



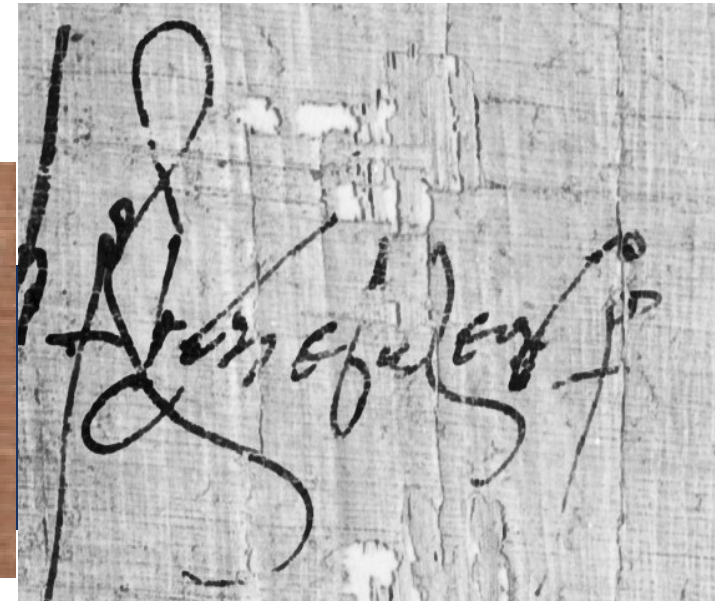
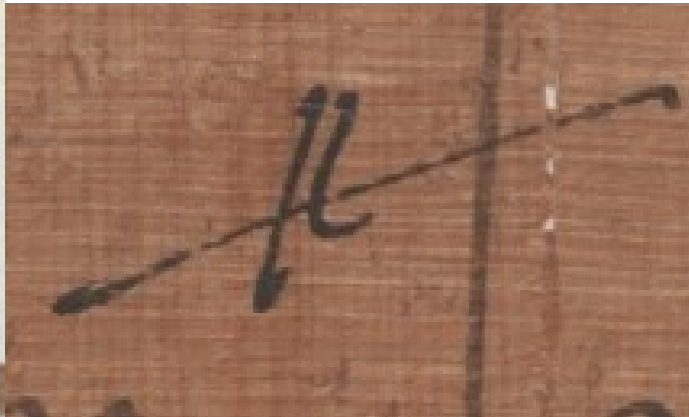
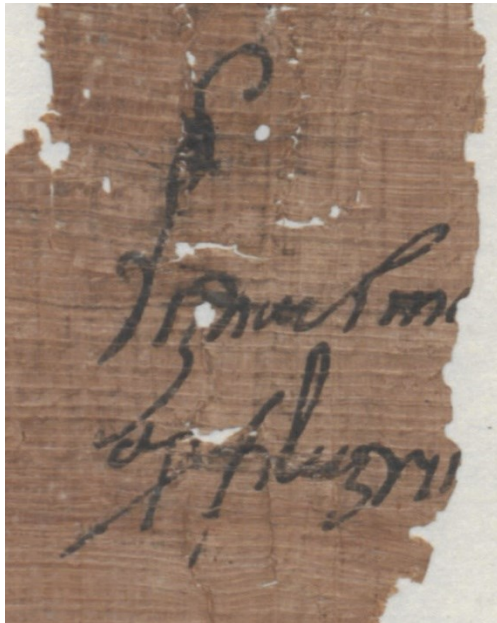
European Research Council
Established by the European Commission



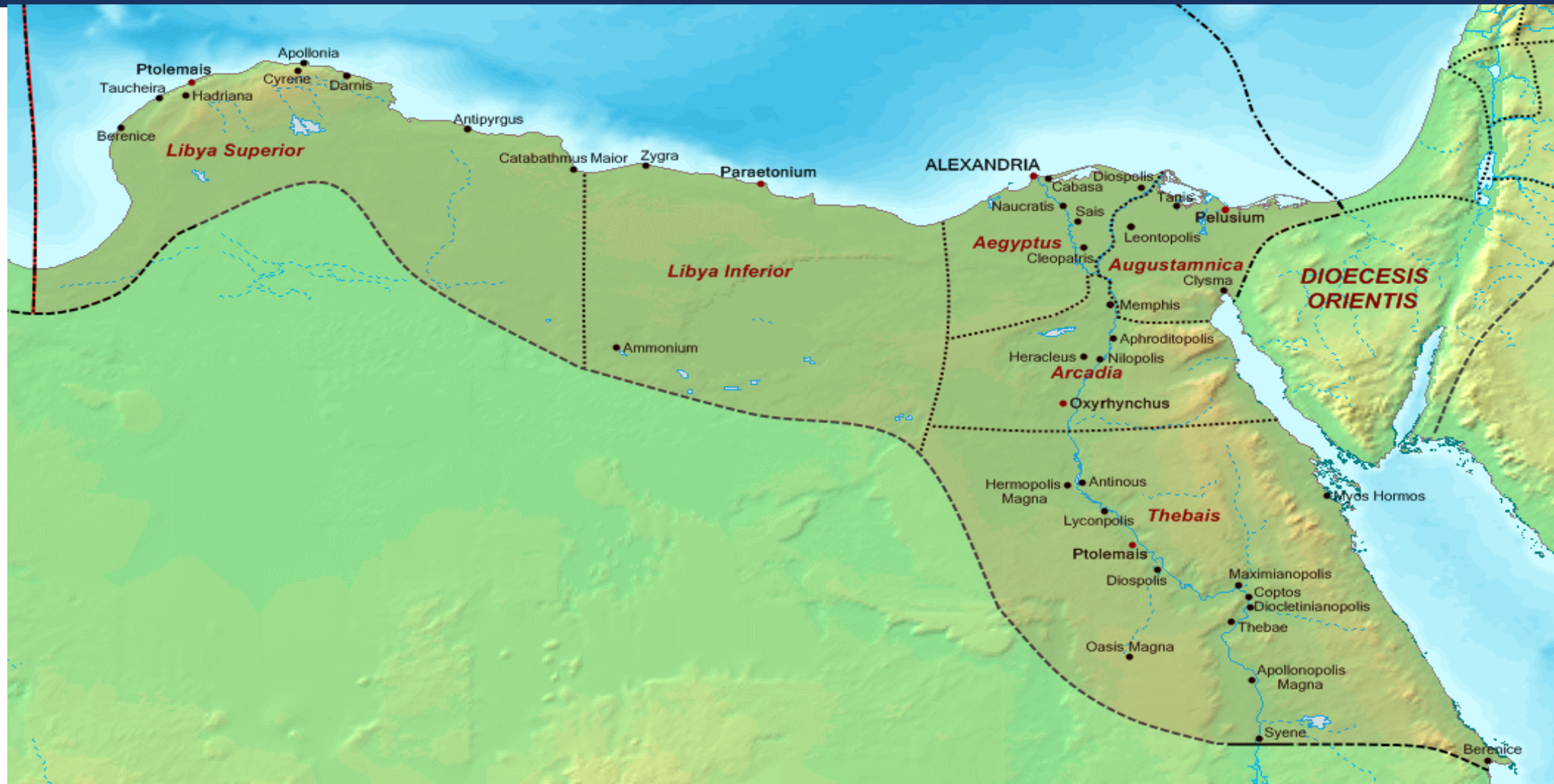
ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA

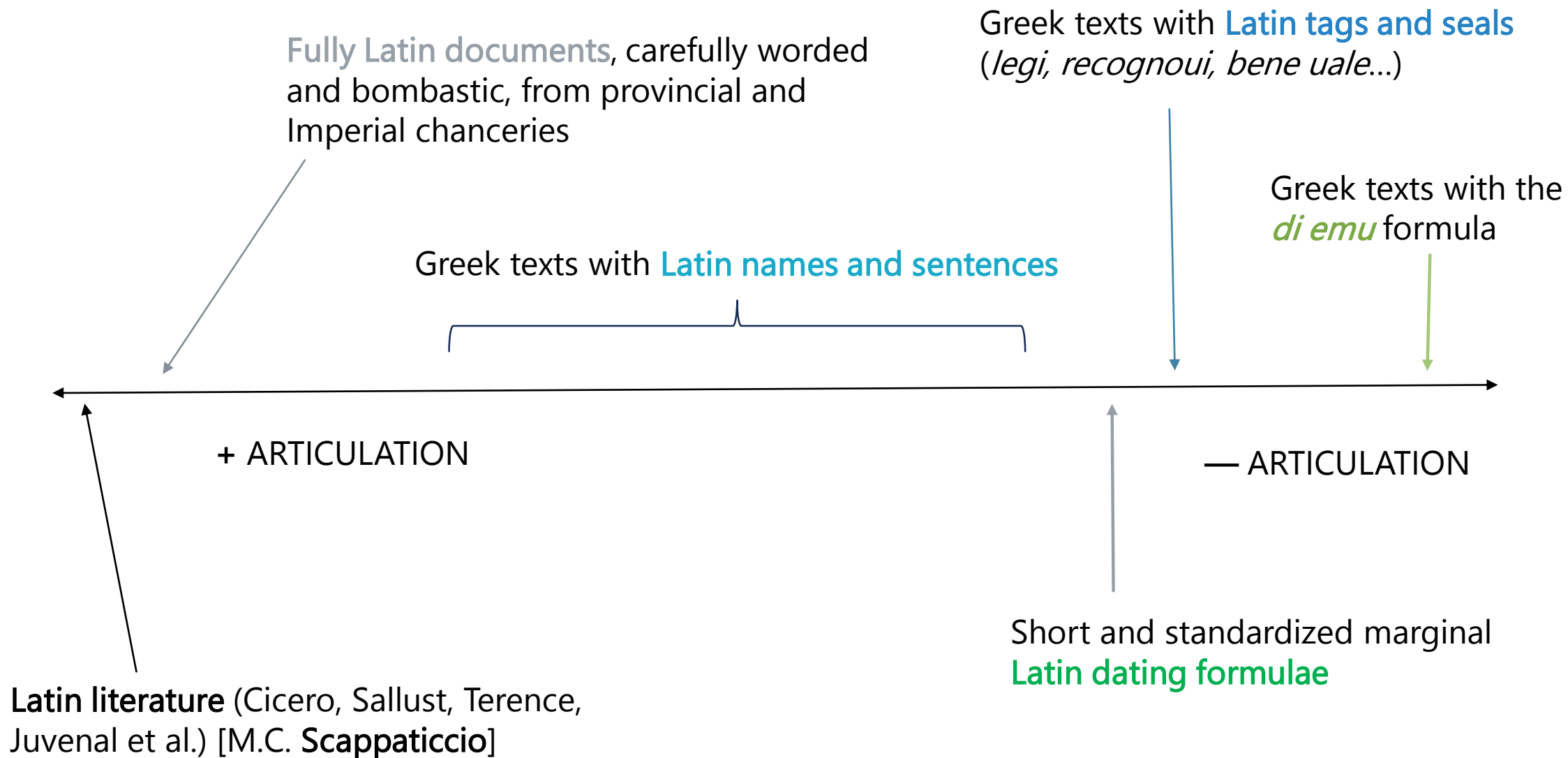
'I WILL SUBSCRIBE GENTLE ADIEUX AND GREETINGS'

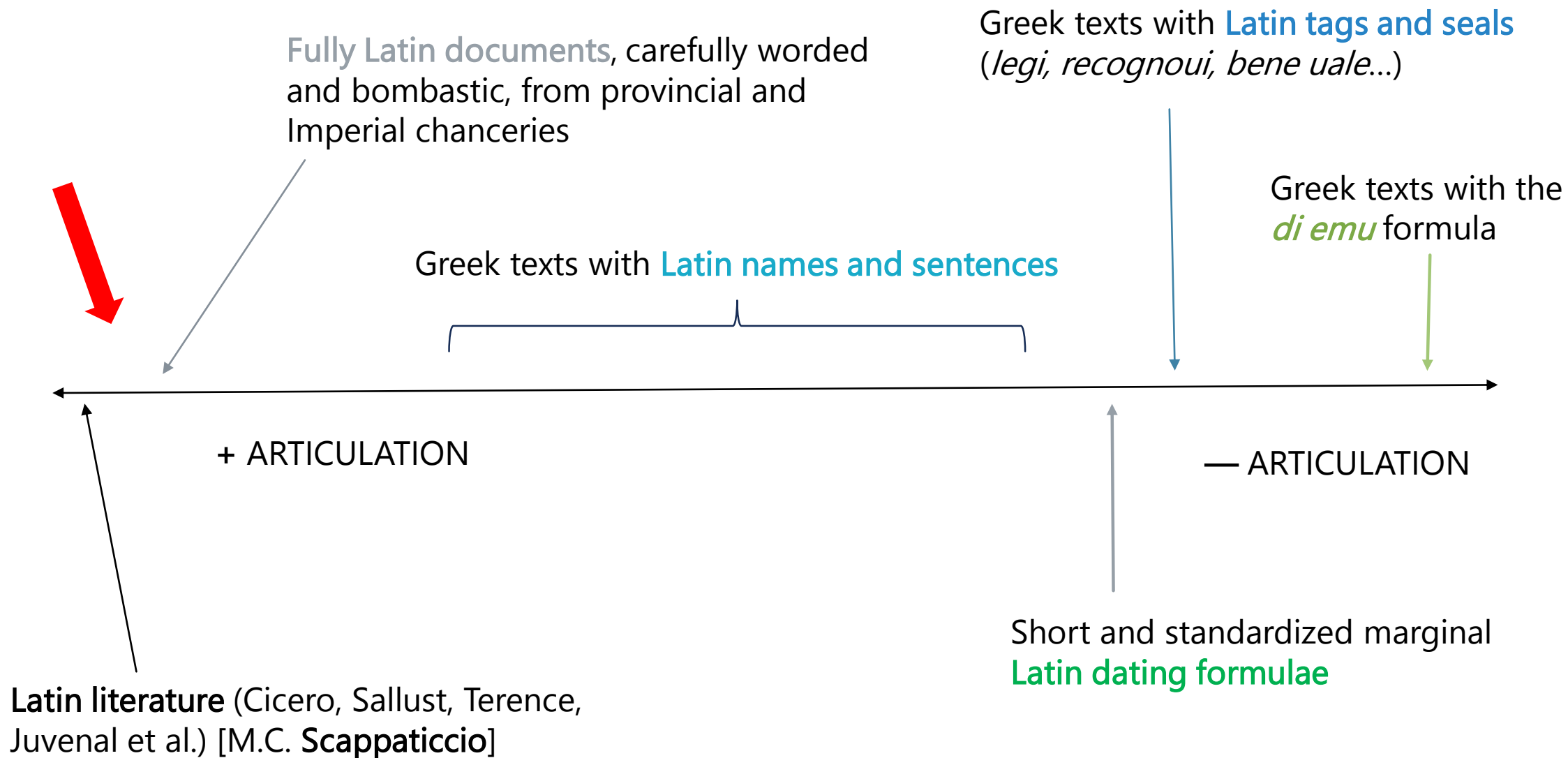
Latin Tags to Late Antique Documents

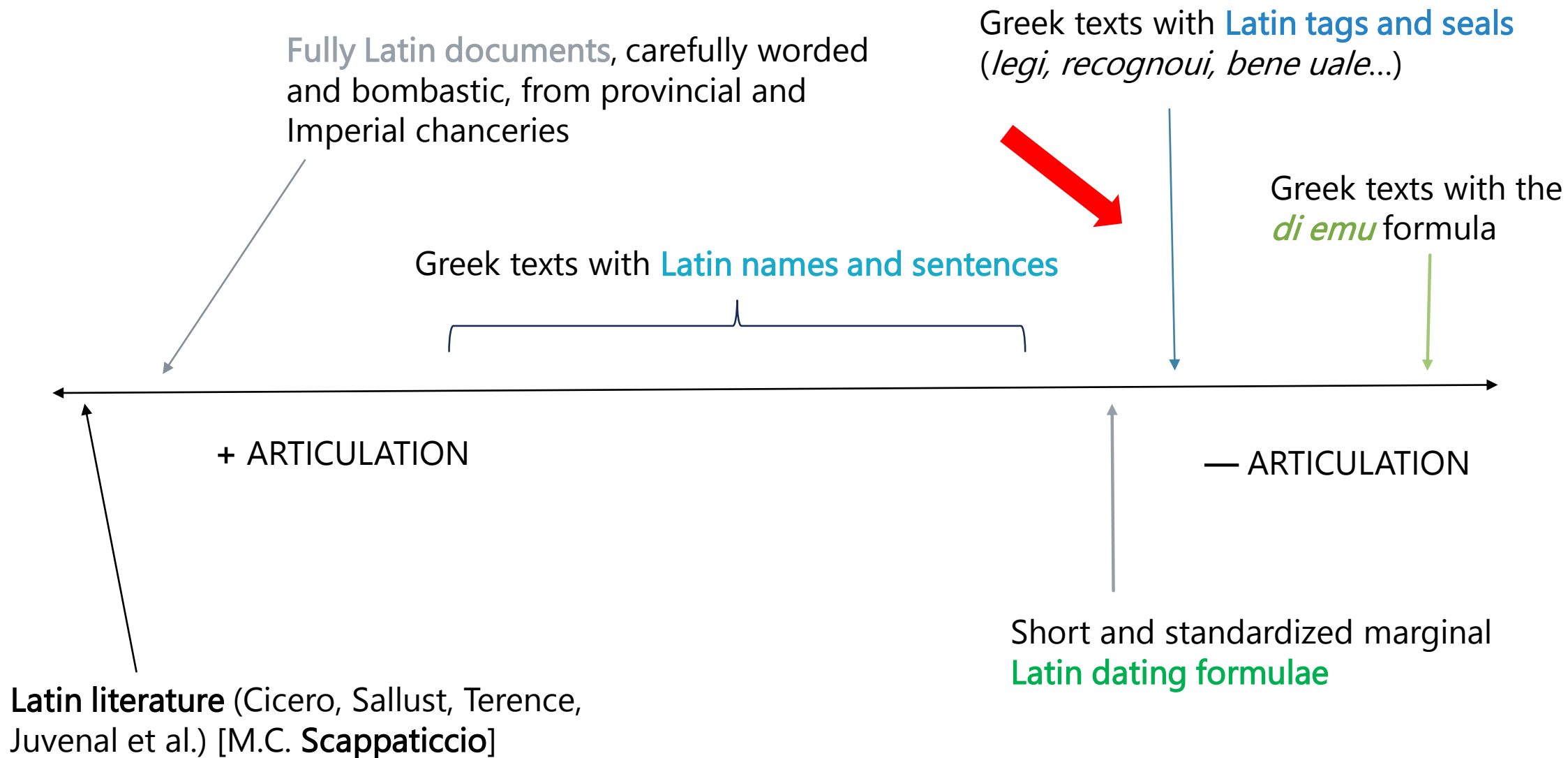


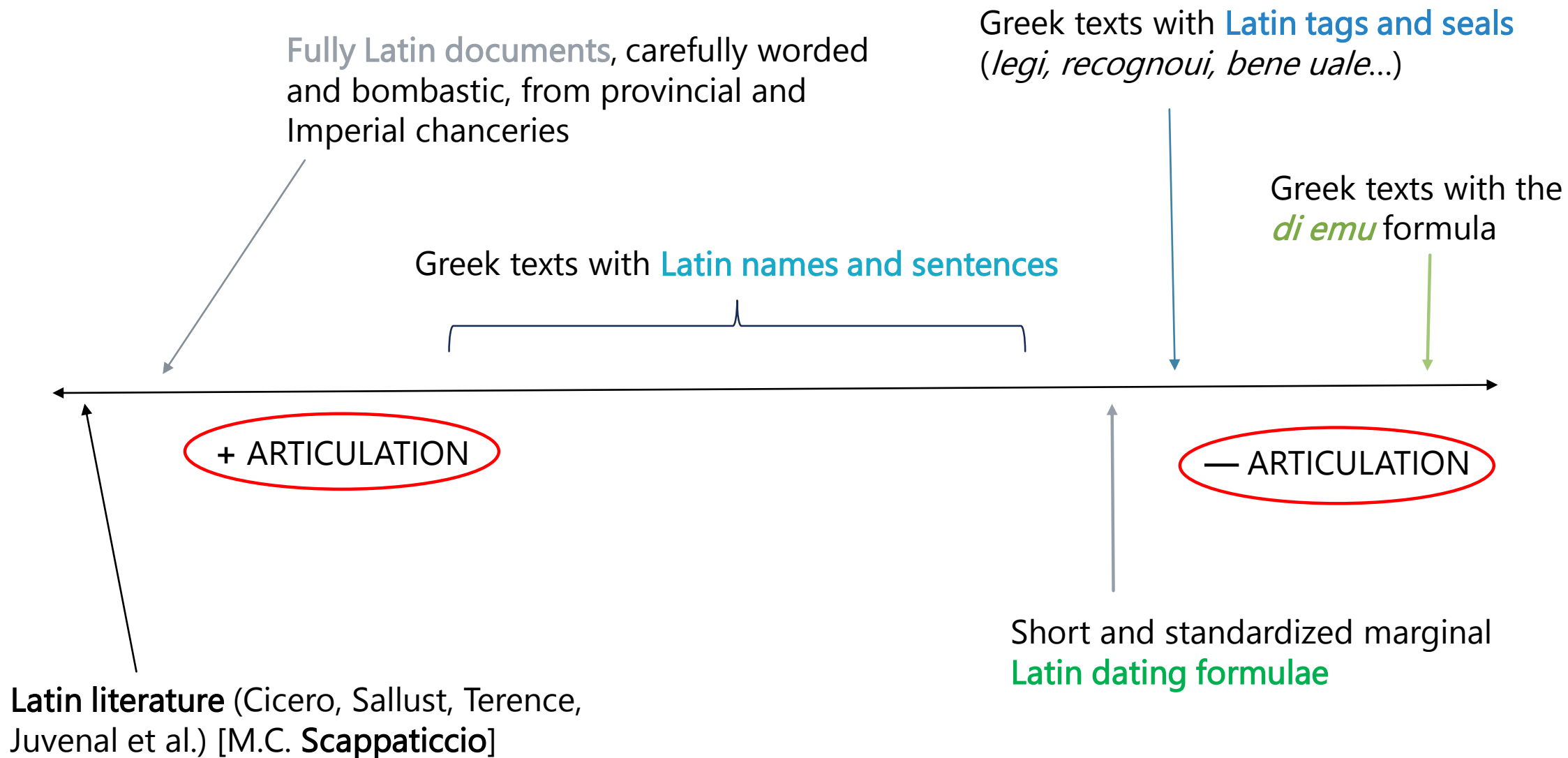
LATIN RELICS IN A GREEK EGYPT (MSCA-IF-GF N° 895634):
LATIN IN EGYPTIAN DOCUMENTS BETWEEN DIOCLETIAN AND HERACLIUS











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

Greek texts with Latin names and sentences

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

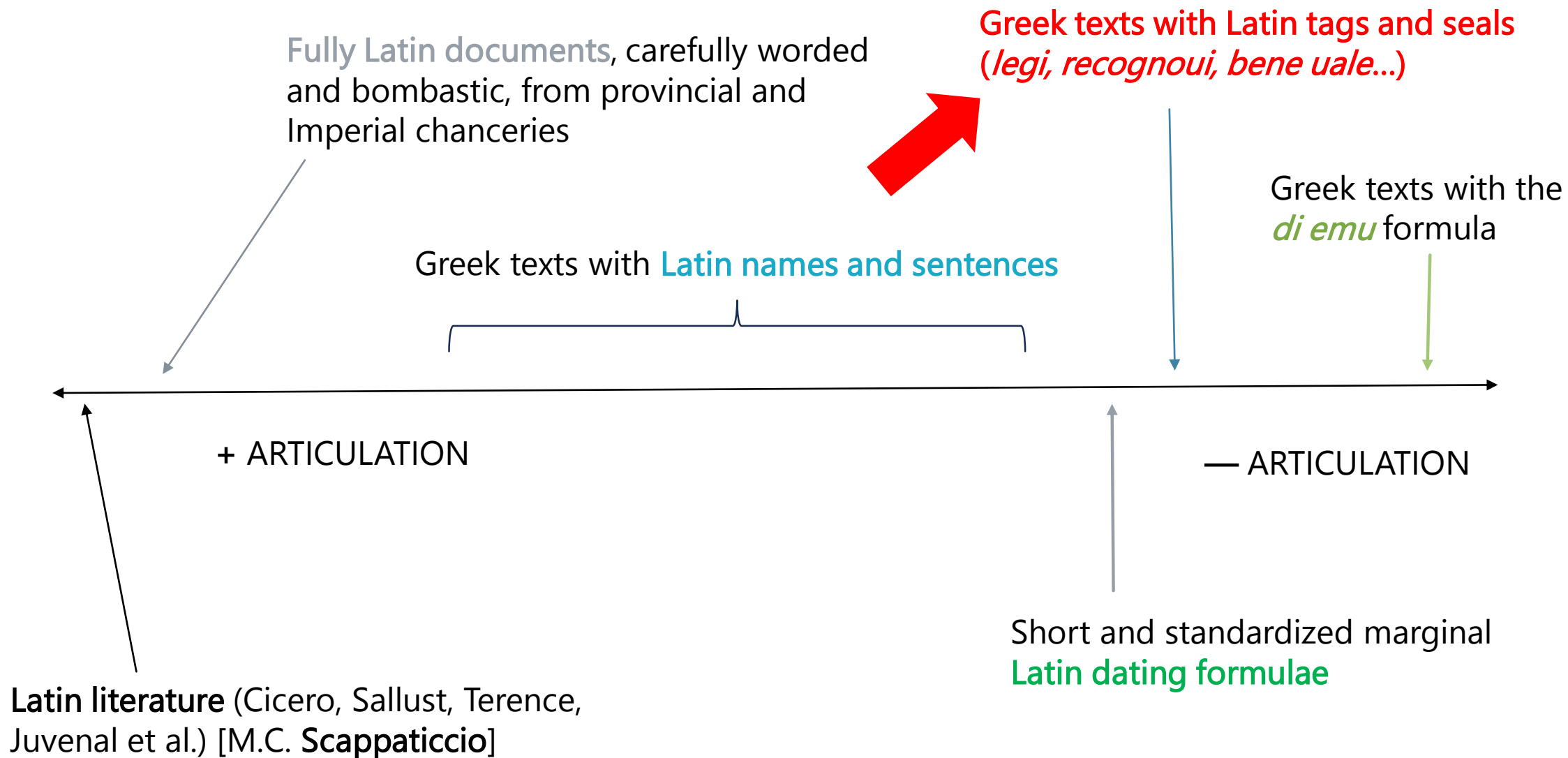
Greek texts with the *di emu* formula

Short and standardized marginal Latin dating formulae

+ ARTICULATION

— ARTICULATION

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



ON TODAY'S MENU

The precedent...

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

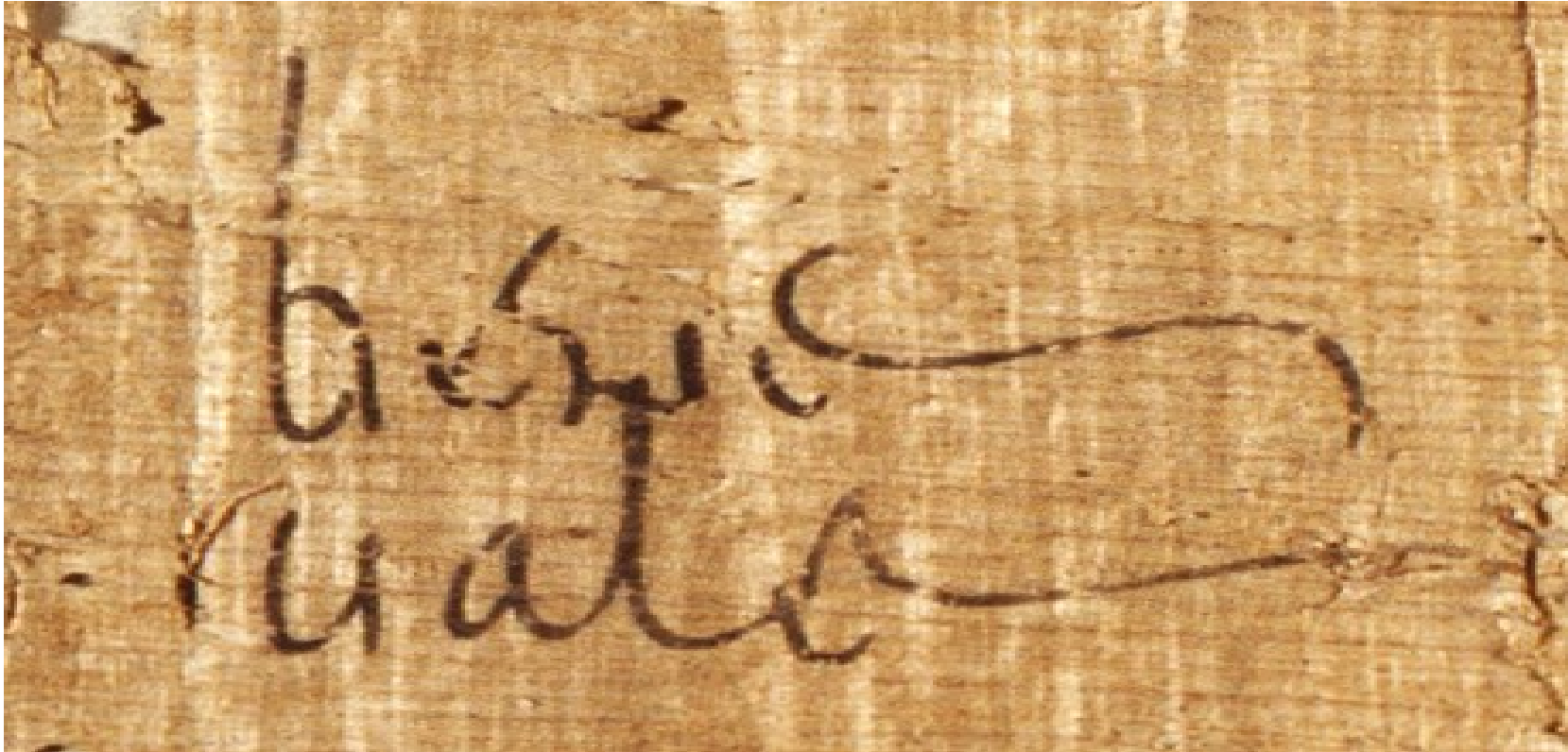
ON TODAY'S MENU

The precedent...

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

...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...*

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*
- **VALE**: a final greeting and a **wish** for the addressee's **wellbeing** (Echols 1950)

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*
- **VALE**: a final greeting and a **wish** for the addressee's **wellbeing** (Echols 1950)
- An obvious and widespread component of Roman **epistolary tradition** and educated conversation

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*
- **VALE**: a final greeting and a **wish** for the addressee's **wellbeing** (Echols 1950)
- An obvious and widespread component of Roman **epistolary tradition** and educated conversation
- *Vale* vs. *opto bene ualeas*: a short vs. a longer formula (Cugusi 1983)

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*
- **VALE**: a final greeting and a **wish** for the addressee's **wellbeing** (Echols 1950)
- An obvious and widespread component of Roman **epistolary tradition** and educated conversation
- *Vale* vs. *opto bene ualeas*: a short vs. a longer formula (Cugusi 1983)
- Cugusi: *opto bene ualeas / te bene ualere* ◀ ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Bene uale, bene ualeas, opto bene ualeas, opto te bene ualere...*
- **VALE** a final greeting and a **wish** for the addressee's **wellbeing** (Echols 1950)
- An obvious and widespread component of Roman **epistolary tradition** and educated conversation
- *Vale* vs. *opto bene ualeas*: a short vs. a longer formula (Cugusi 1983)
- Cugusi: *opto bene ualeas / te bene ualere* ◀ ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι
- Parsons: *opto bene ualeas / te bene ualere* ▶ ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Vale* vs. *opto bene ualeas*: a short vs. a longer formula (Cugusi 1983)
- Cugusi: *opto bene ualeas* / *te bene ualere* ◀ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι
- Parsons: *opto bene ualeas* / *te bene ualere* ▶ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι
- *Opto te bene ualere* become the **norm** in **Imperial** times: Fronto, the Antonines, the III AD
- Papyri and *ostraka* have the 'Frontonian' formula: *opto te domine felicissimum multis annis bene ualere*, with **variations** (*uos domini felicissimos, per multos annos...*)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Vale* vs. *opto bene ualeas*: a short vs. a longer formula (Cugusi 1983)
- Cugusi: *opto bene ualeas* / *te bene ualere* ◀ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι
- Parsons: *opto bene ualeas* / *te bene ualere* ▶ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι
- *Opto te bene ualere* become the **norm** in **Imperial** times: Fronto, the Antonines, the III AD
- Papyri and *ostraka* have the 'Frontonian' formula: *opto te domine felicissimum multis annis bene ualere*, with **variations** (*uos domini felicissimos, per multos annos...*)
- Vindolanda tablets, Bu Njem *ostraka*, Tiberianus and Terentianus (I to III AD) ...

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Opto te bene ualere* become the **norm** in **Imperial** times: Fronto, the Antonines, the III AD
- Papyri and *ostraka* have the 'Frontonian' formula: *opto te domine felicissimum multis annis bene ualere*, with **variations** (*uos domini felicissimos, per multos annos...*)
- Vindolanda tablets, Bu Njem *ostraka*, Tiberianus and Terentianus (I to III AD) ...
- 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**

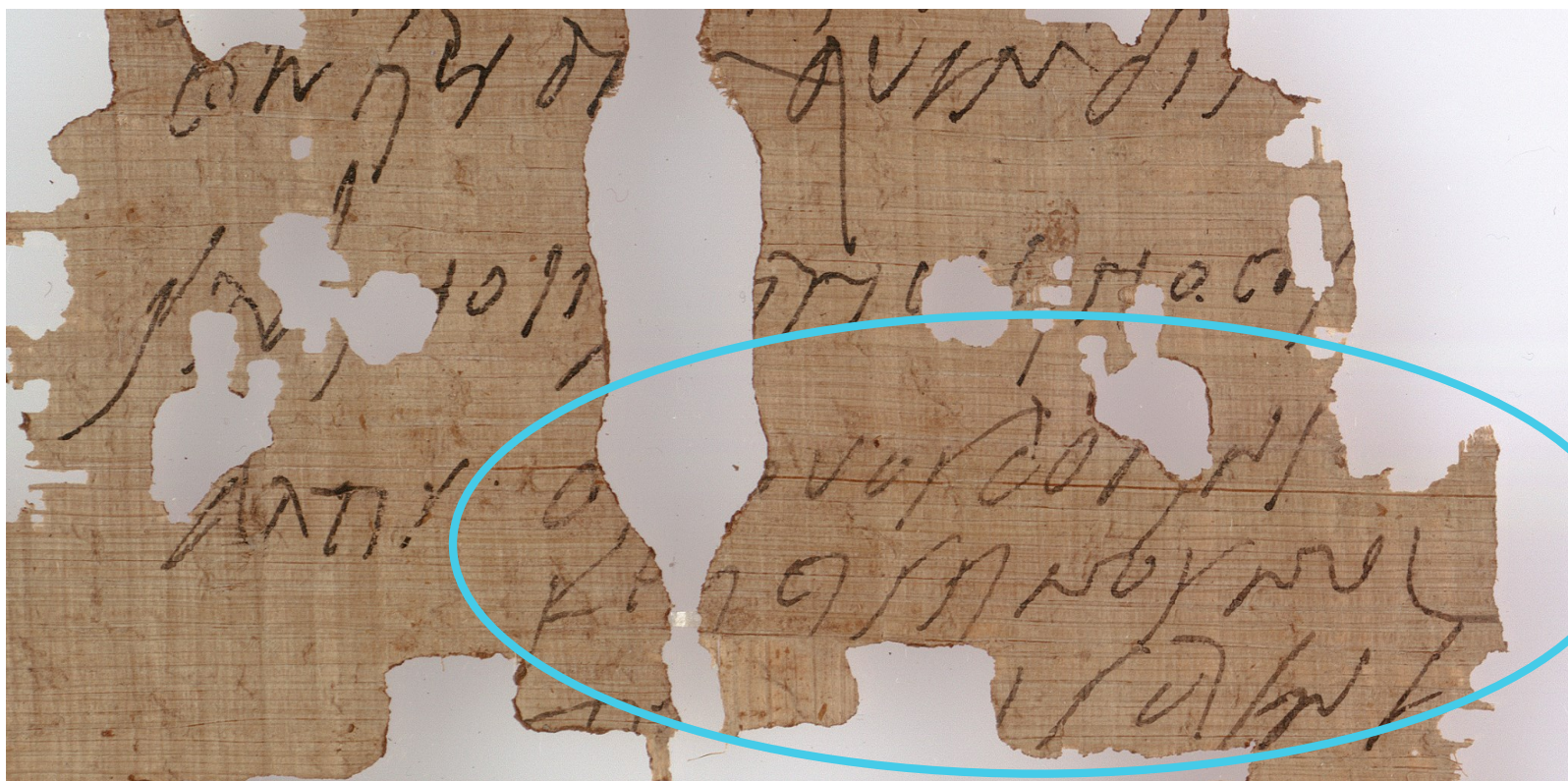
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- *Opto te bene ualere* become the **norm** in **Imperial** times: Fronto, the Antonines, the III AD
- Papyri and *ostraka* have the 'Frontonian' formula: *opto te domine felicissimum multis annis bene ualere*, with **variations** (*uos domini felicissimos, per multos annos...*)
- Vindolanda tablets, Bu Njem *ostraka*, Tiberianus and Terentianus (I to III AD) ...
- 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**
- And yet...

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

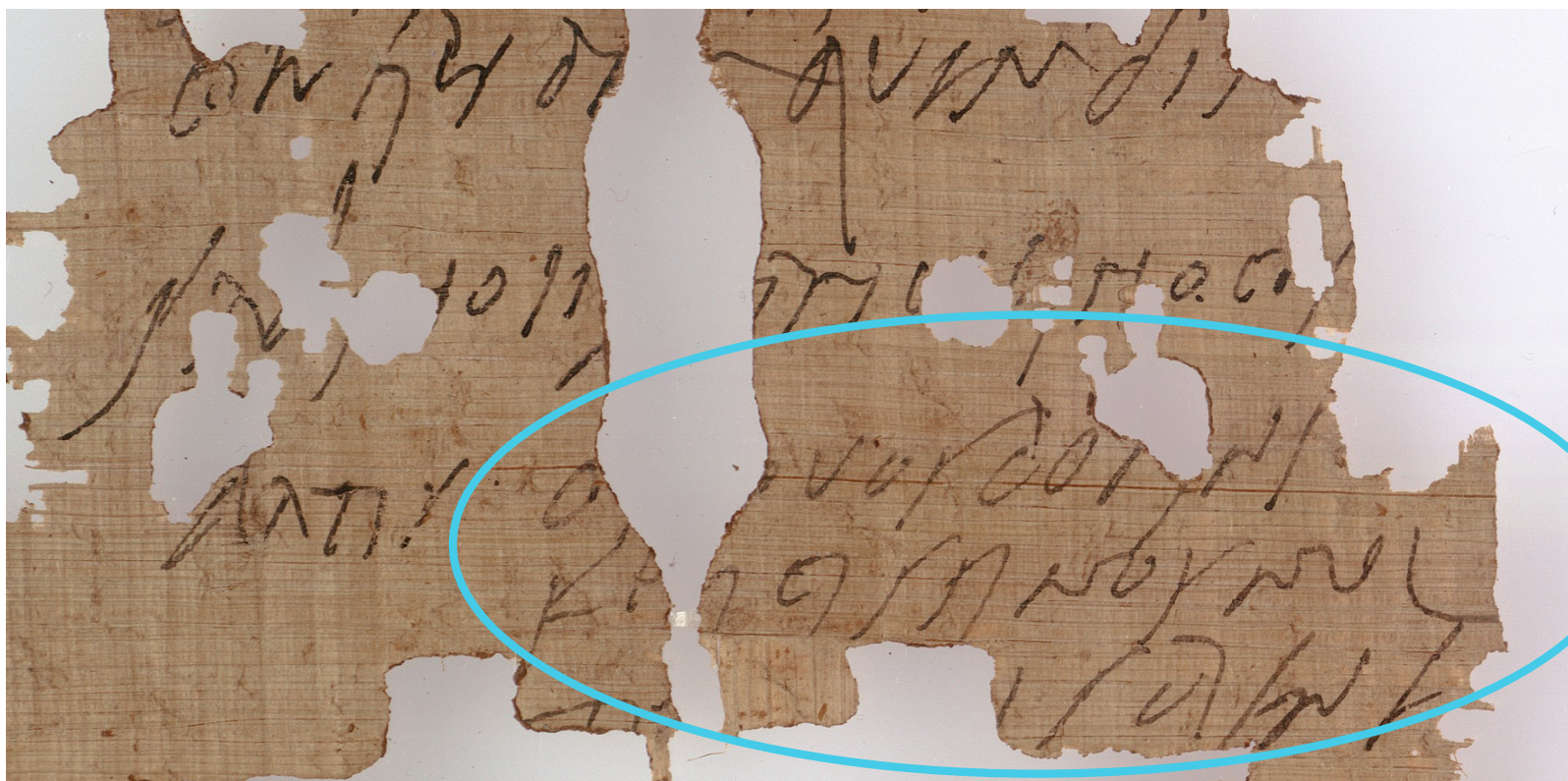


- Latin official letters from II-III AD, mainly from military bureaus, show this formula written by the sender's very hand

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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

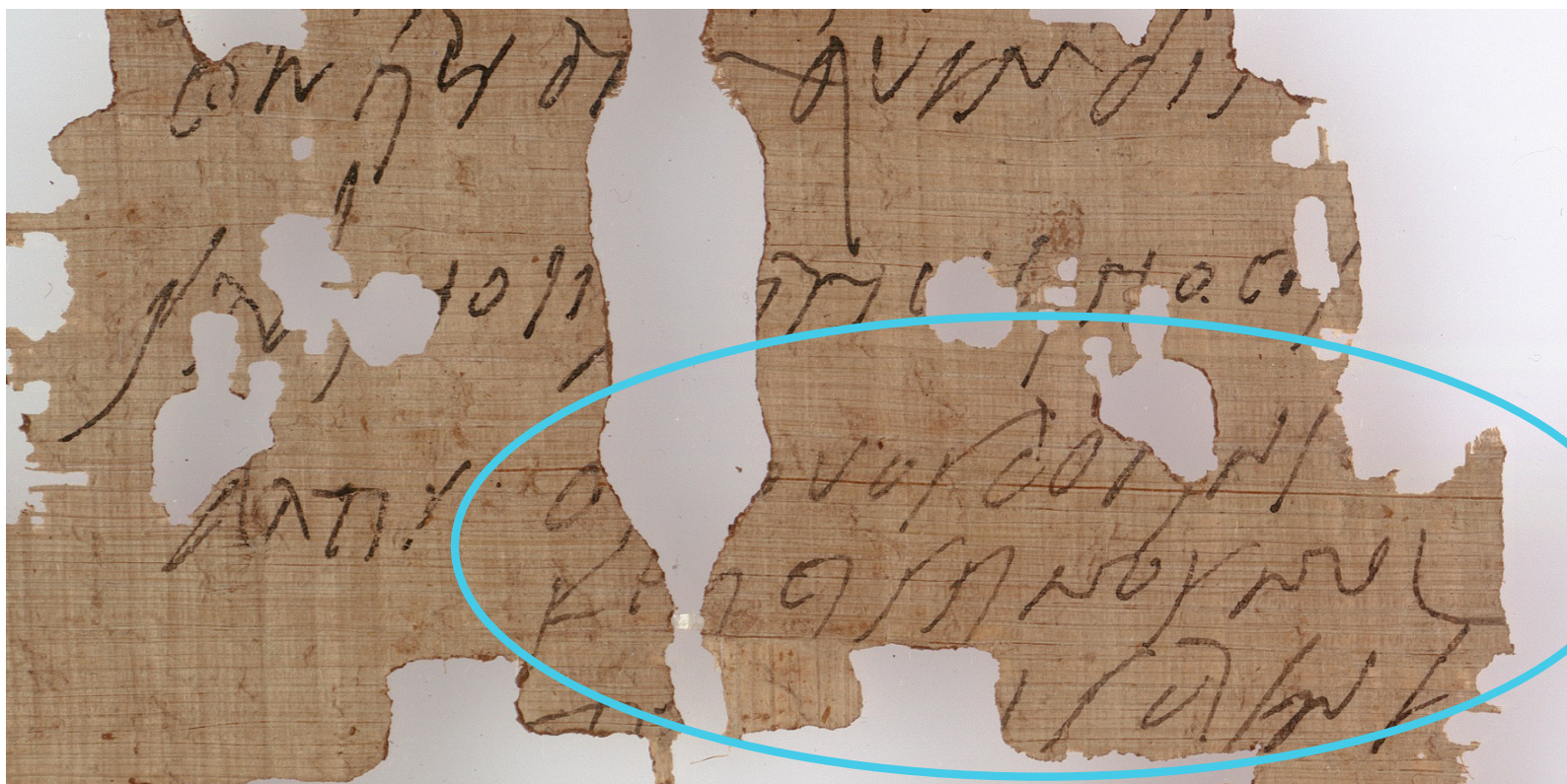


P.Dura 66a (AD 216): *opto uos domini* | *felicissimos mul[tis annis bene]* *ualere*

- Latin official letters from **II-III AD**, mainly from military bureaus, show this formula written **by the sender's very hand**
- Ancient letters are often written by **professional scribes**, the sender only placing a short formula to say 'hi'

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'



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

- Latin official letters from **II-III AD**, mainly from military bureaus, show this formula written **by the sender's very hand**
- Ancient letters are often written by **professional scribes**, the sender only placing a short formula to say 'hi'
- It's in this frame that *opto ... ualere* begins to **switch** from **greeting formula** to **subscription**

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

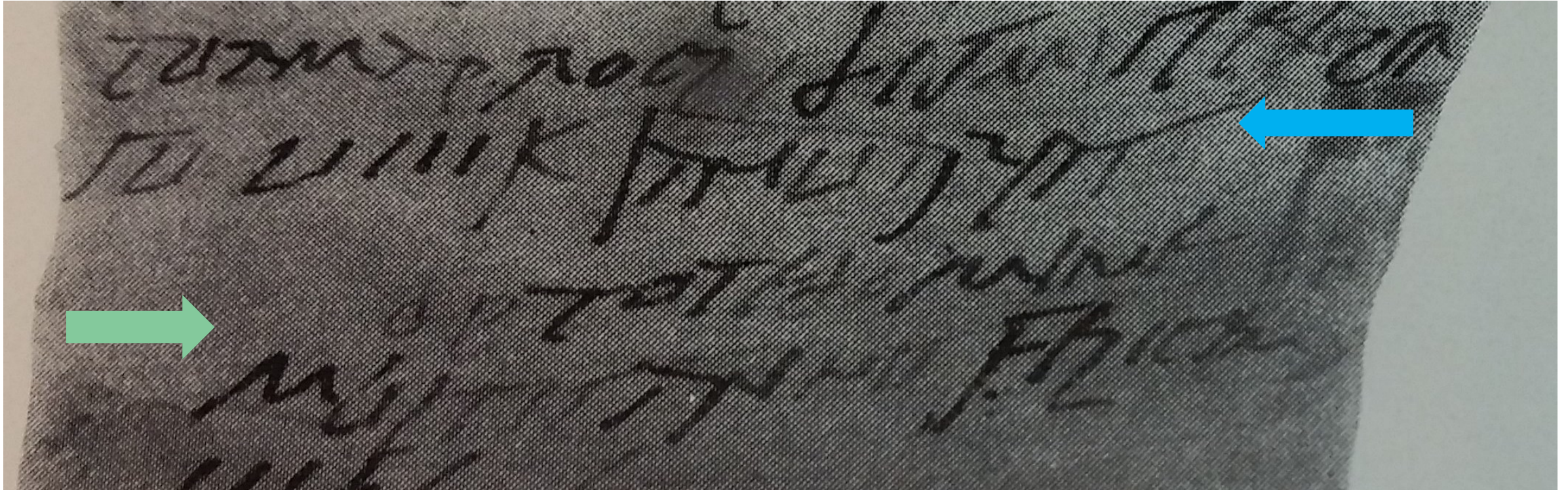
- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD **117–38**)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a, e, l, ll fr. A e B, mm, tt, vv, xx, zz*
(AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD **221**)

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD 117–38)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a, e, l, ll fr. A e B, mm, tt, vv, xx, zz* (AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD 221)
- A professional scribe writes, the sender subscribes, often in clumsy writing, especially in Dura letters

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD 117–38)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a, e, l, ll fr. A e B, mm, tt, vv, xx, zz* (AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD 221)
- A professional scribe writes, **the sender subscribes, often in clumsy writing**, especially in Dura letters
- Sometimes the scribe and the sender are the same person



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

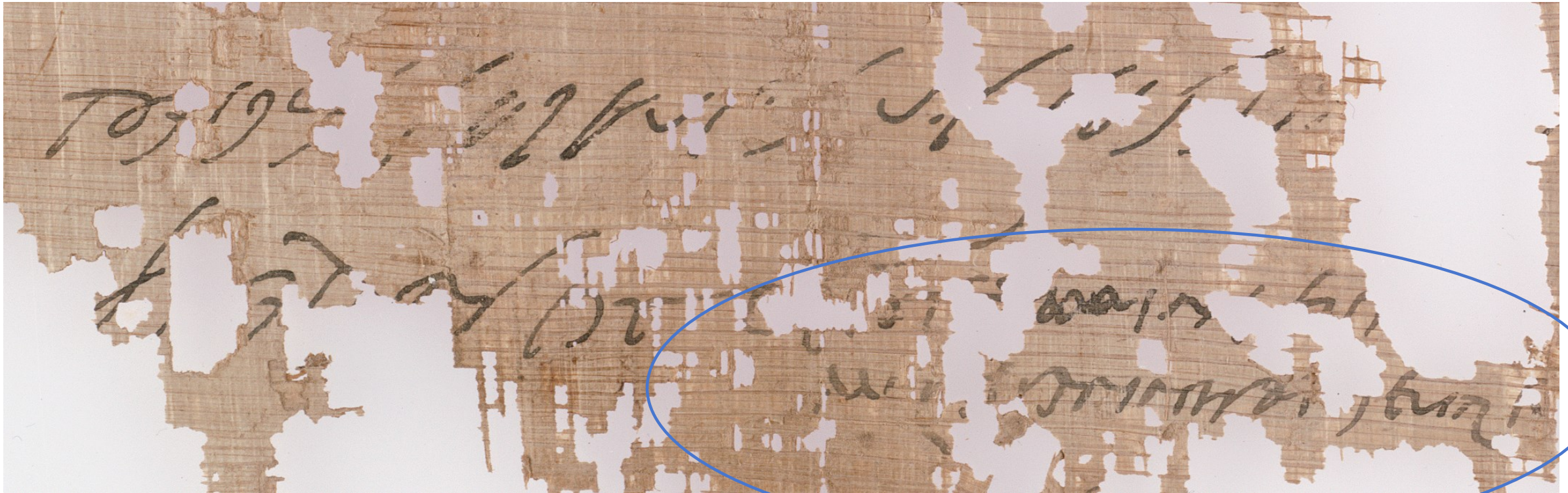
- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD 117–38)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a, e, l, ll fr. A e B, mm, tt, vv, xx, zz* (AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD 221)
- A professional scribe writes, the sender subscribes, often in clumsy writing, especially in Dura letters
- Sometimes the scribe and the sender are the same person
- ‘... in many cases there are no true changes of hand, but simply changes in the style of handwriting by the same person’ (Sarri 2013: 805)

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD 117–38)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a*, *e*, *l*, *ll* fr. *A e B*, *mm*, *tt*, *vv*, *xx*, *zz* (AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD 221)
- A professional scribe writes, the sender subscribes, often in **clumsy** writing, especially in Dura letters
- Sometimes the scribe and the sender are the same person
- ‘... in many cases there are no true changes of hand, but simply changes in the **style of handwriting** by the same person’ (Sarri 2013: 805)
- Which, in fact, suggests that person to have envisaged an ideal outcome: two hands for **two distinct parts** of the letters

BENE UALE AS A SUBSCRIPTION: THE EARLY EVIDENCE

- *SB XXVIII 17098* (AD 117–38)
- *O.Latopolis 13* (late II AD)
- *O.Latopolis 14* (late II AD)
- *P.Dura 75* (AD 210–20)
- *P.Dura 76*, fr. *b* (AD 210–25)
- *P.Dura 78* (AD 210–30)
- *P.Dura 74* (AD 211–51)
- *P.Dura 66a*, *e*, *l*, *ll* fr. *A e B*, *mm*, *tt*, *vv*, *xx*, *zz* (AD 216)
- *P.Dura 64b* (AD 221)
- A professional scribe writes, **the sender subscribes**, often in **clumsy** writing, especially in Dura letters
- Sometimes the scribe and the sender are the same person
- ‘... in many cases there are no true changes of hand, but simply changes **in the style of handwriting** by the same person’ (Sarri 2013: 805)
- Which, in fact, suggests that person to have envisaged an ideal outcome: two hands for **two distinct parts** of the letters
- ‘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] | mult[is] 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).

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- 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).
- What happened to this formula in Late Antiquity?

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

- 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).
- 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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

1. *BENE VALE*

P.Merton III 115 (early IV AD)

P.Abinn. 16 (AD 346–51)

1. *BENE VALE*

P.Merton III 115 (early IV AD)

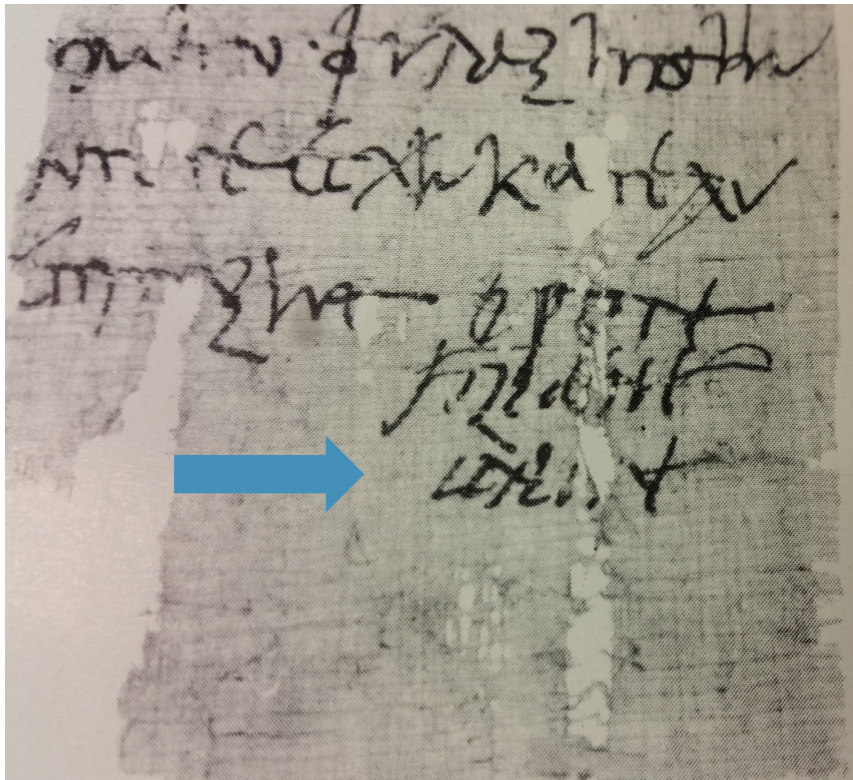
- Private letter (among soldiers?)
- In **Greek**

P.Abinn. 16 (AD 346–51)

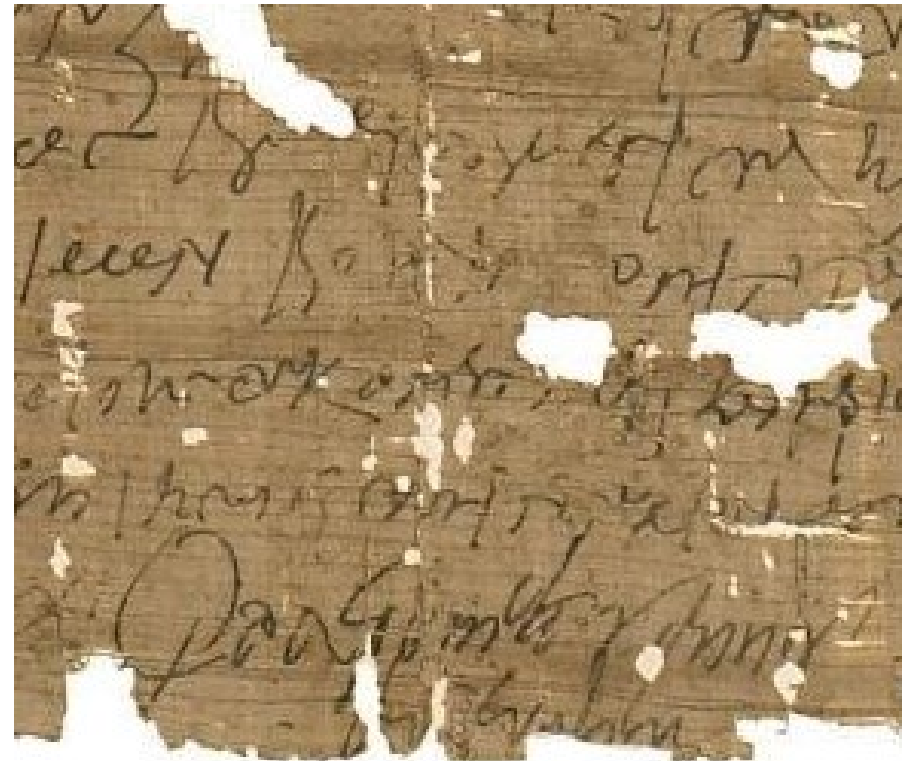
- Private letter among soldiers (Abinnaeus was a soldier, and often wrote to his colleagues)
- In **Greek**

1. BENE VALE

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



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



- 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).
- 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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

-
1. In **personal letters**: a token of a shared milieu
 2. In **official letters**: *P.Abinn.* 2 (AD 344), *SB XX* 14606 (AD 425–30), and *P.Ryl.* IV 609 (AD 505)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

-
1. In personal letters: a token of a shared milieu
 2. In official letters: *P.Abinn. 2* (AD 344), *SB XX 14606* (AD 425–30), and *P.Ryl. IV 609* (AD 505)
 3. Letters from a superior to an inferior rank within Roman army

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

-
1. In **personal letters**: a token of a **shared milieu**
 2. In **official letters**: *P.Abin.* 2 (AD 344), **SBXX 14606** (AD **425–30**), and *P.Ryl.* 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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

1. *BENE VALE*

1. *BENE VALE*



SB XX 14606 (AD 425–30)

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

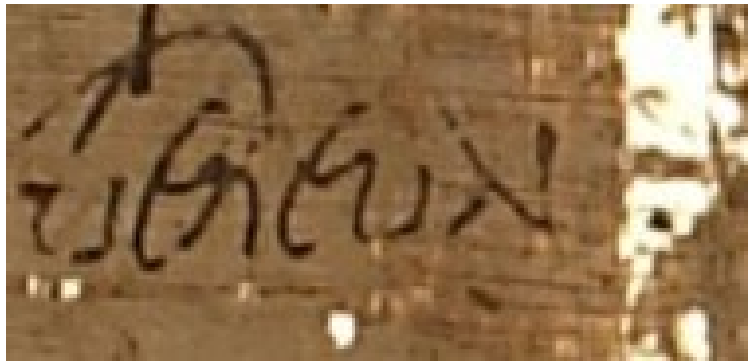
1. *BENE VALE*



SB XX 14606 (AD 425–30)

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

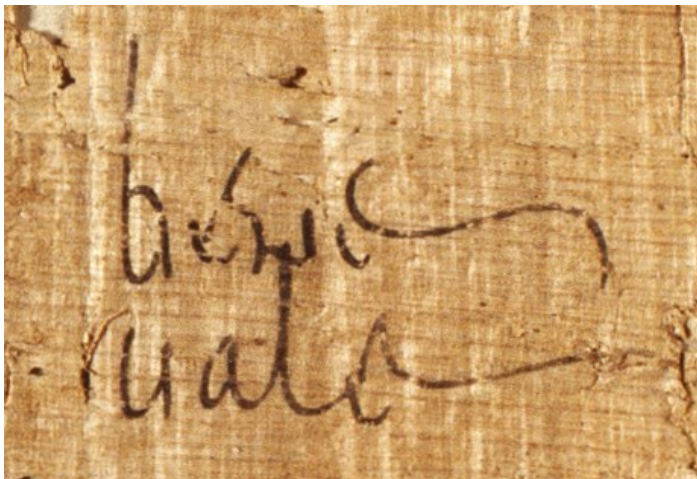
1. BENE VALE



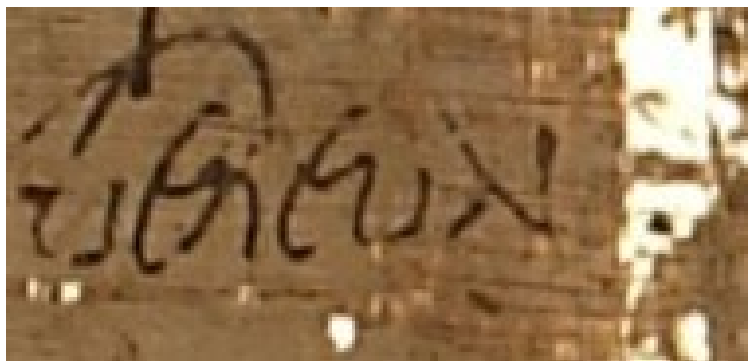
◀ *P.Abinn. 2*

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

P.Ryl. IV 609 ▼

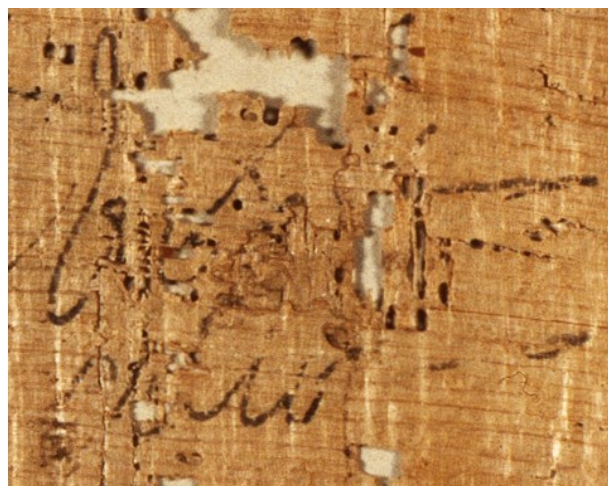
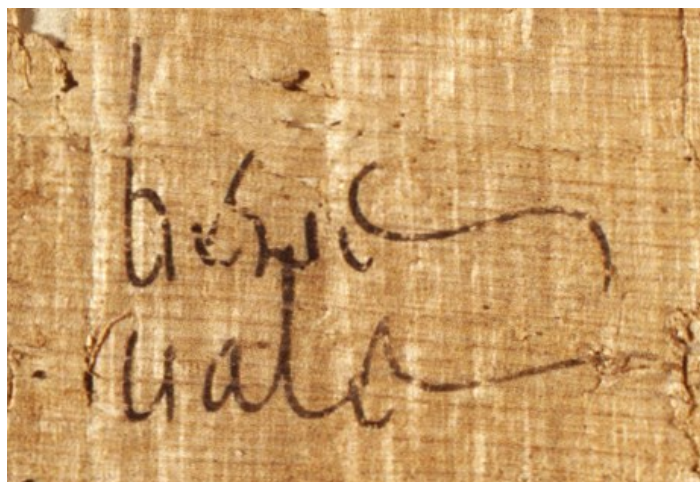


1. BENE VALE



◀ *P.Abinn. 2*

P.Ryl. IV 609 ▼



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

-
1. In **personal letters**: a token of a shared milieu
 2. In **official letters**: *P.Abinn.* 2 (AD 344), *SB XX* 14606 (AD 425–30), and *P.Ryl.* IV 609 (AD 505)
 3. Official letters, a bit later (**VI AD**): *P.Gascou* 21 (AD **514**) and *P.Münch.* I 2 (AD **578**)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

1. *BENE VALE*

... probation **what?**

1. *BENE VALE*

... probation **what?**

- A probation letter, or *epistula probatoria*, is the sort of document that a military authority issues to you **when you are granted permission to join the army**

1. *BENE VALE*

... probation **what?**

- A probation letter, or *epistula probatoria*, is the sort of document that a military authority issues to you **when you are granted permission to join the army**
- E.g., *P.Ryl.* IV 609 we just discussed

1. *BENE VALE*

... probation **what?**

- A probation letter, or *epistula probatoria*, is the sort of document that a military authority issues to you **when you are granted permission to join the army**
- 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 αἰῶς
στρατείας

1. *BENE VALE*

P.Münch. I 2

- L. 19: ἐθέμεθα σοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔγγραφον ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς αἰῆς στρατ<ε>ίας
- The scribe, Flavius Marcos Isakios, *ordinarius* and *adiutor* of the *numerus Elephantinae*, has **written the letter** because the other *primicerii* are illiterate.

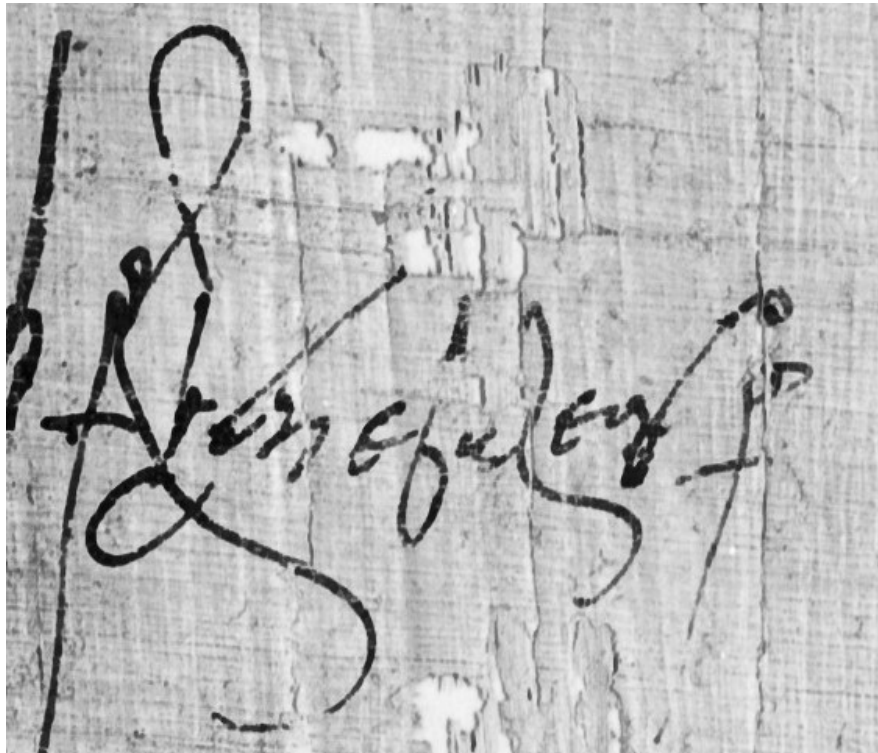
1. BENE VALE

P.Gascou 21

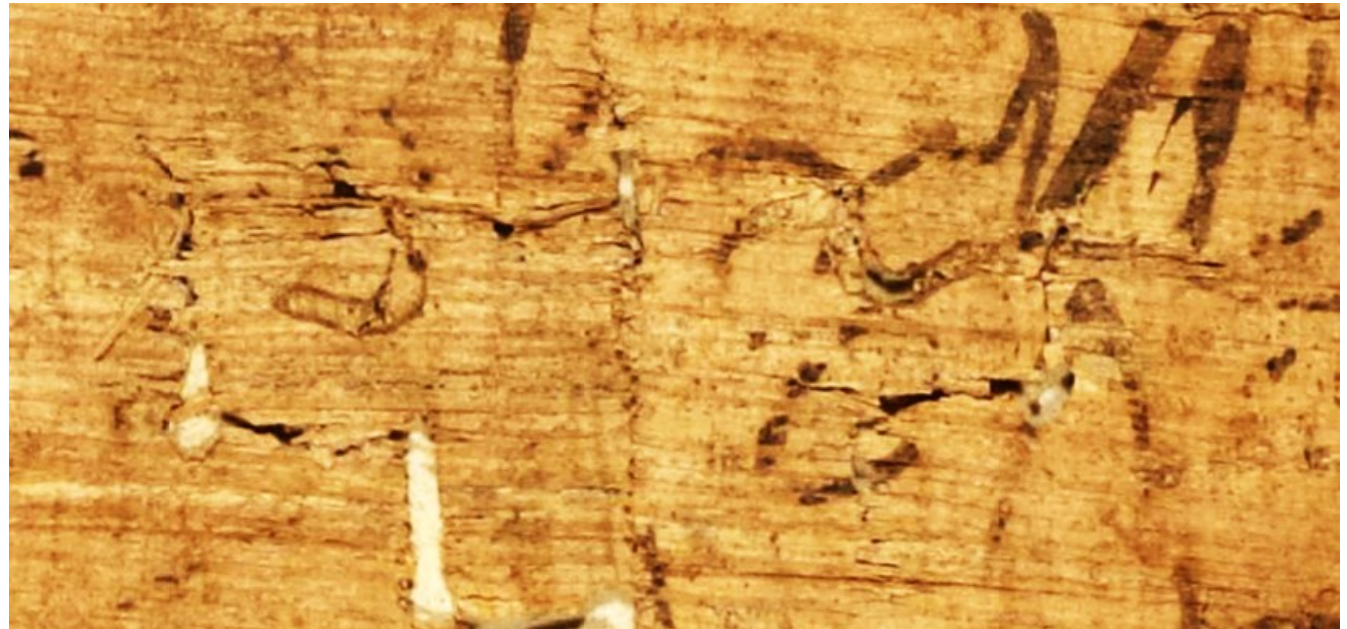
- P.Münch. I 2, I. 19: ἐθέμεθα σοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔγγραφον ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς αὐτῆς στρατείας
- P.Gascou 21, ll. 8–9: καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀσφάλειαν πεποίημαί σοι τ[α]ύτην | τὴν ἀποχὴν μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς ἐμῆς ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)
- The scribe, Flavius Marcos Isakios, *ordinarius* and *adiutor* of the *numerus Elephantinae*, 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** **b**aleas



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



1. In **personal letters**: a token of a **shared milieu**
2. In **official letters**: *P.Abin.* 2 (AD 344), *SB* XX 14606 (AD 425–30), and *P.Ryl.* 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**

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**
 2. Then the mark of a **shared milieu**

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**
 2. Then the mark of a **shared milieu**
 3. Finally, a simple **subscription or seal**, confined to chancery offices in the province, or to those who still could learn a bit of Latin in the army

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**
2. Then the mark of a **shared milieu**
3. Finally, a simple **subscription or seal**, confined to chancery offices in the province, or to those who still could learn a bit of Latin in the army
4. FROM A REAL PORTION OF A REAL TEXT TO A TAG: the fate of Latin in the East

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
2. Then the mark of a shared milieu
3. Finally, a simple subscription or seal, confined to chancery offices in the province, or to those who still could learn a bit of Latin in the army
4. FROM A REAL PORTION OF A REAL TEXT TO A TAG: the fate of Latin in the East
5. In the West it survives to Middle Ages: **Grußformeln** bei der großen Menge der Urkunden in **Briefform** (Classen)

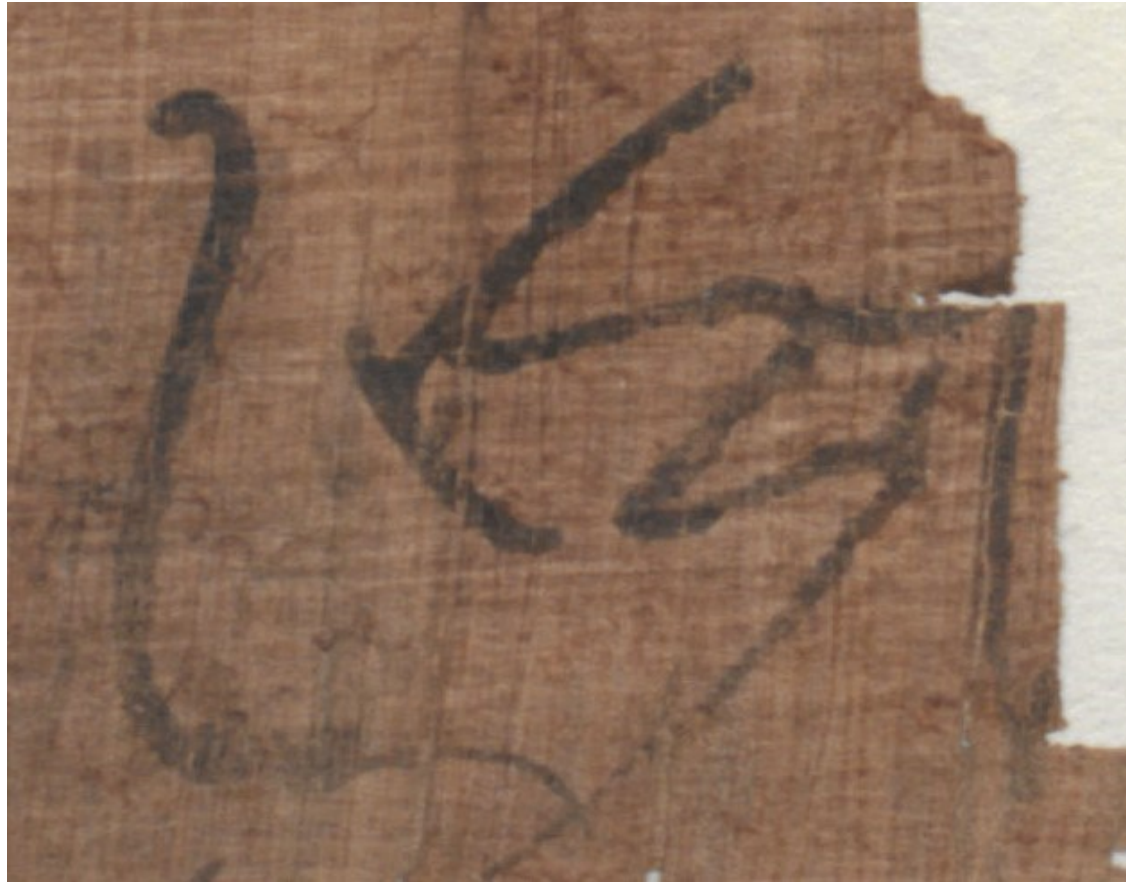
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

1. *Bene uale* 'fare you well'

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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. ...?



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi*'I read'



- 'I acknowledged your message'

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi*'I read'

- 'I acknowledged your message'
- Typical subscription to **petitions** in Greek documents: ἀνέγνω

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi* 'I read'

- 'I acknowledged your message'
- Typical subscription to petitions in Greek documents: ἀνέγνω
- Not always a formula in Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods: e.g. *BGU* XVI 2611 l. 3 ἀνέγνω ἀ γεγράφεις (BC 10) – yet see *BGU* VIII 1795 l. 1 ἀνέγνω(ν) (ἔτους) ε Παῦνι ζ (BC 47)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi* 'I read'

- Not always a formula in Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods: e.g. *BGU* XVI 2611 l. 3 ἀνέγνω ἀ γεγράφεις (BC 10) – yet see *BGU* VIII 1795 l. 1 ἀνέγνω(ν) (ἔτους) ε Παῦνι ζ (BC 47)
- From the Roman conquest onwards ...

- Not always a formula in Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods: e.g. *BGU* XVI 2611 l. 3 ἀνέγνων ἃ γεγράφεις (BC 10) – yet see *BGU* VIII 1795 l. 1 ἀνέγνω(ν) (ἔτους) ε Παῦνι ζ (BC 47)
- From the Roman conquest onwards ...
- *BGU* II 592, ll. 9–10 ἐξῆλθεν [Ἀ]πολλώ|[νιος] ὁ [ἡγ]εμονικὸς ὑ[πη]ρέτης.
ὑπογρ(αφή)· ἀνέγνων (AD 171)
- SB XXII 15496 ll. 19–22 ὑπογραφή Ἰουλίου Πρείσκου τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) ἐπάρχου Με(σοποταμίας) διέποντος | τὴν ὑπατείαν· ὁ Ἀρίστων ὁ κράτιστος τὴν ἀξίωσίν | σου δοκιμάσει. **Legi** σθ (AD 245)

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

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

2. *Legi* 'I read'

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

2. LEGI

- *P.Oxy.* I 35 recto (AD **223**)
- *P.Mich.* III 165 (AD **236**)
- *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**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67280 (AD **538–9**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB* V 8028 (AD **550**)

2. LEGI

- *P.Oxy. I 35 recto* (AD **223**)
 - *P.Mich. III 165* (AD **236**)
 - *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)
- ‘I **read**’ this document, I acknowledge its existence, I have **filed it in my archive**

2. LEGI

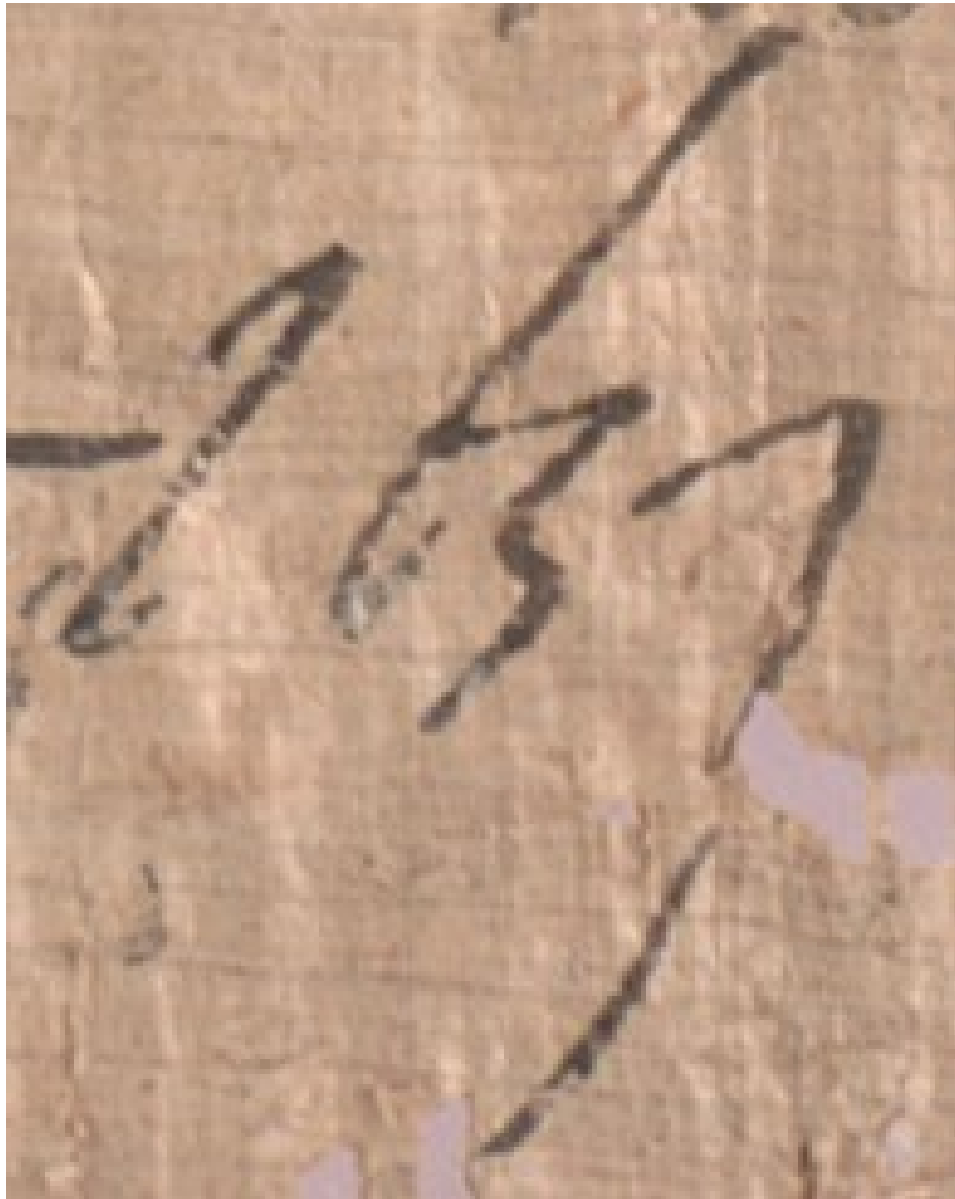
- *P.Oxy. I 35 recto* (AD **223**)
 - *P.Mich. III 165* (AD **236**)
 - *P.Dura 128* (AD c. **240–50**)
 - *P.Euphr. 1* (AD **245**)
 - *P.Oxy. IV 720* (AD **247**)
 - *P.Thomas 20* (AD **269–70**)
 - *P.Flor. I 32b* (AD **298**)
 - *P.Lond. V 1647* (AD **298**)
 - *P.Vindob. inv. L 151* (**IV–VI** AD)
 - *P.Vindob. inv. L 116* (**IV–VI** AD)
- ‘I **read**’ this document, I acknowledge its existence, I have **filed it in my archive**
 - Typical of Roman officers **answering** documents addressed to them

2. LEGI

- **P.Oxy. I 35 recto** (AD 223)
- **P.Mich. III 165** (AD 236)
- *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)
- ‘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

- *P.Oxy. I 35 recto* (AD **223**)
- *P.Mich. III 165* (AD **236**)
- ***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)
- ‘I **read**’ this document, I acknowledge its existence, I have **filed it in my archive**
- 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**

P.Vindob.
inv. L **151**



2. LEGI

- *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**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB V* 8028 (AD **550**)

2. *LEGI*

- **Orders**, from a higher to a lower rank in provincial administration.
- *Praesides prouvinciae*
- 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)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67321 (AD **533, 548**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67280 (AD **538–9**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB V* 8028 (AD **550**)

2. LEGI

- **Orders**, from a higher to a lower rank in provincial administration.
- *Praesides prouinciae*
- One *legi*, sometimes two at the bottom
- *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**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB* V 8028 (AD **550**)

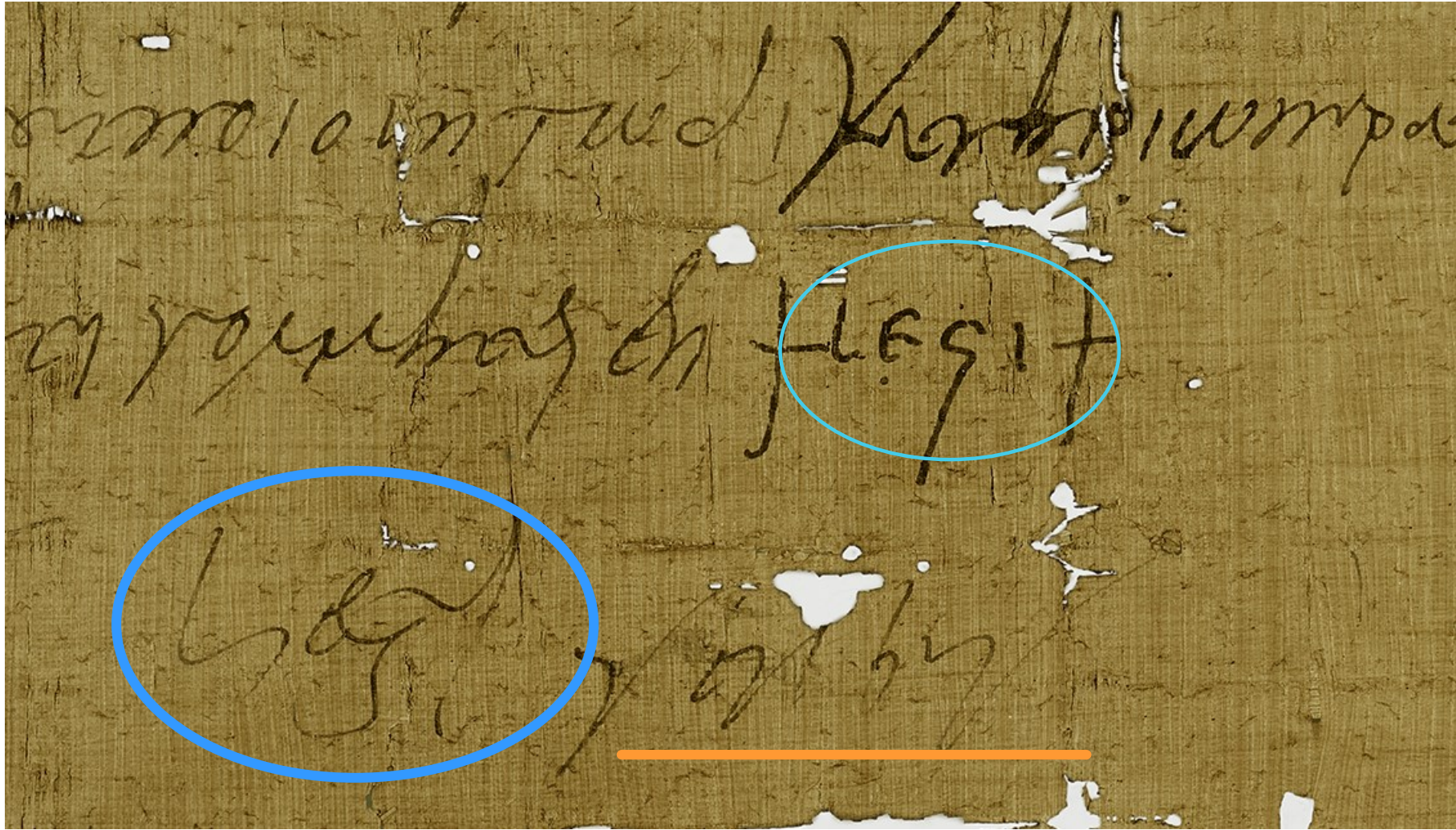
2. LEGI

- **Orders**, from a higher to a lower rank in provincial administration.
- *Praesides prouvinciae*
- One *legi*, sometimes two at the bottom
- But these documents were never meant to **go back to 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**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB* V 8028 (AD **550**)

Handwritten text on aged, stained paper, likely a manuscript or letter. The text is written in a cursive script and is partially obscured by large, irregular white stains or tears in the paper.

The visible text includes:

- Top line: ...ion und / ...
- Middle line: ... fliegst
- Bottom line: ...

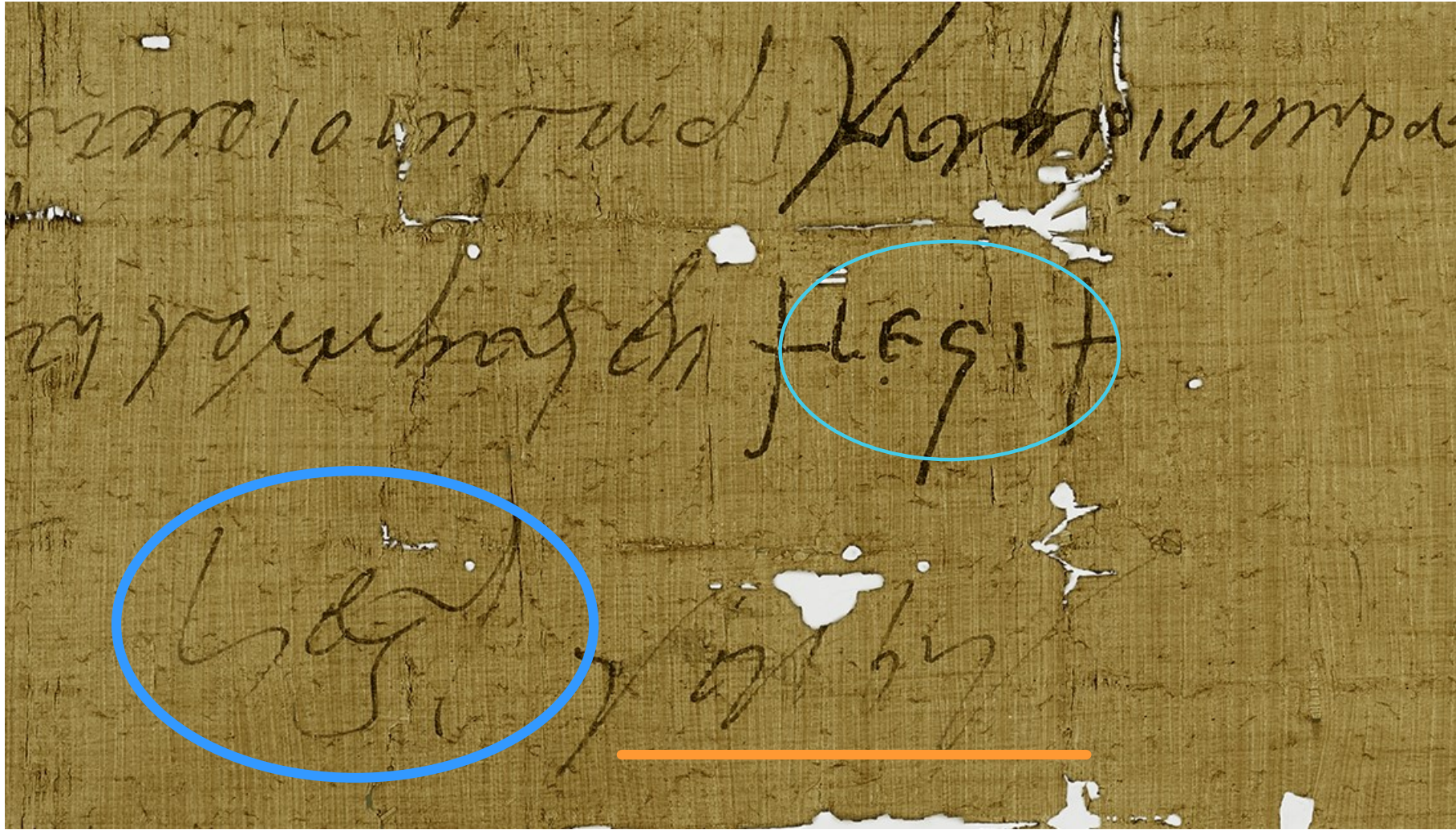


P.Oxy. VIII 1106

† legi †

legi

scribus



P.Oxy. VIII 1106

† **legi** †

legi

scribus = **scriba**? 'I, the scribe, read this'

2. *LEGI*

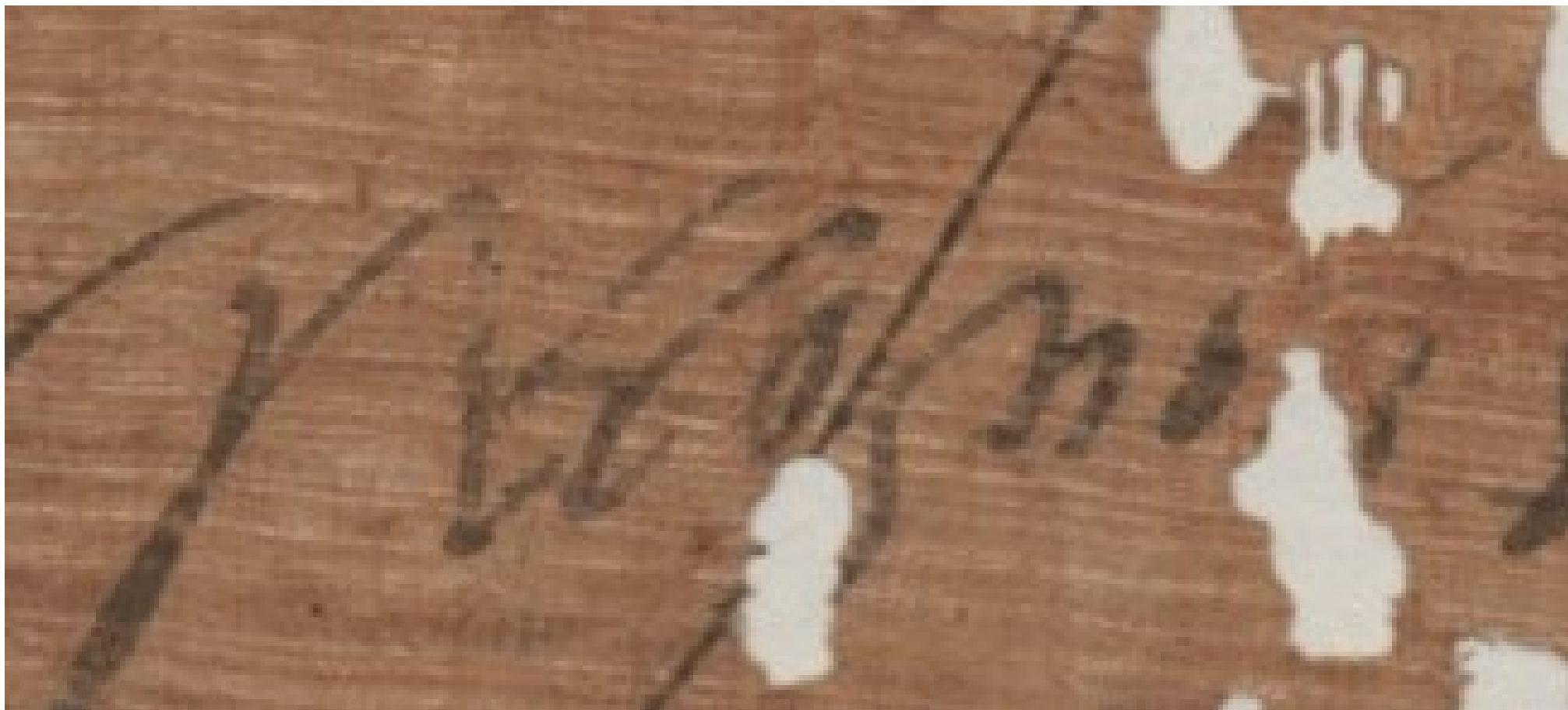
- In these documents **the *legi* comes from the sender**
 - *P.Flor.* III 304 (**V–VI** AD)
 - *P.Oxy.* VIII 1106 (**VI** AD)
 - *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67321 (AD **533, 548**)
 - *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67280 (AD **538–9**)
 - *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
 - *SB V* 8028 (AD **550**)

2. *LEGI*

- 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)
- *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**)
- *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
- *SB V* 8028 (AD **550**)

2. *LEGI*

- 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)
 - A formula generally signifying **acknowledgment**, now means **authenticity**: *legi* as a **seal**
- *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**)
 - *P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD **540**)
 - *SB V* 8028 (AD **550**)



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

3. *Recognoui*'I checked'

-
- This verb consistently performs the **same function** from Early to Late Antiquity – one of the few subscriptions with a **clear-cut value**

- This verb consistently performs the **same function** from Early to Late Antiquity – one of the few subscriptions with a **clear-cut value**
- In communication from the prefect (be they answers or not), *recognoui* certifies that the copy of the document you are reading perfectly matches the original document, presumably left in the prefect's archive (Hänsch)

- This verb consistently performs the **same function** from Early to Late Antiquity – one of the few subscriptions with a **clear-cut value**
- In communication from the prefect (be they answers or not), *recognoui* certifies that the copy of the document you are reading perfectly matches the original document, presumably left in the prefect's archive (Hänsch)
- Usually left **anonymous** – but see *Asclepiodotus lib(ertus) recognoui* (AE 2006, 1655; AD 166–77)

- This verb consistently performs the **same function** from Early to Late Antiquity – one of the few subscriptions with a **clear-cut value**
- In communication from the prefect (be they answers or not), *recognoui* certifies that the copy of the document you are reading perfectly matches the original document, presumably left in the prefect's archive (Hänsch)
- Usually left **anonymous** – but see *Asclepiodotus lib(ertus) recognoui* (AE 2006, 1655; AD 166–77)
- **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 (Mourgues 1995, 267–84; 288–300).

- **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 (Mourgues 1995, 267–84; 288–300).
- Inscriptions and papyri with a *recognoui* very **rarely** feature a *rescripsi*

3. *RECOGNOSCI*

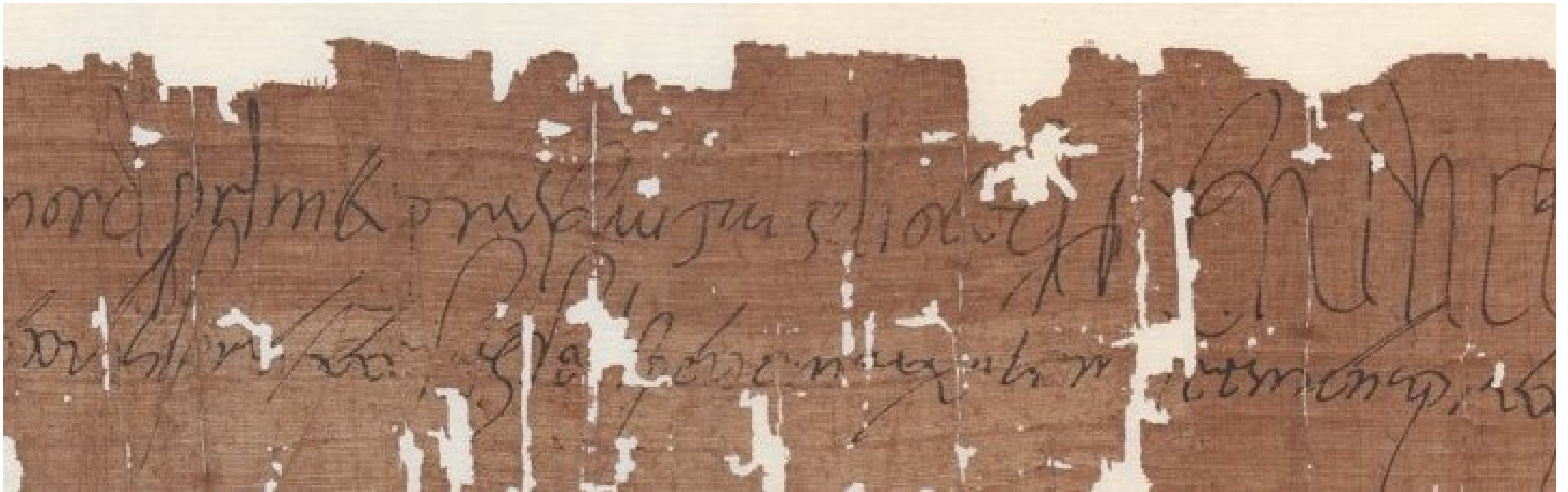
- ChLA XI 503 (AD 219)
- P.Daris inv. 200 + P.Ryl. IV 610 (AD 223)
- P.Vet. Aelii 10 (AD 223–55)
- SB VI 9200 (AD 242)
- SB I 1010 (AD 249)
- ChLA XLIII 1245 (late IV AD)
- SB XX 14688 (AD 398–9)
- P.Cairo Masp. III 67280 (AD 538–9)
- P.Cairo Masp. III 67320 (AD 541)

- *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 subscrip[tionis]. | Acc(eptum) 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...

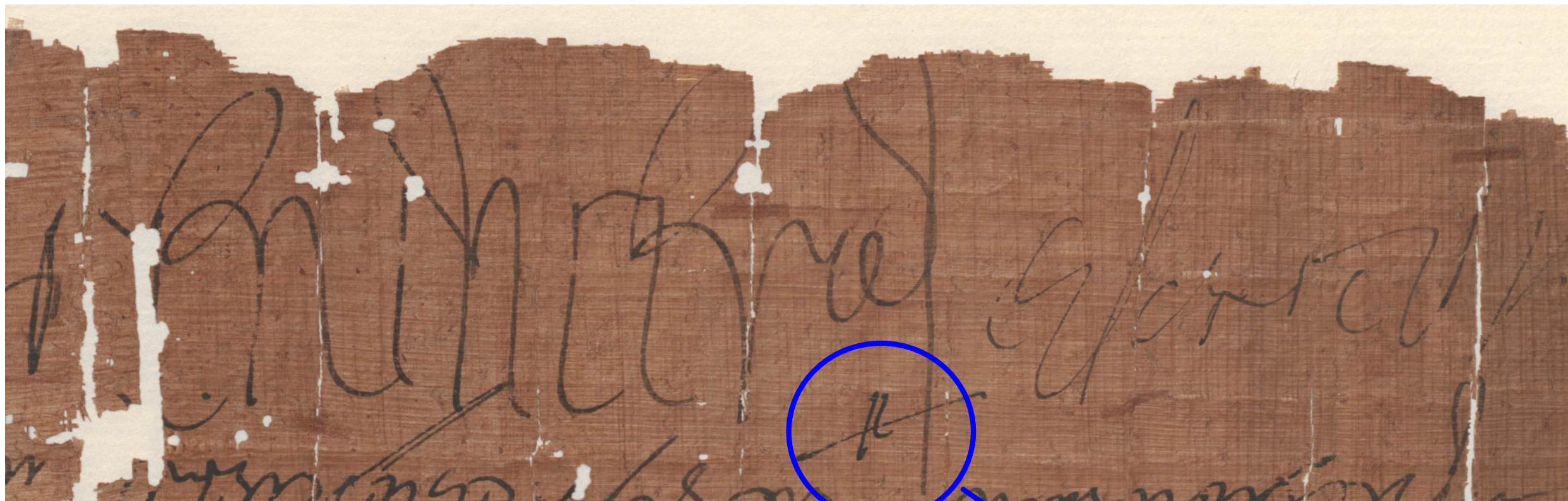
3. *RECOGNOVI*

- 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)
 - *P.Daris inv.* 200 + *P.Ryl.* IV 610 (AD 223)
 - *P.Vet. Aelii* 10 (AD 223–55)
 - *SB* VI 9200 (AD 242)
 - *SB* I 1010 (AD 249)
 - ***ChLA* XLIII 1245 (late IV AD)**
 - ***SB* XX 14688 (AD 398–9)**
 - ***P.Cairo Masp.* III 67280 (AD 538–9)**
 - ***P.Cairo Masp.* III 67320 (AD 541)**



SB XX 14688 (AD 398–9)

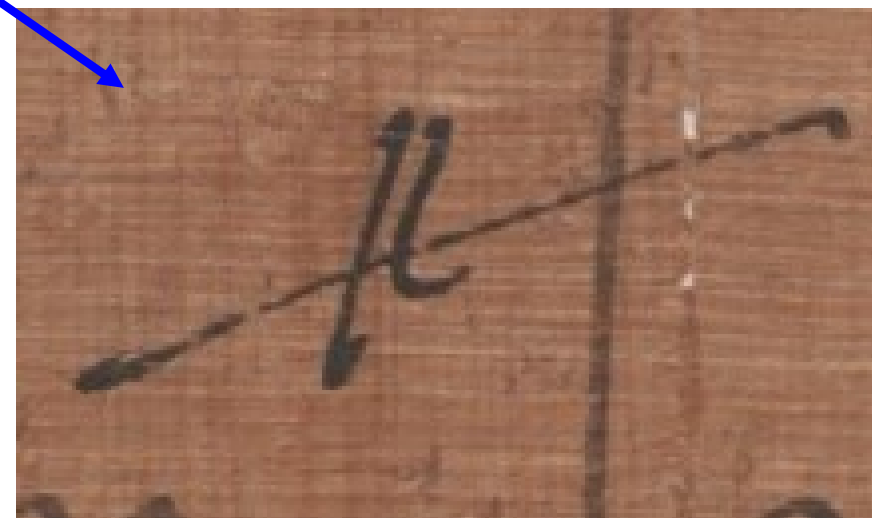
1. 1 *Anatolius u(ir) c(larissimus) com(es) ord(inis) prim(i) et praef(ectus) Aug(ustalis) Aeg(yptiae) dioec(eseos) d(ixit): γενήσεται. **Edantur.***

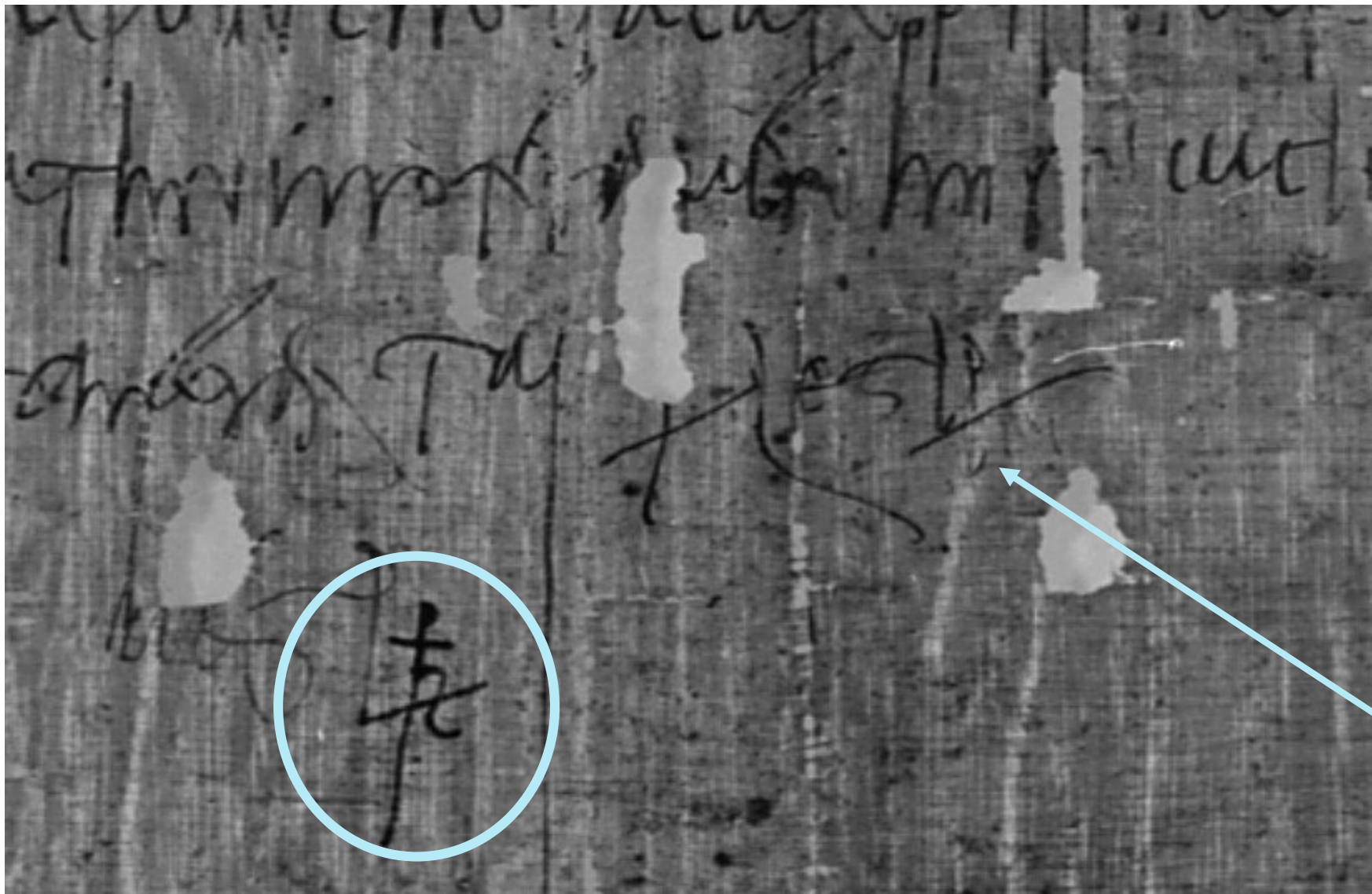


*Anatolius ...d(ixit): γενήσεται. **Edantur.***

~~**R**~~

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



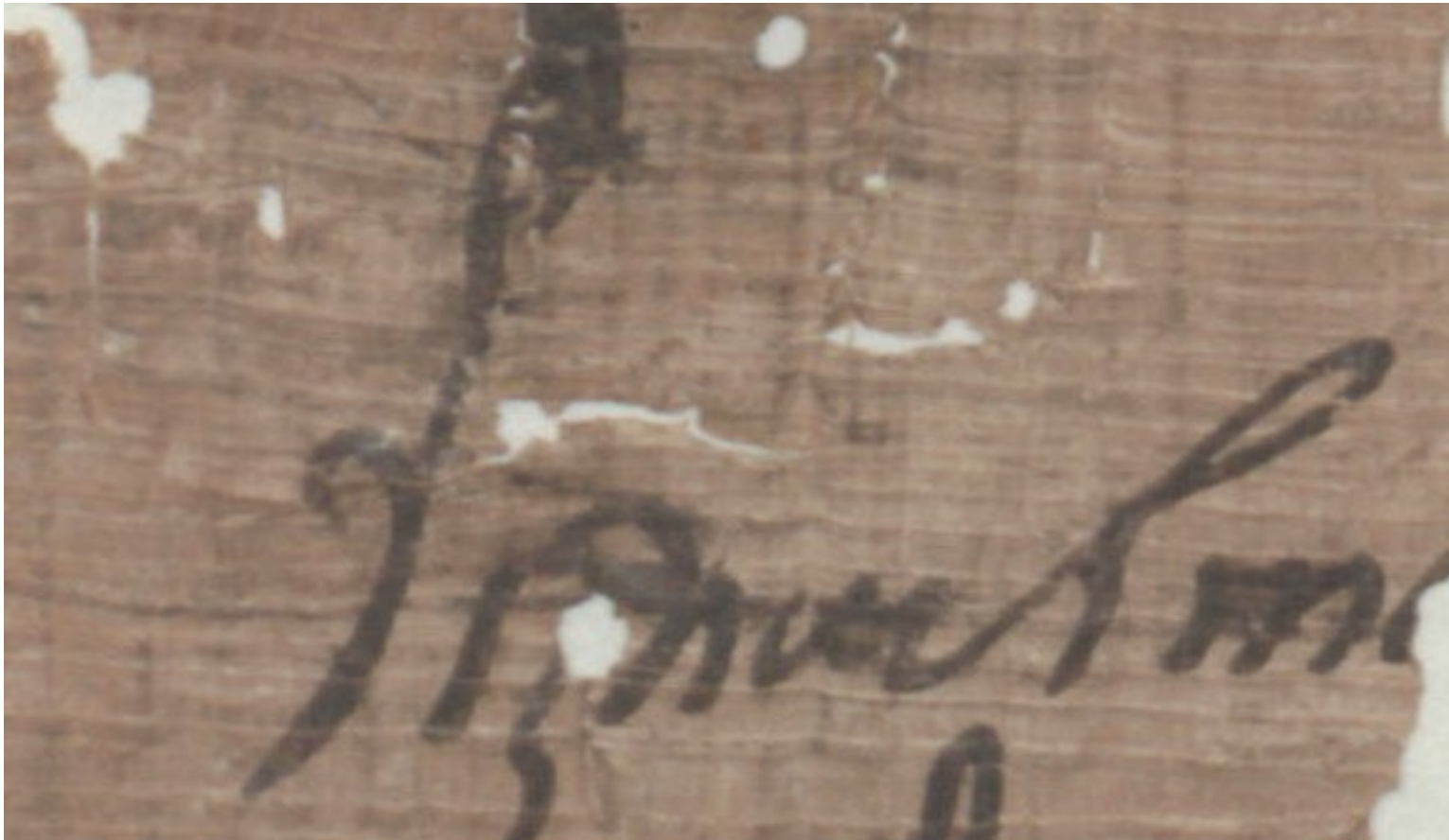


P.Cairo Masp. III
67280 (AD 538–9).

Order to the
inhabitants of
Aphroditopolis to
provide *annona* for
a new *numerus*
quartered in their
town

legi

† r(ecognoui)



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

4. *Signaui*'I signed'

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

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

-
- 'To affix a seal (*signum*) to a document'
 - It originally functions as a witness to something that **already happened**
 - It has two main Greek equivalents ("I certify this thing happened")

- 'To affix a seal (*signum*) to a document'
- It originally functions as a witness to something that **already happened**
- It has two main Greek equivalents ("I certify this thing happened")
- First, μαρτυρῶ, genuinely Greek: e.g. *BGU VI 1282*, l. 20 Σαβαίδων Νίκωνος μαρτυρῶ (II BC)

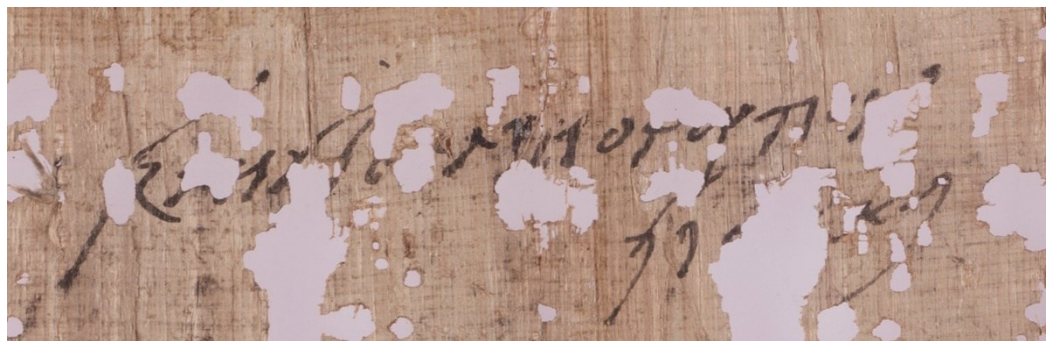
- 'To affix a seal (*signum*) to a document'
- It originally functions as a witness to something that **already happened**
- It has two main Greek equivalents ("I certify this thing happened")
- First, μαρτυρῶ, genuinely Greek: e.g. *BGU VI 1282*, l. 20 Σαβαίδων Νίκωνος μαρτυρῶ (II BC)
- Then ἐσφράγισα, probably a translation from *signaui* which appears in Roman times

- First, μαρτυρῶ, genuinely Greek: e.g. *BGU* VI 1282, l. 20 Σαβαίδων Νίκωνος μαρτυρῶ (II BC)
- Then ἐσφράγισα, probably a translation from *signaui* which appears in Roman times
- Very **rare** (and only **once** attested in Late Roman Egypt), if compared to its Greek equivalent

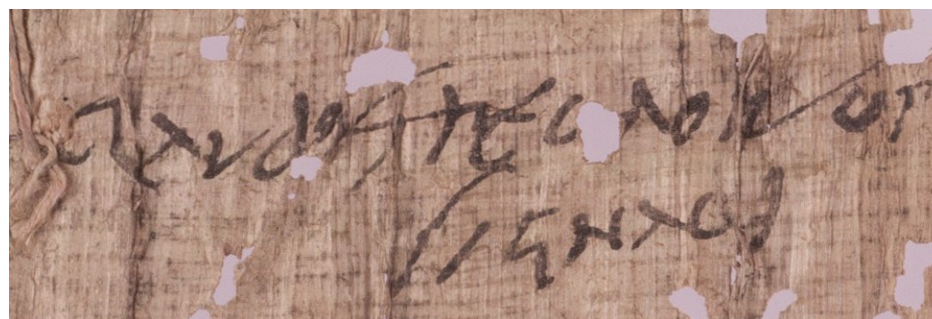
- First, μαρτυρῶ, genuinely Greek: e.g. *BGU VI 1282*, l. 20 Σαβαίδων Νίκωνος μαρτυρῶ (II BC)
- Then ἐσφράγισα, probably a translation from *signaui* which appears in Roman times
- Very **rare** (and only **once** attested in Late Roman Egypt), if compared to its Greek equivalent
- **Soldiers**, when literate, subscribe to acts that require **witnesses** with μαρτυρῶ, ἐσφράγισα and – if they know a bit of Latin – with *signaui*

P.Dura 26

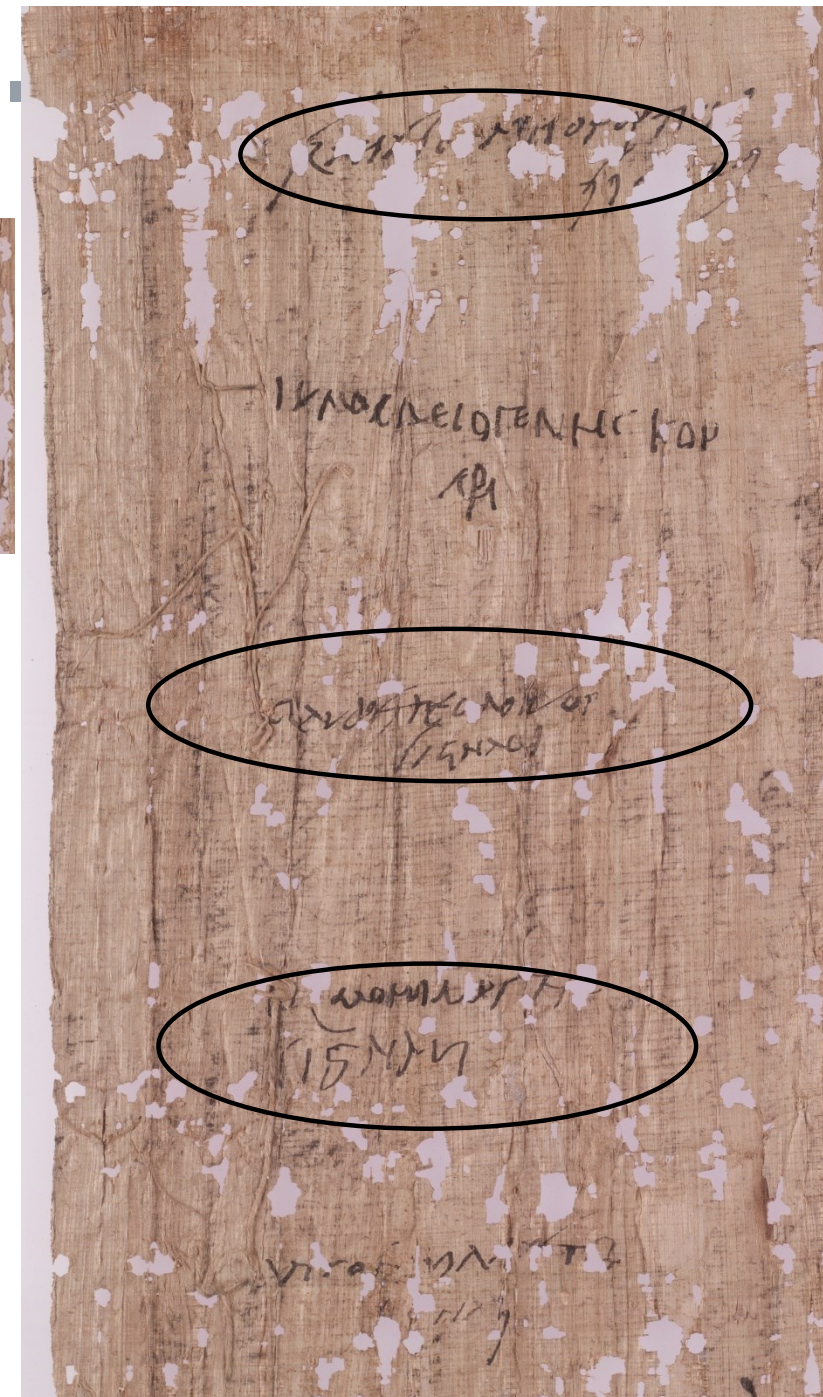
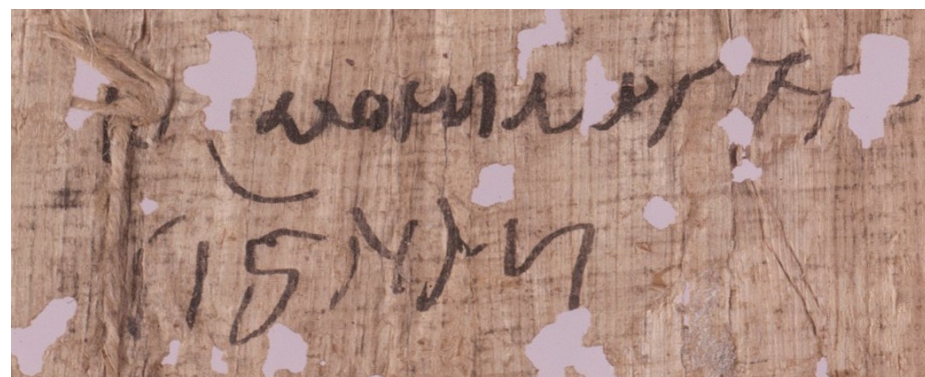
Flauis Serapeio nuntius
sig[n]aui: a very quick
and proficient cursive

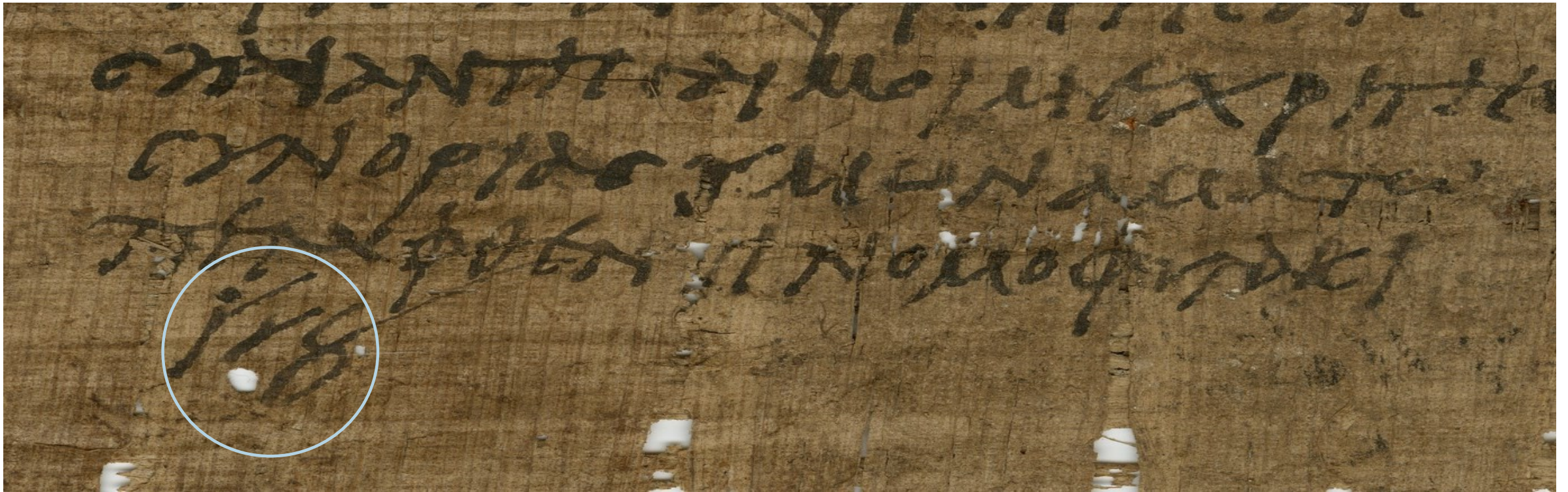


Claudius Theodorus op(tio)
signaui. Somewhere in the
middle...



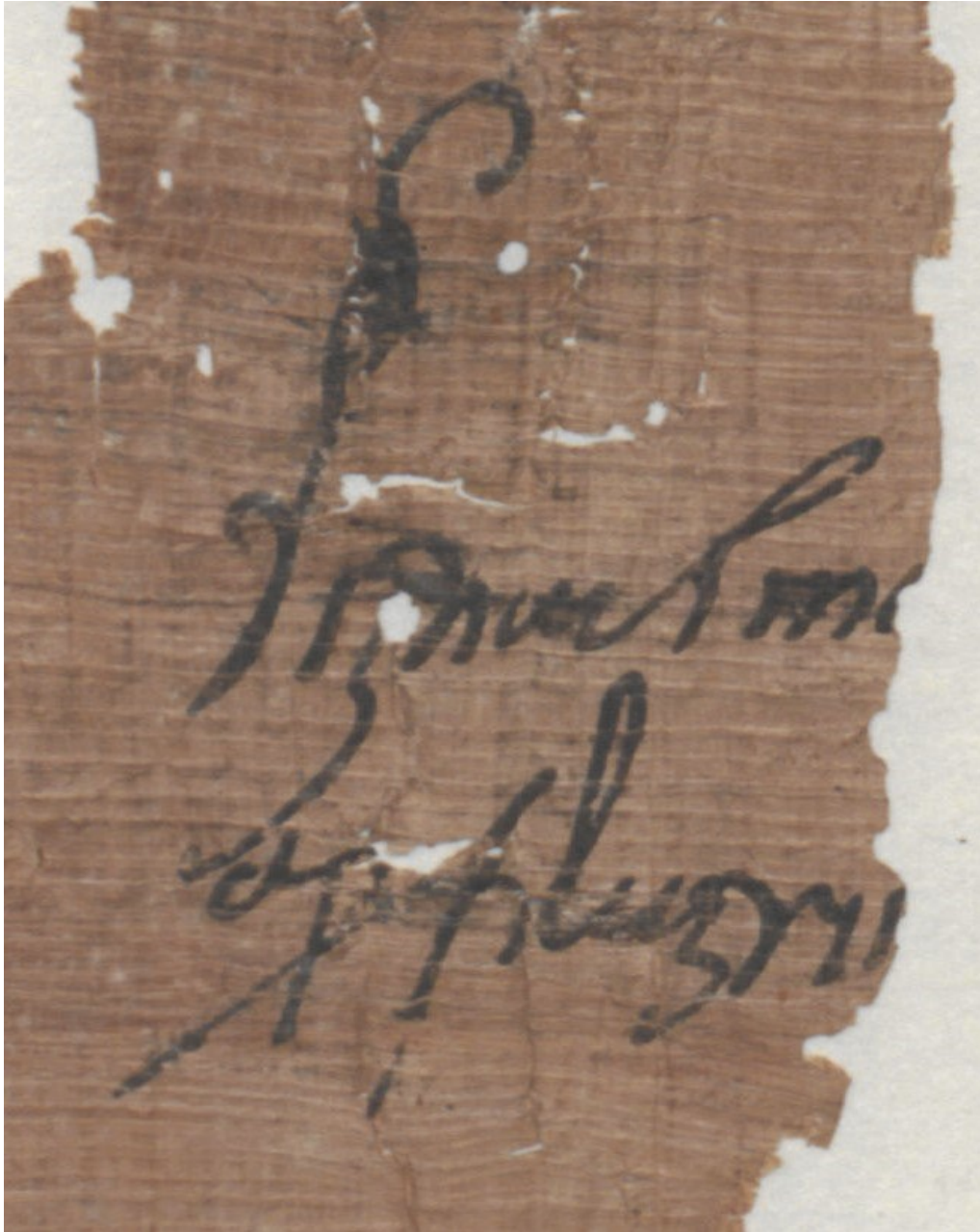
Iul(ius) Monimus
tess(erarius) **signaui**.
Clumsy writing.





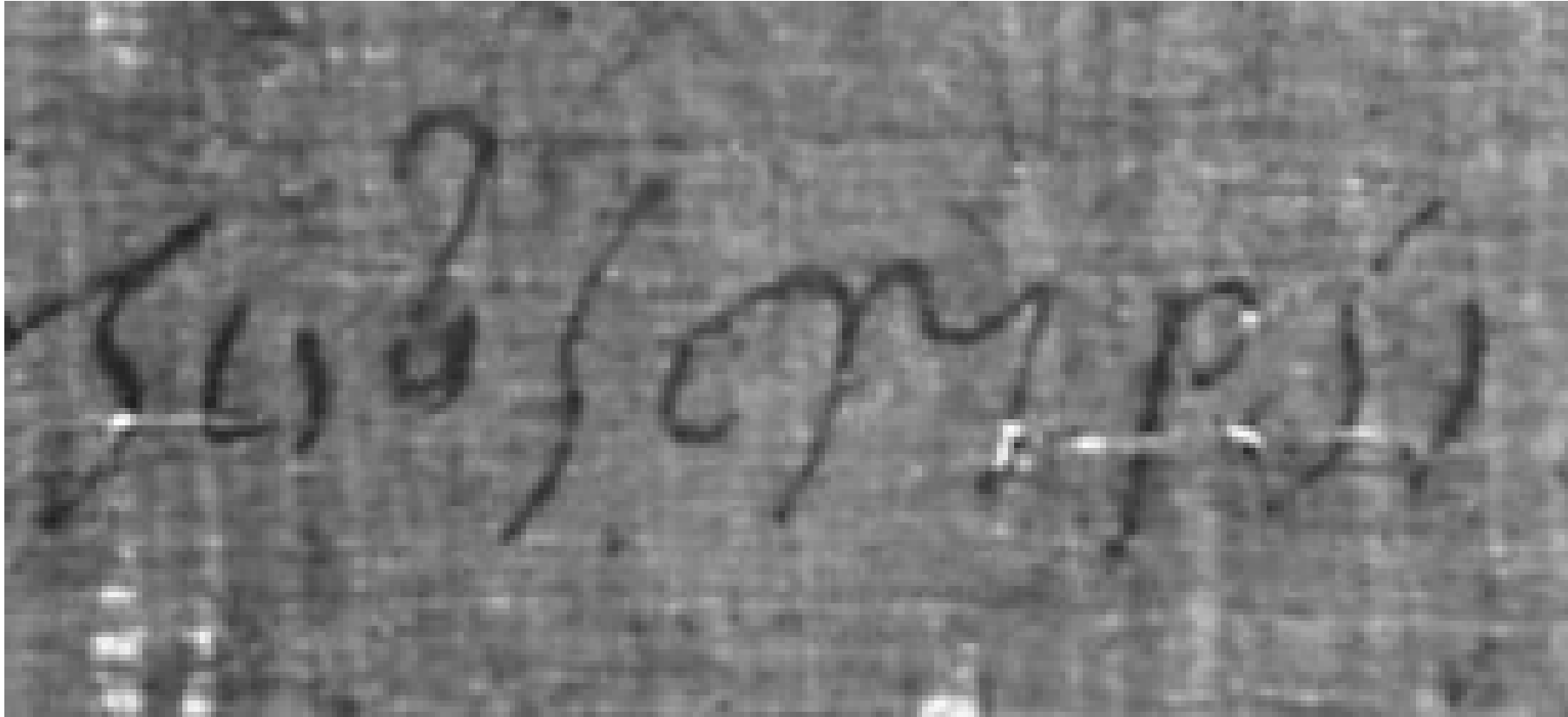
P.OXY. LXXIV 5007 (III-IV AD)

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

5. *Subscripsi* 'I validated'

- Rare and similar in meaning to the former; perhaps more **specific**?

- Rare and similar in meaning to the former; perhaps more **specific**?
- To write something **under** a document, i.e. to **attach** something to your document or letter (*OLD*)

- Rare and similar in meaning to the former; perhaps more **specific**?
- To write something **under** a document, i.e. to **attach** something to your document or letter (*OLD*)
- To endorse something, to add a confirming signature (*OLD*)

- Rare and similar in meaning to the former; perhaps more **specific**?
- To write something **under** a document, i.e. to **attach** something to your document or letter (*OLD*)
- To endorse something, to add a confirming signature (*OLD*)
- *Signaui* + *legi*: to append to something an authorizing signature, and to certify that something is valid, or actually happened

- *Signaui* + *legi*: to append to something an authorizing signature, and to certify that something is valid, or actually happened
- We have ὑπογράφω (ὑπέγραψα), which sounds like a translation but isn't

- *Signaui* + *legi*: to append to something an authorizing signature, and to certify that something is valid, or actually happened
- We have ὑπογράφω (ὑπέγραψα), which sounds like a translation but isn't
- *W.Chr.* 50, ll. 7–9 Αἰγυπτισ|τὶ δὲ ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως | ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆις (246 or 221 BC)

- *Signaui* + *legi*: to append to something an authorizing signature, and to certify that something is valid, or actually happened
- We have ὑπογράφω (ὑπέγραψα), which sounds like a translation but isn't
- *W.Chr.* 50, ll. 7–9 Αἰγυπτισ|τὶ δὲ ὑπέγραψα, ὅπως | ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆις (246 or 221 BC)
- The Latin subscripsi: *O.Petrie* (I AD) and a few samples from Diocletian's era

5. *SVBSCRIPSI*

- *censitor* ~ κηνσίτωρ

5. *SVBSCRIPSI*

- *censitor* ~ κηνσίτωρ
- This censitor receives the declaration of a nome's inhabitants concerning **the land they owned**, and transmitted it to central offices to assess their **fiscal contributions**

5. *SVBSCRIPSI*

- *censitor* ~ κηνσίτωρ
- This censitor receives the declaration of a nome's inhabitants concerning **the land they owned**, and transmitted it to central offices to assess their **fiscal contributions**
- Not attested after the IV AD

5. SVBSCRIPSI

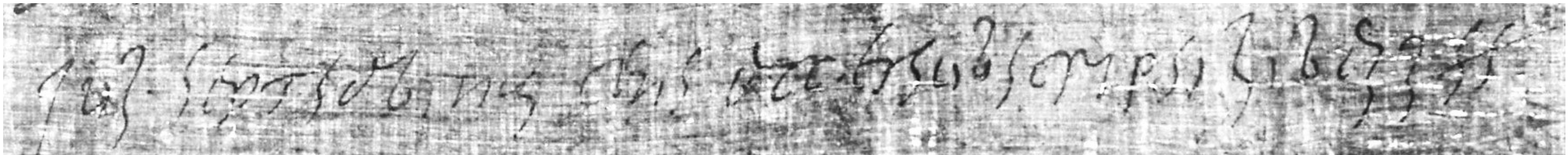
- *censitor* ~ κηνσίτωρ
- This censitor receives the declaration of a nome's inhabitants concerning **the land they owned**, and transmitted it to central offices to assess their **fiscal contributions**
- Not attested after the IV AD
- At least three of them **subscribe in Latin** to the declaration they are presented with

5. SVBSCRIPSI

- *censitor* ~ κηνσίτωρ
- This censitor receives the declaration of a nome's inhabitants concerning **the land they owned**, and transmitted it to central offices to assess their **fiscal contributions**
- Not attested after the IV AD
- At least three of them **subscribe in Latin** to the declaration they are presented with

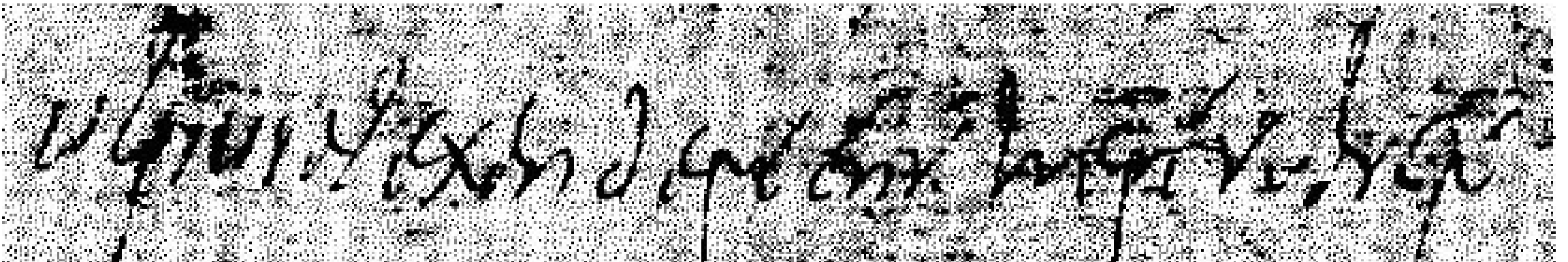
5. SVBSCRIPSI

- *P.Cairo Isid.* 3 (AD **299**). Declaration of land
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 4 (AD 299). Declaration of land
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 5 (AD 299). Declaration of land
- *P.Sakaon* 2 (AD **300**). Declaration of land
- *P.Sakaon* 3 (AD 300). Declaration of land
- **Iulius Septimius Sabinus**, censor of Heptanomia
- ***Iulius Septimius Sabinus censor accepi et subscripsi libellis***
- 'I received the documents (*accepi* functions as *legi*) and I certify they're good to go (*subscripsi libellis*)'.



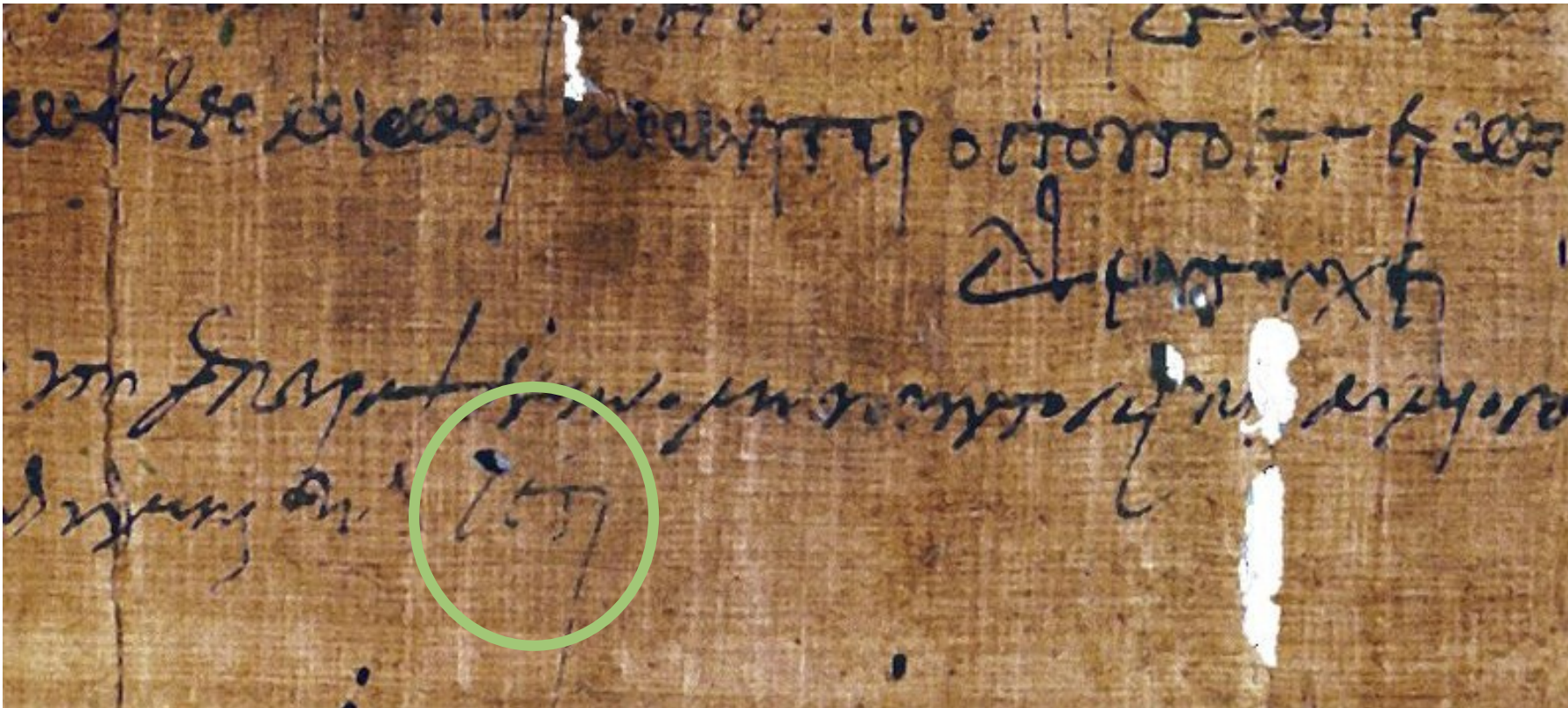
5. SVBSCRIPSI

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



5. SVBSCRIPTI

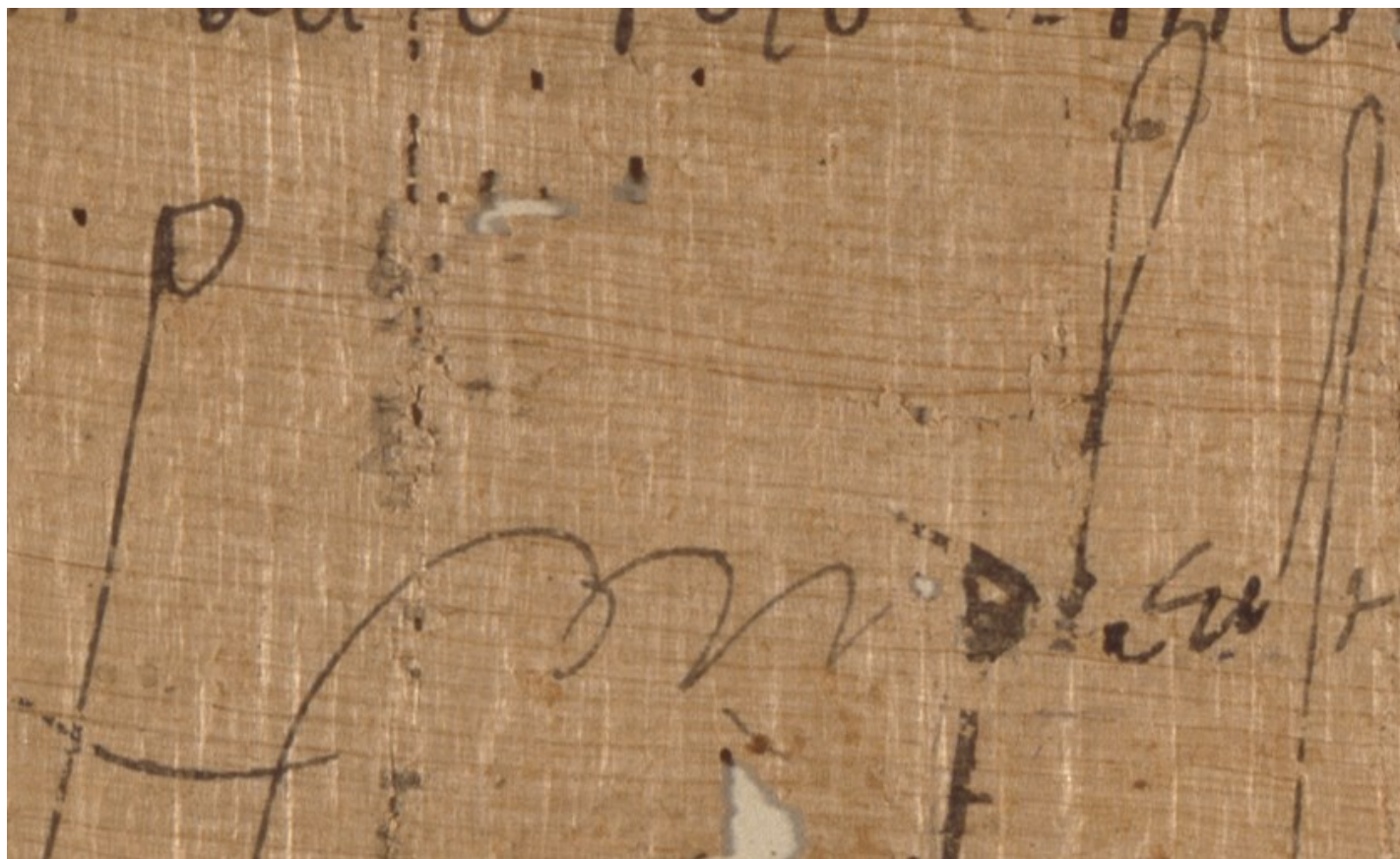
- *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD **298**). Declaration of property



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

- *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD 298) Α τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of declarations of property, addressed to the *censitor* *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 *censitor* *Iulius Septimius Sabinus* (Heptanomia). His subscription: *Iulius Septimius Sabinus censitor accepi et subscripsi libellis*
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 8 (AD 309); *P.Sakaon* 1 (AD 310). Declaration of persons, addressed to the *censitor* *Ulpus Alexander* (Heptanomia). His subscription: *Ulpus Alexander censitor Heptanomiaae subscripsi*.

- *P.Flor.* I 32b (AD 298) Α τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of declarations of property, addressed to the *censitor* 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 *censitor* Iulius Septimius Sabinus (Heptanomia). His subscription: *Iulius Septimius Sabinus censitor accepi et subscripsi libellis*
- *P.Cairo Isid.* 8 (AD 309); *P.Sakaon* 1 (AD 310). Declaration of persons, addressed to the *censitor* Ulpus Alexander (Heptanomia). His subscription: *Ulpus Alexander censitor Heptanomiaae subscripsi*.
- Is the *subscripsi*-formula – clearly a short-lived one – the **choice** of the individual officer, **his own mark**?



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

6. *Compleui*'I complied'

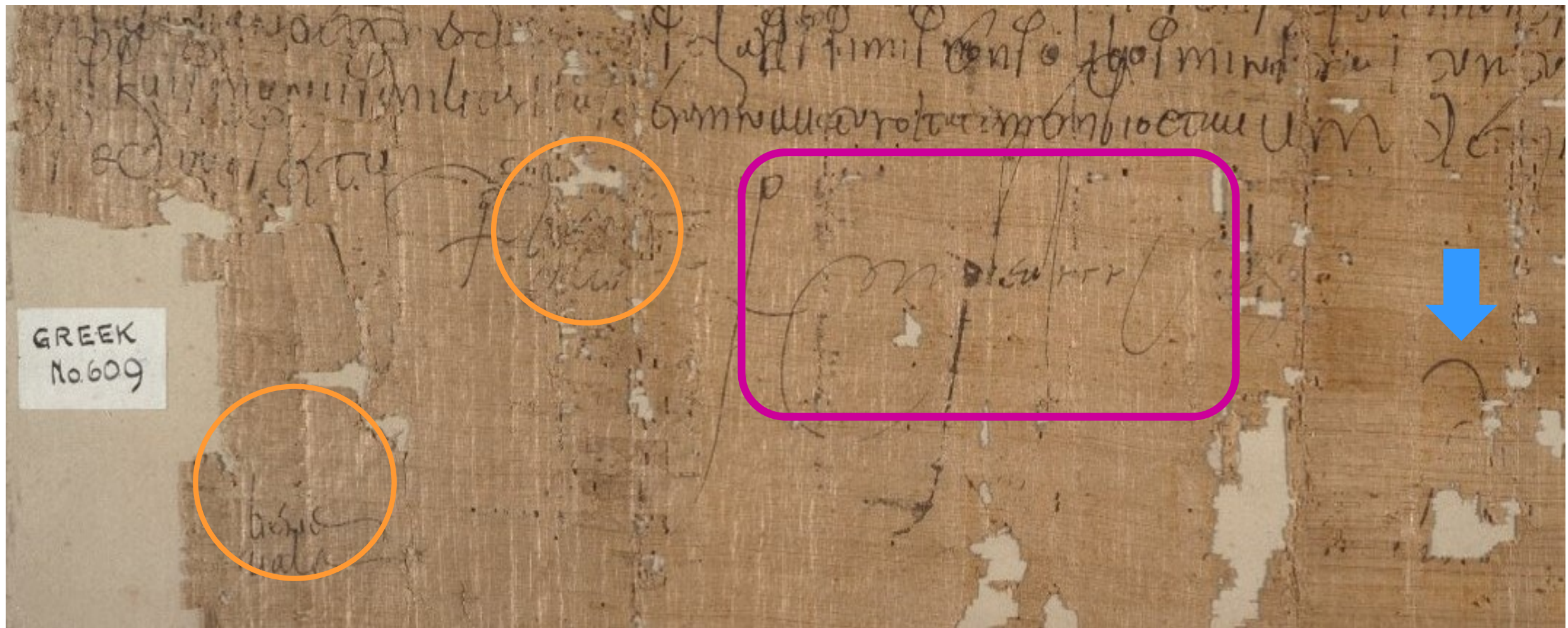
-
- *Compleui* → *completio* (performed by *tabelliones* – forced upon them by Justinian)

- *Compleui* → *completio* (performed by *tabelliones* – forced upon them by Justinian)
- **Notaries** become something of a public official as a consequence

- *Compleui* → *completio* (performed by *tabelliones* – forced upon them by Justinian)
- **Notaries** become something of a public official as a consequence
- This already happened before Justinian, not through *compleui*, but through δι' ἐμοῦ

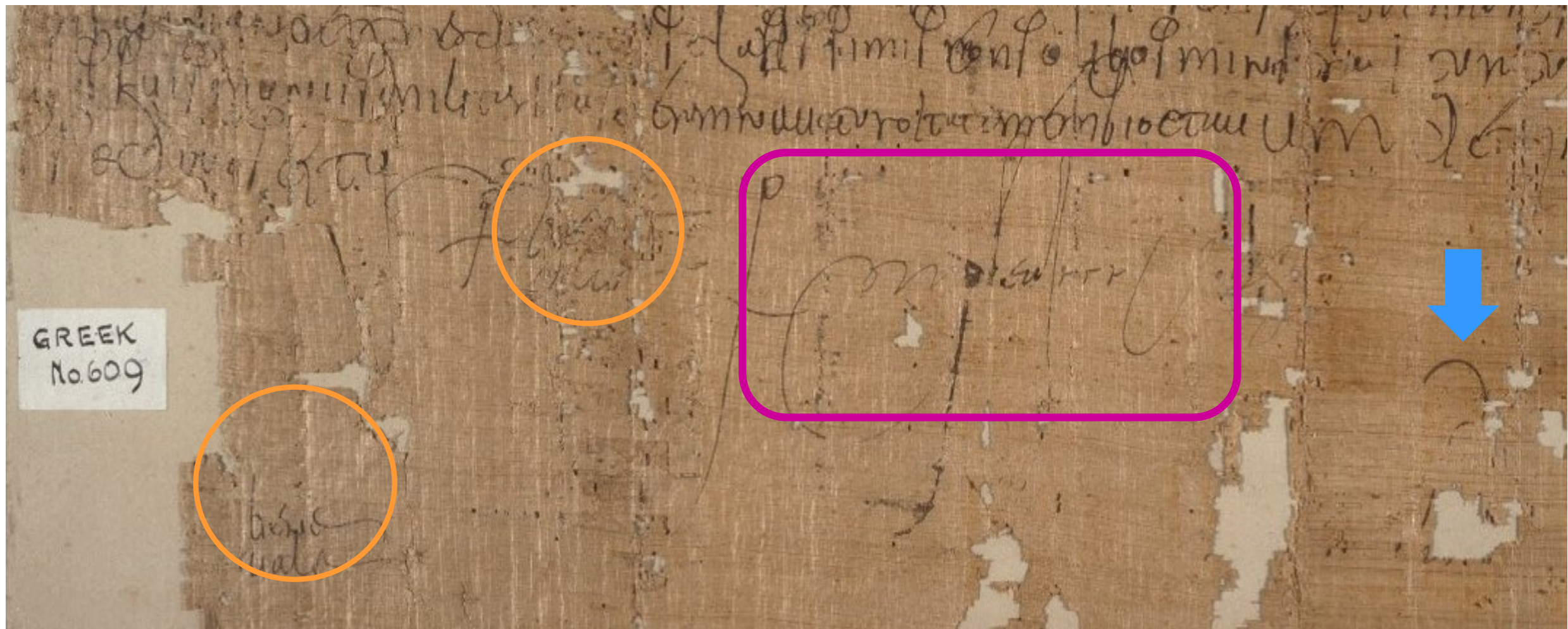
- *Compleui* → *completio* (performed by *tabelliones* – forced upon them by Justinian)
- **Notaries** become something of a public official as a consequence
- This already happened before Justinian, not through *compleui*, but through δι' ἐμοῦ
- Did the civil servants in offices do the *completio chartarum* through *compleui*?

- *Compleui* → *completio* (performed by *tabelliones* – forced upon them by Justinian)
- **Notaries** become something of a public official as a consequence
- This already happened before Justinian, not through *compleui*, but through δι' ἐμοῦ
- Did the civil servants in offices do the *completio chartarum* through *compleui*?
- *Compleui* appears only **twice** in Late Antique papyri – but see ἐκόμπλευσα in *P.Giss.Univ.* III 33



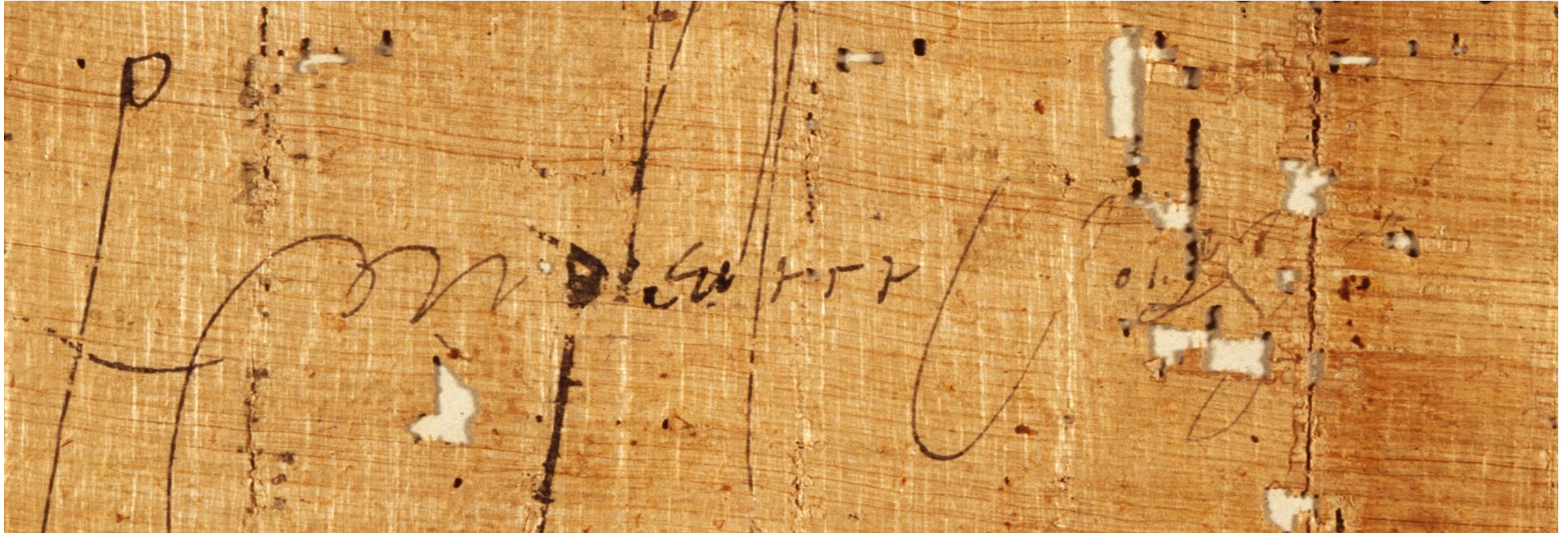
P.RYL. IV 609 (AD 505)

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

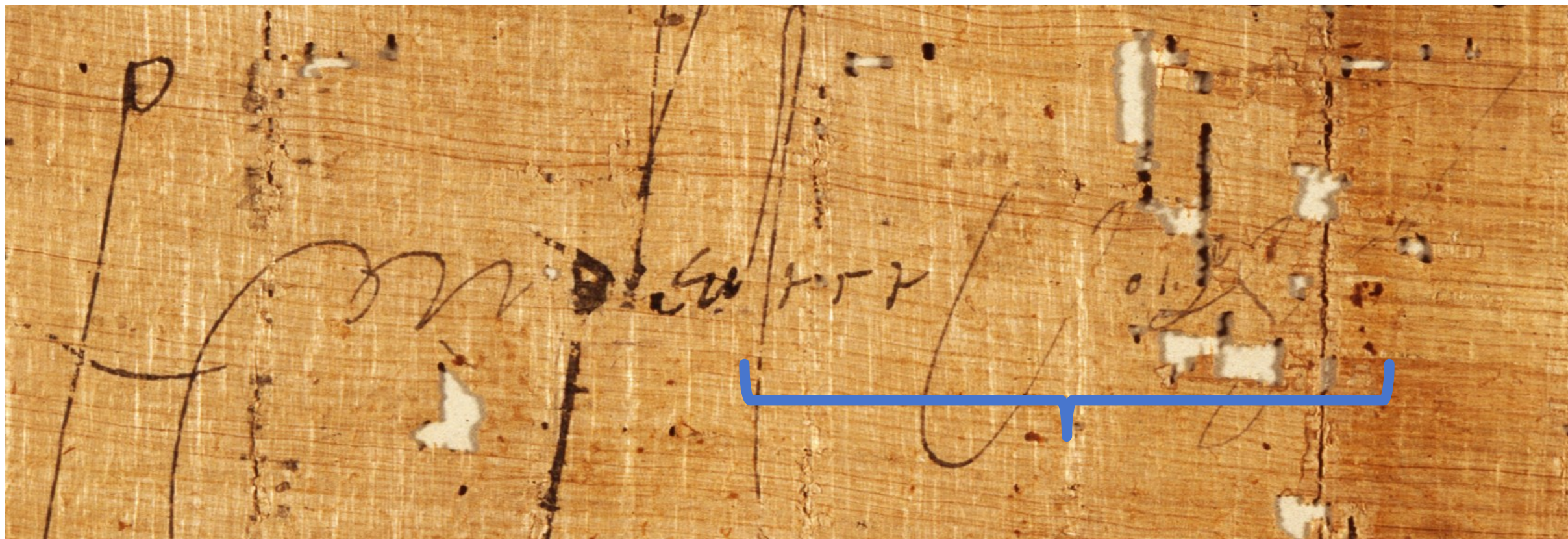


P.RYL. IV 609 (AD 505)

Ll. 9–10 si octauum decimum annūm |¹⁰ [**compleui**]**sse** dinoscitur



‘We got it’



‘We got it’

???



THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items



- *Notaui*: rare, and never in Late Antiquity. You leave a *nota* instead of a *signum*

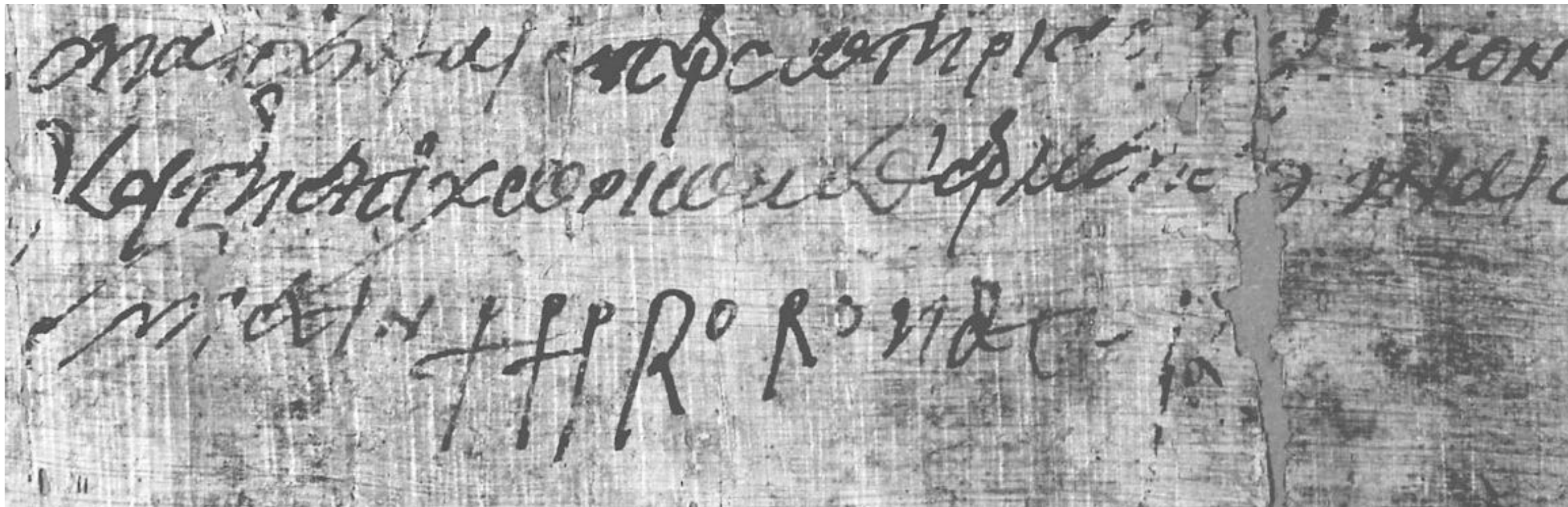
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items

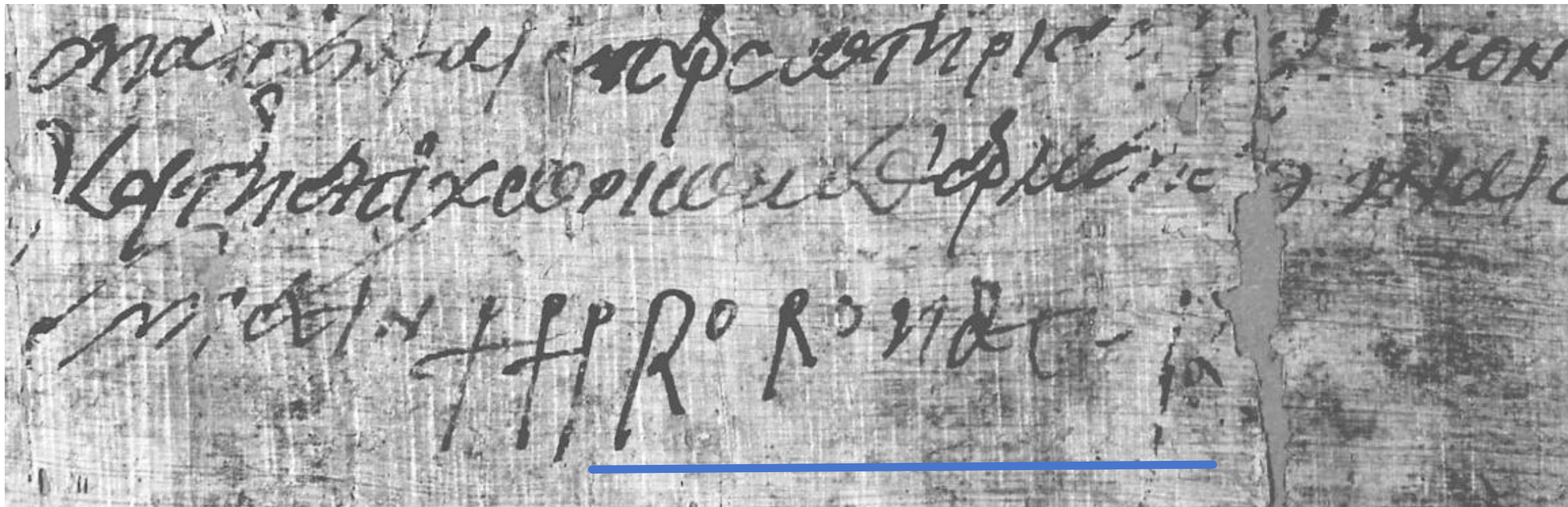
- *Notaui*. rare, and never in Late Antiquity. You leave a *nota* instead of a *signum*
- Two samples of *proponatur* ('let it be exposed'): *P.Cairo Masp.* I 67031 and P.Lips. inv. 1015 + 1016

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items



*P.Cairo Maspero I 67031 (AD 543–5): the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* forbidding functionaries of the tribunals to receive more than two κεράτια from the plaintiffs*



*P.Cairo Maspero I 67031 (AD 543–5): the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* forbidding functionaries of the tribunals to receive more than two κεράτια from the plaintiffs*

†† *pro***ro***natur* (*scil. pro***po***natur*)

- *Notaui*: rare, and never in Late Antiquity. You leave a *nota* instead of a *signum*
- Two samples of *proponatur* ('let it be exposed'): *P.Cairo Masp.* I 67031 and *P.Lips.* inv. 1015 + 1016
- The decree must be *exposed*: *propositio legis* (after *datio* and *acceptio*)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items

- *Notaui*: rare, and never in Late Antiquity. You leave a *nota* instead of a *signum*
- Two samples of *proponatur* ('let it be exposed'): *P.Cairo Masp.* I 67031 and *P.Lips.* inv. 1015 + 1016
- The decree must be *exposed*: *propositio legis* (after *datio* and *acceptio*)
- Decrees, *constitutiones*, *libelli*, *rescripta* all followed this process (D'Ors and Martin 1979)

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items

- *Notaui*: rare, and never in Late Antiquity. You leave a *nota* instead of a *signum*
- Two samples of *proponatur* ('let it be exposed'): *P.Cairo Masp.* I 67031 and *P.Lips.* inv. 1015 + 1016
- The decree must be *exposed*: *propositio legis* (after *datio* and *acceptio*)
- Decrees, *constitutiones*, *libelli*, *rescripta* all followed this process (D'Ors and Martin 1979)
- But was it used for a specific reason in **provincial** documents...?

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS: A LIST

Last items

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- Grasping the origin, development and significance of each of the employed subscriptions in Late Antique bureaucracy is **far from being accomplished**

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- Grasping the origin, development and significance of each of the employed subscriptions in Late Antique bureaucracy is **far from being accomplished**
- A group of words used not very often, in different types of documents, **and whose functions overlap more often than not**

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- Grasping the origin, development and significance of each of the employed subscriptions in Late Antique bureaucracy is far from being accomplished
- A group of words used not very often, in different types of documents, and whose functions overlap more often than not
- *Recognoui* is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- A group of words used not very often, in different types of documents, and whose functions overlap more often than not
- *Recognoui* is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- The other ones – *bene uale*, *legi*, *subscripsi*, *signavi* – despite their different origin and nuances of usage, all communicate **validation** and **acknowledgment**

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- **Recognoui** is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- The other ones – **bene uale**, **legi**, **subscripsi**, **signavi** – despite their different origin and nuances of usage, all communicate **validation** and **acknowledgment**
- **Bene uale** comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- **Recognoui** is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- The other ones – **bene uale**, **legi**, **subscripsi**, **signaui** – despite their different origin and nuances of usage, all communicate **validation** and **acknowledgment**
- **Bene uale** comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters
- **Signaui** is more informal – everyone can use it – and confined outside Late Antiquity

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- **Recognoui** is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- The other ones – **bene uale**, **legi**, **subscripsi**, **signaui** – despite their different origin and nuances of usage, all communicate **validation** and **acknowledgment**
- **Bene uale** comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters
- **Signaui** is more informal – everyone can use it – and confined outside Late Antiquity
- The same holds for **subscripsi**: they are more traditionally linked to **validating** documents, to bearing **witness** to something

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

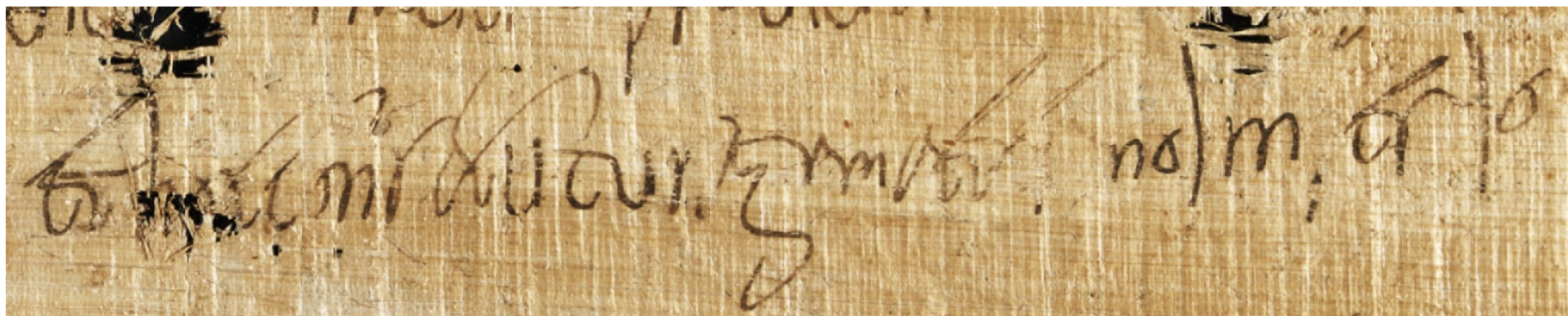
- **Recognoui** is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- The other ones – **bene uale**, **legi**, **subscripsi**, **signaui** – despite their different origin and nuances of usage, all communicate **validation** and **acknowledgment**
- **Bene uale** comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters
- **Signaui** is more informal – everyone can use it – and confined outside Late Antiquity
- The same holds for **subscripsi**: they are more traditionally linked to **validating** documents, to bearing **witness** to something
- **Legi** is more focused on the simple **acknowledgment**, but it does signify **validation**

TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- **Recognoui** is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- **Bene uale** comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters
- **Signaui** is more informal – everyone can use it – and confined outside Late Antiquity
- The same holds for **subscripsi**: they are more traditionally linked to **validating** documents, to bearing **witness** to something
- **Legi** is more focused on the simple **acknowledgment**, but it does signify **validation**
- On the Medieval section of this journey, Classen and Brühl (to quote only two) have spoken already

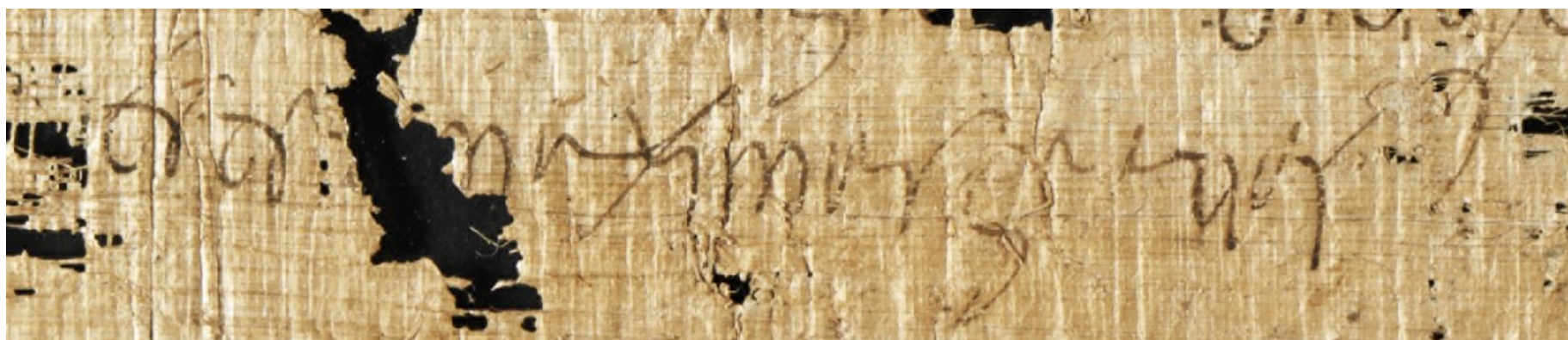
TO SUM UP (IF ONLY...)

- *Recognoui* is the only one unmistakably and unambiguously used to signify **exactness**
- *Bene uale* comes from epistolary style and is originally a **greeting**, only afterwards turning to a fixed **tag** to subscribe official letters
- *Signaui* is more informal – everyone can use it – and confined outside Late Antiquity
- The same holds for *subscripsi*: they are more traditionally linked to **validating** documents, to bearing **witness** to something
- *Legi* is more focused on the simple **acknowledgment**, but it does signify **validation**
- On the Medieval section of this journey, Classen and Brühl (to quote only two) have spoken already
- Gathering the evidence may lead to a deeper understanding (?)



ALMA MATER STUDIORUM
UNIVERSITA DI BOLOGNA

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



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

Thanks for attending this paper!