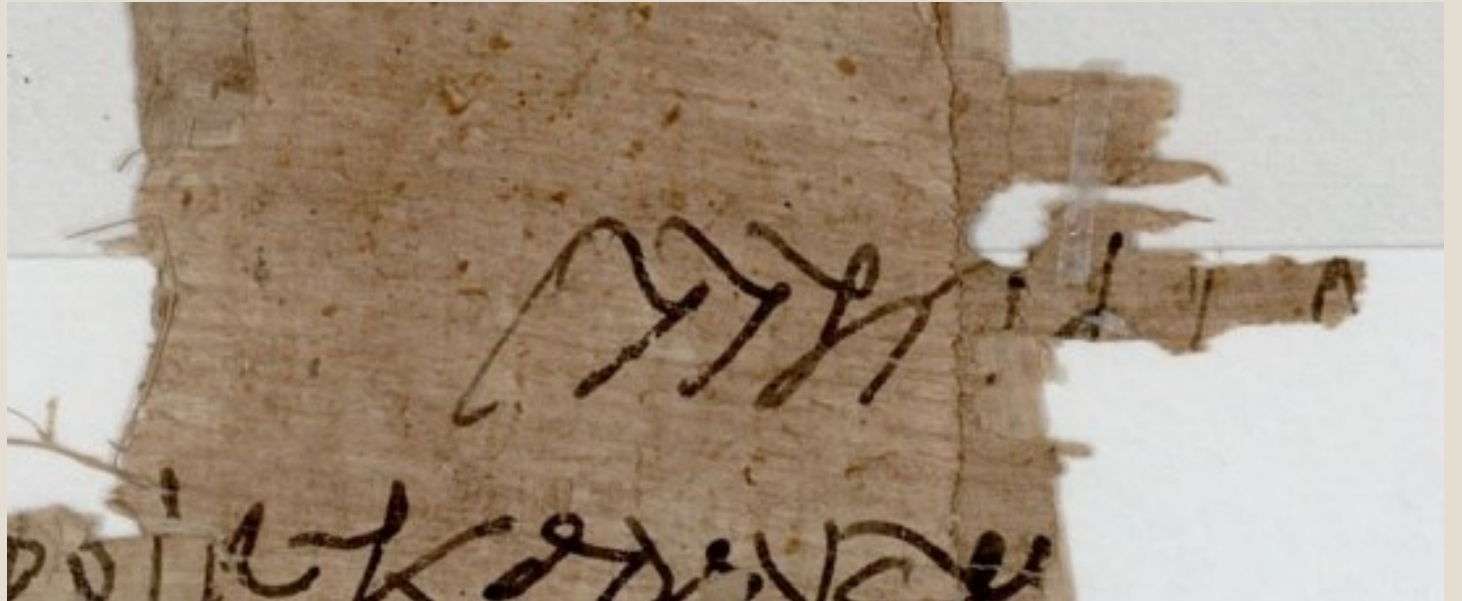
- The **lower** notation may function as a **subscription**: Valerius Diogenes' **signature**
- But the notation is very neatly written – whereas personal subscription of Roman soldiers are **everything but neat**
- Who wrote the **upper** notation...?

] praesidi p[rouinciae



‘This Latin hand is **perceptibly different from the one in line 20**, which is quite possibly to be regarded as the autograph subscription of the *beneficiarius*. What is more difficult to decide is **whether the writer of line 1 also wrote the body of the report in Greek**. The texture of the ink and the thickness of the pen seem very similar; on the other hand the Greek is spiky and jerky, while the Latin here seems rather smooth and fluent. The small sample of Latin makes decision difficult. **Tentatively, and reluctantly, it has been assumed that three writers contributed to the document.** The question whether this means that the *beneficiarius* had ‘Greek’ secretary and a ‘Latin’ secretary must remain unanswered’ (Rea p. 41).

] praesidi p[rouinciae



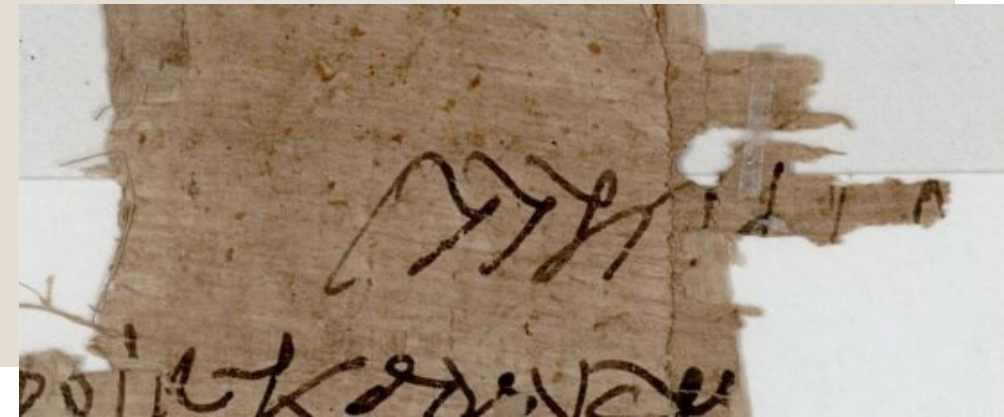


# The two notations

1. **Both** writings come from the **sender's** office. Either Valerius Diogenes or a clerk subscribes the document at the bottom; then another clerk writes in large letters *praesidi prouinciae* in the upper margin, then the petition is transmitted to the governor's office
2. The **subscription** is from **Valerius Diogenes** (or a clerk of his office); then the petition is transmitted to the governor's office, where a **clerk** glues it in a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος and adds at the top ***praesidi prouinciae***, in order to point out the addressee among the several others petitions collected in the *tomos*.

Valerius Diogenes bf

] praesidi p[rouinciae



P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

# P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

- A **petition** to the *praeses Augustamnicae*

# P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

- A petition to the *praeses Augustamnicae*
- The object of complaint is unclear, but the petitioner speaks of athletes and liturgies



# P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

- A petition to the *praeses Augustamnicae*
- The object of complaint is unclear, but the petitioner speaks of athletes and liturgies
- Guess what you find **in the upper section**...?

# P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

- A petition to the *praeses Augustamnicae*
- The object of complaint is unclear, but the petitioner speaks of athletes and liturgies
- Guess what you find **in the upper section**...?
- Remnants of a **Latin line**:



# P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (ca. AD 343)

- 'Probably traces of Latin, since a q may perhaps be recognized. Perhaps **a short remark in Latin was added afterwards at the officium of the praeses**, **possibly some (abbreviated?) archival notation**' (Hoogendijk, p. 352).



# The two notations

- The petition was directly sent by the petitioner to the office of the governor, not forwarded to him by a *beneficiarius*



# The two notations

- The petition was directly sent by the petitioner to the office of the governor, not forwarded to him by a *beneficiarius*
- ...was there a subscription at the bottom? And in what language?

# The two notations

- The petition was directly sent by the petitioner to the office of the governor, not forwarded to him by a *beneficiarius*
- ...was there a subscription at the bottom? And in what language?
- If we **can** see the upper notation as clerical, and the lower as a subscription, there is no guarantee this was a rule and not a short-lived, inconsistent **habit**

# The final rush

- *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- *P.Vindob.* inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- *P.Lips.* inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- *SB* XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2193 (IV–V AD)
- *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2194 (IV–V AD)
- *P.Köln* IV 200 (IV–V AD)
- *P.Petra* V 55 (AD 573)
- *P.Lond.* inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)

# The final rush

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- **P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)**
- **P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)**
- **P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)**
- P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)
- **P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)**
- Letters where the sender and the addressee somehow share a common educational or religious *milieu* which envisages **a bit of Latin language**, and like to show it in their correspondence



# The final rush

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)
- P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)
- **P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)**
- P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)
- Letters where the sender and the addressee somehow share a common educational or religious *milieu* which envisages a bit of Latin language, and like to show it in their correspondence
- A testamentary disposition where the testator, while bequeathing his estate, inserts **Latin clauses** reminiscent of his probable **former career in the army**

# The final rush

- P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)
- P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)
- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)
- P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)
- P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)
- P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)
- Letters where the sender and the addressee somehow share a common educational or religious *milieu* which envisages a bit of Latin language, and like to show it in their correspondence
- A testamentary disposition where the testator, while bequeathing his estate, inserts Latin clauses reminiscent of his probable former career in the army
- Letters from provincial chancery where some apparently **random data**, including the letterhead, are written in Greek and then **translated in Latin**

# The final rush

- **P.Oxy. LXIII 4363 (AD 314–25)**
- **P.Vindob. inv. G 24715 (AD 343)**
- P.Lips. inv. 1129 (IV AD)
- SB XVI 12580 (late IV AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2193 (IV-V AD)
- P.Oxy. XVIII 2194 (IV-V AD)
- P.Köln IV 200 (IV-V AD)
- P.Petra V 55 (AD 573)
- P.Lond. inv. 3124 (VII–IX AD)
- Letters where the sender and the addressee somehow share a common educational or religious *milieu* which envisages a bit of Latin language, and like to show it in their correspondence
- A testamentary disposition where the testator, while bequeathing his estate, inserts Latin clauses reminiscent of his probable former career in the army
- Letters from provincial chancery where some apparently random data, including the letterhead, are written in Greek and then translated in Latin
- Letters where **Latin notations** were inserted, maybe for **archival or validation purposes**



AND YOU CALL **THIS**  
'CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE'?

(No, of course I don't.)



# But we can draw some lines

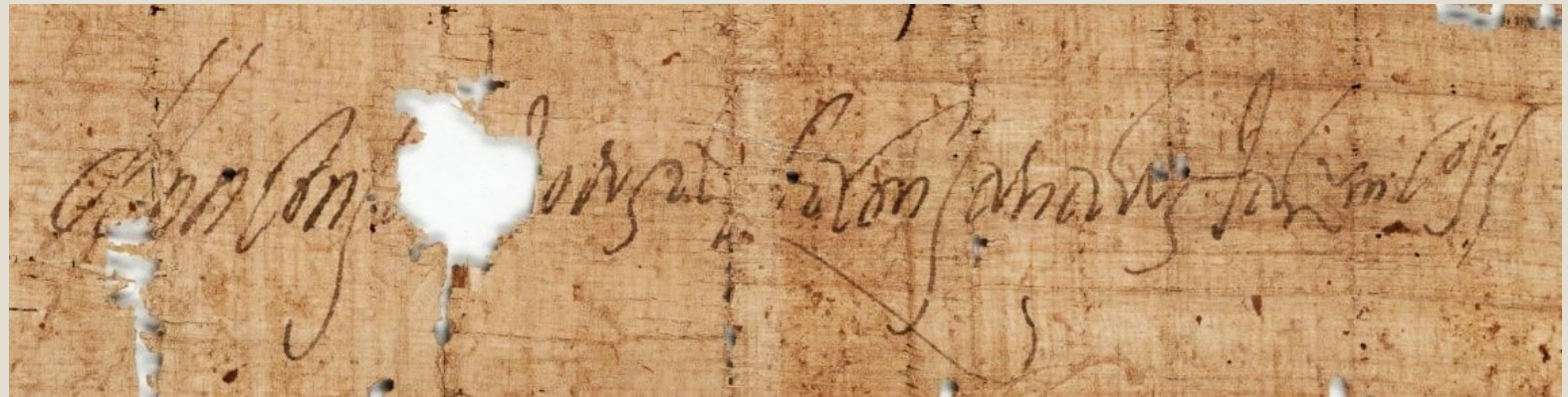
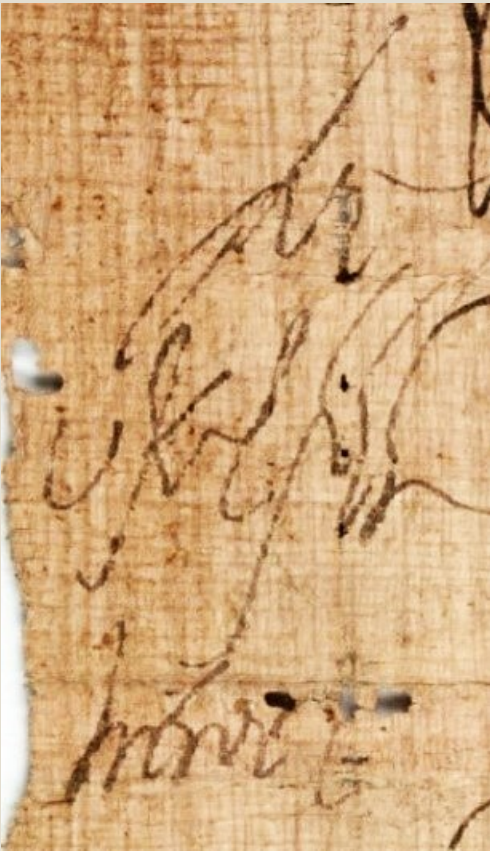
- **Latin official documents** from Late Antique Egypt represent **a state-mandated documentary typology**: the authority will – under a few specific circumstances – speak Latin to their subjects





# But we can draw some lines

- Latin official documents from Late Antique Egypt represent a state-mandated documentary typology: the authority will – under a few specific circumstances – speak Latin to their subjects
- When the authority speaks in **Greek** – in the greatest majority of cases – still **a Latin seal is required**, to let the subjects know who is the speaker: e.g. a **dating formula**



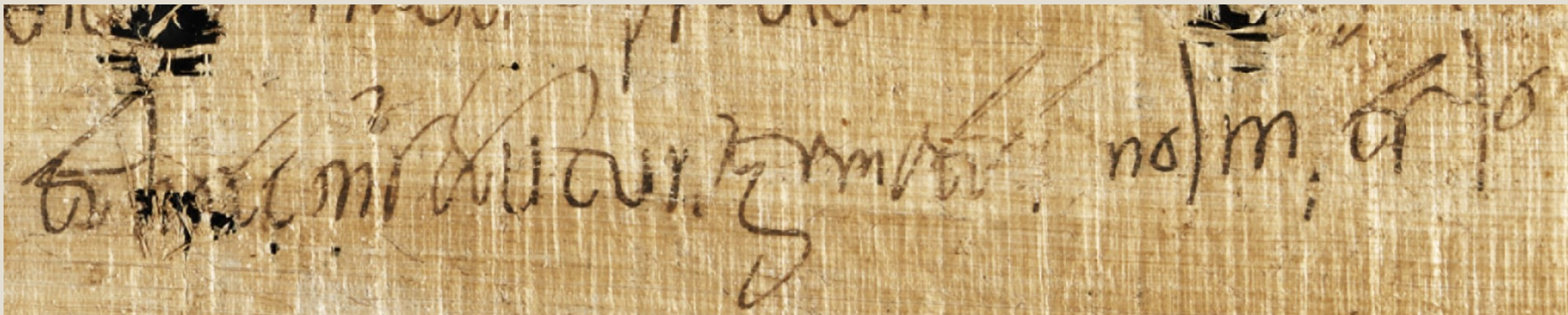
# But we can draw some lines

- Latin official documents from Late Antique Egypt represent a state-mandated documentary typology: the authority will – under a few specific circumstances – speak Latin to their subjects
- When the authority speaks in Greek – in the greatest majority of cases – still a Latin seal is required, to let the subjects know who is the speaker: e.g. a dating formula
- In all the evidence you saw today, **Latin** is not a requirement, but a **choice**

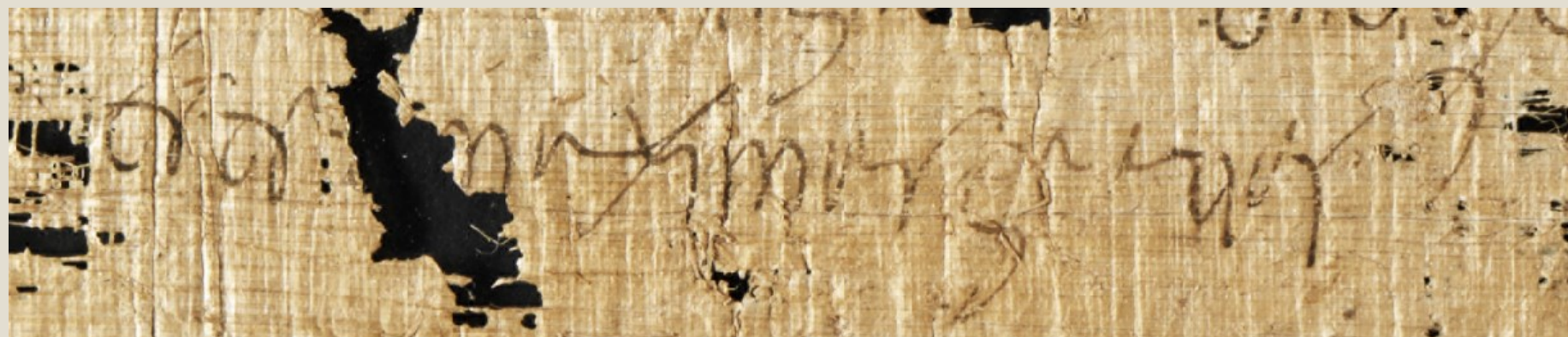
# But we can draw some lines

- Latin official documents from Late Antique Egypt represent a state-mandated documentary typology: the authority will – under a few specific circumstances – speak Latin to their subjects
- When the authority speaks in Greek – in the greatest majority of cases – still a Latin seal is required, to let the subjects know who is the speaker: e.g. a dating formula
- In all the evidence you saw today, **Latin** is not a requirement, but a **choice**
- A choice available to those very few educated subjects, who could master it because formerly in the *militia armata* or *inermis*, and who could use it to reinforce their bond to each other **and their connection to their own idea of Rome**





|<sup>14</sup> ... Et hoc consecutus **agam** aeterno imperio  
|<sup>15</sup> uestro **maximas gratias**



**Thanks** for attending this paper!