



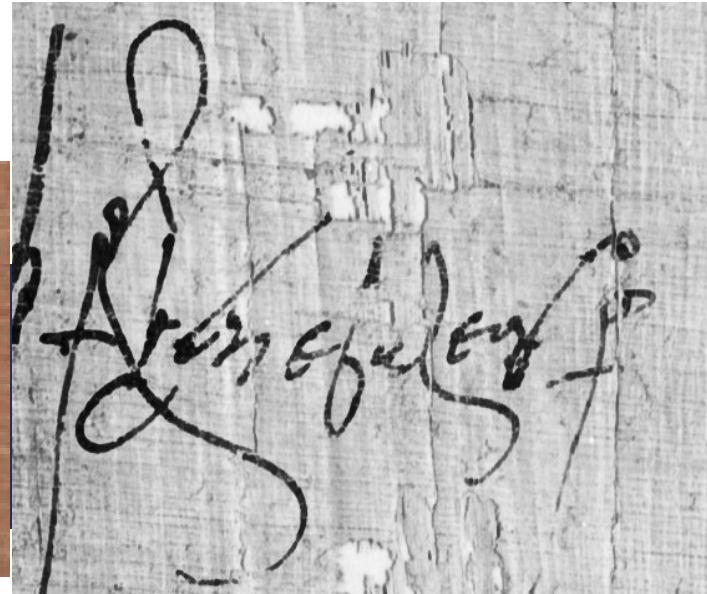
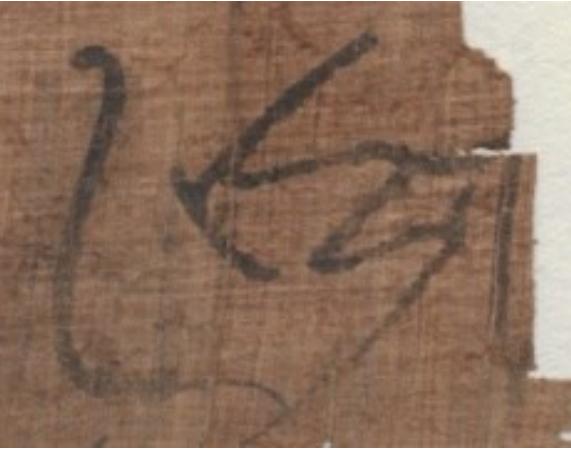
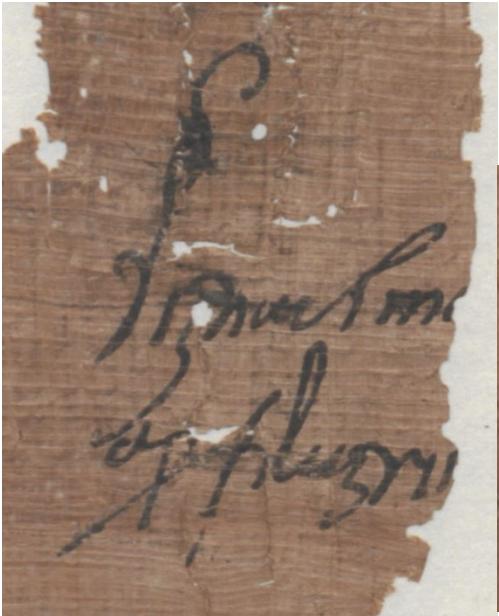
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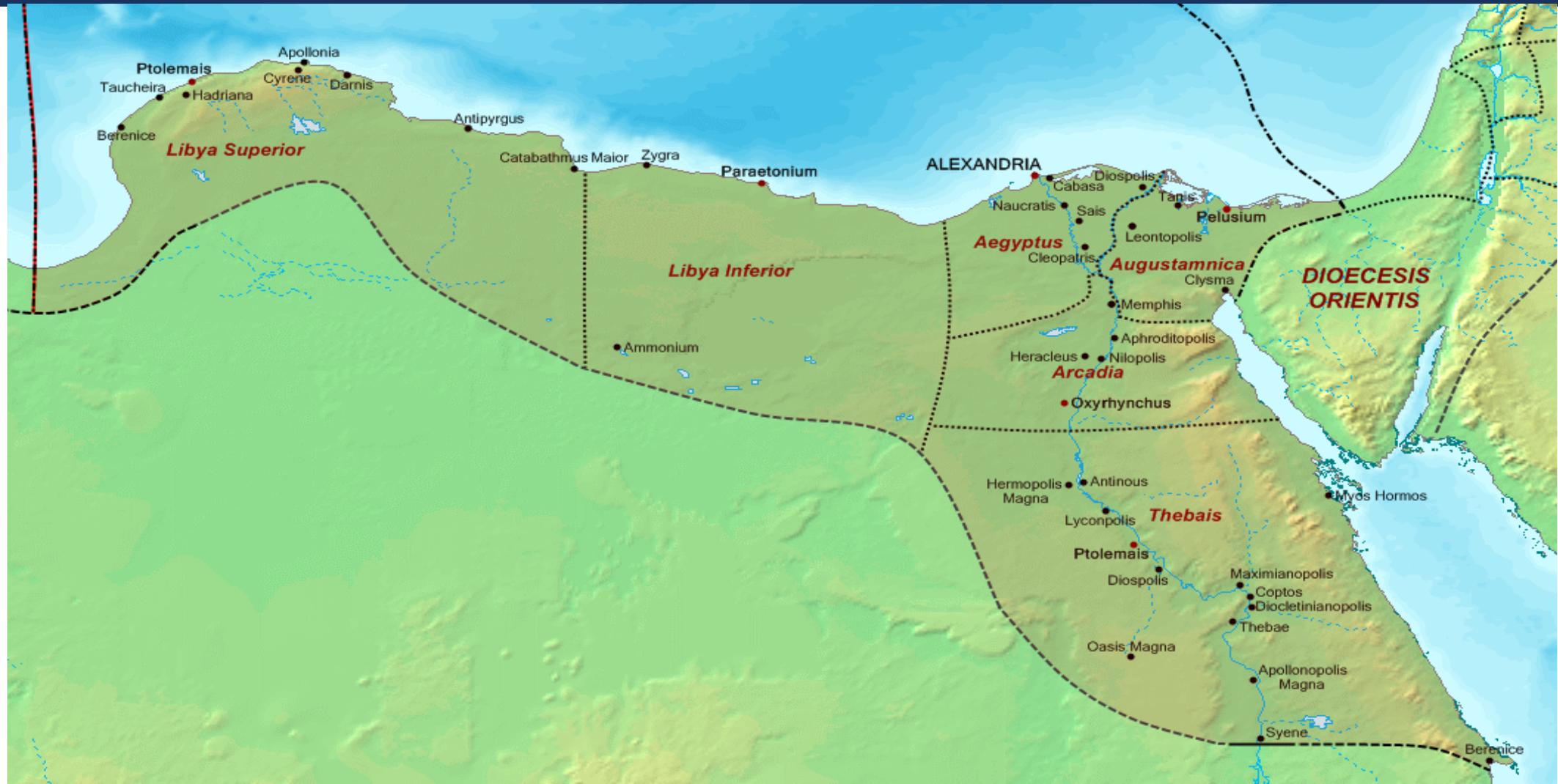
ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITA DI BOLOGNA

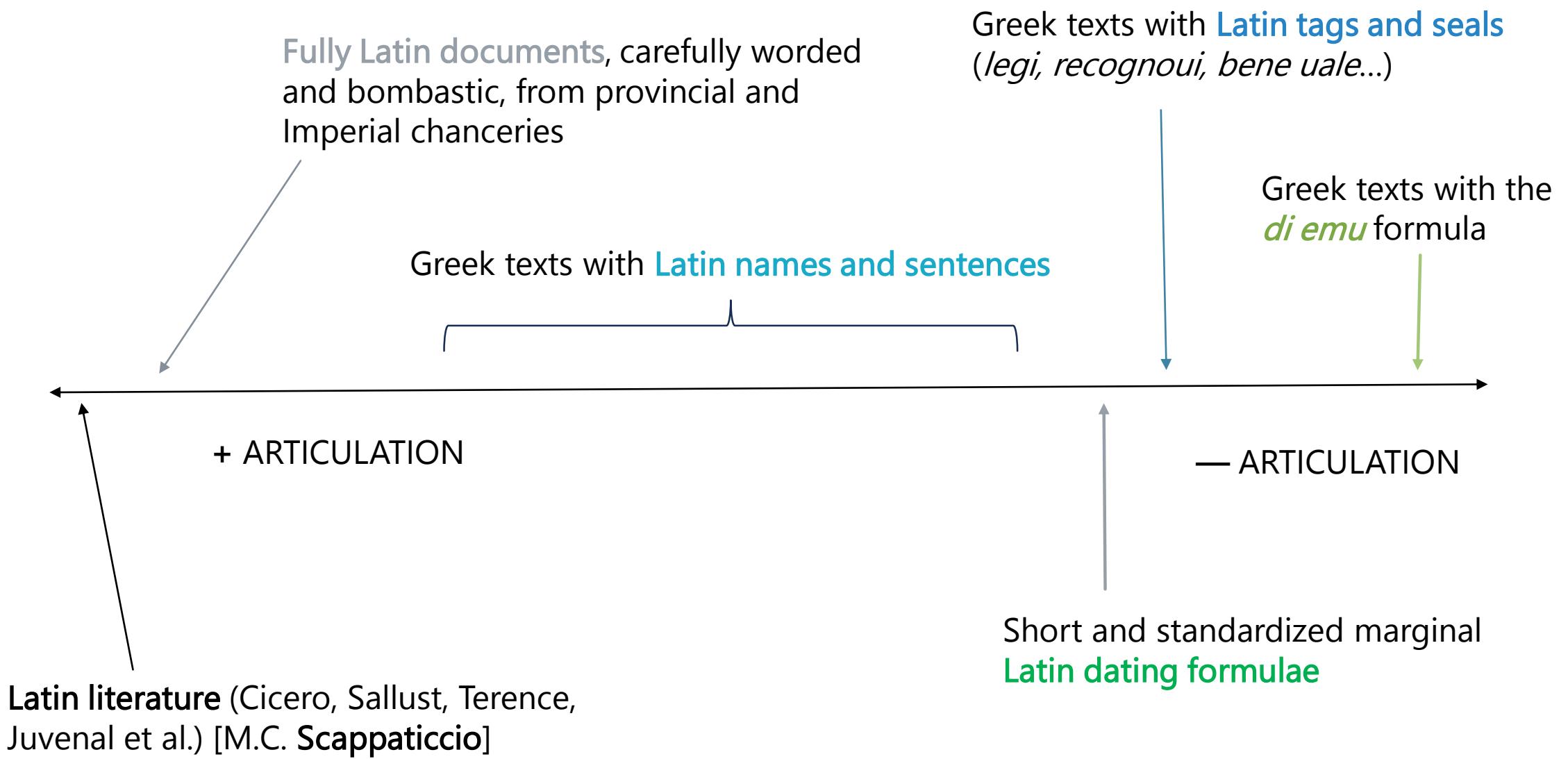
'I WILL SUBSCRIBE GENTLE ADIEUX AND GREETINGS'

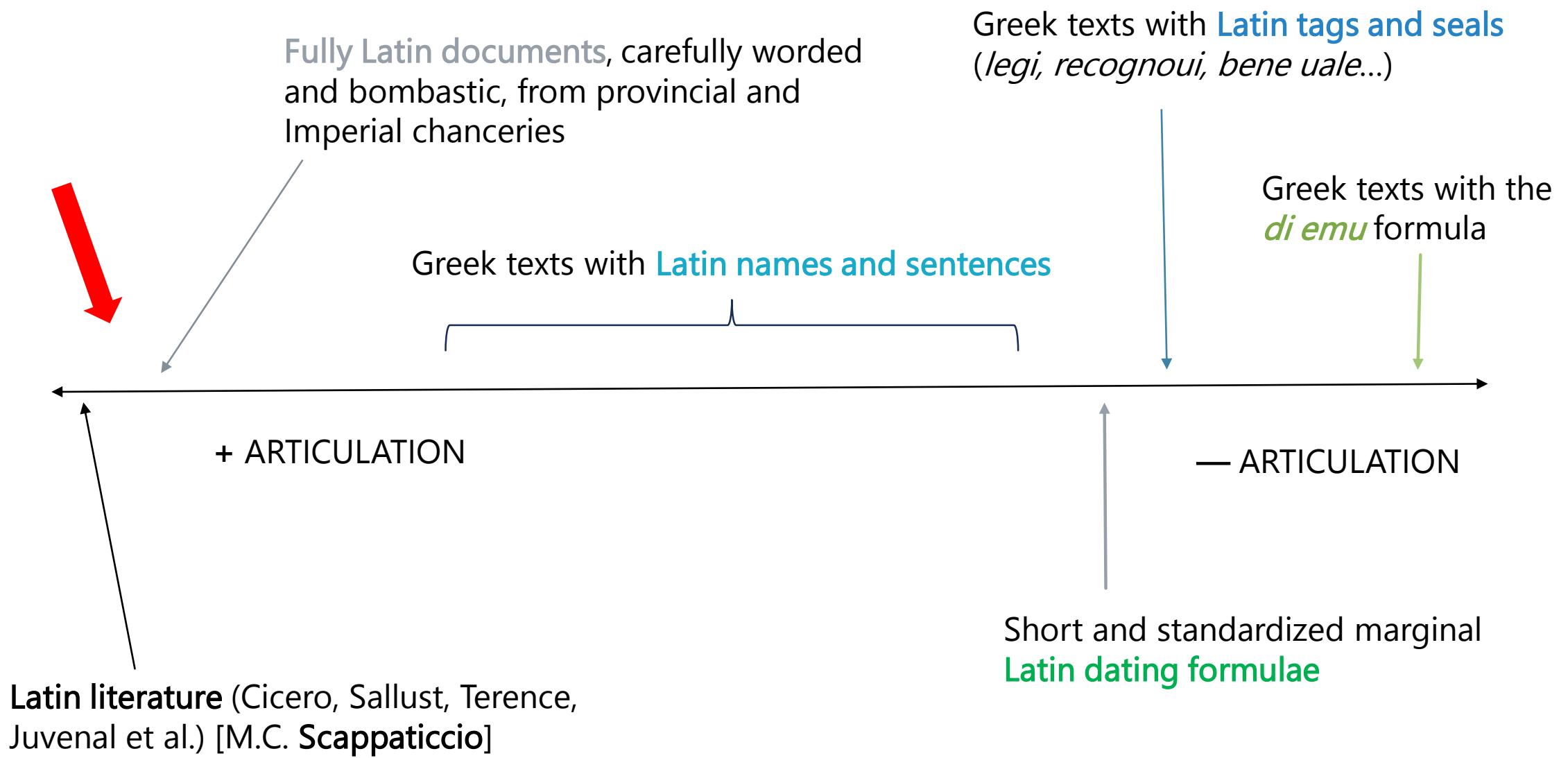
Latin Tags to Late Antique Documents

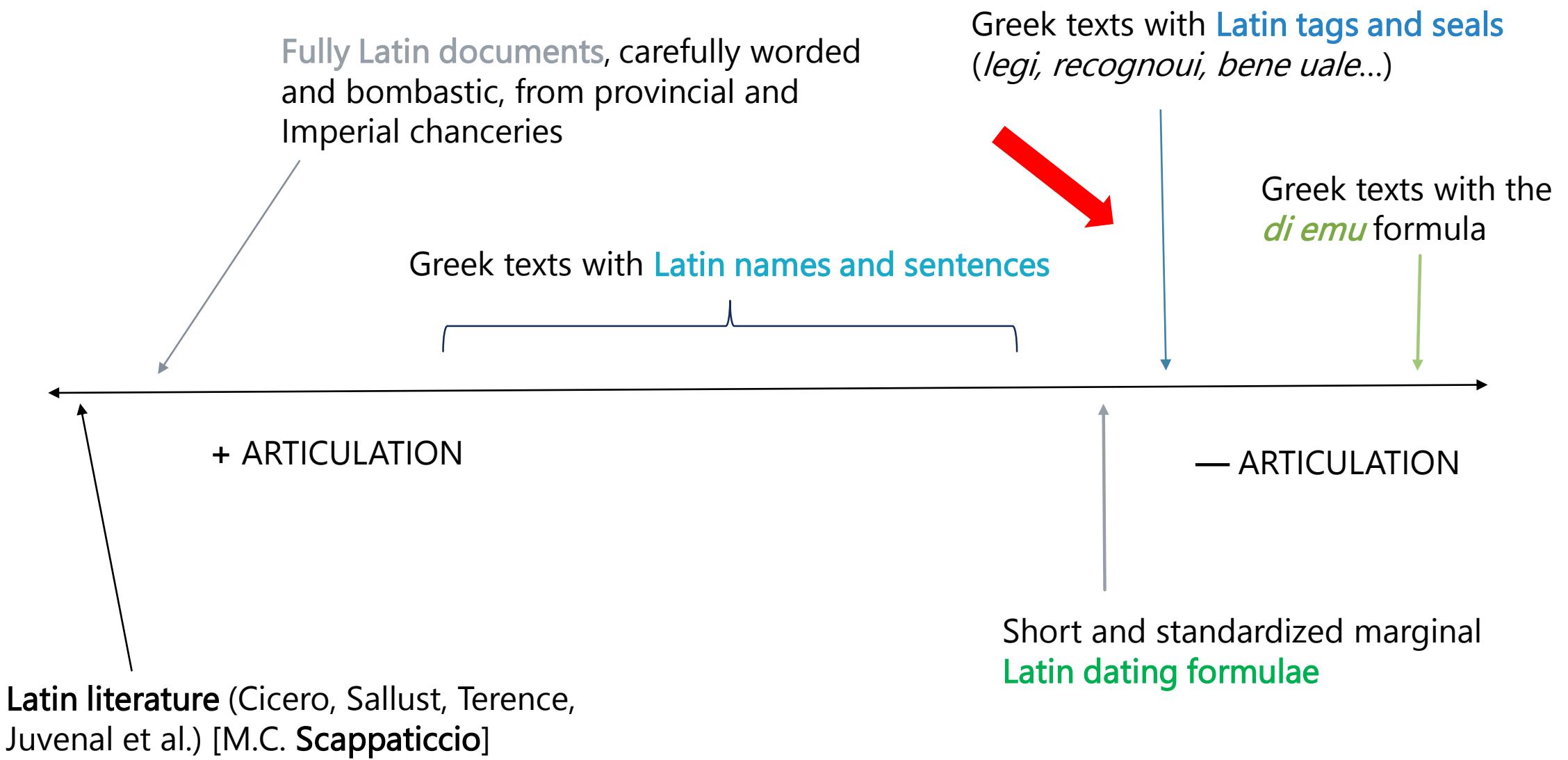


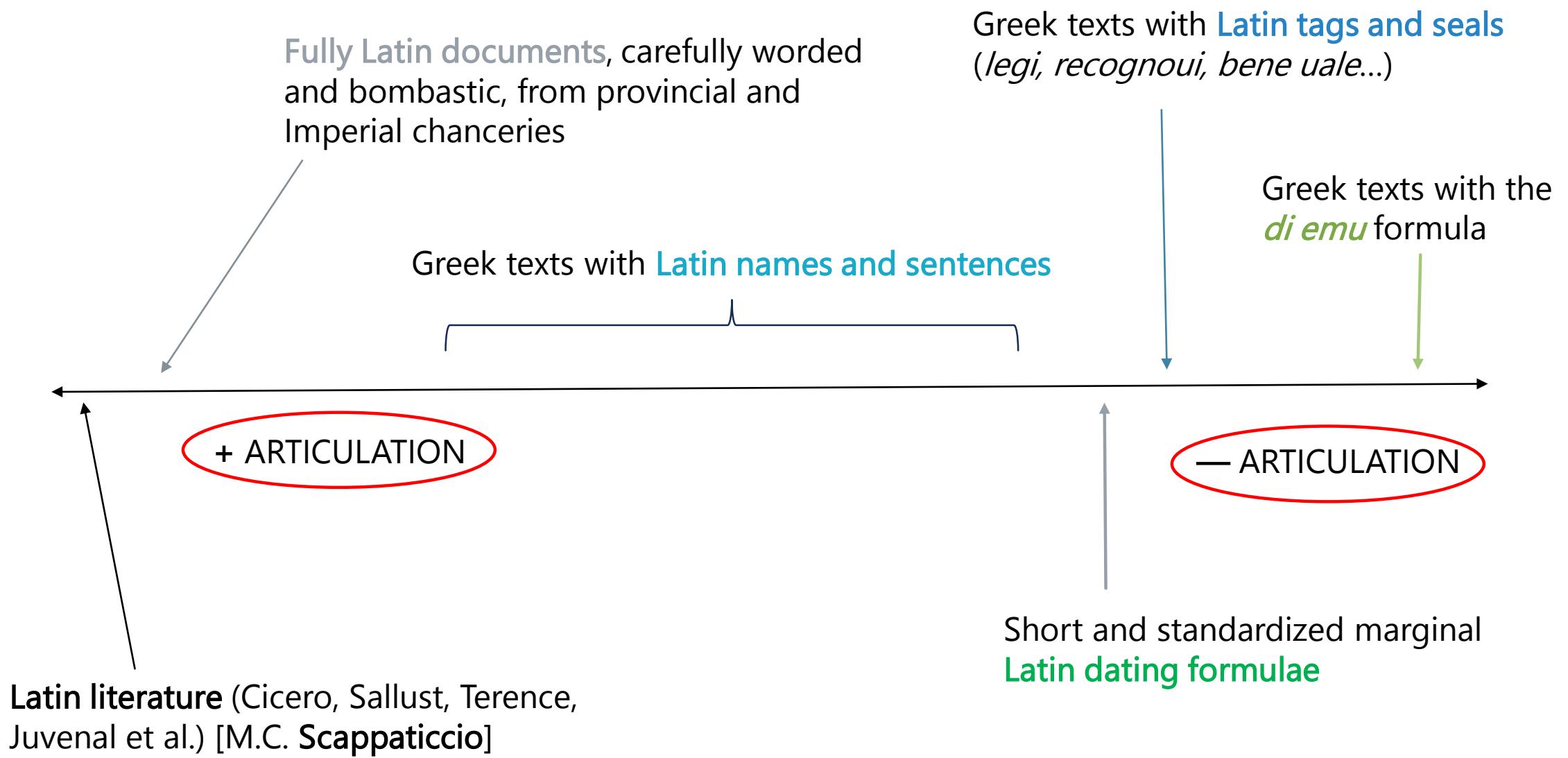
LATIN RELICS IN A GREEK EGYPT (MSCA-IF-GF N° 895634): LATIN IN EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTS BETWEEN DIOCLETIAN AND HERACLIUS

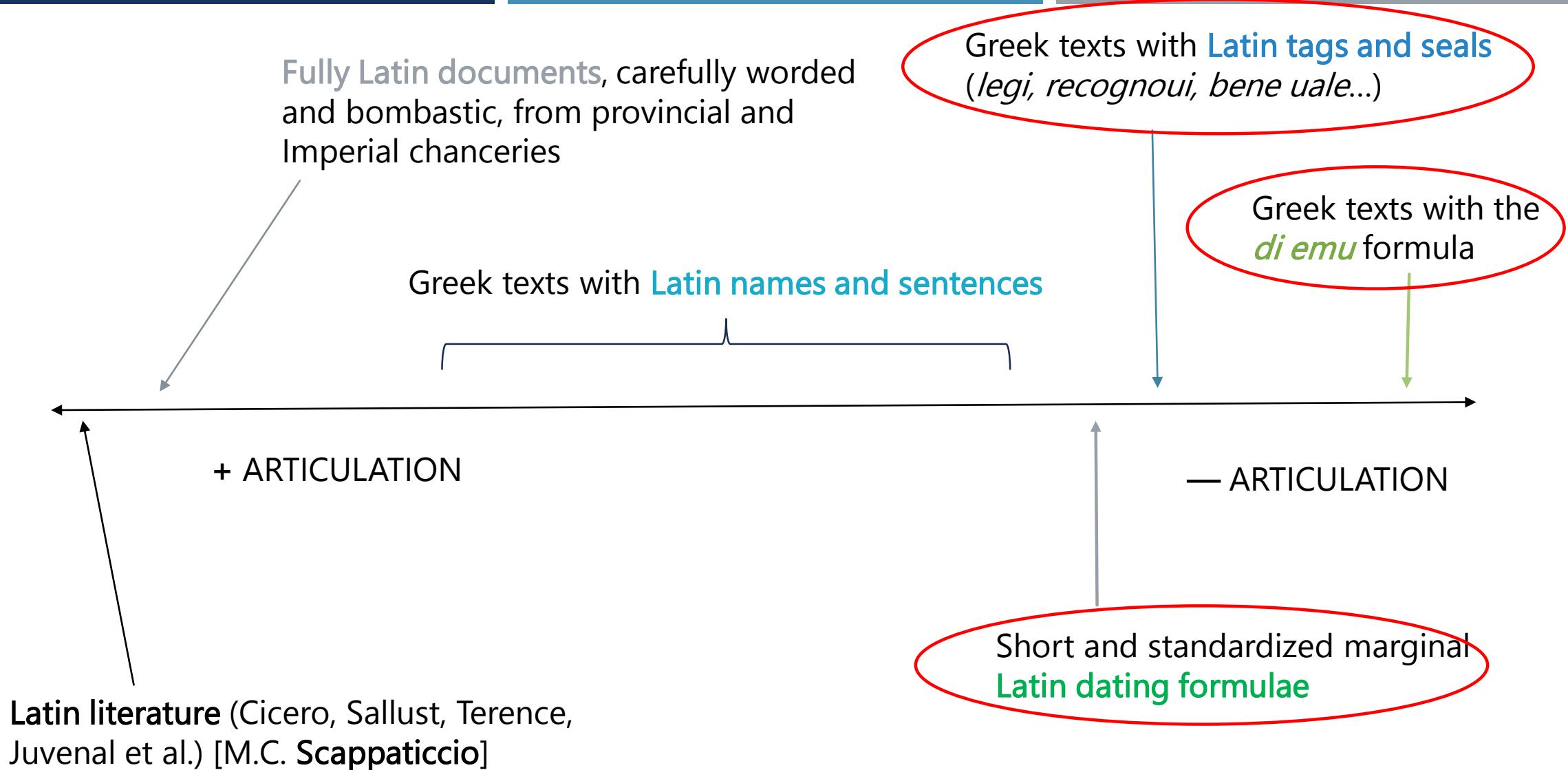


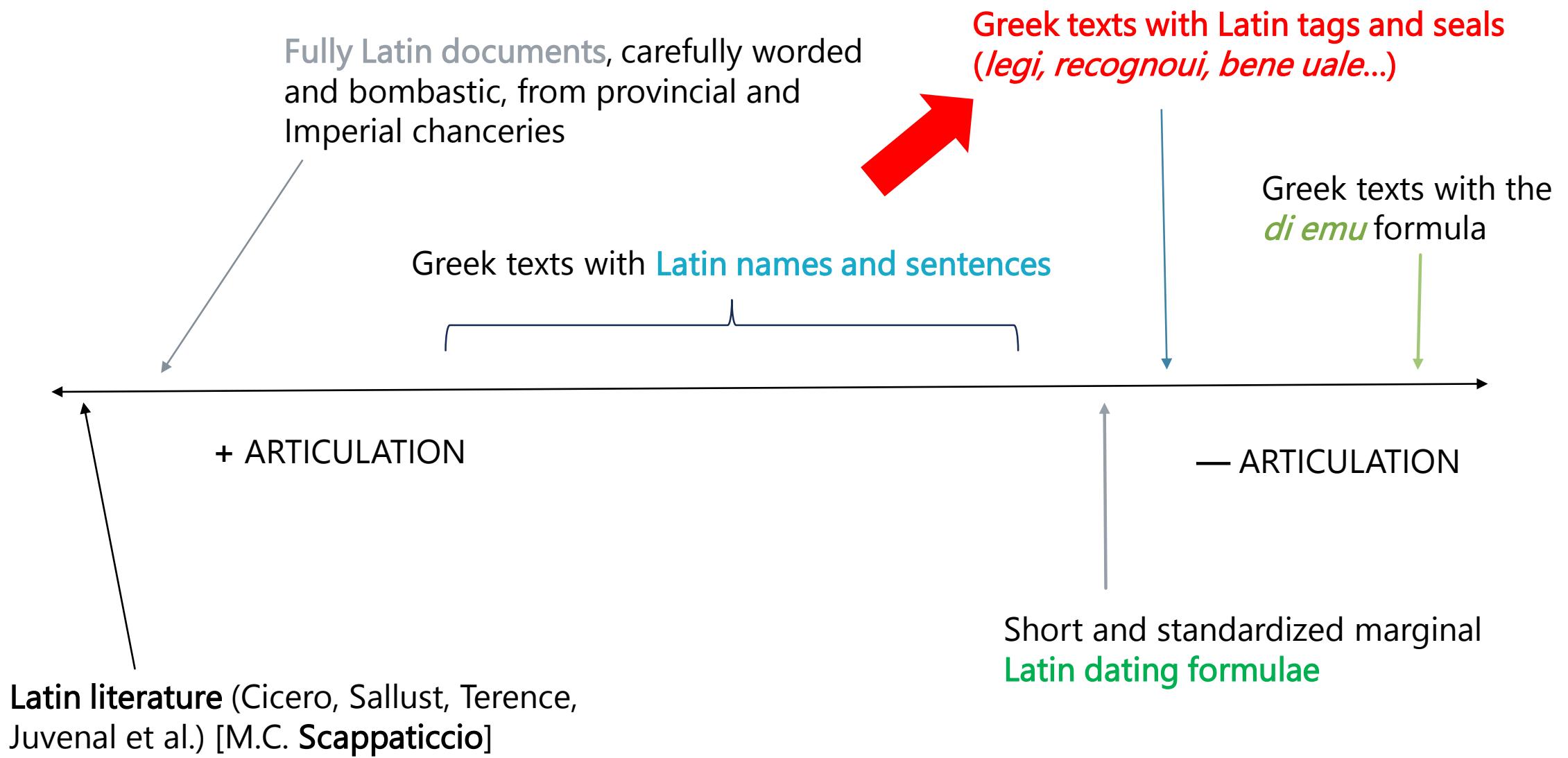












ON TODAY'S MENU

The **precedent**...

- **Classen**, P. (1983) 'Spätrömische Grundlagen Mittelalterlicher Kanzleien', *Vorträge und Forschungen* 28: 67–84

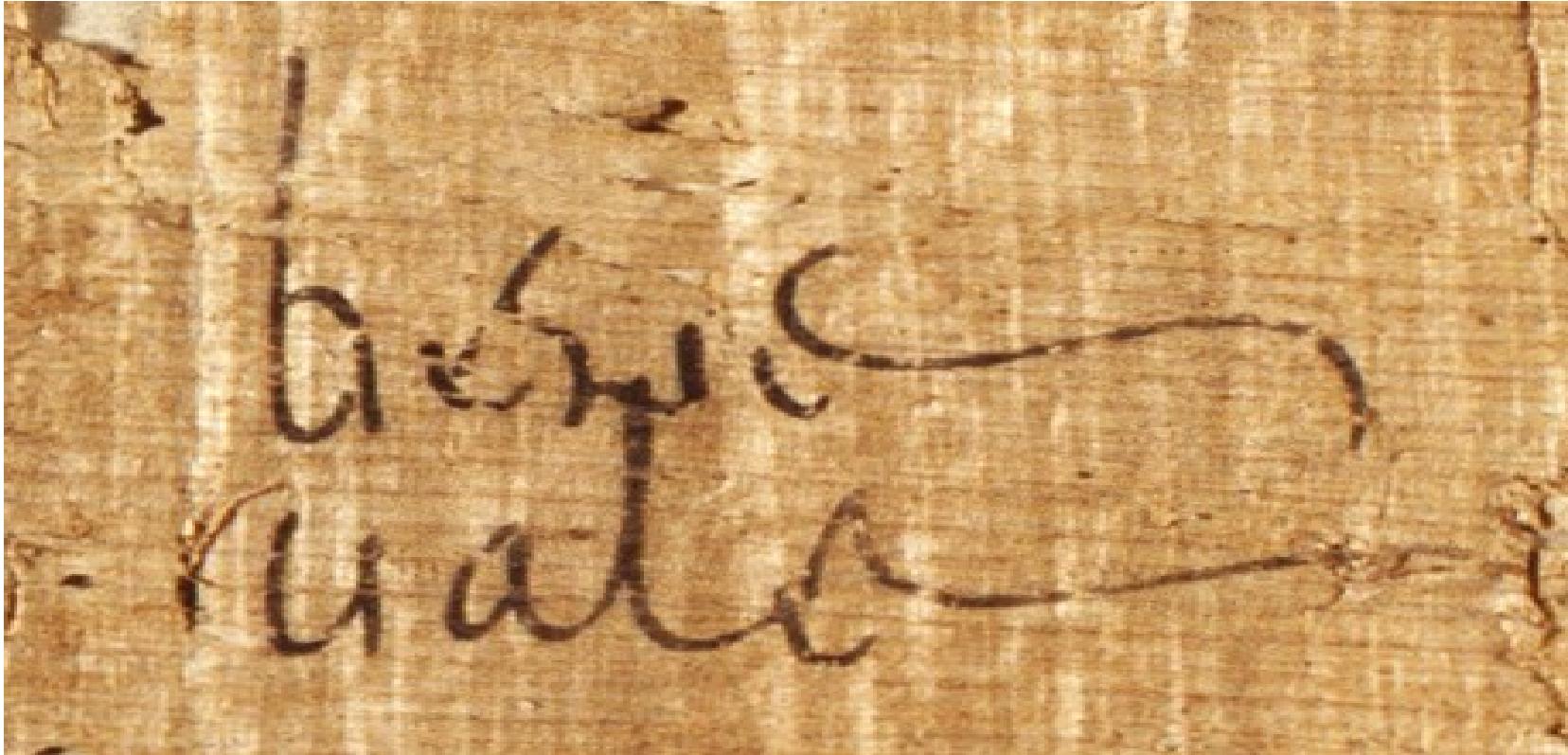
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...and **me**

- Larger **dataset**
- **Which** tag, or seal, or subscription is used in which context and **why**?
- **Where** do they come from?
- Can we **tell** one from the next?



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*

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- Is this really a subscription?
- At the beginning, it seems to be not an addition, but a regular portion of the Latin epistolary format, and organic to the text itself: a matter of style

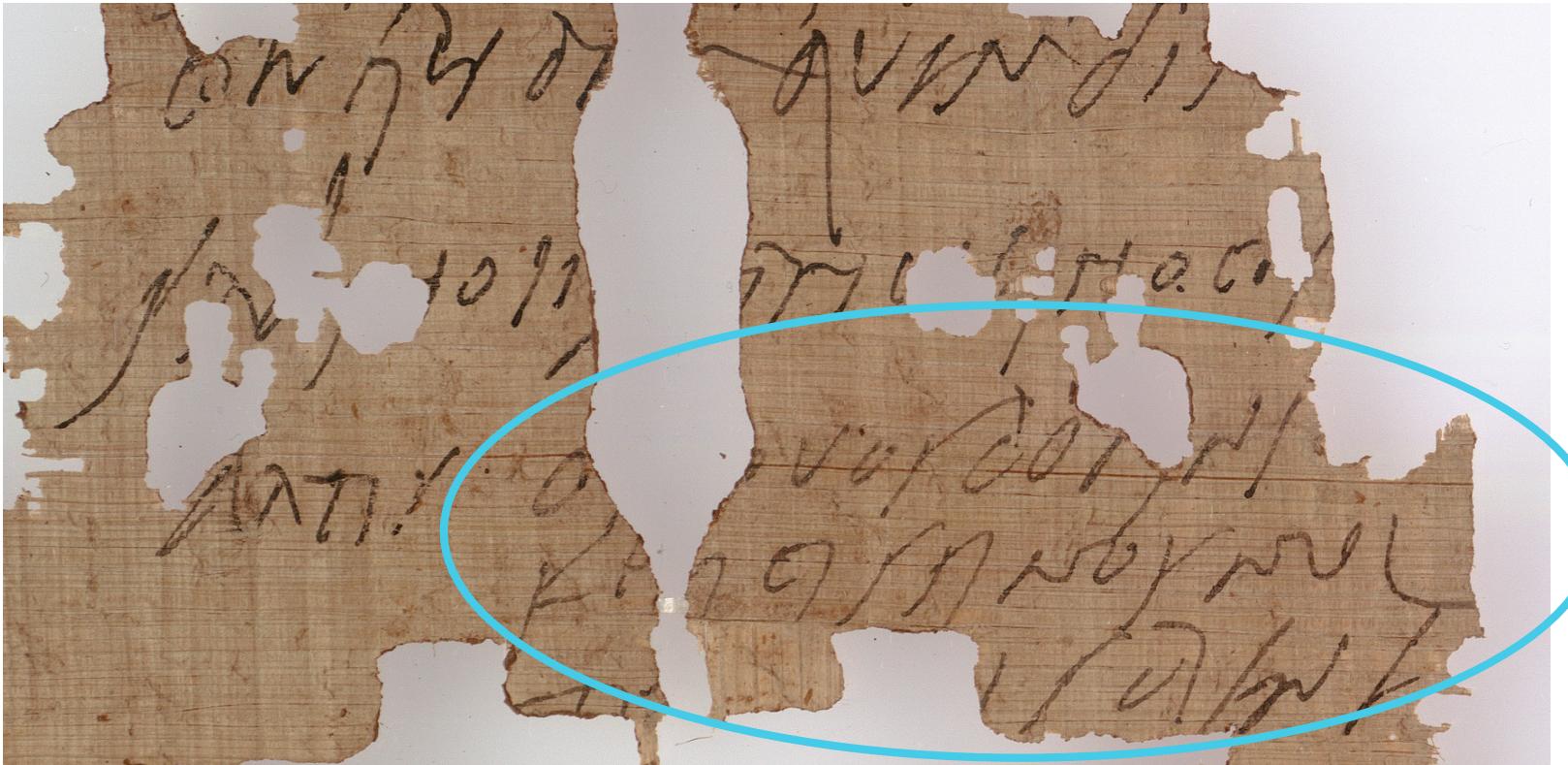
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- And yet...

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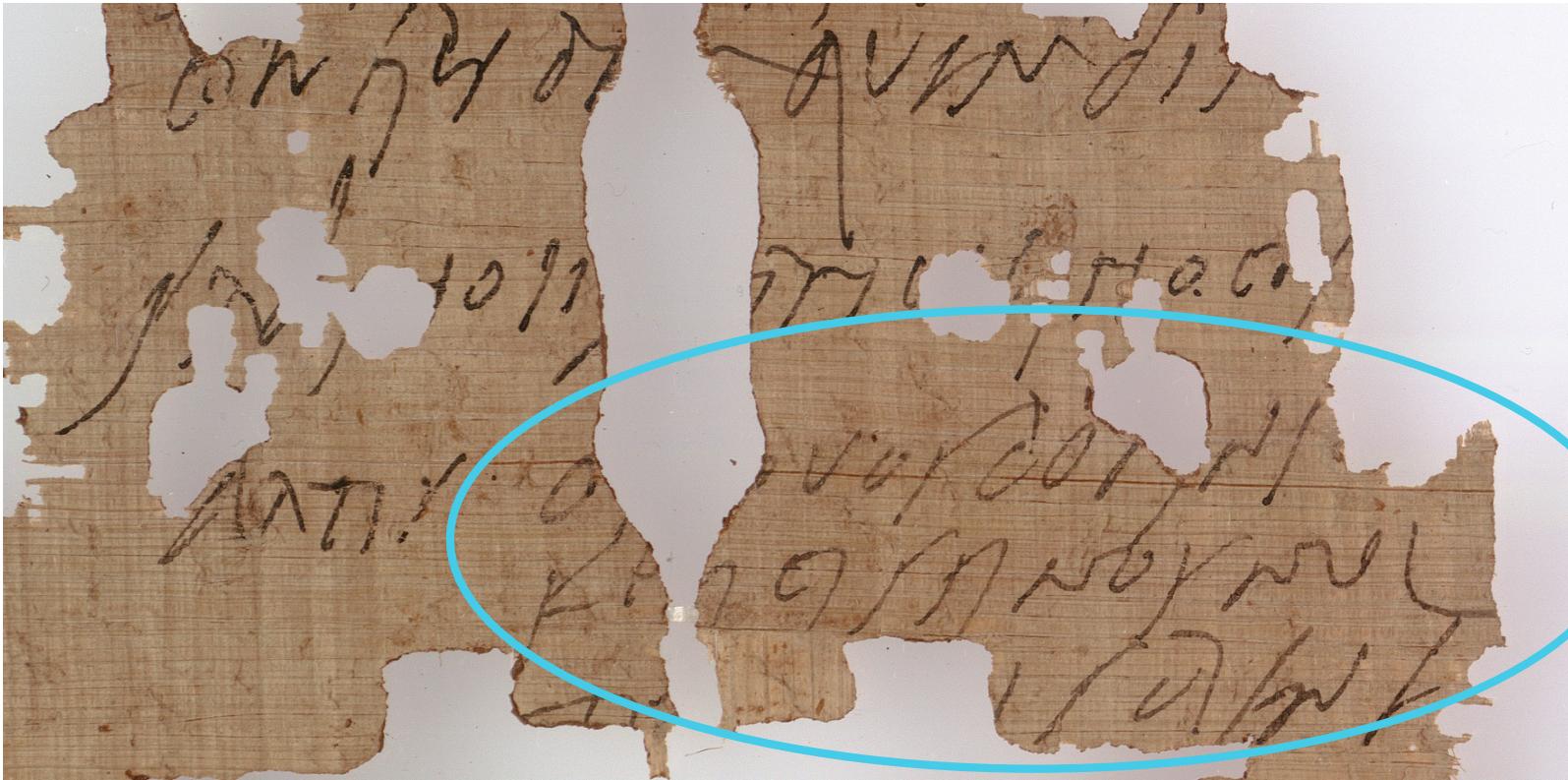


- Latin official letters from **III AD**, mainly from military bureaus, show this formula written **by the sender's very hand**

P.Dura 66a (AD 216): opto uos domini | felicissimos mul|tis annis bene [ualere]

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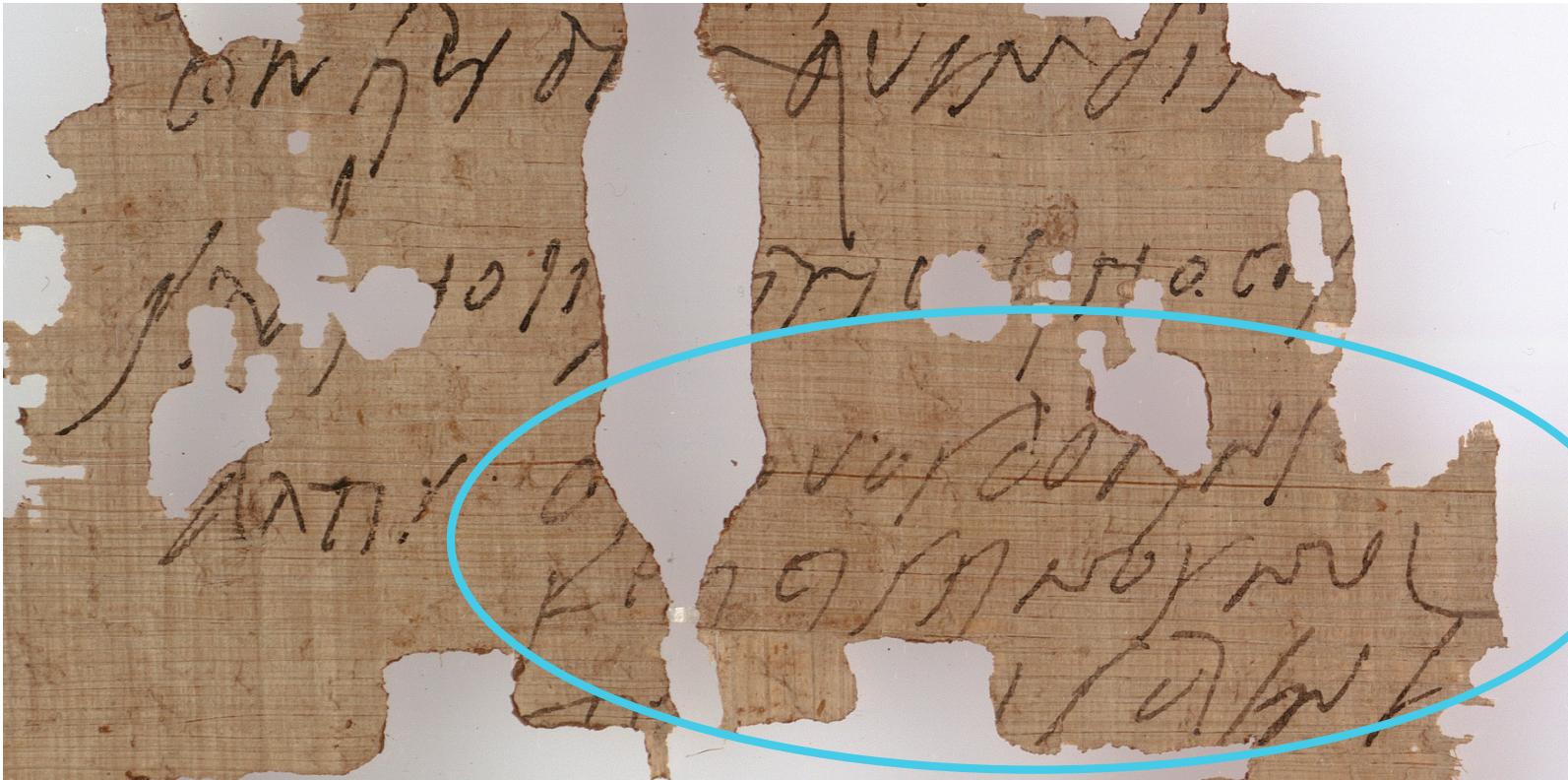


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- It's in this frame that *opto ... ualere* begins to switch from greeting formula to subscription

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

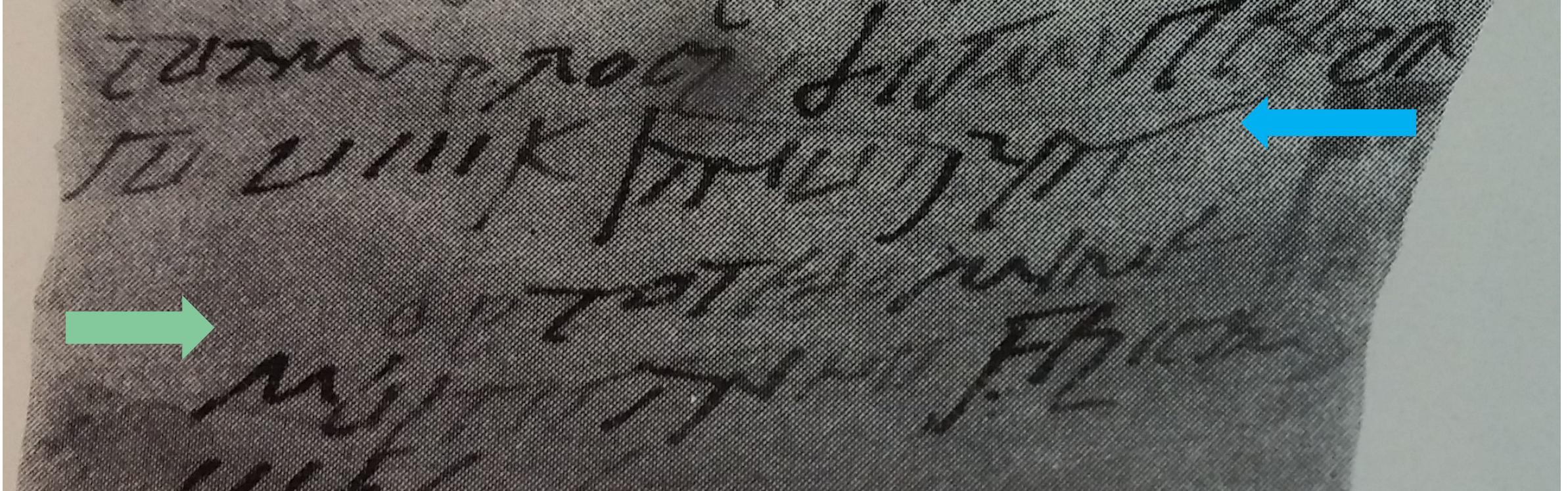
- *SB* XXVIII 17098 (AD 117–38)
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O.LATOPOLIS 13 (LATE II AD)

The **main text** and the **formula** have been written by the same person – who has, however, **separated** them in the writing frame

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

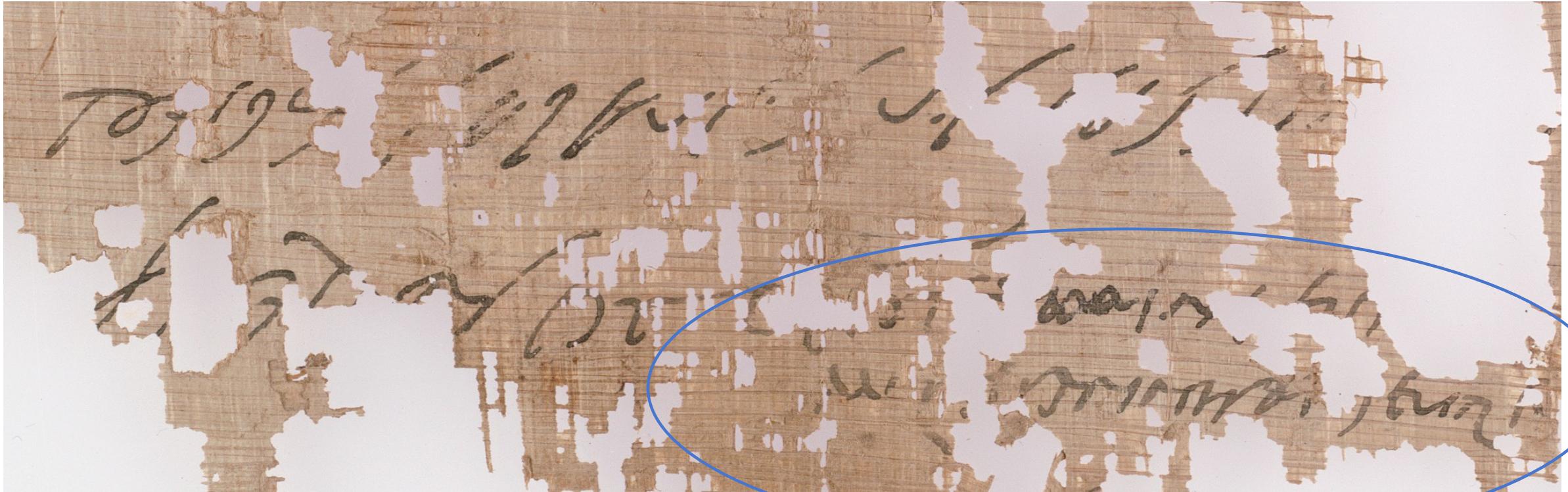
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 - ‘False’ handshifts mostly in **private** letters, whereas in **official** ones the signaled handshift is true



P.DURA 64B (AD 221)

opto te, domine fili, [feli]ciss[i]m[um] | multis annis bene uale[r]e

- A shift takes place in the second and third century, between the *bene uale* as a courtesy formula, a mark of *civility*, and a *bene uale* which signals a particular sender in a specific position, and somehow *seals and authenticate the letter* (Sarri 2013: 814).

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1. *BENE VALE*

P.Merton III 115 (early IV AD)

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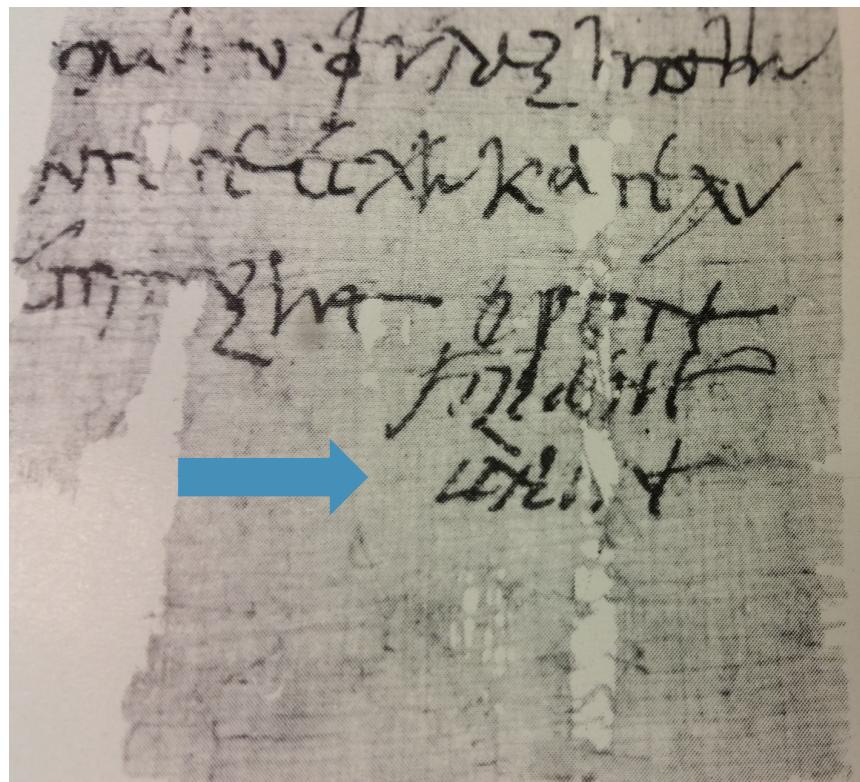
- Private letter (among soldiers?)
- In **Greek**

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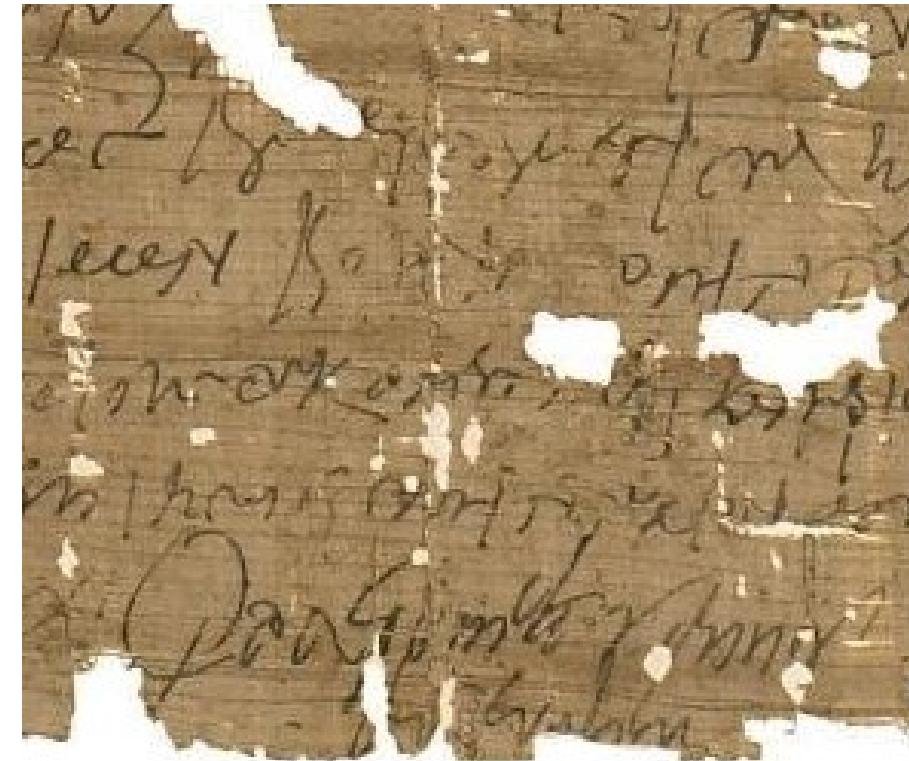
- Private letter among soldiers (Abinnaeus was a soldier, and often wrote to his colleagues)
- In **Greek**

1. BENE VALE

P.Merton: *opto te | fili bene | ualere*



P.Abinn.: *et te per multos annos | be[n]e ualere*



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- What happened to this formula in Late Antiquity?
- For starters (IV AD) it is employed among equals who have a smattering of Latin and have served in the Roman army
- ...a token of a shared milieu, where these people learned the little bit of Latin they can still parade in their papers – such as greeting formulae

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-
-
-
1. In **personal letters**: a token of a **shared milieu**
 2. In **official letters**?

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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1. In **personal letters**: a token of a **shared milieu**
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1. In personal letters: a token of a shared milieu
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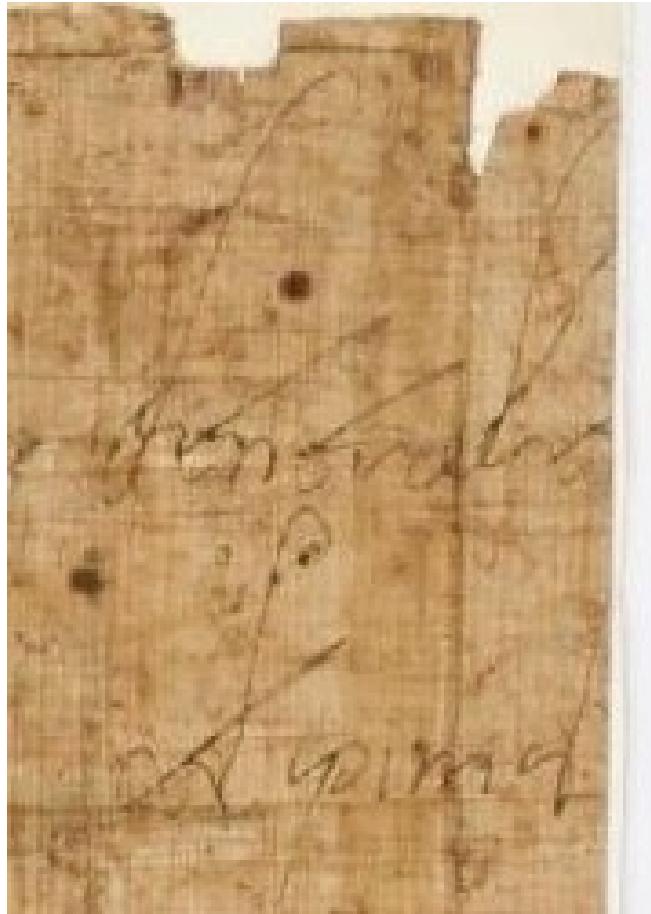
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1. In personal letters: a token of a shared milieu
 2. In official letters: *PAbinn.* 2 (AD 344), **SB XX 14606** (AD 425–30), and *PRyl.* IV 609 (AD 505)
 3. Letters from a superior to an inferior rank within Roman army
 4. Imperial rescript from the chancery of Theodosius II

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1. BENE VALE

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SB XX 14606 (AD 425–30)

- The end of the Latin rescript in *litterae caelestes*

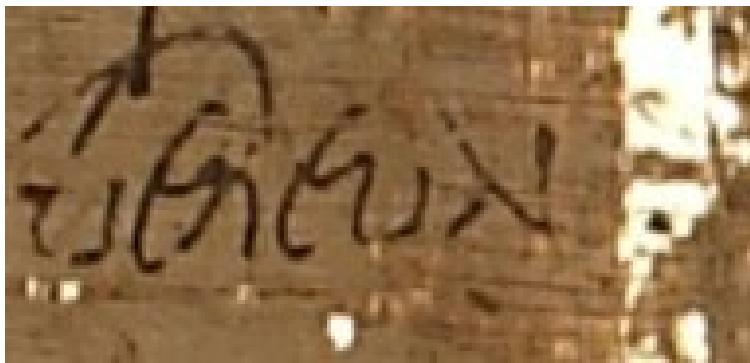
1. BENE VALE



SB XX 14606 (AD 425–30)

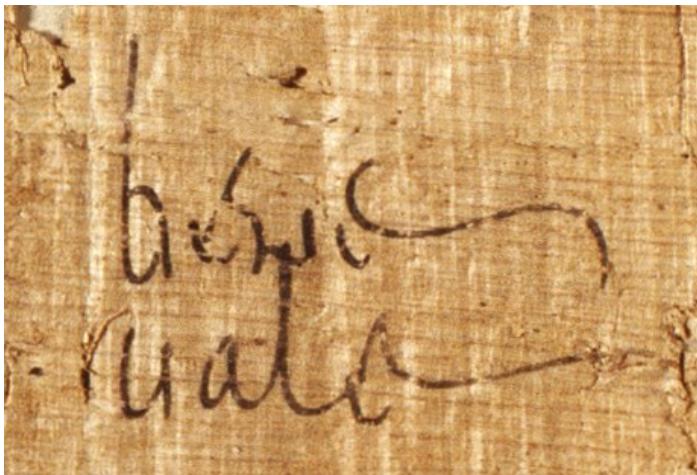
- The end of the Latin rescript in *litterae caelestes*
- Theodosius' (?) subscription:
bene ualere | te cupimus

1. BENE VALE



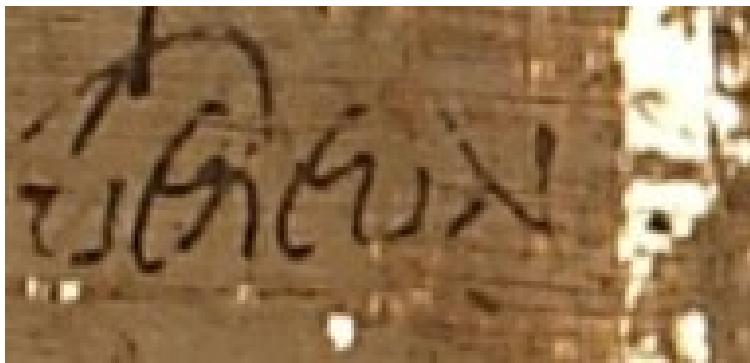
◀ *P.Abinn. 2*

P.Ryl. IV 609 ▼



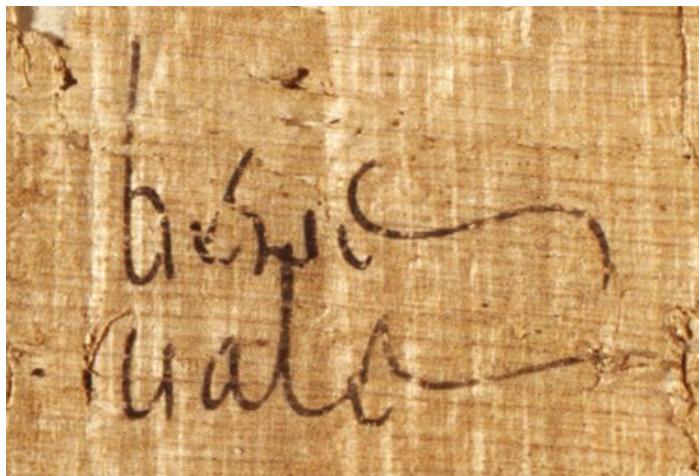
- Communications from a military authority to a lower rank
- Only a *bene vale* – **two**, in fact, in the Rylands papyrus

1. BENE VALE



◀ P.Abinn. 2

P.Ryl. IV 609 ▼



- Communications from a military authority to a lower rank
- Only a *bene vale* – **two**, in fact, in the Rylands papyrus
- The Emperor can speak with some articulation, but here we are witnessing **tags** or **seals**

-
-
-
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 2. In **official letters**: *PAbinn.* 2 (AD 344), *SB* XX 14606 (AD 425–30), and *PRyI.* IV 609 (AD 505)
 3. Official letters, a bit later (**VI AD**): *PGascou* 21 (AD **514**) and *PMünch.* I 2 (AD **578**)

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... probation what?

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- E.g., *P.Ryl.* IV 609 we just discussed

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... probation **what?**

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- E.g., *P.Ryl. IV 609* we just discussed
- **You get a receipt in return**

1. *BENE VALE*

P.Münch. I 2

- L. 19: ἐθέμεθα σοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔγγραφον
ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς σῆς
στρατεύιας

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P.Münch. I 2

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ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς σῆς
στρατεύιας
- The scribe, Flavius Marcos Isakios, ordinarius and adiutor of the numerus *Elephantinae*, has **written the letter** because the other *primicerii* are illiterate.

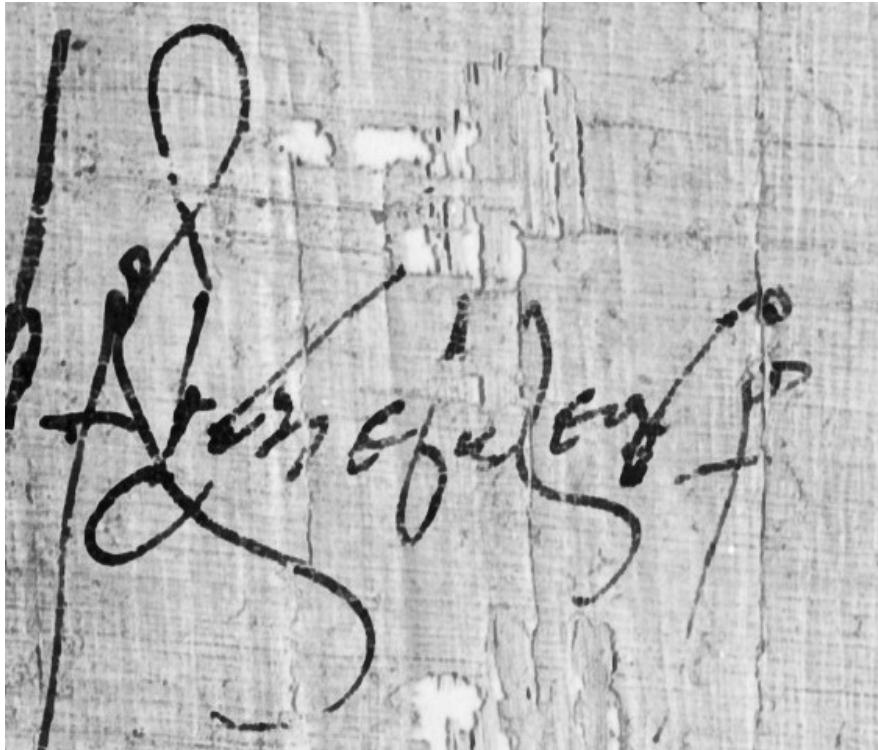
1. BENE VALE

P.Gascou 21

- P.Münch. I 2, l. 19: ἐθέμεθα coὶ ταύτην τὴν
ἔγγραφον ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς
cῆς στρατεύιας
- P.Gascou 21, ll. 8–9: καὶ πρὸς cὴν
ἀσφάλειαν πεποίημαι coὶ τ[α]ύτην | τὴν
ἀποχὴν μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς
πρόκ(ειται)
- The scribe, Flavius Marcos Isakios,
ordinarius and adiutor of the numerus
Elephantinae, has **written the letter**
because the other primicerii are
illiterate.
- The scribe of the P.Gascou is an
actuarius, a specifically ordained
functionary **for issuing receipts** in Late
Antique military units

1. BENE VALE

P.Münch. I 2: **bene baleas**



P.Gascou 21: **b**[ene] **u**[a]leas



-
-
-
1. In personal letters: a token of a shared milieu
 2. In official letters: *PAbinn.* 2 (AD 344), *SB* XX 14606 (AD 425–30), and *PRyl.* IV 609 (AD 505)
 3. Official letters, a bit later (VI AD): *P.Gascou* 21 (AD 514) and *P.Münch.* I 2 (AD 578)
 4. Both documents are in letterform, and they need a subscription

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

-
-
-
1. A commonly attested formula in Latin letters written and read by Latin native speakers, when transferred to people who were **only learning Latin in specific environments**, was at first employed **in the same way it was born**, as a **token of courtesy**

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5. In the West it survives to Middle Ages: **Grußformeln** bei der großen Menge der Urkunden in **Briefform** (Classen)

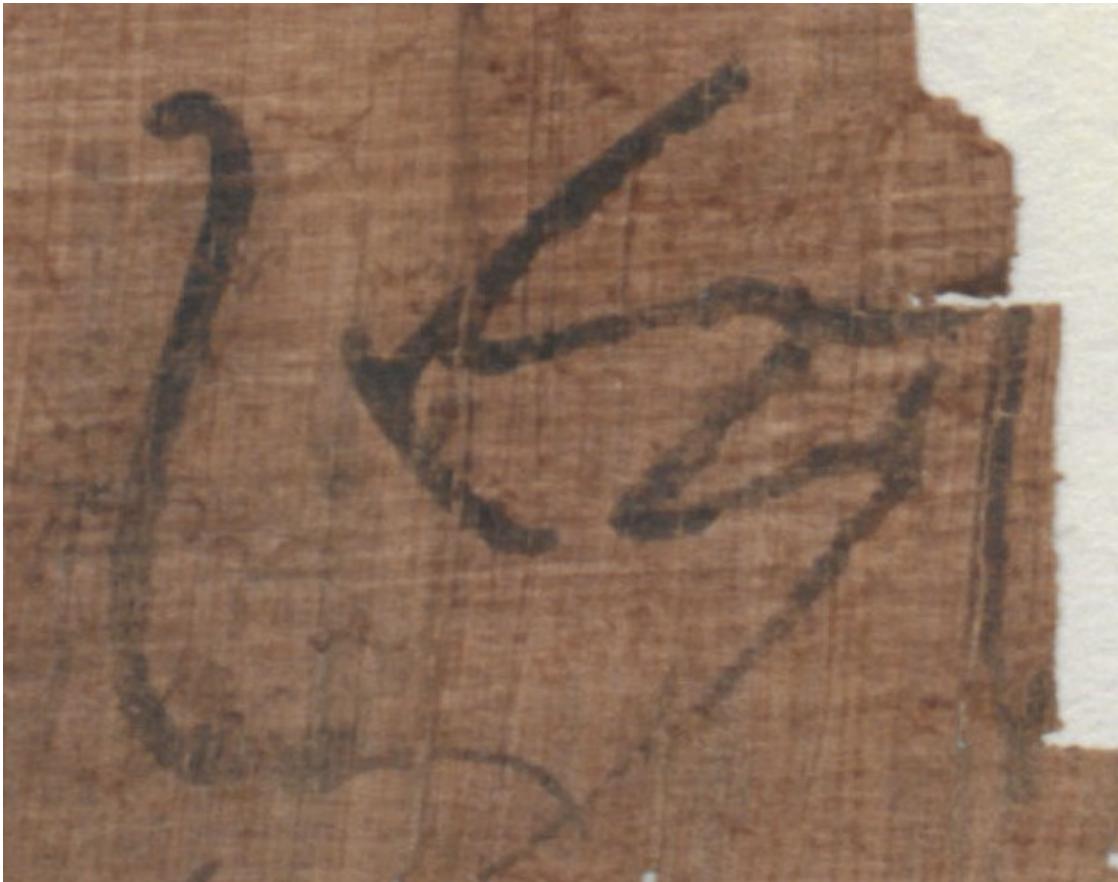
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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-
-
-
1. Unterschriften, die **Handlungen** im **Beurkundungsprozeß** bezeugen (Classen)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. ...?



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- From the Roman conquest onwards ...
- *BGU* II 592, ll. 9–10 ἐξῆλθεν [’Α]πολλώ|[νιος] ὁ [ἡγ]εμονικὸς ὑ[πη]ρέτης.
ὑπογρ(αφή)· ἀνέγνων (AD 171)
- SB XXII 15496 ll. 19–22 **ὑπογραφὴ** ’Ιουλίου Πρείσκου τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) ἐπάρχου
Με(σοποταμίας) διέποντος | τὴν ὑπατείαν· ὁ Ἀρίστων ὁ κράτιστος τὴν ἀξίωσίν | σου
δοκιμάσει. **Legi** σθ (AD 245)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- 'I acknowledged your message'
- Typical subscription to **petitions** in Greek documents
- Which came first? **Legi** or **ἀνέγνων**? Which translates which?

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- 'I acknowledged your message'
- Typical subscription to **petitions** in Greek documents
- Which came **first?** **Legi** or **ἀνέγνων**? Which translates which?
- *Legi* undergoes a very specific evolution process in **Late Antiquity**

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi*'l read'

2. LEGI

- *P.Oxy.* I 35 recto (AD **223**)
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- *P.Dura* 128 (AD c. **240–50**)
- *P.Euphr.* 1 (AD **245**)
- *P.Oxy.* IV 720 (AD **247**)
- *P.Thomas* 20 (AD **269–70**)
- *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD **298**)
- *P.Lond.* V 1647 (AD **298**)
- *P.Vindob.* inv. L 151 (**IV–VI** AD)
- *P.Vindob.* inv. L 116 (**IV–VI** AD)
- *P.Flor.* III 304 (**V–VI** AD)
- *P.Oxy.* VIII 1106 (**VI** AD)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67321 (AD **533, 548**)
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- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
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- ‘I **read**’ this document, I acknowledge its existence,
I have **filed it in my archive**

2. LEGI

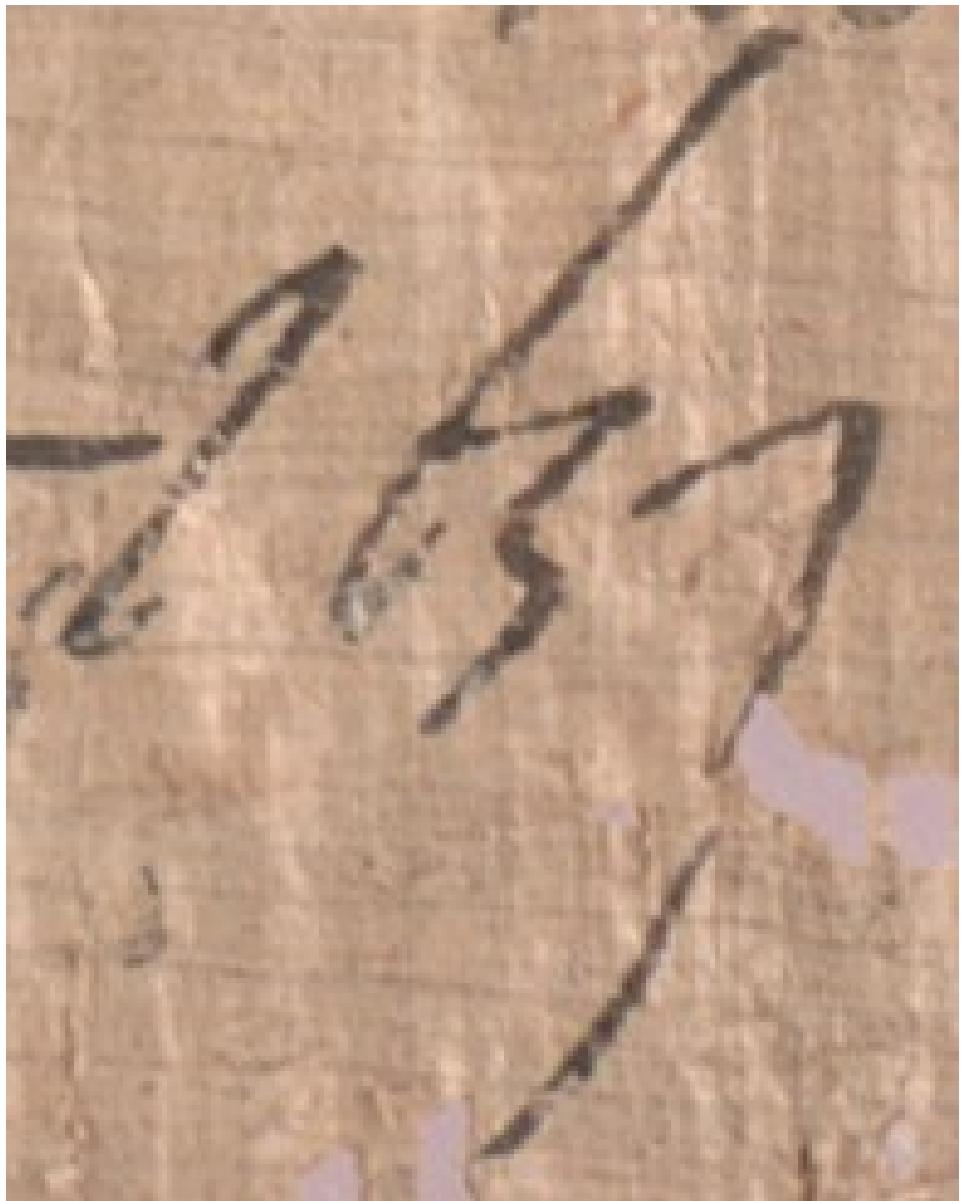
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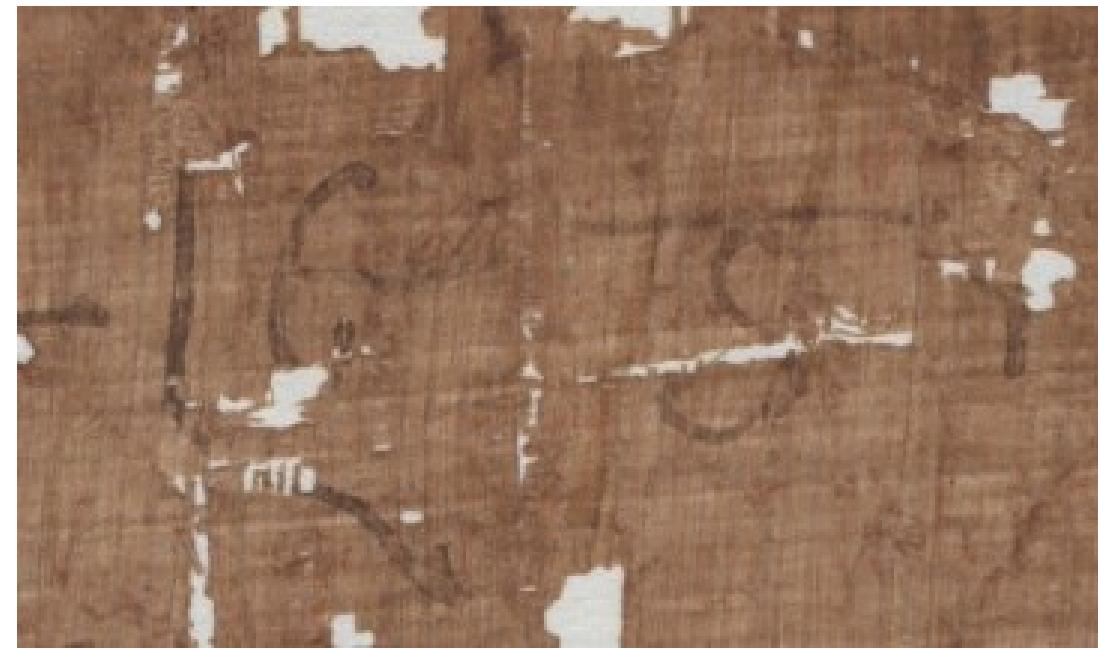
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- ‘I **read**’ this document, I acknowledge its existence, I have **filed it in my archive**
 - Typical of Roman officers **answering** documents addressed to them
 - **Requests for intestate inheritance**, or **for a guardian**; **simple petitions**, or **reports on your own estate** which must be validated by the censor.

2. LEGI

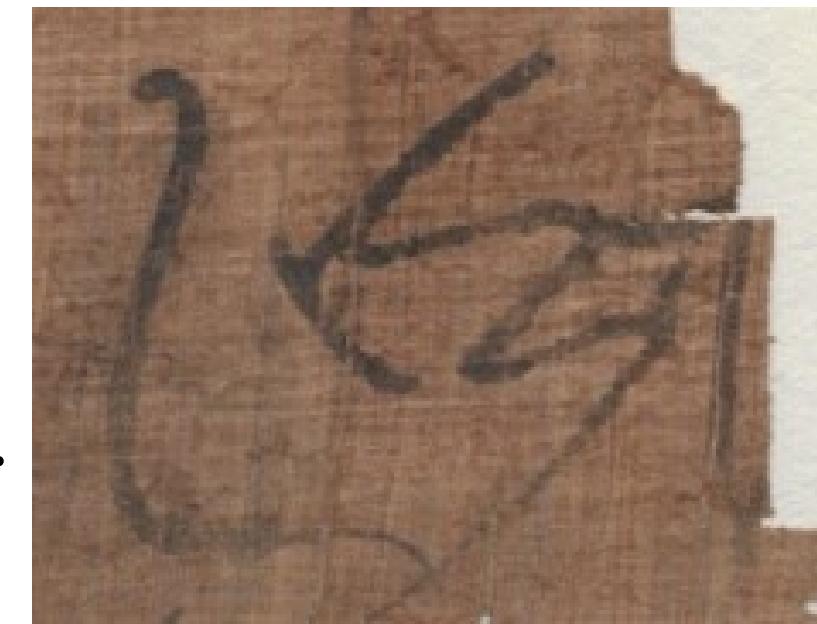
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- Typical of Roman officers **answering** documents addressed to them
- After Diocletian, this usage holds on – see these **records of court proceedings**



P.Dura
128



P.Vindob.
inv. L **116**



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2. LEGI

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2. LEGI

- **Orders**, from a higher to a lower rank in provincial administration.
- *Praesides prouinciae*
- Promoting an officer, maintaining order and defending some corner of the region, establishing military units in specific quarters and organizing the delivery of their victuals.
- *P.Flor. III 304 (V–VI AD)*
- *P.Oxy. VIII 1106 (VI AD)*
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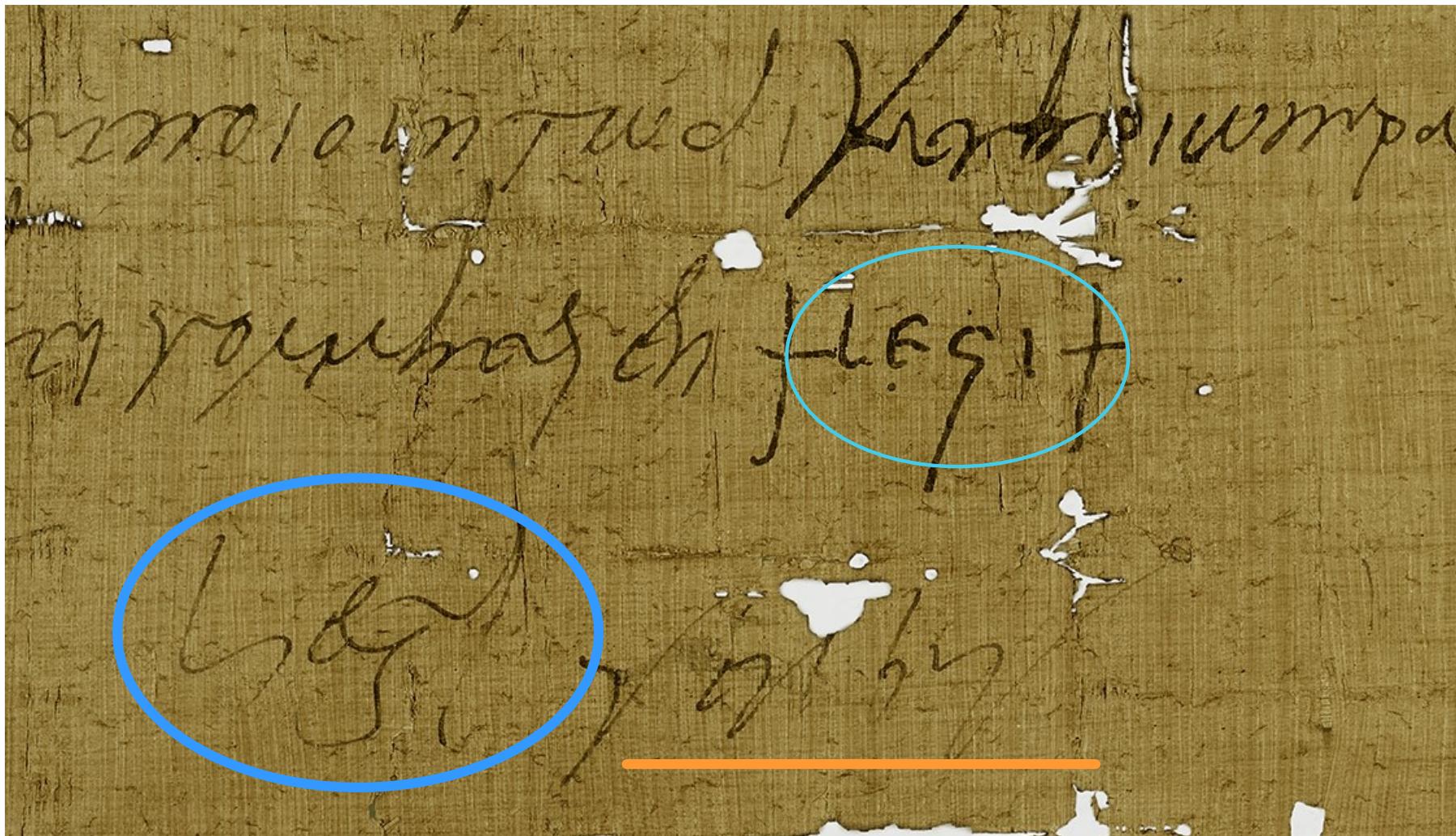
2. LEGI

- **Orders**, from a higher to a lower rank in provincial administration.
- Praesides prouinciae
- One *legi*, sometimes two at the bottom
- But these documents were never meant to **go back to the sender**

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11. 10. 1860. In der Kompagnie
in Rosenbach liegt
L. J. und J.

P.Oxy. VIII 1106

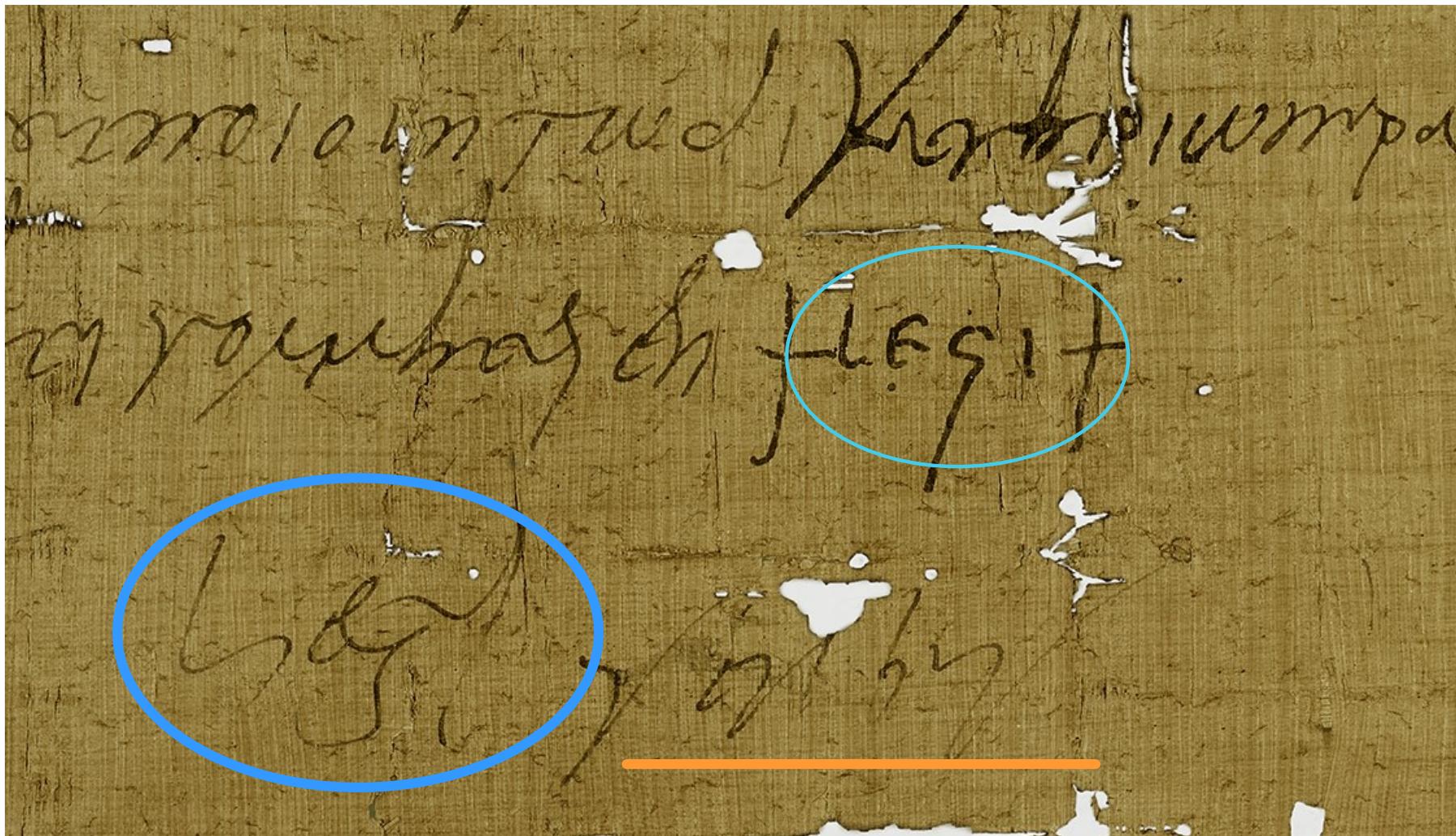


† **legi** †

legi

scribus

P.Oxy. VIII 1106



† **legi** †

legi

scribus = **scriba**? ‘I, the scribe, read this’

2. LEGI

- In these documents **the legi comes from the sender**
- P.Flor. III 304 (**V–VI AD**)
- P.Oxy. VIII 1106 (**VI AD**)
- P.Cairo Masp. III 67321 (AD **533, 548**)
- P.Cairo Masp. III 67280 (AD **538–9**)
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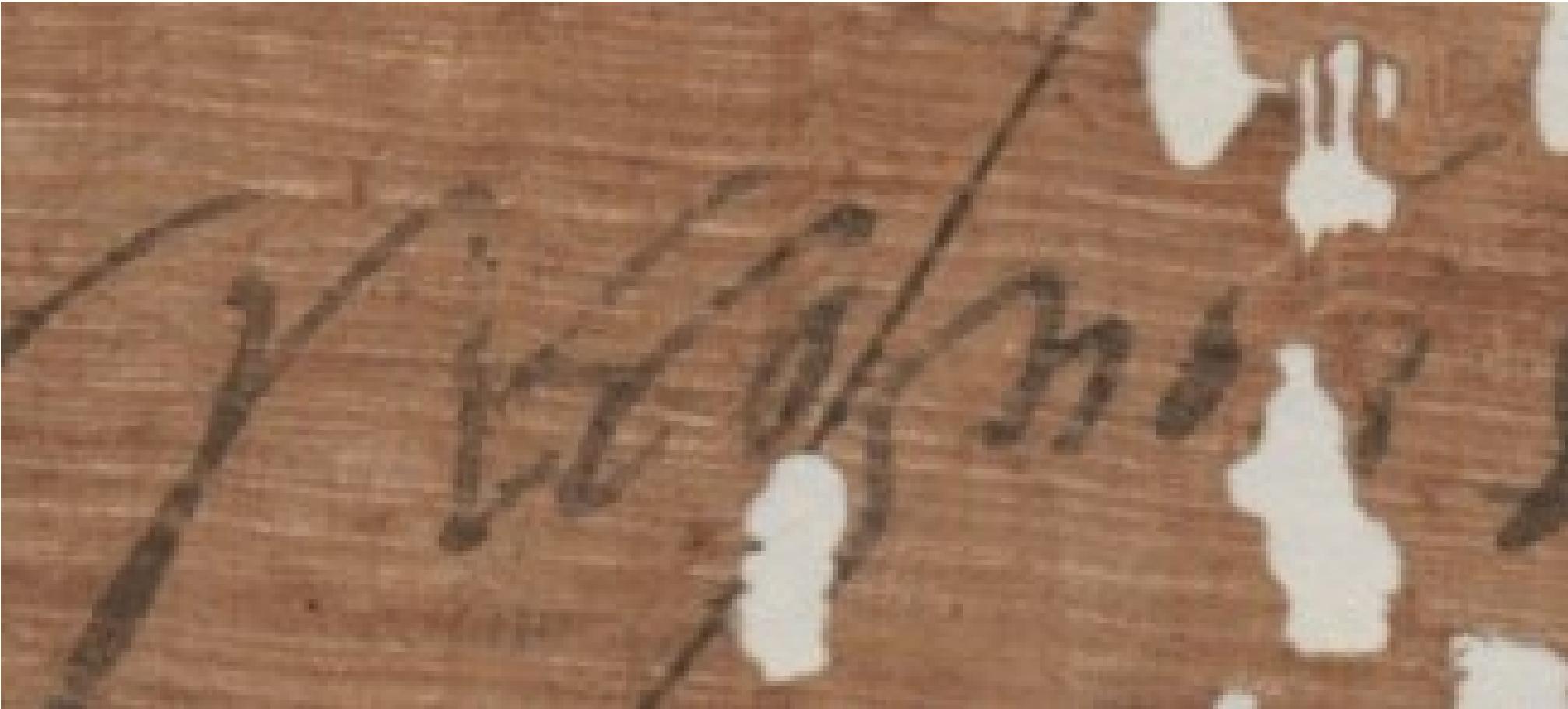
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- In these documents the *legi* comes from the sender
- It represents a signature, a **validation**, and is sometimes joined by **the actual scribe's legi** (who drafted the document)

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- A formula generally signifying **acknowledgment**, now means **authenticity**: *legi* as a **seal**
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THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- **Imperial chancery**: the *a libellis* certifies with a *recognoui* that the final copy of the rescript matches the tachygraphic original; then the Emperor puts **his own formula** under the *recognoui* – *scripsi, rescripsi, or compleui* – and then the document is ready to be sent (Mourguès 1995, 267–84; 288–300).

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- Inscriptions and papyri with a *recognoui* very rarely feature a *rescripsi*

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

3. *Recognoui'l checked'*

3. RECOGNOVI

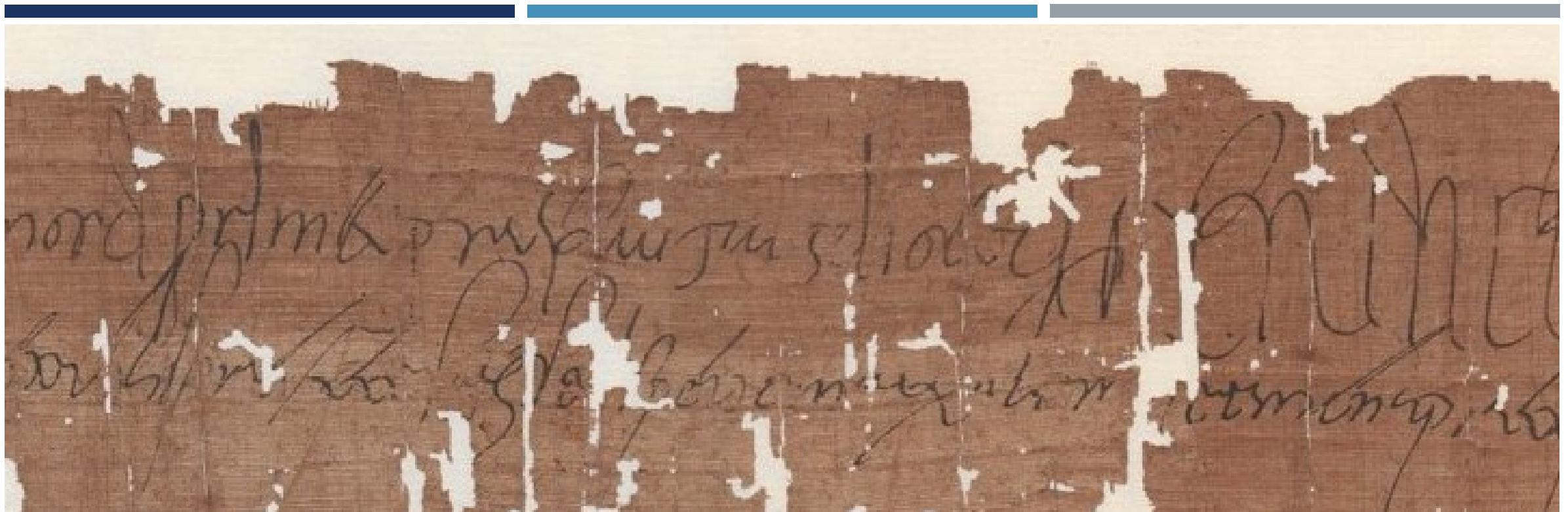
- *ChLA XI* 503 (AD 219)
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- *ChLA XI 503* (AD 219) ll. 6-9 *quo] ne ab iust[o tutore] | tutela abeat]* *Aurelium Isidor[u]m [e lege Iulia et Titia et e S(enatus) c(onsulto) tutorem do.* **Recog]noui**.
- *P.Daris inv. 200 + P.Ryl. IV 610* (AD 223) ll. 6–7 *exemplum subscriptionis [praefect]i alia manu recognoui* ‘I have checked the copy of the prefect’s subscription, done by another hand’ (?)
- *P.Vet. Aelii 10* (AD 223–55). Petition to an unknown prefect. At the bottom of the prefect's subscription (in Greek), **recognoui**
- *SB VI 9200* (AD 242). *Professio liberorum:* ll. 13-5 *exemplum subscr[ptionis]. | Acc(epsum) XVI Kal(endas)* April(es), *A[ttico Sabiniano Lepido Prae]textato co(n)s(ule).* **Recogn[oui]**.
- *SB I 1010* (AD 249). Copy of the request for an *agnitio bonorum possessionis*: ...*ex edicto.* **Recogn[o]ui**.

Earliest samples: **copies** of birth certificates, intestate inheritances, answers to petitions...

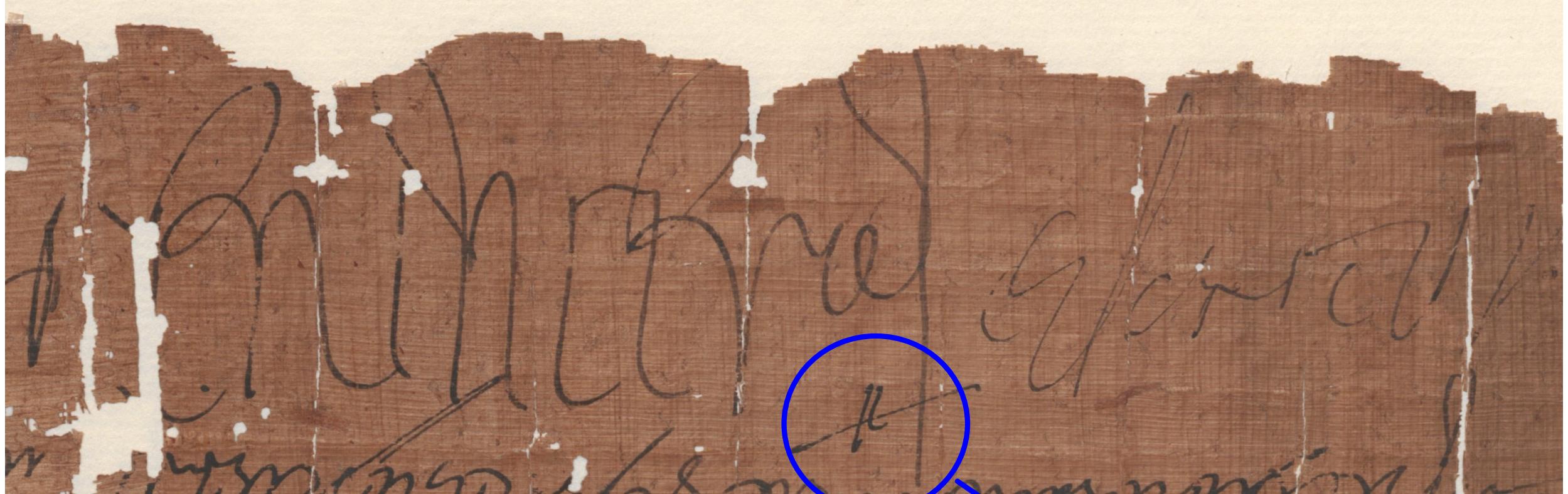
3. RECOGNOVI

- Still a seal in Late Antiquity: its function remains unwavering
- In the last samples, the word is shortened to a barred R
 - ChLA XI 503 (AD 219)
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SB XX 14688 (AD 398–9)

l. 1 *Anatolius u(ir) c(larissimus) com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et praef(ectus)
Aug(ustalis) Aeg(yptiae) dioec(es)eos d(ixit): γενήσεται. Edantur.*

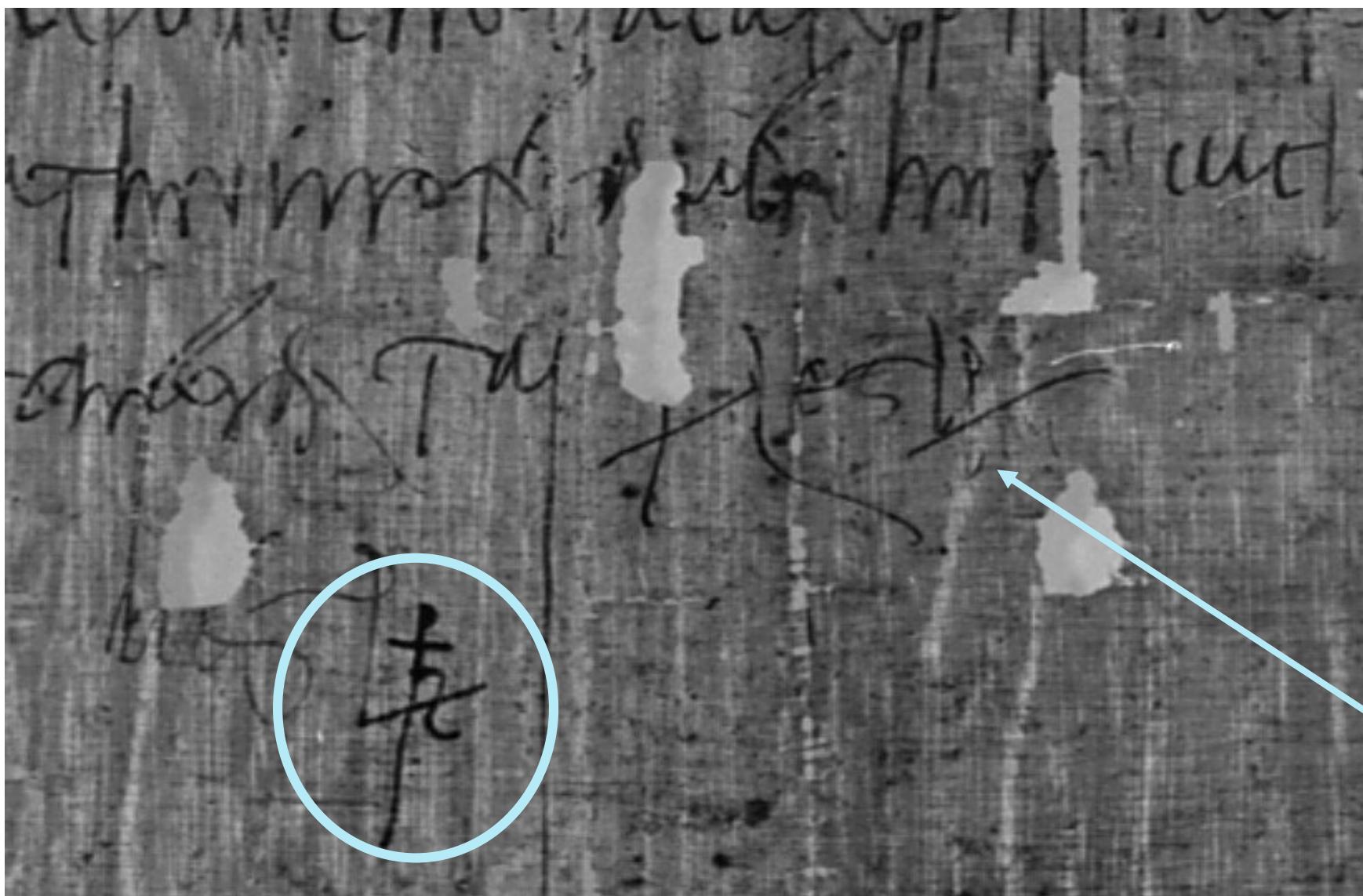


Anatolius ...d(ixit): γενήσεται. **Edantur.**

R

Is this an abbreviation
for *r(ecognoui)*?

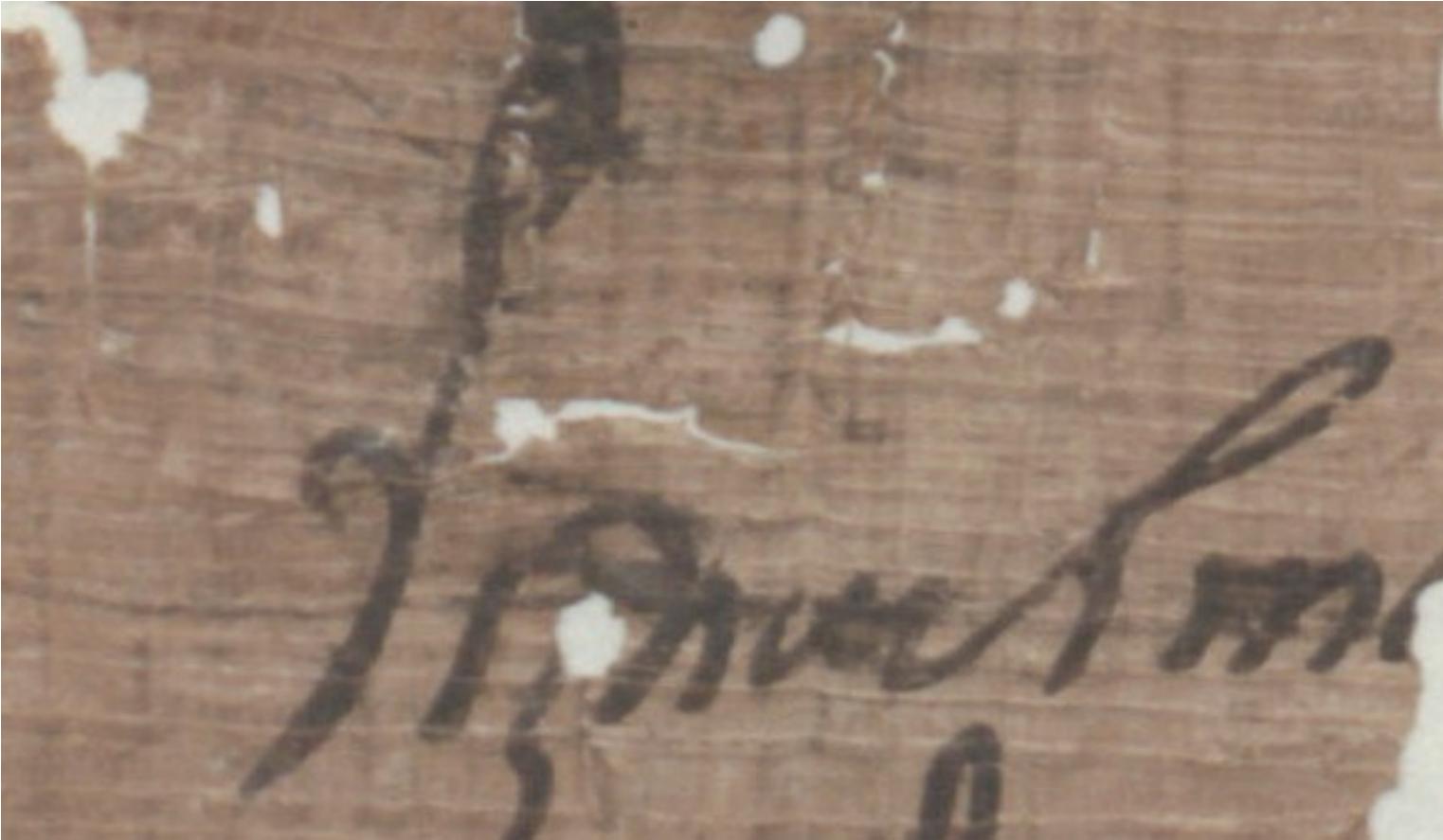




† r(ecognoui)

P.Cairo Masp. III
67280 (AD 538–9).
Order to the
inhabitants of
Aphroditopolis to
provide *annona* for
a new *numerus*
quartered in their
town

legi



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

4. *Signau i* signed'

- 'To affix a seal (*signum*) to a document'

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

4. *Signau i' l signed'*



- 'To affix a seal (*signum*) to a document'
- It originally functions as a witness to something that **already happened**

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THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- Very **rare** (and only **once** attested in Late Roman Egypt), if compared to its Greek equivalent
- **Soldiers**, when literate, subscribe to acts that require **witnesses** with μαρτυρῶ, ἐσφράγισα and – if they know a bit of Latin – with *signauī*

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

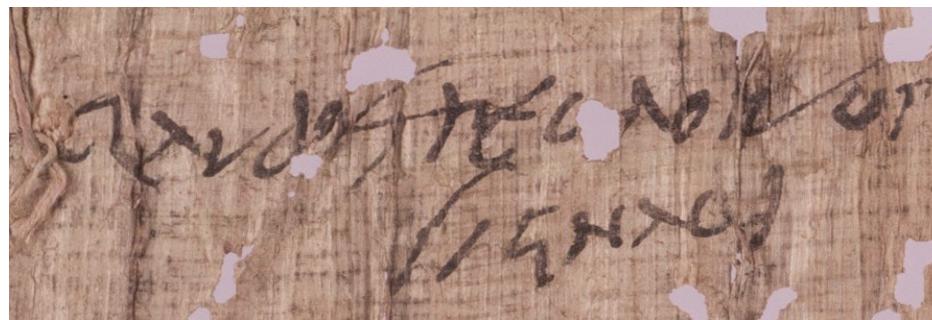
4. *Signauī* 'I signed'

P.Dura 26

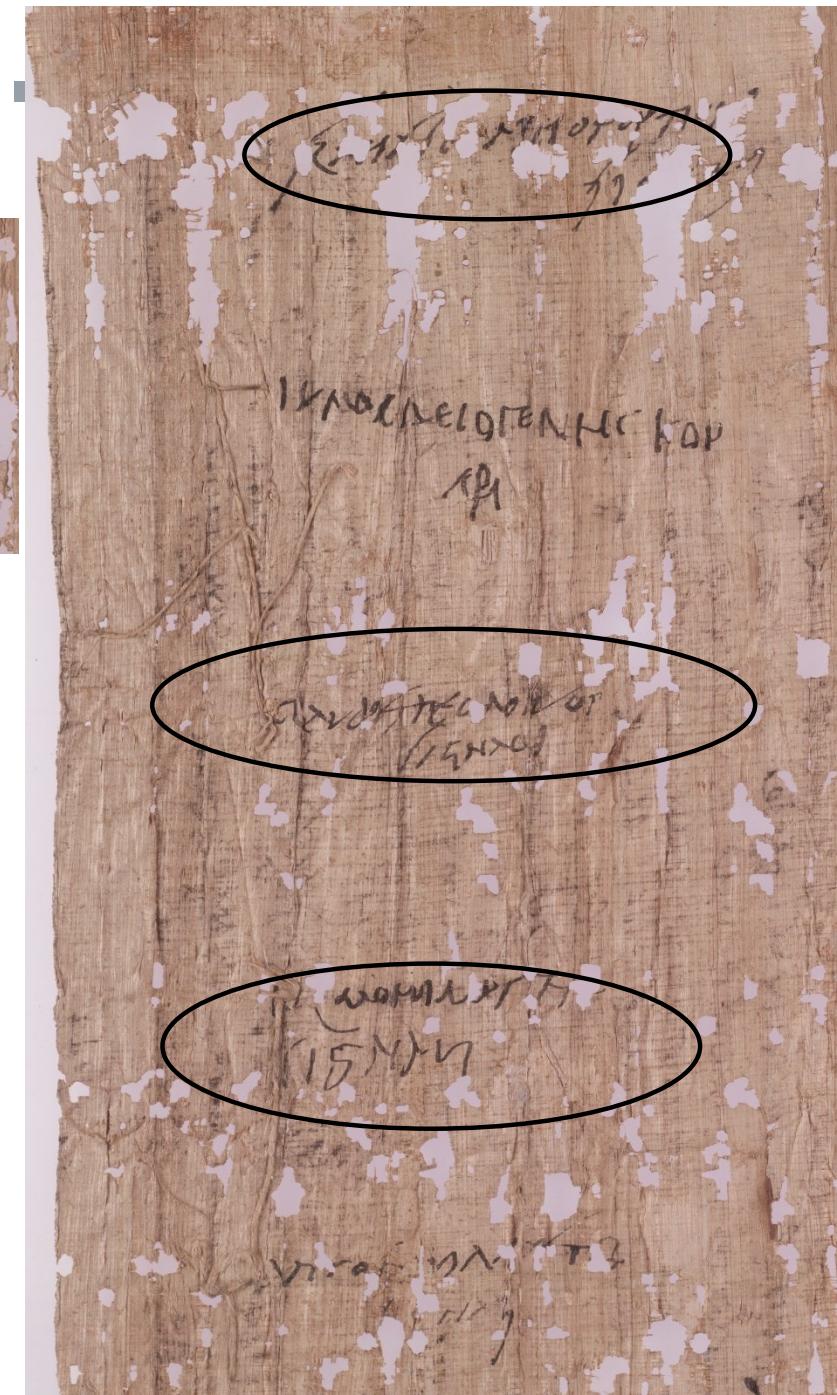
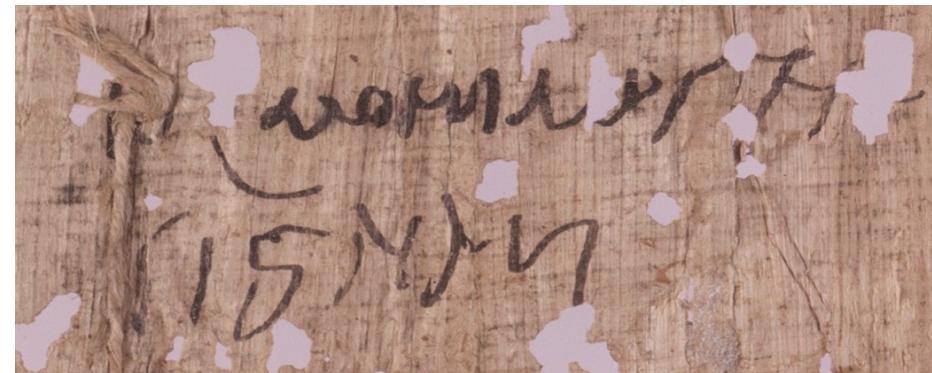
*Flavis Serapeio nuntius
sig[n]oui*: a very quick
and proficient cursive

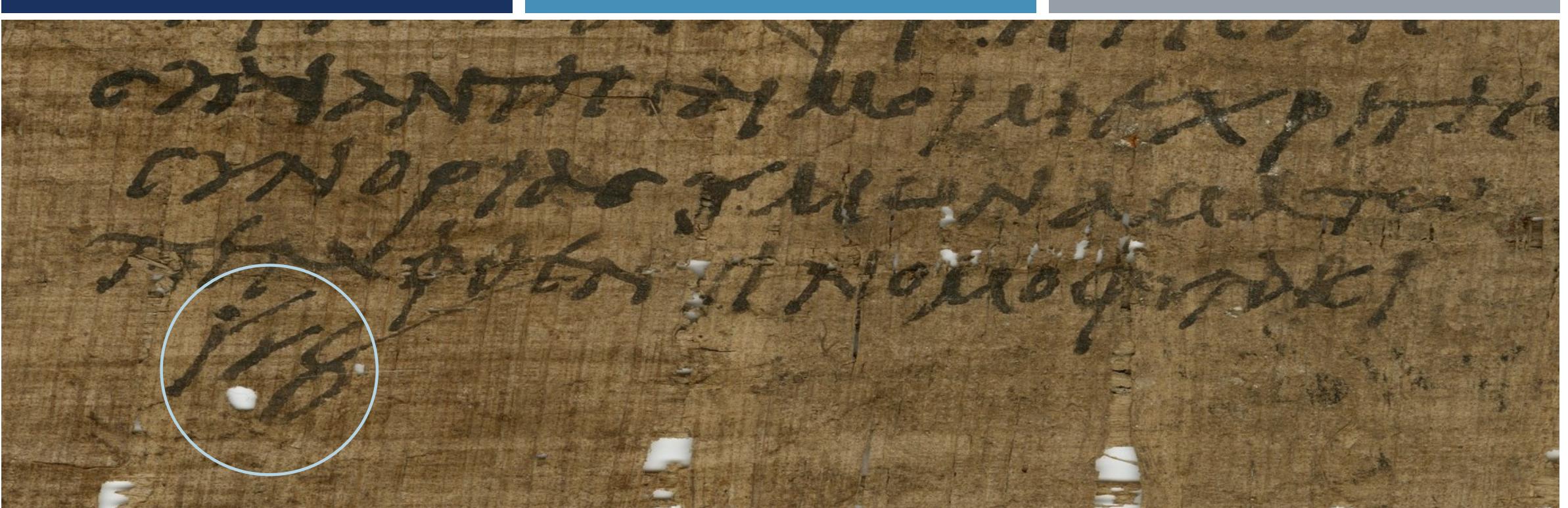


*Claudius Theodorus op(tio)
signoui*. Somewhere in the
middle...



*Iul(ius) Monimus
tess(erarius) signoui.*
Clumsy writing.





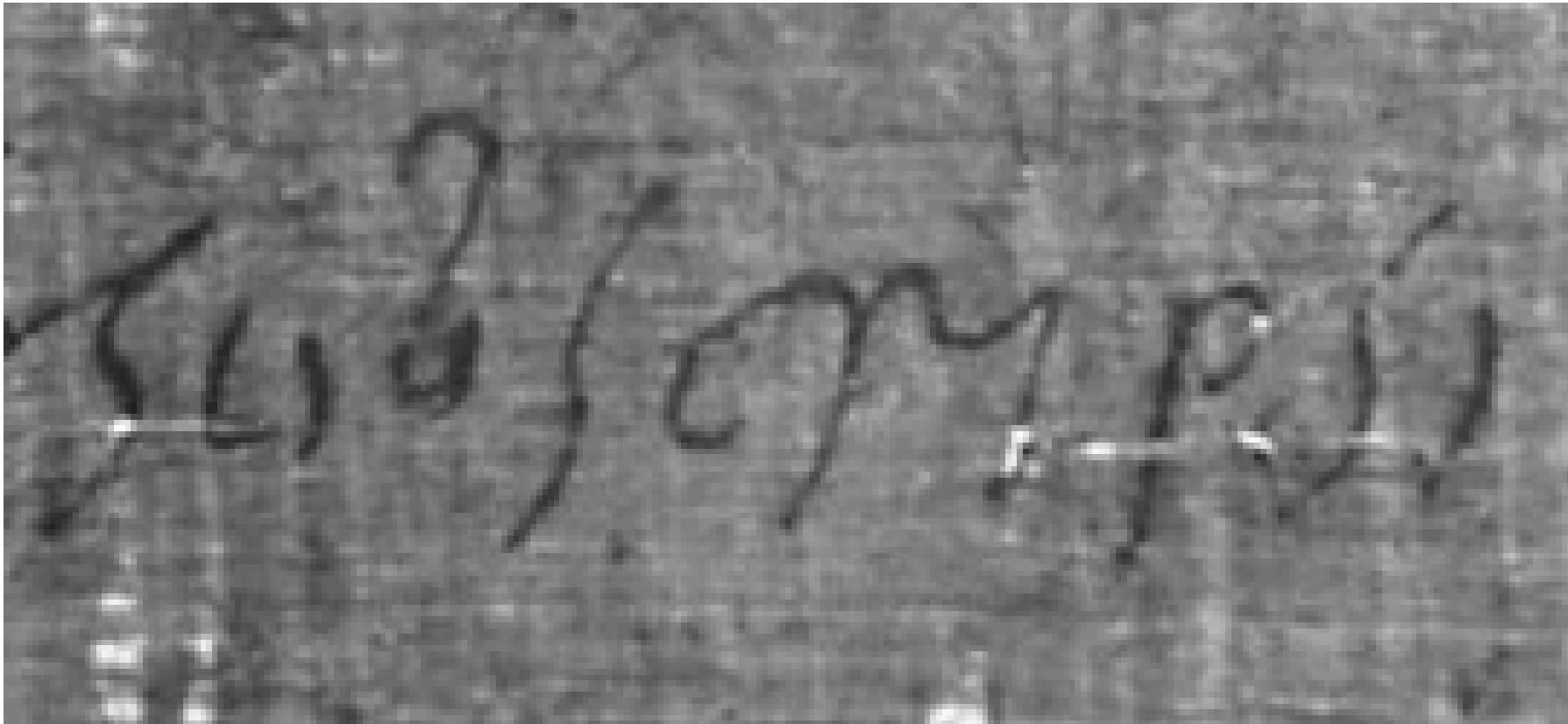
P.OXY. LXXIV 5007 (III-IV AD)

Summons from a decurion to his inferiors. At the end of the brief letter, a *seg*, which might be *seg(nau)* for *sig(nau)*. Never attested before in other documents of this kind. Again, it seems a **personal seal**.



P.Vindob. inv L 53 (IV–V AD)

signauim [
ap(ud) **Filagrid[em**



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- The Latin subscripti: *O.Petrie* (I AD) and a few samples from Diocletian's era

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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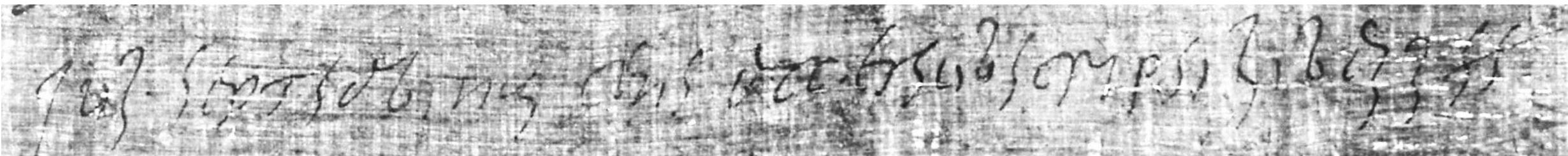
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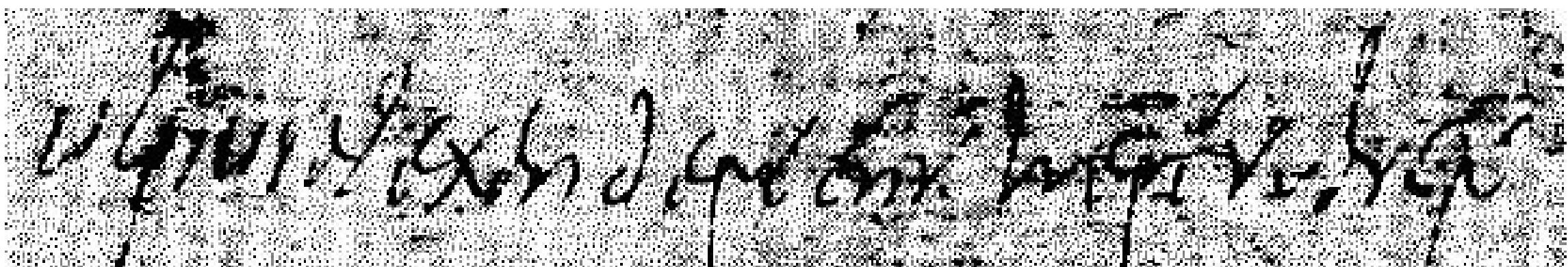
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- ***Iulius Septimius Sabinus***, censor of Heptanomia
- ***Iulius Septimius Sabinus censitor accepi et subscripsi libellis***
- 'I received the documents (*accepi* functions as *legi*) and I certify they're good to go (*subscripsi libellis*)'.



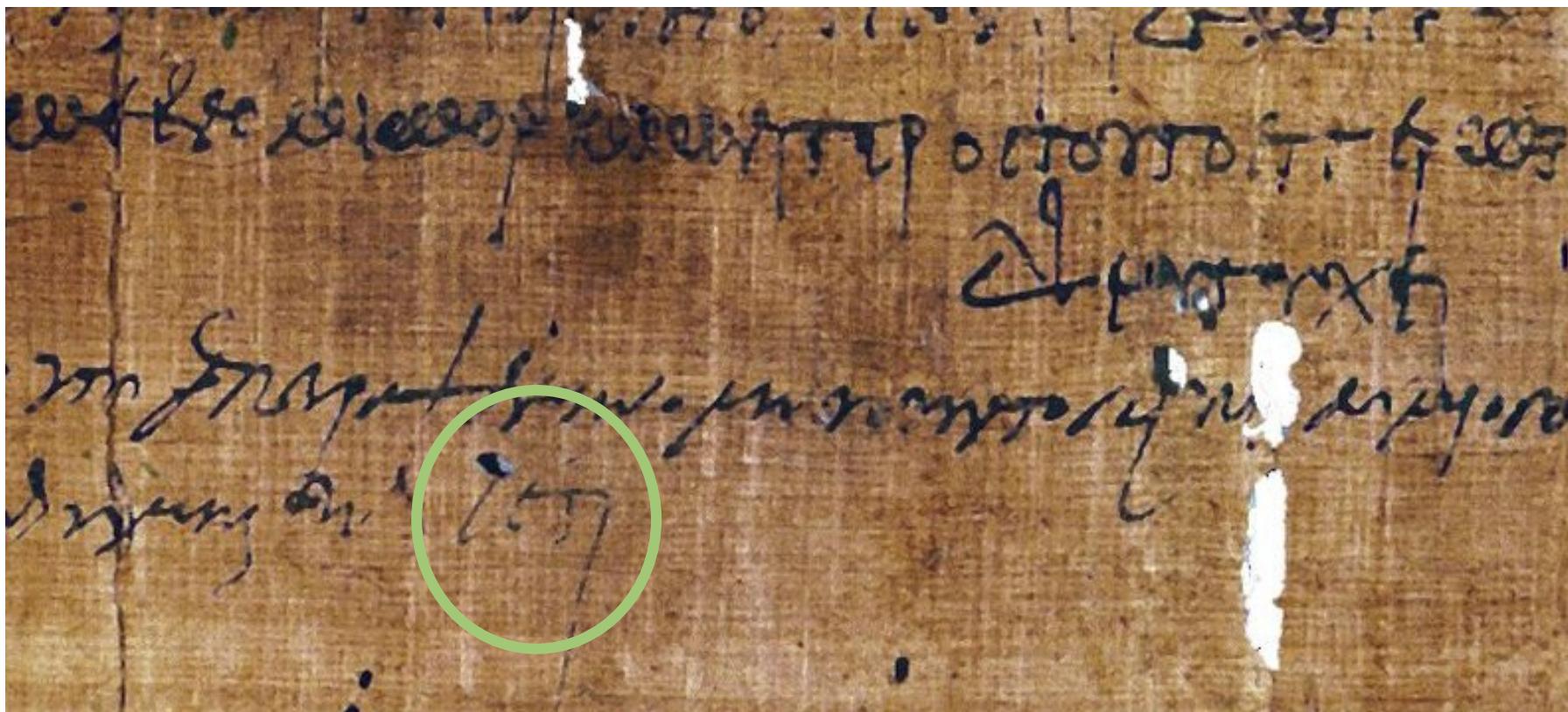
5. SVBSCRIPSI

- *P.Cairo Isid. 8* (AD 309). Declaration of persons
- *P.Sakaon 1* (AD 310). Declaration of persons
- **Ulpian Alexander**, censitor of Heptanomia (after Sabinus?)
- **Ulpian Alexander censitor Heptanomiae subscripsi**
- 'I certify these are good to go (subscripsi)'.



5. SVBSCRIPTI

- *P.Flor. I 32b (AD 298)*. Declaration of property



- **Iulius Alexander**, censor of the Hermopolites
- **Legi**
- 'I read'.

- *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD 298) A τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of declarations of property, addressed to the *censor* **Iulius Alexander** (Hermopolites). His subscription: simply **legi**
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 3; 4; 5 (AD 299); *P.Sakaon* 2; 3 (AD 300). Declarations of property, addressed to the *censor* **Iulius Septimius Sabinus** (Heptanomia). His subscription: ***Iulius Septimius Sabinus censor accepi et subscripsi libellis***
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 8 (AD 309); *P.Sakaon* 1 (AD 310). Declaration of persons, addressed to the *censor* **Ulpius Alexander** (Heptanomia). His subscription: ***Ulpius Alexander censor Heptanomiae subscripsi.***

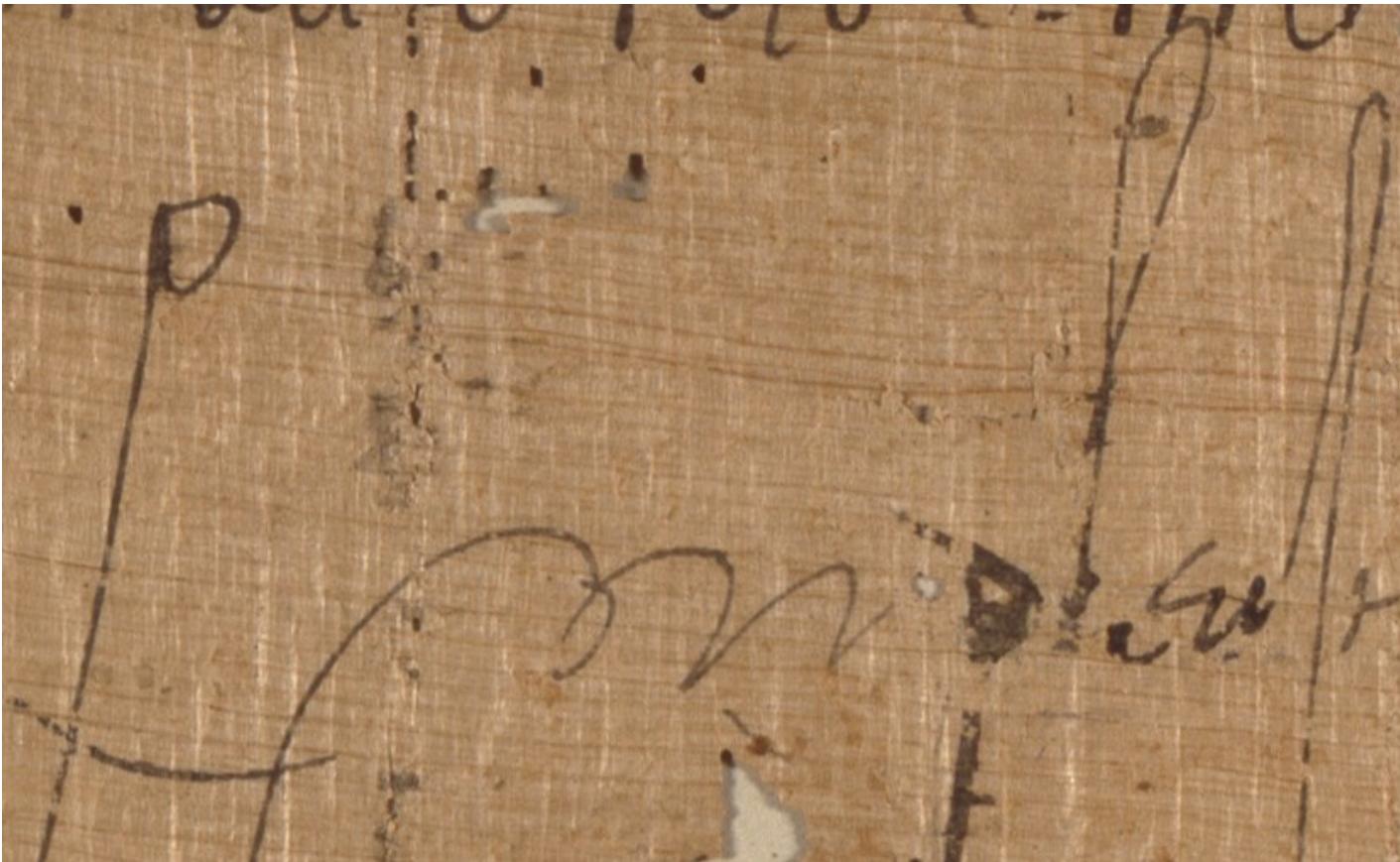
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

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- Is the *subscripsi*-formula – clearly a short-lived one – the **choice** of the individual officer, **his own mark**?

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

5. *Subscripsi*'l validated'



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

6. *Compleui'l complied'*

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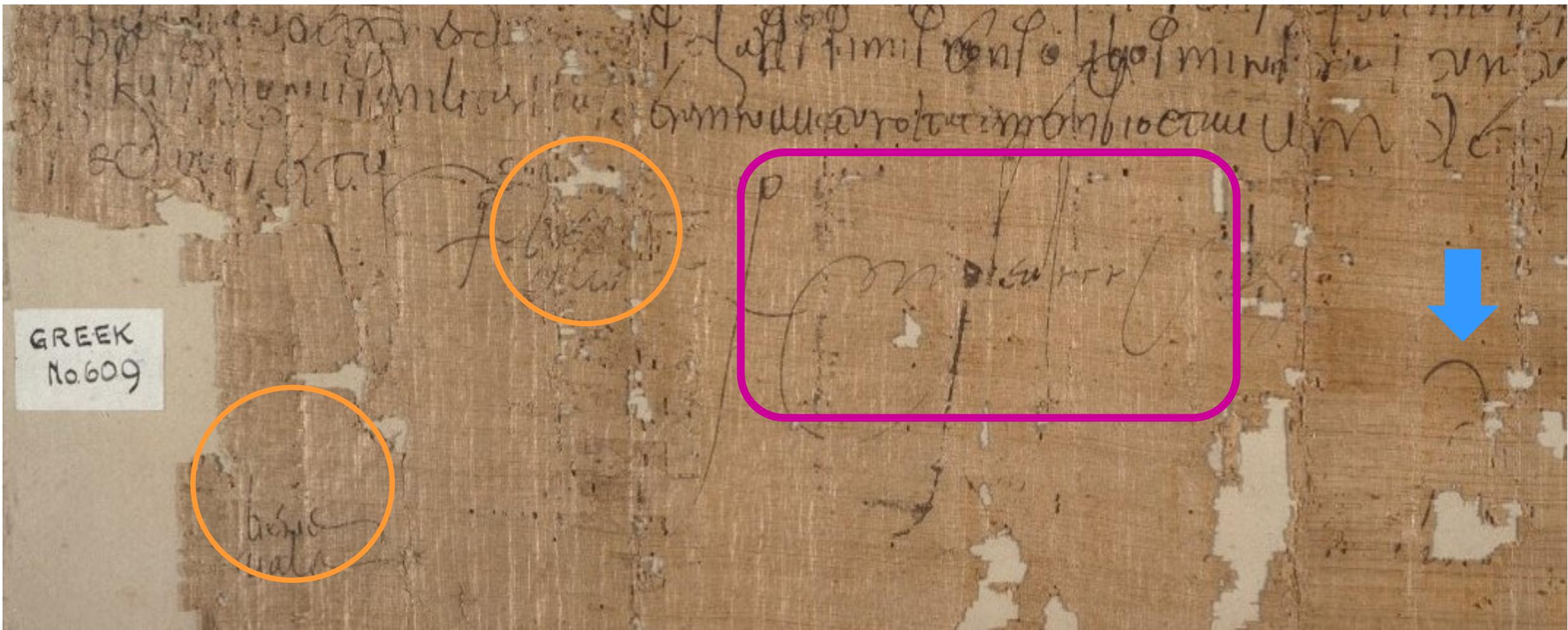
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- *Compleui* appears only twice in Late Antique papyri – but see ἐκόμπλευσα in *P.Giss.Univ.* III 33

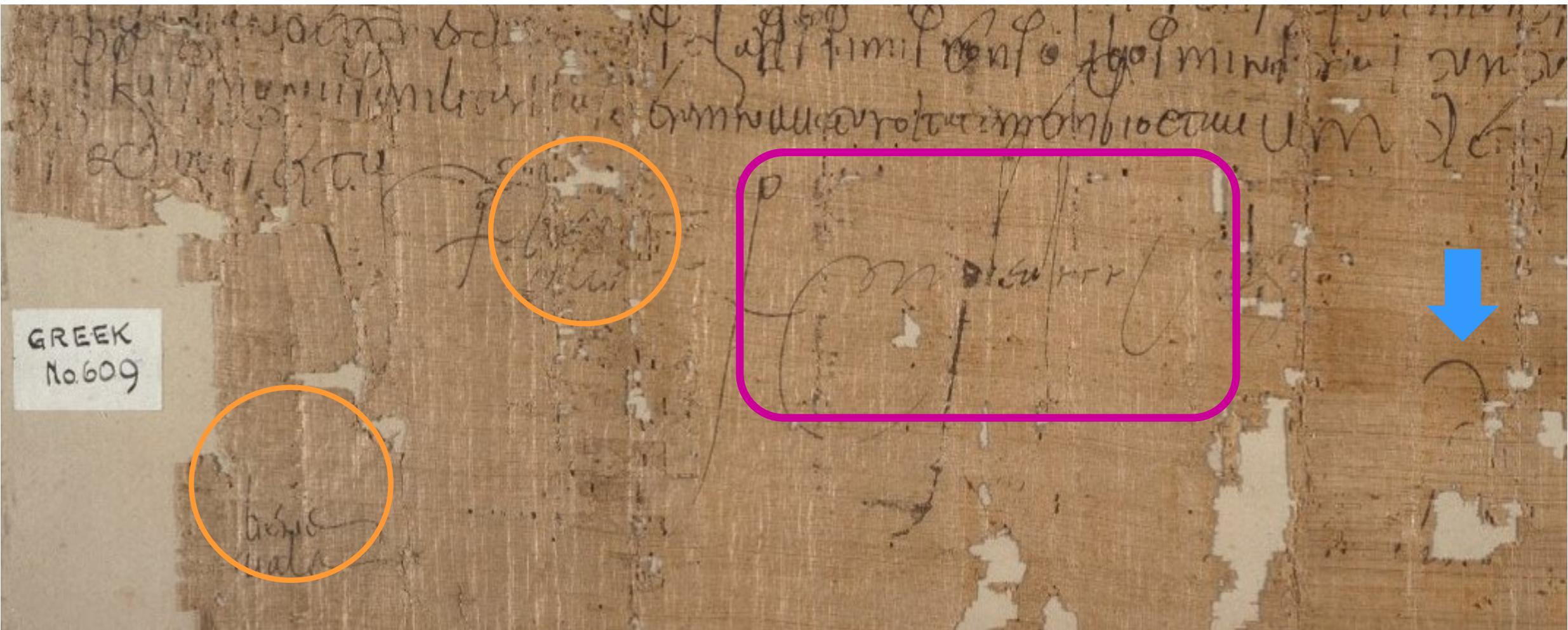
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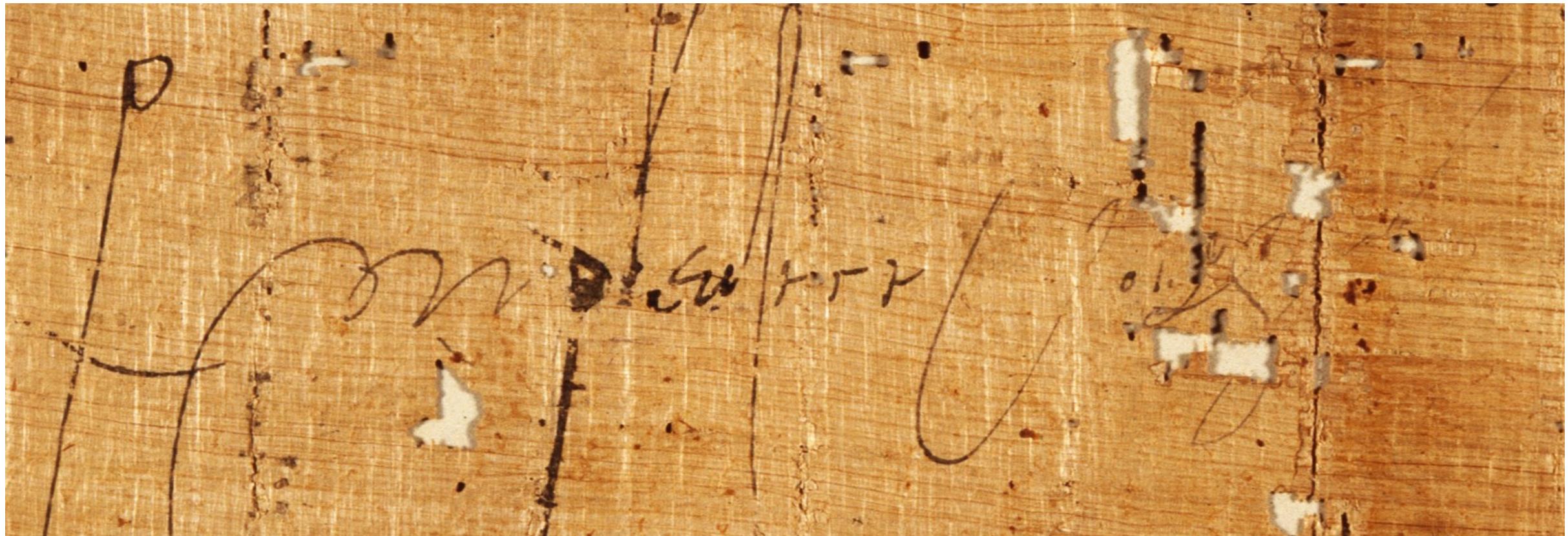
PRYL. IV 609 (AD 505)

The *compleui* is together with other subscriptions, first of all two *bene uale*, perhaps even a *recognoui*.

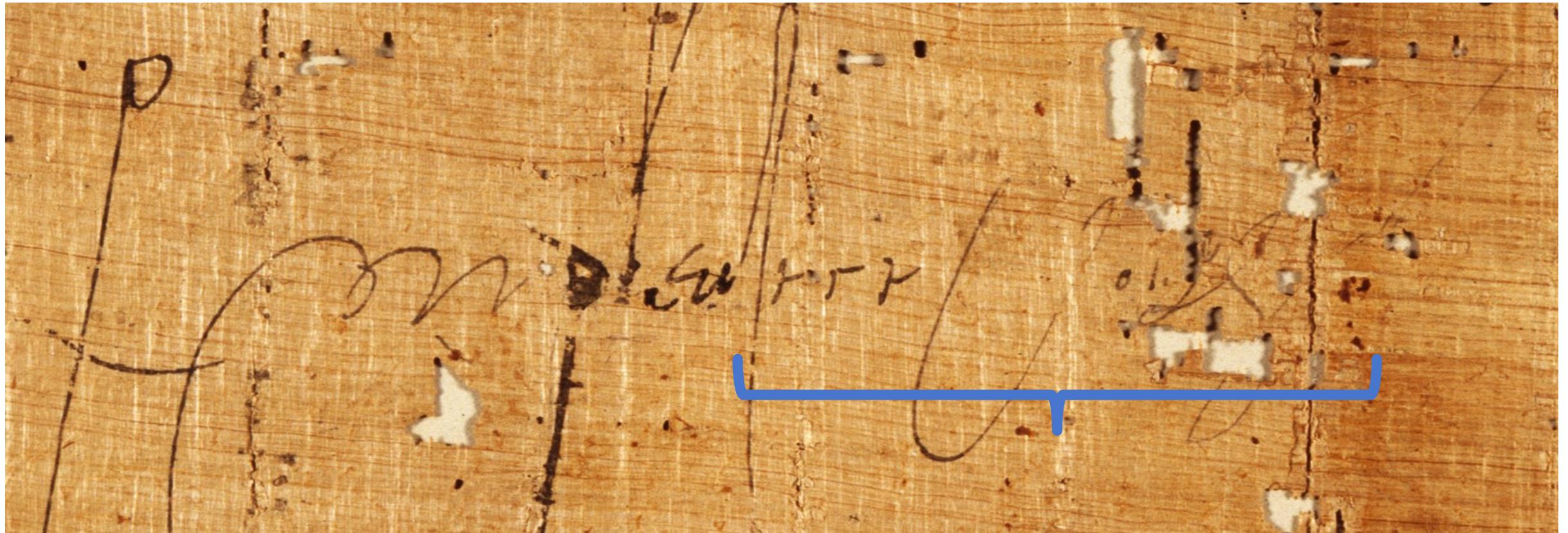


PRYL. IV 609 (AD 505)

LI. 9–10 si octauum dec̄imum annum |¹⁰ [compleui]sse dinoscitur

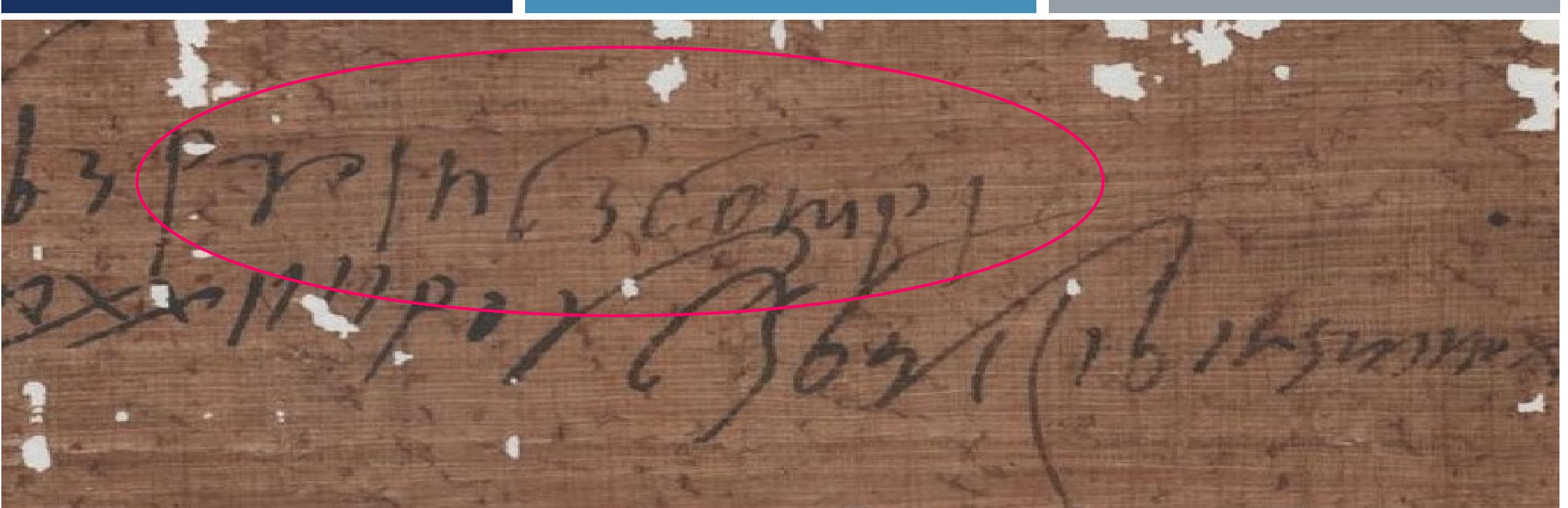


'We got it'



‘We got it’

???



CHLA XLIV 1243 (AD 561)

|¹ [---]s[.]m |² [--- |³ ---]ſ . . ***libſ princſ comp †***

|⁴ [---] anno XXXIII pos(t) c(onsulatum) Basili b(iri) in(lustrissimi) anno XXI



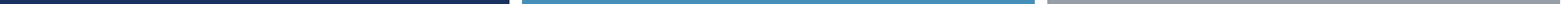
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items

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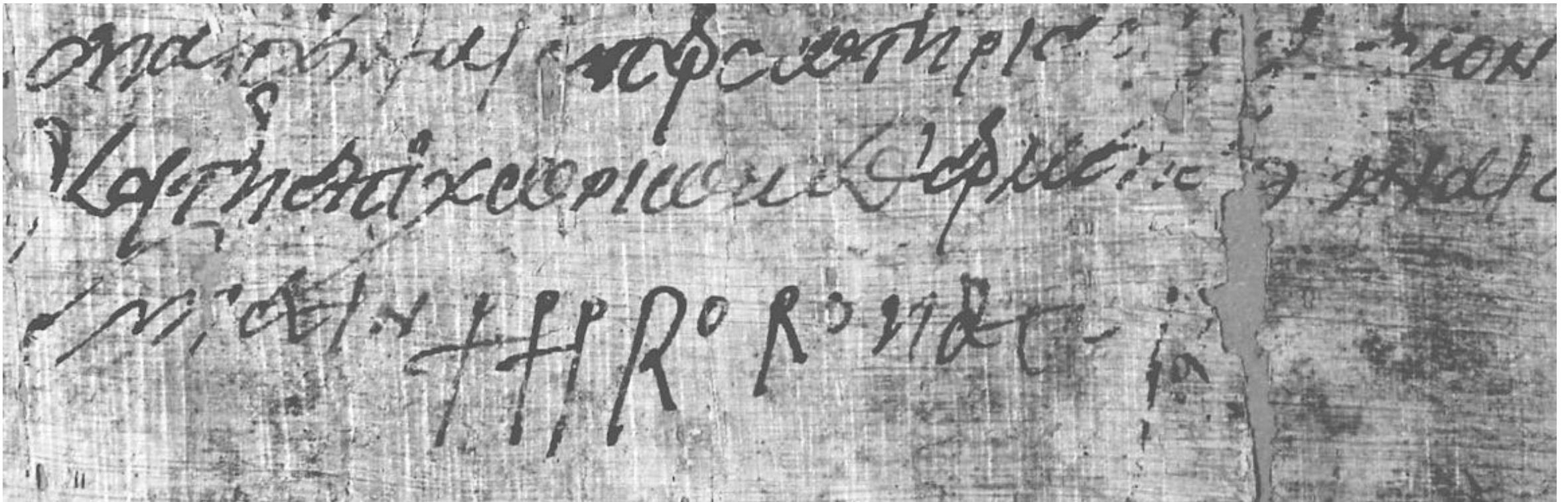
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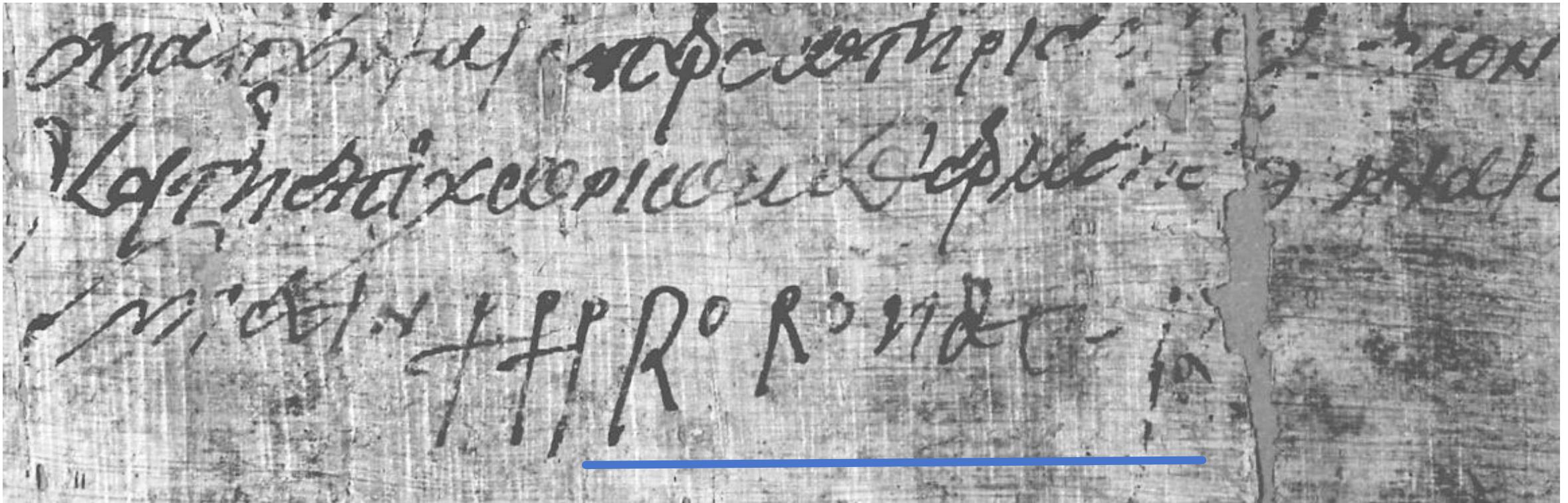
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†† *proronatur* (*scil. proponatur*)

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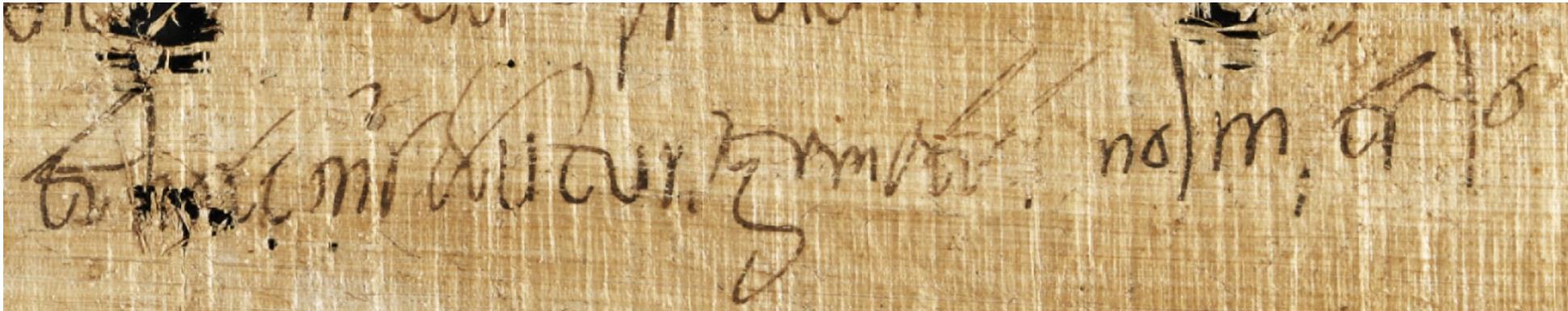
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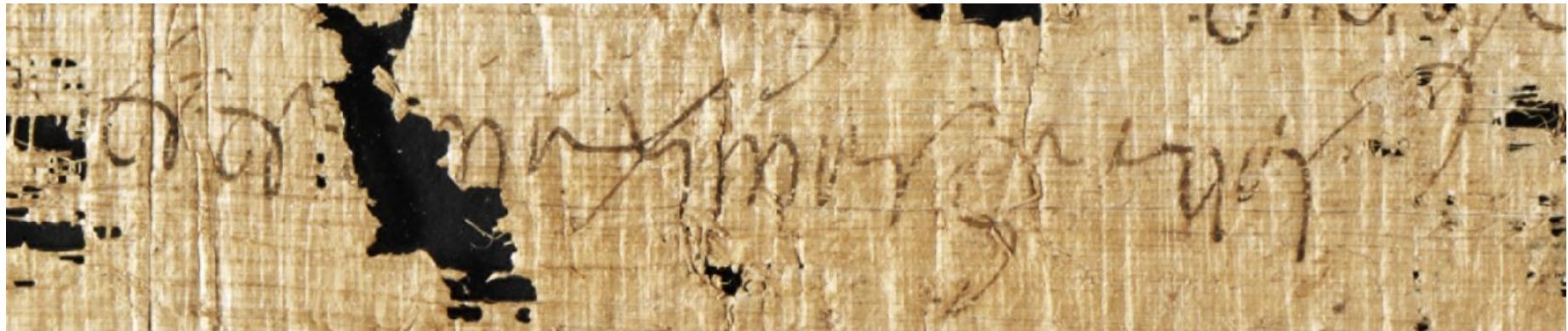


ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA

|¹⁴ ... ET HOC CONSECUTUS **AGAM** AETERNO IMPERIO
|¹⁵ VESTRO **MAXIMAS GRATIAS**



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Thanks for attending this paper!